

2021 ANNUAL REPORT

**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**



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ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

2021 brought us highs and lows, successes and disappointments. We began full of hope and with great élan—the 150th birthday of our namesake, Rosa Luxemburg, in our sights. Numerous activities for the year had been planned well in advance. The high point was to be the *Rosa 150* festival on 4 and 5 March at Berlin's Volksbühne. We had organized and hoped to the last moment, but in the end everything had to be rescheduled to take place online. On our Youtube and Facebook channels, we live-streamed two days' discussion of Luxemburg's work, under the title *Eine Ermutigung in Zeiten der Pandemie und anderer Katastrophen* (Taking Courage in Times of Pandemic and Other Catastrophes). We followed traces of her life, read citations from newly discovered letters, and broadcast feature reports, city tours, and contributions from artists. It was a diverse and multifaceted programme, which was only able to be implemented through the tremendous dedication of many colleagues, and which will be of use for subsequent political education work.

Rosa Luxemburg still has a great deal to say to us today—about the relationship between democracy and socialism, between the active masses and political organizations, about the role of violence in political conflicts, about bravery and civic courage. On the occasion of the anniversary, we have taken a variety of new approaches to her legacy. In the online story RS LXMBRG – The Dissenter, we took a fresh look at Luxemburg's life and work. The story is available in several languages. For weeks, the Volksbühne streamed an online theatre series we commissioned, *Rosa Kollektiv Oder: Aktiviere dein inneres Proletariat* (Rosa Collective, or Activate Your Inner Proletariat), inspired by the Armand Gatti play and adapted by Luise Meier. Our regional branches also offered a wide variety of events throughout Germany: in Munich, for example, there was a staged dialogue with live music entitled *Mensch sein ist vor allem die Hauptsache* (Being Human is the Most Important Thing); the exhibition *Rosa Luxemburg – ein Leben für die sozialistische Idee* (Rosa Luxemburg: A Life Lived for the Socialist Idea) was shown at the Stuttgart trade union house, and a musical reading from Luxemburg's letters took place at the Titania Theatre in Frankfurt am Main. In the first episode of our theory podcast Too long, didn't read, Alex Demirović talked with Luxemburg researcher Miriam Pieschke about what we can still learn from Rosa Luxemburg today. Our September graffiti workshop, too, focused on Luxemburg's work, which today remains an inspiration for all those trying to create a new, better, and fairer world.

Yes, the pandemic again had us firmly in its grasp over long stretches of time. For the second time we had to hold our general meeting digitally, as well as numerous other events. We were constantly having to adapt to new hygiene



Dagmar Enkelmann and Daniela Trochowski

regulations and requirements to continue doing the work of the RLS and to be able to host events. Educational seminars were planned well in advance, prepared as offline events, and then had to take place digitally.

One of 2021's few face-to-face events was the 5 September public presentation of the RLS's work, under the motto *Heute ist die Antwort* (Today is the Answer). This first open day at our headquarters at Strasse der Pariser Kommune 8A featured panel discussions on topics such as housing and rents, climate change, and post-migrant realities in East and West. The guided tours through the new building, with commentaries on the architectural design concept and the project *262 Klinken* (262 Doorknobs) were very quickly booked out. In the building's outdoor area, a small stage with music and public talks provided a place to mingle and discuss. There were also three exhibitions to visit—on war and peace, on architecture through the ages, and on the effects of the *Treuhand* policy. The walk-through sound and video installation *TreuhandTechno* was also presented. We looked back somewhat wistfully to the time before the coronavirus pandemic, when we were able to offer face-to-face events every other day. By now we are well-practised in the 3G, 2G, and 2G-plus rules, contact tracing, and the development of hygiene concepts—but we would also be happy to do without these and live more normally again.

Our work abroad in 2021 continued to focus on the fight for global social justice. The pandemic presented our offices with major challenges worldwide. Many of our colleagues had to work from home for months, and urgent need to reposition unable to leave or enter Germany. The issue of health has taken on a new significance, not least thanks to this context. The Geneva office's Global Health project, for example, took an international perspective on the social dimension of healthcare; the results can be read in our international journal *maldekstra*. We successfully continued the online training and networking program *Organizing for Power*, offered in cooperation with U.S. activist Jane McAlevey. More than 5,000 organizers from around 60 countries have now taken

part. However, union organizing continues to be banned in some countries, such as Qatar. For the 2022 World Cup taking place there, focused on the inhumane conditions to which migrant workers are subjected, and the systematic exploitation and repression that takes place in the context of major global sporting events. Materials such as a folding card, a video clip, and discussion events aim to help Reclaim the Game!

Dear readers,

The board engaged intensively with the RLS's strategic direction and discussed the cornerstones of the work that is to come. With the resolution *Strategische Grundsätze der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in den kommenden Jahren* (Strategic Principles of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in the Coming Years), areas of substantive priority were defined, the main functions and target groups of the RLS described, and new standards for public effectiveness formulated. The following themes are to be focused on: *Zeitdiagnose, Strategien linker Kräfte und die sozialistische Perspektive* (Epochal Diagnosis, Left Strategies, and the Socialist Perspective), *Klimagerechtigkeit und sozialökologischer Systemwechsel* (Climate Justice and Social-Ecological System Change), *Entwicklung der gesellschaftlichen Arbeit, gewerkschaftliche und soziale Kämpfe sowie soziale Rechte/neuer Sozialstaat* (Developing Social Engagement, Trade Union and Social Struggles, Social Rights/the New Welfare State), *Kampf gegen rechts und für eine Gesellschaft der Vielen* (Fighting Against the Right and for a Society of the Many), and *Friedenspolitik und geopolitische Herausforderungen* (The Politics of Peace and Geopolitical Challenges).

For years, we have been trying to organize the cross-departmental work of the RLS, and to take a more holistic perspective on the organization. We want to make the RLS fit for the future. This will involve both the content that we offer and areas of accountability, and formal structures. Our diverse analytical work on social upheavals and power relations, on left-wing strategy, on forms of organization and action and their effectiveness, and on the socialist perspective, need to be systematized and consolidated.

The urgent need to reposition ourselves was brought home by the disastrous performance of Die Linke in the last federal election. The RLS is taking responsibility for researching its causes. Through social analysis, political education, and networking, and through the promotion of projects and dialogues, we wish to contribute to the strengthening of left-wing and socialist forces in Germany, Europe, and internationally, thus bringing about a socio-ecological, peace-oriented change of direction in politics, towards democratic socialism.

DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN
Chair of the Executive Board

DANIELA TROCHOWSKI
Executive Director

FOCUS: ROSA150

“... TAKING COURAGE IN TIMES OF PANDEMIC AND OTHER CATASTROPHES”

On 5 March 2021, we wanted to do justice to a special event: the 150th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg’s birth. In 1999, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung chose a namesake who is in many respects at odds with the rest of the landscape of party-affiliated Stiftungen: among all those German, nominally Christian men, Rosa Luxemburg figures as the sole woman, the sole foreigner, and the sole Jew. She is also the only Stiftung namesake who was the victim of political murder—and she remains the world’s most important woman theorist of socialism.

REPRESENTATIVE OF AN ANNIHILATED CULTURE

Throughout the twentieth century, her enemies as well as many of her ostensible friends have unrecognizably distorted Luxemburg’s theoretical work and her political influence, through a complex of lies, mendacity, and libel. When Rosa Luxemburg talked about democracy, she meant it. For her, socialism and terror were incompatible. She understood socialism as a social condition where there is a constant striving for the extension of political freedom, and in which the latter is accompanied by social freedom from exploitation, oppression, and discrimination of every kind. Her idea of socialism was therefore quite the exact opposite of what was later called “really existing socialism”. Rosa Luxemburg’s transformation into an icon has falsified her legacy—it is not a badge of glory, let alone an expression of sovereignty. It would have made her scoff wickedly.

As a Polish Jew with Belgian ancestry, Rosa Luxemburg came from an Eastern European, largely pre-capitalist bourgeoisie, which alongside the Jewish passion for learning was deeply influenced by Renaissance humanism and the Enlightenment ideal of emancipation. The Holocaust irretrievably destroyed this culture, notably present in a wide belt stretching between Tartu (Dorpat) on the Baltic Sea and Odessa on the Black Sea. If Rosa Luxemburg already struck many of her—German—contemporaries as impertinent and excessively demanding, this remains no less true for those living today.

A NATURAL ALLY

Since we did not wish to merely conform with a dutiful exercise forced upon us by the calendar in March 2021, we had to answer the question: what, 150 years after Rosa Luxemburg’s birth, is worth remembering and actively engaging with?

We also knew that we would not be able to make Luxemburg out to be an integral component of contemporary society; nor was this what we wanted. What we wanted was to once more investigate her maxim—going back to Marx, and often ridiculed—of “socialism or barbarism”. For we increasingly



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"I have huge admiration for her", Janine Wissler (l.) says of her personal relationship to Rosa Luxemburg. One week after her election as Chairperson of Die Linke, she spoke with Johanna Bussemer (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung) at Rosa150: Taking Courage in Times of Pandemic and Other Catastrophes.
.....

find ourselves delivered up to a capitalism pursuing aggravated accumulation through expropriation, that is ever more bogged down ecologically and economically, and has long since been creating more problems than it solves. The search for an alternative is no longer the order of the day only for leftists, "who knew it all along". In this struggle, Rosa Luxemburg offers herself as a natural ally.

But for us, the critique of capitalism was not the only central aspect. With the murders of Rosa Luxemburg, Kurt Eisner, Gustav Landauer, Hugo Haase, and Walther Rathenau began an "aryanization" of German society, which even after the Holocaust continued treating its survivors as displaced persons. Following the First World War, for many years in Germany one was up against a society in the process of "nationalization", where exclusion of and resistance to foreignness were not treated as shortcomings. After the Second World War, German societies were self-sufficient, they no longer required a Rosa Luxemburg. She was a displaced person too. She was never—like a Jesus or a Marx—an "open wound", needing constant "treatment".

Object of particular controversy today is Rosa Luxemburg's understanding of freedom. It continues to be claimed, for example, that she only demanded freedom for people like her. A glance into her writings shows that the opposite is the case: "Freedom only for supporters of the government, only for the members of a party—however numerous they may be—is no freedom at all. Freedom is always freedom for those who think differently. Not because of a fanaticism for 'justice', but rather because all that is enlivening, healing, and purifying about political freedom depends on this essence, and falls short of its effectiveness when 'freedom' becomes a privilege." Rosa Luxemburg is once more the order of the day, not least in view of the growing global crisis of parliamentary democracy—including rampant intolerance and the dismantling of protections for minorities. The freedom of those who think differently—at the core of her political thought—becomes, in the struggle for the maintenance of democracy, a demand

that cannot be renounced. In this struggle, too, we see Rosa Luxemburg as a natural ally.

It would also be short-sighted to dispense with Rosa Luxemburg if the goal is to achieve a socialist idea that does justice to the demands of the present. 70 years of socialism with its vanguard arrogance have damaged the socialist idea more than all attacks by pro-capitalist forces put together. From the very first, Rosa Luxemburg vehemently fought against the dissolution of the inner connection between socialism and democracy. A future liberation from conditions dominated by capital can only be achieved through a re-formulation of the socialist idea, and this cannot be attained without its re-democratization. Here, too, Rosa Luxemburg is a natural ally.

Had she not been murdered, it is likely that today only a handful of specialists would know the name Rosa Luxemburg. Nonetheless, we approached preparing this anniversary with the resolution to henceforth concentrate on this woman's life, rather than continuing to place her murder in the spotlight. For years now, we have been discussing freeing Luxemburg from the "death cult" and bringing her back into "this world"—in other words, making visible, behind the silent icon, a living and demanding ally of emancipation. The repeatedly discussed plan to re-centre Rosa Luxemburg's memory—from her assassination to her birth, life, and work—has been realized on her 150th birthday. If this continues to be the case in the future, here too the break with Stalinism—which only tolerated the mute icon, unrecognizably relegated to a pedestal—will have been achieved.



Rosa Luxemburg at the Social Democrats' congress in Jena, 1905.



On Rosa Luxemburg's 150th anniversary, Gregor Gysi read some of her texts.

REDISCOVERY

Rosa Luxemburg has lent a certain glamour to the RLS from the beginning, yet this has never come cheaply. For anyone who becomes involved with her find themselves challenged. In 2019, the centennial of her murder already offered an opportunity to take stock before moving on in a somewhat more orderly fashion. In doing so, we were by no means starting from scratch. In the 1970s and 1980s the colleagues close to Annelies Laschitzka and Günter Radczun laid important groundwork with editions of Rosa Luxemburg's works and letters. Thanks to the RLS, it has now been possible to revise these volumes; the German-language edition was also completed with two supplementary volumes (in three books) and is now available in its entirety. In addition, first translations from Polish were published, provided by Holger Politt. And a new generation has grown up, making efforts—often in connection with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung—to ensure the serious reception of Luxemburg's work. In many very different countries, the mute icon's voice returned to it, and Luxemburg is being discovered as partner in contemporary debates. For example, regarding the question of how "accumulation by expropriation" encroaches upon public goods through the privatization of public services, healthcare and education, and the cultural sector. Today, Luxemburg's theory of accumulation is also being discussed from the perspective of the "internal colonies", of the "land grab", of the household as the cost-free place of production for the commodity of labour, and of underpaid care work.

AN ENDURING CHALLENGE

If the 100th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's murder on 15 January 2019 was integrated in a long chain of events that marked the anniversaries of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the German revolutionary defeat of November 1918—including the revolutionary winter of 1918–19—Rosa Luxemburg's 150th birthday on 5 March 2021 stood out alone on the jubilee calendar.

But the pandemic prevented a number of pre-envisaged projects from marking this birthday. In particular, a festival originally planned in collaboration with Berlin's Volksbühne, featuring discussion events, film screenings, readings, exhibitions, theatre productions, and installations, had to be cancelled. At the same time, "Corona" accelerated a transition into the digital realm that had already been planned for our educational work for some time. What remained firm was our ambition for the examination of Luxemburg's life and work to continue at the artistic, political, and historical level. We tried out completely new as well as rarely used formats, from digital city tours, audio walks, and podcasts, to anthology films and animated video clips.

We also managed to bring new scholarly insights to light, initiated new publications conceived for a variety of audiences, and held in-person events as far as was possible. The entire RLS participated in the jubilee—in Berlin, in the regional branches, and in the offices abroad, which brought many of their own particular inflections. And it was a key point that accompanied us through the entire year, not only on the birthday itself, but also until 5 September, when the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung opened the doors of its new building in Berlin, under the motto "Today is the answer".

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 The work continues. For the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, its namesake remains a challenge: in terms of scientific exactitude, combativeness, political passion, and human integrity.

LIFE AS DECISION

THE NEW WEBSITE

The planned lecture tours at home and abroad had already been cancelled in September 2020. In order to be able to offer anything at all for the Luxemburg anniversary under these circumstances, from the end of October onwards a small group of RLS employees, together with the agency Zoff Kollektiv, set about creating a website about the life and work of Rosa Luxemburg: www.rosaluxemburg.org.

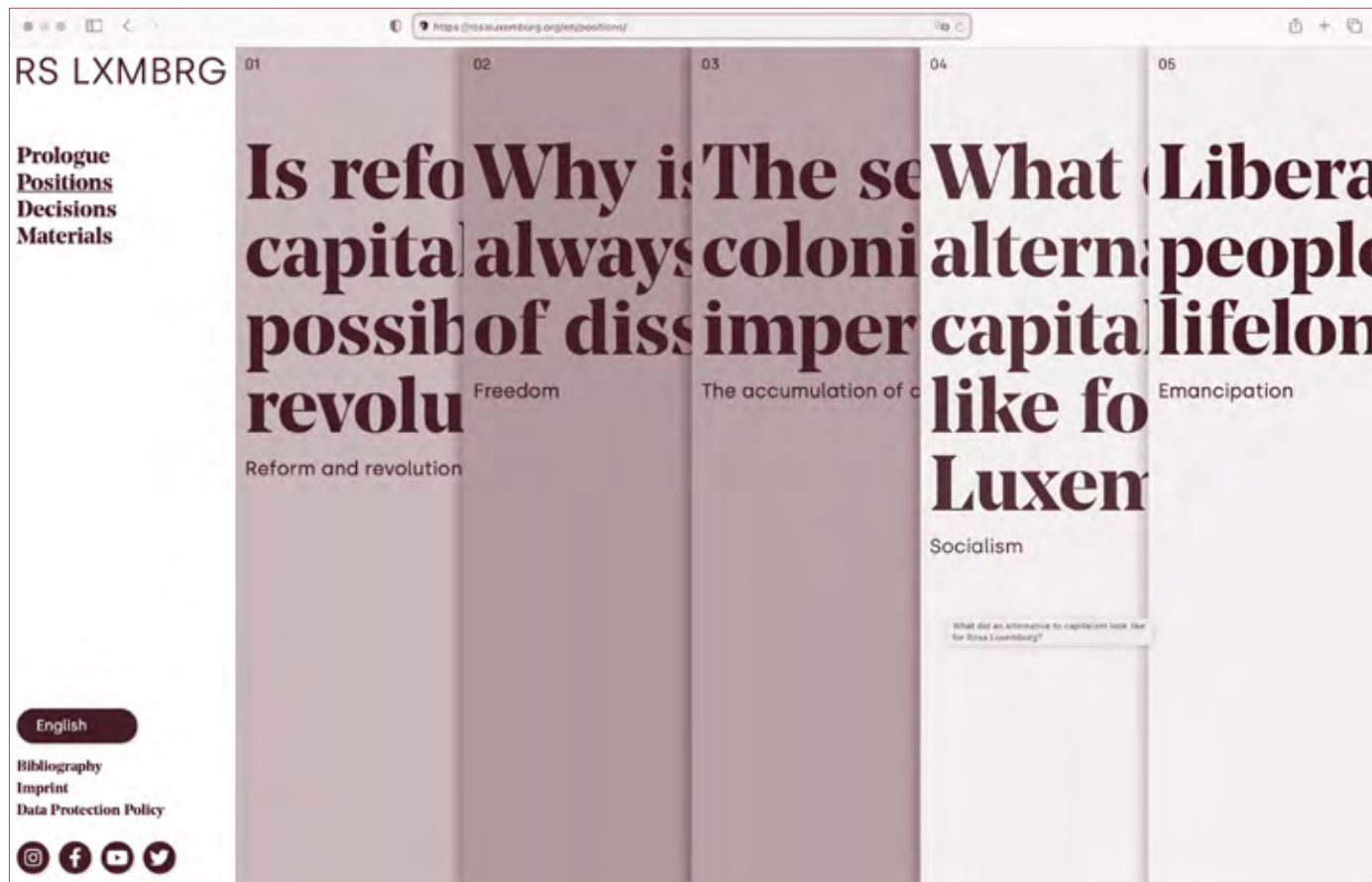
To launch her biography, they followed Luxemburg’s maxim of taking her life into her own hands as far as possible and shaping it by making conscious decisions. The website thus introduces her life by way of ten biographical milestones, associated with ten decisions. “In a world of clericalism, patriarchy, militarism, nationalism, and bigotry, Rosa Luxemburg made many extraordinary decisions for her time,” it summarizes, “at 17, she went to Switzerland; at 22, she founded her own political party; at 27, she earned her doctorate, preferring Berlin as

her permanent residence to Paris, the capital of enlightened Europe; at 28, she became an editor-in-chief for the first time; at 33, she moved into a prison cell, not for the last time; that same year, she publicly criticized Lenin and the Bolsheviks; and when she was 47, her body was thrown into the Landwehr Canal in Berlin.”

Her life was above all an active and committed one. It was her fundamental political positions that were especially subject to subsequent distortion which is why—on the basis of Luxemburg’s own writings—the website provides concise answers to certain questions: is a reform of capitalism possible without revolution? Why is freedom always the freedom to dissent? What is the secret of colonialism and imperialism? What did an alternative to capitalism look like for Rosa Luxemburg? Emancipation—as the liberation of man through lifelong learning?

The website, launched on 14 January 2021, is now available in English, French, German, Polish, and Spanish. It is constantly updated with multimedia materials (writings, letters, audio content, films). Visitors are particularly keen on the site’s online quiz, where they can also find out what Rosa Luxemburg thought about riding a bicycle, and who her cat Mimi was named after.

Screenshot of the new website www.rosaluxemburg.org.



ROSA150 - A DIGITAL BOUQUET

For a long time we held on to our plan of putting on two days of performances at the *Berlin Volksbühne* on the occasion of Rosa Luxemburg's birthday. Preparations were already underway for a new production of the play *Rosa Collectif* by French anti-fascist dramatist Armand Gatti. However, for safety's sake, parallel planning began in autumn 2020 for digitally produced parts of the event to be integrated into the Volksbühne programme. Then, shortly before Christmas, came the final blow: all face-to-face events were cancelled due to the coronavirus pandemic. We now had to wrap our colourful bouquet entirely in the digital realm, but wanted to stick to offering the audience as much live content as possible on 4–5 March. So we set up our own broadcasting room in the new Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung building, on the Strasse der Pariser Kommune, built a stage for moderation, and came up with a series of live interviews.

All RLS departments participated in the festival programme. New *Spuren* (Traces) from Rosa Luxemburg's life were deciphered, and *Geheimnisse* (Secrets) from her theory of accumulation—i.e., the connection between capitalism, imperialism, and war—were more deeply explored; tensions in the lifeworld, between *Frau – Rosa* (Woman – Rosa) were addressed in more detail, and brought up to date through the examination of feminist struggles over care work as well as

insights into the women's movements of Eastern Europe and South America; also the tensions within political strategy, between *Democratie – Diktatur* (Democracy – Dictatorship) as well as *Widerstand* (Resistance) – *Rebellion – Revolution* came up; and finally, we looked more closely at various *Bilder* (Images) that have been made of Rosa Luxemburg in the past. Director Margarethe von Trotta's words in this regard were impressive, conveyed during an hour-long video about the background and themes of her award-winning film *Rosa Luxemburg* (1986).

During the festival, newly discovered letters by Rosa Luxemburg (to Robert Michels) were presented, and there were reflections on what she might think of today's Deutsche Wohnen & Co Enteignen initiative, and to what extent it is part of the tradition that Luxemburg represents. Delegates from the groups Ende Gelände, International Women* Space, and the Socialist Democratic Students' Association spoke about their relationship to Rosa Luxemburg. The August-Bebel-Institut, the Literaturhaus Berlin, and the Mannheim-based Frauenwege initiative also made their own contributions to the festival. One week after her election as co-chair of Die Linke, Janine Wissler also found time to speak on stage with Johanna Bussemer (RLS) about her personal relationship with Rosa Luxemburg. The digital festival was broadcast on the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation's website via Youtube and Facebook.

Author Luise Meier in discussion with historian Jörn Schütrumpf (l.) and Uwe Sonnenberg on the alienation between the political and the cultural left.





Announcement for the international symposium, which had to be held online.

RADICAL LIFE AND LEGACY
AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

Due to the pandemic, what was initially planned as a joint event had to be restructured via various digital routes. It was thus unavoidable that the digital festival for the 150th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg’s birth took place at the same time as the scholarly symposium on 4–5 March—the latter prepared and carried out in cooperation with the International Rosa Luxemburg Society, an network of scholars that has existed since the 1980s.

More than 30 speakers and discussants from various continents connected via Zoom to pass Luxemburg’s Radical Life and Legacy in review. Across a total of nine thematic blocks, they discussed the reception of Rosa Luxemburg in Asia, in South America, and in literature. Luxemburg’s relationship to feminism was discussed, as well as her contribution to the contemporary challenges of political strategy, and the relevance of her theory of accumulation and her approach to the general strike to the ongoing crises of neoliberalism. Last but not least, there was debate around what Rosa Luxemburg could contribute to an understanding of “racialized capitalism”. Again and again the question of what can still be learned from Rosa Luxemburg today was raised; which of her ideas and approaches remain relevant, or to what extent they have to be considered obsolete or in need of revision.

That the symposium was no dry academic event was made especially evident in the concluding remarks by Peter Hudis, editor of the English-language edition of Rosa Luxemburg’s Collected Works. Referring to the unprecedented demonstrations against racism and police violence that occurred in the U.S.A. in 2020, he illustrated how Luxemburg’s writings and

theories are useful in understanding the current interplay between racist oppression and capitalist economics. In addition, the launch of *Creolizing Rosa Luxemburg*, edited by Drucilla Cornell and Jane Gordon, brought up new, previously unknown perspectives on Luxemburg and her work. Meanwhile, for May 2023, the International Rosa Luxemburg Society issued a new call for papers—hopefully this time for a face-to-face event to be held in Bodø, Norway, on Rosa Luxemburg, Socialist Democracy, and the Periphery.

With only limited resources, the symposium has already reached several thousand people. The presentations and the ensuing intense debates can be found at: www.rosalux.de/rosa-at-150.



Robin D.G. Kelley (above) and Lea Ypi reported and discussed at the symposium in honour of Rosa Luxemburg.



ROSA KOLLEKTIV AND ROSA KANAL

FROM QUANDARY TO SUCCESSFUL WEB SERIES

The RLS collaboration with the Berlin Volksbühne should actually have resulted in a new production of Armand Gatti's Rosa Collectif, a theatre piece about a failed TV series on Rosa Luxemburg. When the pandemic made that impossible, director Christian Filips and everyone else involved in the production decided on the spur of the moment to become a *Rosa Kollektiv* themselves. An eleven-part web series emerged from the rehearsals and was broadcast weekly from December 2020 on the Volksbühne's digital replacement programme, as well as on the RLS websites. The spectacular season finale then took place live on the big stage at the Volksbühne on 5 March 2021, the 150th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's birth.

The *Rosa Kollektiv* was made up of actors, amateur performers, experts, and refugees. Their common motto was "The collective is what it makes of it". They filmed with handheld cameras in a converted bowling alley at the *Neue Nachbarschaft Moabit* (New Neighborhood Moabit) in Berlin; they broke out of the fictitious stage frame, entering public space with the actors several times, and incorporating contemporary social developments into the production.

For example, in the winter the Kollektiv spontaneously staged one episode on the fringes of a farmers' protest in Berlin. In

another, lacunae in Germany's recollection of its colonial past were negotiated near the recently opened Humboldt Forum. Phenomena as diverse as processes of social erosion in autocratically ruled Brazil and first-hand reports on the massive state repression of demonstrators in Belarus were equally grist for the Kollektiv's artistic mill. The controversy around #gamestop, briefly on everyone's lips at the beginning of 2021, took up another episode, a later episode also addressed the dangers of a Third World War.

In a manifesto accompanying the production, author Luise Meier, dramaturge Sabine Zielke and director Christian Filips agreed that their aim was not to appropriate Rosa Luxemburg either politically or artistically with their web series, *Rosa Kollektiv oder: Aktiviere dein inneres Proletariat* (Activate Your Inner Proletariat). With their production, which could be viewed on the *Rosa Kanal* (Channel Rosa), they rather showed what is artistically possible—with a lot of improvisation, slapstick, and a good dose of agitprop—in the exploration of the extent to which Rosa Luxemburg's thinking also describes real life today. Hence, the manifesto, R.L.: Real Life: "Again and again Rosa remains the Other, the swarm intelligence, the collective body, the radical dialectic, the central perspective from the apparent periphery, as well as the view of European thought from the outside, the International to be regained." All in all: an experiment born from a quandary, leading to a unique result.

Rosa Kollektiv – here with actress Susanne Bredehöft. The season finale of the web series was then held on the main stage of Berlin's Volksbühne theatre.





A screenshot from episode 3 of Paul Mason's film series *R steht für Rosa*.

FILMS, FILMS, FILMS

Our preoccupation with Rosa Luxemburg was not exhausted in words and writing during this significant anniversary year. The medium of film also came into its own. After *K wie Karl* (K for Karl), to celebrate Marx's 200th birthday in 2018, the British journalist and film-maker Paul Mason has now also produced a series of short films on the occasion of Rosa Luxemburg's 150th. In the four episodes of *R steht für Rosa* (R Stands for Rosa) he goes into the question of revolution vs. reform, investigates Luxemburg's notion of revolution, covers her understanding of the relationship between imperialism and war, and concludes, with Katja Kipping, by discussing Luxemburg's relevance today. In parallel we also specifically funded artistic engagement with Luxemburg's oeuvre through four films, staged by Hanna Petkoff from Berlin's Grips Theater. For Selena Bakalios, she wrote the slam poem *Rosa, wie konnte das gehen?* (Rosa, how was that possible?) and staged the famous prison yard letter, performed by a choir under the direction of Ursula Renneke. In a surreal atmosphere, Julenka Werkmeister read further letters by Rosa Luxemburg. The dance interpretation of Rosa Luxemburg by Katerina Vlasova, to music by Ludwig van Beethoven, was also deeply impressive.

The worldwide pandemic emergency also had the offices abroad focusing more strongly on the production of their own short-film content. The RLS office in Geneva created a video on Rosa Luxemburg's Years in Switzerland. The Hanoi office, with local collaborators, produced *Eternal Rose*, and the Cono Sur office made a gathering of voices on the subject of Rosa Luxemburg and Parliament.

For the Rosa150 digital festival, we recorded a series of talks and explanatory films in advance, which will become part of the political and historical education programme in future. Thematically these concerned Rosa Luxemburg and property (Sabine Nuss), Luxemburg's socialist strategy (Ingar Solty), but also things like *Streik – die Muckibude des Proletariats* (Strike: Lifting for the Proletariat; Florian Wilde), the *Wahr-Sprecherin*

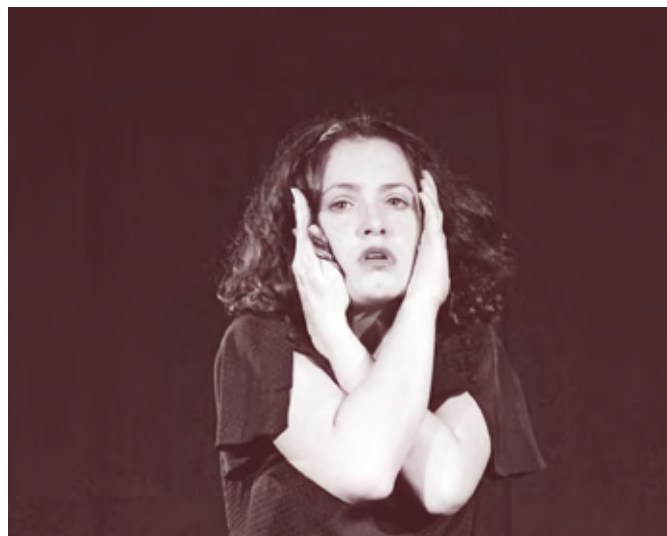
(The Truthful Speaker; Michael Brie), *Lernen und Lehren mit Luxemburg* (Learning and Teaching with Luxemburg; Miriam Pieschke), *Geliebt und gehasst – die Rezeption Rosa Luxemburgs in Ost und West* (Loved and Hated: Rosa Luxemburg's Reception, East and West; Julia Killet), *Warschau berühmteste Revolutionärin* (Warsaw's Most Famous Revolutionary; Holger Politt), *Die Diskussion mit den Burschis fürchte ich auch nicht* (I'm Not Afraid to Talk to the Boys Either; Claudia von Gélieu), and last but not least, *Von Melancholie, Lokomotiven und harten Kontroversen* (Of Melancholy, Locomotives, and Tough Controversies; Bini Adamczak).

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All of these can be found at: www.rosaluxemburg.org.
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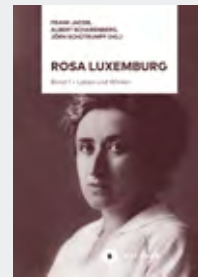
Julenka Werkmeister read from Rosa Luxemburg's letters.



Dancer Katerina Vlasova during her performance as Rosa Luxemburg.



PUBLICATIONS ON THE THEMATIC FOCUS



FROM KARL DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN

Lutz Brangsch, Miriam Pieschke (eds.)
SICH NICHT REGIEREN LASSEN
 REFUSING TO BE GOVERNED: ROSA LUXEMBURG ON
 DEMOCRACY AND LEFT-WING ORGANIZATION. A READER
 Paperback, 208 pages

Claudia von Gélieu
ROSA LUXEMBURG IN BERLIN
 A BIOGRAPHICAL CITY GUIDE
 Paperback, 136 pages

Klaus Gietinger (ed.)
KARL LIEBKNECHT
 OR, DOWN WITH THE WAR,
 DOWN WITH THE GOVERNMENT!
 Paperback, 200 pages

VSA: VERLAG

Michael Brie, Jörn Schütrumpf
ROSA LUXEMBURG
 A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST
 AT THE MARGINS OF MARXISM
 Hardcover, 248 pages

BÜCHNER-VERLAG

Frank Jacob, Albert Scharenberg,
 Jörn Schütrumpf (eds.)
LEBEN, WERK UND NACHWIRKEN
ROSA LUXEMBURGS
 THE LIFE, WORK, AND LEGACY OF ROSA LUXEMBURG
 New publication on the state of international
 Luxemburg research
 Paperback, 2 vols., 812 pages
VOLUME 1: LIFE AND INFLUENCE
 ISBN (Print) 978-3-96317-244-1
 ISBN (ePDF) 978-3-96317-782-8
VOLUME 2: LEGACY
 ISBN (Print) 978-3-96317-245-8
 ISBN (ePDF) 978-3-96317-783-5



A 24-page Rosa Luxemburg supplement was included with the newspapers *neues deutschland* and *Der Freitag*, featuring critical pieces in an emphatic spirit of solidarity. The supplement, illustrated by Kate Evans, can be downloaded at: www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/43829/150-jahre-rosa-luxemburg-1.

All publications are free to download from:
www.rosalux.de/publikationen.



“Being human is the most important thing” – a talkshow with Rosa Luxemburg.

ENCOUNTERS WITH A REVOLUTIONARY

On the 150th anniversary of its namesake, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung offered a year-long, multifaceted nation-wide events programme.

For example, the regional offices in Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony, and Bavaria organized an online reading on 3 February, at which Holger Politt presented his new book *Rosa Luxemburg: Spurensuche* (Searching for Traces), published by VSA-Verlag. Co-authored with Krzysztof Pilawski, the book follows the biographies of Rosa Luxemburg’s Jewish family in Poland and includes many hitherto unseen documents.

On 2 March, the RLS in North Rhine-Westphalia facilitated a great diversity of Encounters with a Revolutionary (in keeping with the event’s title), collaborating with the *Volkshochschule Köln* (Cologne Adult Education Centre), the *Kölner Frauengeschichtsverein* (Association for Women’s History), and the *Friedensbildungswerk Köln* (Peace Training Institute). The two-part online event was opened by Ina Hoerner-Theodor, who gave a lecture on Luxemburg’s life and oeuvre. This was followed by an excerpted performance from Franconian Birgit Süß’s *Projekt Rosa*, a literary-musical cabaret performance with accompaniment by Klaus Ratzek on the double bass. In a closing panel discussion, moderated by regional chairperson Karl-Heinz Heinemann, literary scholar Julia Killet, historian Gisela Notz, and RLS Executive Director Daniela Trochowski considered Luxemburg’s historical reception and her significance for contemporary political struggles.

An invitation from the Hessian regional office and the Kurt-Eisner-Verein (RLS Bavaria) brought Nilüfer Koç, speaker for international affairs of the Kurdistan National Congress, Anja Flach, the author of numerous books on the Kurdish women’s movement and on Rojava, and Jörn Schüttrumpf from the Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg together online on 4 May 2021 to discuss the connection between Rosa Luxemburg and the Kurdish independence and women’s movements.

At the end of the month, the Kurt-Eisner-Verein together with

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 All of the contributions detailed here are available on either the North Rhine-Westphalian or the Bavarian Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung YouTube channels.



Birgit Süß with bassist Klaus Ratzek during “Projekt Rosa”.

“philosophy meets jazz” in Munich then extended an invitation for a Talkshow with Rosa Luxemburg—a staged dialogue made up of original citations, with live music, devised and performed by Hannah Zitzmann and Andreas Belwe, with musical framing by Lena Rein (jazz guitar) and Thomas Eilingsfeld (jazz guitar and double bass).

Rosa Luxemburg was also a passionate letter writer. The correspondence she maintained from prison with Sophie Liebknecht during the First World War is a poetic document of the times. Musicologist and composer Reinhard Fehling has set an excerpt from it to music for the first time. The result is a musical short film, for which Kate Evans made drawings available from her graphic novel *Rosa*. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung North Rhine-Westphalia hosted the film premiere on 8 December. In the follow-up discussion with Linke politician Anna Conrads and Julia Killet, Fehring imparted insights into the creative process of the film’s production.

THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

For us at the RLS, 2021 was marked by two decisive moments for the future of Die Linke: the German Bundestag elections and the elections for the Berlin House of Representatives. Tasked with drawing public attention to the most important issues in the run-up to the elections, we released studies on a nationwide rent cap and on a wealth tax or levy. Discussions on strategy and debates on the pitfalls and prospects of left-wing governance were also central to our work.

Other highlights in this regard included the spectacular victory of the hospital movement in Berlin in their struggle for workplace relief and against economic rationalization, which we were closely involved in, as well as the brilliant vote by Berliners to expropriate big real estate companies in the referendum. That Die Linke entered into a troublesome coalition under SPD mayor Franziska Giffey, who intends to prevent the referendum from being implemented, meant that we had to and continue to have to provide good arguments for left-wing politics, in addition to working alongside the rent or hospital movements to mount an adequate amount of pressure.

After the Bundestag elections and Die Linke's fortunate entry into the Bundestag "on probation" (according to Die Linke Bundestag member Susanne Hennig-Wellsow), discussing the reasons why the Bundestag election results were so disastrous for Die Linke took centre stage. The various reasons pertain to internal factors (power conflicts, conflicting political strategies, programmatic differences, incoherent and ineffective organizational structures, a shrinking foothold in the East, the lack of a basis in the West, etc.) on the one hand, and external societal shifts on the other. In conducting such an analysis, cyclical and tactical explanations (e.g. in voter behaviour) must be differentiated from deeper internal and social causes. Furthermore, the strengths and weaknesses of Die Linke must be taken into account: what opportunities does the traffic light coalition (SPD, FDP, and the Greens) offer for a renewal of the Die Linke as the only left-wing opposition party in parliament? How has Die Linke's social base changed, which groups can form a solid voter base in the future?

We supported the top-priority issues for the political and social left with studies and expert opinions. We brought together actors, developed common strategies, and tried to reach the broader public. Overarching analyses on class theory, changing class structures and connective class politics, concrete campaigns around rent and housing, health and care, transportation and socio-ecological transformation, as well as foreign and peace policy, were all central to our work. New colleagues have joined the RLS, others have taken well-deserved retirement but remain with the RLS as fellows.



Cover image of issue 1/2021 of LuXemburg journal: celebrations after the successful referendum on legalising abortion in Ireland in 2018.

LUXEMBURG MAGAZINE

LEARNING TO WIN

LuXemburg magazine started the election year with its *Gewinnen Lernen* (Learning to Win) issue. After the election of new chairpersons and an inspiring party congress, Die Linke seemed to be on the right track at the beginning of 2021. At the same time, we knew that political victories do not fall from the sky and socialist politics is hard work. We set out with the explicit aim of searching for windows of opportunity within left-wing politics and took a look at the driving force behind powerful organizing: how has the rent movement managed to get people in Berlin talking about “expropriation” around the kitchen table? How can Die Linke contest the election by campaigning door-to-door and in parks and gardens? What does connective class politics look like in practice? The issue should help us to “fall in love with winning”, as Ernst Bloch urges us.

BUILDING SCHOOLS

For the year’s second issue, we tackled a key left-wing issue that is surprisingly often neglected: education (*Bildung*). In Germany, one’s social background has a decisive influence on one’s opportunities in education. This is a tremendous

injustice. School is also stressful and intimidating for children, more of a learning factory than a living space. School buildings are often dilapidated, the classes are overcrowded, and a third of the teachers will soon retire despite having an enormous workload. The pandemic revealed which learning plans have become outdated, which digital infrastructures were lacking, and how much the students’ domestic situation impacts their success at school.



“SCHULE MACHEN”

LUXEMBURG: GESELLSCHAFTSANALYSE UND LINKE PRAXIS 2/2021
Paperback, 136 pages
ISSN 1869-0424

Download
or order online at
[www.rosalux.de/
publikation/
id/45112](http://www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/45112)

In this context, we cooperated with the RLS *Bildung* (Education) discussion group, and asked what educational justice means from a left-wing perspective. Equal education does not only mean access for all, but also a new and democratic distribution of work in society. A well-conceived approach to educational justice has the potential to really crash the system.

A NEW LOOK FOR LUX

Throughout the year, the editorial team worked with a web designer to plan and design the layout for a new website. The previous website was geared towards making the print edition available online, but *Luxemburg's* publication strategy has had to change radically over the years in order to keep up with our subscribers' changing habits. More than half of the articles published now only appear online. At the end of the year, the new site was launched with two series of articles that were highly relevant at the time: *Nach der Ampel links* (Turn Left After the Traffic Light Coalition) closely examined the plans of the coalition government. The authors analysed how the coalition agreement would impact central policy areas and considered how the unfulfilled promises of the self-proclaimed "progress coalition" present strategic challenges and opportunities for both the social left and for Die Linke.

The crisis within Die Linke is bigger than ever. For this reason, we asked ten authors from the party about its use value. In short essays in the *Die Linke, was nun?* (Die Linke, What Now?) series, ten intellectuals shared their views and agreed on two points. Die Linke is in a deep crisis and urgently needs to reposition itself. But it is also needed now more than ever before!

CHANGING LANES

PUBLICATIONS ON A SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL AND JUST MOBILITY

Workers in the automotive industry are very sceptical towards the "transformation strategies" proposed by the corporations they work for. Because of this, many workers are receptive to leftist positions when it comes to the necessary ecological transformation and how workplace conversions and transitions can be justified in terms of employment. This is the conclusion reached by the *E-Mobilität – ist das die Lösung?* (E-mobility – Is That the Solution?) workers' survey, which we published in June 2021. With at least ten review articles, the publication was well-received in the press and even better in many companies: for example, we organized a seminar at Volkswagen for works councils and shop stewards, which Bernd Riexinger and the works council chair Bernd Osterloh both attended. It is hard to overestimate the fact that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was not only asked to be a discussion partner, but also to provide training courses by trade unionists in the companies. This development confirms the effectiveness of our approach,



A still from the *Arbeitsplätze oder Verkehrswende?* video.

which we had already used in the studies *Nach der Kohle I & II* (After Coal I & II): not to talk *about* workers, but *with* them—and thus to make their voices heard.

In this spirit, a report on the collaboration between Fridays for Future and workers in local public transportation was published in July 2021. As part of the ver.di trade union's campaign for the first nationwide collective bargaining round in local public transport, the new alliance partners fought in joint (strike) actions for better pay, more staff and the expansion of local public transport, since achieving these goals is crucial for the climate as well. This makes the initiative a prime example of ecological class politics.

At the start of the year, we released *Spurwechsel: Studien zu Mobilitätsindustrien, Beschäftigungspotenzialen und alternativer Produktion* (Changing Lanes: Studies on Transportation Industries, Employment Potentials and Alternative Production), which concluded, among other things, that a genuine, i.e. socially and ecologically just transport turnaround has the potential to create a large number of jobs. We calculated just how great this potential would be in various scenarios in which job losses in the automotive industry were compensated for by new industrial production in the transportation sector. The total potential would be much higher with the implementation of "short full-time for all", i.e. a reduction in working hours that is based on the 30-hour week: it would amount to up to 436,500 additional jobs.

Interim results of the studies have already been presented at the *KonTra IAA* congress, which we co-organized in the context of the International Motor Show in Munich in September 2021. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* reported on these findings in detail. In addition, a video clip and an easy-to-understand handout were released.

All publications on the topic of the transport turnaround share the insistence that the socio-ecological transformation is a forward-looking perspective for a left-wing change that places more jobs, transportation improvements, and the achievement of climate goals within reach.



Dagmar Enkelmann and Gert Gampe during the exhibition opening.

WAR AND PEACE EXHIBITION

On the 80th anniversary of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, on 26 June 2021, we opened the exhibition *Krieg und Frieden: War Is Over, if You Want It ... (War and Peace)* at the RLS. Twenty-seven million citizens of the Soviet Union died in the Second World War. The German Bundestag does not even want to commemorate this fact.

The exhibition took a clear stance for peace and anti-militarism and once again reminded us that there exists a profound desire for peace in people, indeed in mankind. This is something that artists have taken up in their work since time immemorial. Artists know that peace does not come about automatically; it is a demand we must constantly make upon society. Art draws our attention to this time and time again. The 80 or so panels in the exhibition curated by Gert Gampe combined this sober context with art, propaganda and poetry. The abundance of facts and different relations has been to overwhelm and paralyse us from time to time. And in these moments, art can touch us, perhaps shake us up, and give expression to the desire for peace.

Russia’s war of aggression against Ukraine, which began in February 2022, highlights the importance of these issues. Under the shock of this invasion, which violates international law, many basic principles of the peace movement and left-wing foreign policy have come under criticism. The coalition government in Germany has announced that it will invest 100 billion euros in the Bundeswehr in the coming years. What would it look like if we spent two percent of Germany’s GDP on civil conflict prevention and on training thousands of international peacekeepers? How can we find a peaceful way to resolve conflicts and create common foundations for security and post-fossil-fuel and social development in Europe and beyond? Alongside figuring out how to stand in solidarity with war victims worldwide, these are the questions that should determine a left-wing debate on “war and peace” today.

FIGHTING BECAUSE WE CARE

FOR GOOD HEALTHCARE

Germany is not the only country in which the Coronavirus pandemic has put a major strain on a healthcare system that has been starved, privatized, and reorganized into a market economy over the years, and in which one can see the two-tier health system taking hold. Healthcare policy has been repeatedly criticised in recent years due to staff shortages in nursing, due to the fact that time pressures and increased workloads endanger patients, or due to clinics being closed despite the pandemic.

Politicians also seem to have recognized that the situation needs to change. A number of recent changes make this clear, for example the exemption of nursing costs from the diagnosis related groups (or flat rate per case) system. These trends represent a return to a model that covers the costs of patients’ stay in the hospital and should be seen as a response to the cost-driven reduction in the number of nursing positions made due to diagnosis-related financing. The agreement reached by the coalition government partly reflects the significantly increased social pressure to finally implement reforms in the hospitals. For example, the agreement promises to introduce mandatory regulations for nursing staff levels.

In this context, we concentrated our work in healthcare on three strategic goals: (1) With regard to the financing system in

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 The pamphlet *Applaus ist nicht genug (Applause Is Not Enough)* provides the arguments that we need in debates and struggles around hospital and healthcare reforms.

Marie Geißler illustrated the Arguments pamphlet *Applaus ist nicht genug (Applause Is Not Enough)*.



hospitals, the demand for the abolition of the diagnosis related groups system and the introduction of a financial model that covers costs and implements mandatory and collectively agreed staffing regulations is central. (2) The question of where and how many hospitals (and outpatient care centres), beds and care units are needed must be planned according to social demand. (3) The fight against (further) privatization is about the socialization of healthcare, i.e. returning private hospitals to the public domain, a ban on profits and a ban on closing hospital sites due to economic hardship.

In all three fields, we supported those involved in organizing for the struggle for better healthcare through forums, counselling sessions, training sessions in different methods, in addition to published studies and educational materials.

Also central, but not yet sufficiently developed, are two other issues that partly overlap with the three focal areas, but are worth mentioning separately: (4) According to the coalition agreement, the process for recruiting foreign professionals and recognizing their professional qualifications needs to be streamlined—the question is on what terms. (5) The digitalization of the health care system, i.e. of healthcare infrastructure, but also the development of digital platforms for healthcare data, should take place without infringing upon the data protection rights of patients.

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.

Oksana Mironova works at the Community Service Society in New York. As part of her fellowship, she conceived the event series *Housing und Organisierung, Austausch zwischen Regierungs- und Bewegungspolitiken in Berlin und New York* (Housing and Organizing, Exchange Between Government and Movement Policies in Berlin and New York) in April 2021.

David Noack, former staff member in Die Linke parliamentary group, took over the coordination of the RLS discussion group *Frieden* (Peace) and worked on a study called *Die Politik der Großmächte im 'Zwischenraum' Osteuropa und Zentralasien* (The Politics of the Great Powers in the 'Intermediate space' of Eastern Europe and Central Asia) in 2021. Former RLS staff member **Malte Daniljuk** was already a fellow in 2016 and is

now researching geopolitical discourses in the USA, with a particular focus on energy and technology policy and their implications for conflicts.

Axel Troost coordinates the RLS's *Wirtschaftspolitik* (Economic Policy) discussion group and has been supervising the working group on *Strukturwandel in Kohleregionen* (Structural Change in Coal Regions) for several years. **Markus Wissen** began his fellowship with work on socio-ecological transformation and mobility justice. Together with **Ulrich Brand** and others, he supervises the RLS doctoral programme on *Sozial-ökologischer Transformation und Krise* (Socio-ecological Transformation and Crisis). Together they have also set up the *Jour Fixe*, an ongoing exchange between academics and activists on the topic of socialist strategies of socio-ecological transformation. **Dieter Klein** published his book *Regulation in einer solidarischen Gesellschaft: Wie eine sozial-ökologische transformation funktionieren könnte* (Regulation In a Society of Solidarity: How a Social-Ecological Transformation Could Work) at the end of 2021 with VSA (Hamburg). **Michael Brie** wrote his pamphlet *Transformation heißt, das Ganze wagen: Ökonomische Mobilisierung im Kampf gegen den Faschismus: USA 1940–1945* (Transformation Means Risking it All: Economic Mobilization in the Struggle Against Fascism in the USA 1940–1945), which was also published by VSA.

Rainer Rilling organized the annual conference at Villa Rossa in Italy on the topic *Wie weiter nach Corona?* (How to Proceed After the Coronavirus Pandemic?) and worked on the editorial board of *LuXemburg* magazine. **Alex Demirović** also participated intensively in the editorial work of *LuXemburg*, among other things with his own contributions on the pandemic and on education. He is co-editor and author of the volume *Auf den Schultern von Karl Marx: Ein breiter Überblick zum Stand der gegenwärtigen Marx-Debatte* (On the Shoulders of Karl Marx: An Overview of the State of Contemporary Marx Debates), which resulted from the RLS's international congress *Marx200* in 2018. **Judith Dellheim** is also the co-editor and author of this volume, and also worked on the *LuXemburg* editorial team.

Judith Dellheim





The online expert panel *Enteignung – das geht?!* (Expropriation – Can we do that?), with Andrej Holm (l.) and others, was broadcasted live with sign language.

A CITY FOR ALL

For a large part of the population in Germany, housing has become one of the most if not the most important social issue. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been involved in these issues with its research topic Housing.Rent.City for a number of years. Since autumn 2018, the project *Wem gehört die Stadt?* (Who Owns the City?), has helped to foster greater transparency in the real estate market. In addition to the main task of researching ownership structures and publishing the results, the project also offers opportunities and resources for people affected by the housing crisis: we support tenants in their search to find the owners of their flats, connect activists and experts, organize lectures and workshops which empower attendees to conduct their own research into the often extremely convoluted ownership structures in the housing market. In 2021, we published reports on transparency in the housing market and released several further studies, in English and German.

The campaign for a rent cap has been a cornerstone of leftist activity since 2019. After the German Constitutional Court overturned the Berlin law in April 2021 after being in effect for only 14 months, the RLS made significant contributions to raising the issue at the federal level: not only by supporting alliances formed around rental policy, but in particular by developing a proposal for a nationwide rent cap which takes both the law and rental politics into account. This latter project was developed in cooperation with Die Linke

parliamentary group and was published in August 2021. From the very beginning, the RLS has also been very active in the debate around the expropriation and socialization of the apartments owned by private housing corporations. Among other things, this involved various publications and events about how the housing industry is oriented around the financial market, and on the demand for socialization. For example, the online discussion between different experts on the question of compensating the companies who would be subject to the expropriation, which was held in the run-up to the Deutsche Wohnen & Co. Enteignung referendum in autumn 2021 garnered a lot of attention. The fact that Berliners voted in favour of expropriation shows how these efforts paid off. The RLS is heavily involved in numerous alliances and networks in all aspects of the movements around rent and the right to the city, including tenants' associations, interest groups, and trade unions involved in the movement. These connections and alliances, which have been built up over the course of many years, are a great asset in our work and have led to us becoming one of the first and most reliable sources for transmitting knowledge and political education surrounding Housing.Rent.City. To ensure that this remains the case, in 2021 we significantly strengthened our focus on *RLS-Cities: Rebellisch.Links.Solidarisch* (RLS-Cities: Rebellious.Left.Solidarity) by providing personnel both at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis and—through the creation of a position for educational coordination in the area of Housing.Rent.City—at the Academy for Political Education.

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.

The German Bundestag election and the ongoing pandemic made 2021 another exceptional year. The pandemic threw us off course in 2020 by forcing us to transition to using digital formats overnight, but in 2021 we were far better prepared to carry out our work in a targeted and planned manner. We now have a better understanding of which formats do not necessarily require the immediacy of the in-person format and which learning situations make sense online even outside of the context of the pandemic, and can thus effectively complement in-person political education events.

In the process, more didactically sophisticated formats such as the BarCamp *Bildet Links!* (Left Education!/Make Links!) conference, the educational website *Mode.Macht.Menschen* (Fashion.Power.People) or the online game *#ass-reden* (*#letstalk*) were created in 2021. We expanded our selection of podcasts with a new local politics podcast called *LuxLocal* and produced a second explanatory film, this time on the reduction of working hours. In addition, in 2021 we planned our new learning platform *L!nx*, which is due to launch in 2022. In numerous day-long workshops, we also tested our new educational material which covers the basics of economic critique. We have come closer to our goal of expanding our work beyond big cities, especially through our seminars and events on local political issues and on climate and socio-ecological crisis.

What all these offerings have in common is that they are oriented towards specific target groups and are geared to responding to the issues and needs that arise from everyday political praxis. The guiding principles of our work include the critical appreciation of the participants, awareness of hierarchical structures, and the desire to create emancipatory opportunities for participation. For this reason, our target groups include people involved in *Die Linke* and in trade unions as much as people from social movements, political initiatives, and NGOs. The year 2021 made it clear that what is needed is not only offerings that expand knowledge, but also seminars and training sessions that focus on strategies, tactics, approaches, and practical lessons from successful left-wing politics, all of which would contribute more to developing a strong left-wing than ever before.



A scene from the online game #lassreden.

#LASSREDEN (#LETSTALK)

POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL AS AN ONLINE GAME

Since the Coronavirus pandemic in 2020, right-wing hate speech against individuals and groups has increased sharply again. In many everyday situations, at school, on public transport, but also in private spaces, in families, shared housing and other forms of collective life, hate speech is becoming an increasingly divisive issue, one that sometimes leads to irreconcilable antagonisms, up to and including smear campaigns, as well as harmful insults and accusations.

As many forms of communication shift to digital form and thus address a different audience, the online game #lassreden (#letstalk) aims to tackle serious or difficult topics in a playful way. The game is based on different scenarios and possible sites of confrontation and debate in everyday life, and the various scenarios in the game take different everyday situations as their starting point: at the bus stop or on public transport, in a shared flat or at school, at a games night—or, increasingly, on social media. For all these scenarios there is an introduction to the topic, which can then be played out by the characters with controversial positions. This means that the scenarios play out differently depending on how the person playing chooses to respond to the challenges posed by the conversation or confrontation. This reminds those playing

More information available at: www.rosalux.de/lassreden.

the game that there is not always just one right answer. At the same time, it also helps players understand how personal circumstances can influence a given discussion. And finally, different possible outcomes of an argument become palpable, which can then be chosen strategically, allowing the course of events to then be played out again. What each player takes from this is up to him or her.

#lassreden also offers a range of in-depth sources, information, and literature related to the broader topic. The keywords are conspiracy theories, vaccination, hate speech, anti-feminism, antisemitism, and racism. There is also information on counselling centres that can help after altercations take place in everyday life.

This game is not only for young people, but for everyone who wants to expand their ability to act so as to be better prepared in everyday life.

LUX.LOCAL

A NEW PODCAST ON LOCAL POLITICAL ISSUES

In September 2021, we launched *LUX.local: Der Kommunal-podcast der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung* (LUX.local: The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Local Politics Podcast) as part of our educational work. The main aim of the podcast is to create easier access to the often complex arena of local politics with its numerous topics, many different actors, and complicated legal foundations. We conduct interviews with people who are involved and organized locally at different political levels, as well as with educators and multipliers, in order to demonstrate not only the wide range of possibilities for action, but also the different approaches to local politics. In addition to the concrete transmission of knowledge, for example regarding technical terminology, we are particularly interested in using examples

The podcast offers a simple introduction to the complex topic of local politics.



that demonstrate the best practices for concrete work in the field and in “translating” complex local political issues. There are no real thematic limits to the podcast: anything related to local and municipal politics can become a topic. In the first episode, we dealt with the connection between local and federal politics in the context of the German Bundestag elections. The second episode focused on remunicipalisation. However, current international developments can and should also be taken into account in certain scenarios: for example, we invited an Austrian politician to discuss the success of the Austrian Communist Party in Graz in the autumn 2021 elections, and drew parallels to left-wing municipal politics in Germany. The podcast is thus not only intended for local progressive and left-wing elected representatives, office holders or representatives of associations or initiatives, but also for everyone who is interested in the issues discussed. By delving into individual topics, we intend to illustrate local and municipal political relations and identify what forms of political action are possible, and to spark interest in local politics by doing so. Therefore, the podcast gives suggestions for additional resources such as publications, studies, current events, and municipal elections. In the future, we want to get even closer to the action by conducting more on-the-ground interviews, for example at events or local political happenings.

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The podcast is available all popular podcast portals. For more information visit: www.rosalux.de/luxlocal.

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ASPHALT PROTEST MAP

Streets, parking spots, motorways—the transportation system in Germany, as in the rest of the world, is almost entirely centred around cars, which means that mobility everywhere is highly dependent on individual transportation. The burning of fossil fuels is driving the climate crisis and will continue to do so, since despite constant innovations, for now no reversal of transportation-related emissions is in sight. In addition to global warming, congested cities and high levels of air pollution caused by fine particles or nitrogen oxides, the automotive industry’s role as the most powerful industrial sector in Germany was another major issue under consideration during the development of our educational

materials. A publication on this topic, in the form of a fold-out map, was released in summer 2021. In cooperation with Robin Wood and the *Wald statt Asphalt* (Forest not Asphalt) movement coalition, we developed a double-sided poster that on one side lists facts and figures, but also addresses underlying conditions and common narratives around cars and automotive transportation in Germany. On the other side is a map that depicts the expansion and new construction of motorways and visualizes the massive extent of transportation route planning in Germany. This picture is juxtaposed with a multitude of sites of protest which are marked on the map: existing citizens’ initiatives, demonstrations, forest occupations, and civil disobedience actions. This survey illustrates both the diversity and growing scale of the social conflict as well as its dynamics and intensification, which are often overlooked. For all their diversity, the movements against unlimited road construction share common demands for a transport turnaround aimed at socially and climate-friendly forms of mobility, including everything from the expansion of local public transportation to safe cycle paths and more liveable cities. The asphalt protest map strives to connect the movements and initiatives not only symbolically, but also to show the concrete points of contact for various initiatives aiming to transform urban life and transportation. The map is accessible online and was distributed nationwide—initially free of charge—to citizens’ initiatives and groups organizing around transportation policy. It is not only useful as a kind of reference text to pin on the noticeboard, but also as a basis for group-based political education in an area that will continue to gain importance in the coming years.

THE FERHAT UNVAR EDUCATION INITIATIVE

“Our children must not have died in vain. Their death must be the end, the end of racist attacks. Their death should be the beginning of something new. That is the great task that remains for me. My wish is to open a space to develop projects against racism in schools.” These are the words of Serpil Temiz Unvar, mother of Ferhat Unvar, who was murdered in Hanau on 19 February 2020. This quote also expresses the goals of the Ferhat Unvar Education Initiative, which was founded in November 2020 to counter racism through educational policy and to work with young people at schools in particular.

Diversity and increasing breadth: an extract from the asphalt protest map, showing sites of resistance against expansive road planning.





Strengthening migrant knowledge: a workshop with members of the initiative.

In order to support the work of the young members of the initiative, which is supported by Serpil Temiz Unvar, young people, committed adults and friends of Ferhat, we agreed to form a partnership in the summer of 2021, the central concern of which is to empower those affected by racism to become effective in educational policy themselves. The aim is to address the problematic fact that those affected by racism are all too often called upon to bear witness, while others are tasked with telling their stories, for example by making films, writing plays or being active in educational policy. In this sense, we at the Academy for Political Education would like to strengthen knowledge that comes from migrants and do justice to Ibrahim Arslan's maxim of a politics of remembrance, according to which "victims are not the extras of their own history", but rather those who can tell this history. Our partnership was launched with a series of workshops held in autumn 2021, the aim of which was to strengthen the autonomy of the young team members from the educational initiative, to facilitate a shared reflection on the work done so far, to provide support in the methodological and structural development of the educational work, and to address concrete concerns and questions from previous projects and experiences. Additional workshops and the creation of educational materials are currently being planned.

MIGRANT - SOLIDARY - DIGITAL

In November 2021, the Young Migrants Blog worked together with the Linke Medienakademie to organize the three-part

Since the attack in Hanau, the RLS has stood firmly by the side of the relatives and families of the victims and supported, among other things, the establishment of the meeting place *140qm gegen das Vergessen* (140sqm Against Forgetting), where friends and family members of the murdered youths meet every day and organize together in solidarity.

event *Bildet Links! Migrantisch. Solidarisch. Digital* (Left Education!/Make Links!: Migrant. Solidary. Digital). The invited representatives of migrant projects such as Asmaras World, Theater X, Diaspor.Asia and Leftist Afghan Community used online, hybrid, and in-person events to deal with the theory and practice of anti-racist solidarity in the digital realm. Workshops on storytelling, digital collaboration tools, and press and public relations work shared the activists' experiences and skills. The two workshop days focused on the opportunities for finding a common praxis, and what conflicts stand in the way of achieving this goal.

The third part of the event series took place one week later, and consisted of an in-person panel moderated by the journalist Amina Aziz and Rebecca Gotthilf from the RLS, in which Max Czollek from the editorial team of the magazine *Yalta: Positionen zur jüdischen Gegenwart* (Yalta: Perspectives on the Jewish Present), Zeynep Karlıdağ from the Gorillaz Workers' Collective, Newroz Duman from the *Initiative 19. Februar Hanau* (19 February Hanau Initiative), and the activist Naima discussed the importance of digital strategies for solidarity action: How can commercial messenger services with alarming privacy policies be used for leftist political self-organization? What are the possibilities and limits of social media for left-wing struggles? Which digital spaces facilitate non-repressive networking for one's own diasporic community, and what are their pitfalls when the different working and living conditions across the globe are taken into consideration?

The contradictions of the digital sphere—between the possibilities of networking on the one hand and of getting and staying together on the other, but also between marginalized groups becoming visible and anonymous isolation—were subject to critical reflection during the panel. The blurring of work, politics, leisure and consumption, unbridled digital surveillance, the ever-increasing cases of hate speech or capitalist data extractivism are thus juxtaposed with the unlimited possibilities of networking, organizing, and community building. One conclusion of *Bildet Links!* was that online solidarity and digital forms of connecting are not a substitute for in-person struggles, but can and must be an essential complement to going out on the streets together. A plea to "create links" (*Links zu schaffen*)—both online and in person.

THE HISTORICAL CENTRE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism consists of an archive, a library, the Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg, and the History Department. The Centre's most important tasks are to consolidate the contemporary historical work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and to coordinate its educational work on the politics of history. Besides the life and work of Rosa Luxemburg, the Centre focuses on research into historical socialism and communism, anti-fascism, the politics of remembrance, the history of the PDS and Die Linke, as well as colonialism and migration.

The History Department, responsible for the educational projects on contemporary history and the politics of history, continued to publish various research findings in 2021, including a booklet on right-wing historiography, a brochure on the subject of Jewish people in the international left and a dossier on the 80th anniversary of the invasion of the Soviet Union by the German Wehrmacht. Despite the limitations imposed by the pandemic, the RLS organized a number of popular events, such as the series on refugees and migration entitled *Seismographen des Wandels* (Seismographs of Change) and book presentations on the FDJ Youth Academy at Bogensee and on the expulsion of SED Politburo members in 1989–90. The History Department continues to work with the History and History for the Future discussion groups as well as with several RLS subsidiaries (e.g. the Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung and the Modrow-Stiftung). There have been collaborations with numerous partners in the field of the politics of remembrance.

The Focal Point Rosa Luxemburg continued work on the English and Chinese editions of Rosa Luxemburg's works. Jörn Schütrumpf was able to complete and publish the final volume of the German edition of the Collected Writings of Paul Levi.

In 2021, the archive secured a further 30 linear metres of documents, primarily from the Die Linke parliamentary group in the German Bundestag, while initiating the acquisition of various personal estates and pre-mortem bequests. Meanwhile, 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. Through a special project, the entire writings of the legal philosopher Hermann Klenner were processed and made accessible for academic use.

Since April 2021, Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan, deputy managing director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, has served as director, and Bärbel Förster, also responsible for the Archive of Democratic Socialism, as deputy director of the Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism.



RLS staff members Ulrike Hempel and Uwe Michel with Florence Hervé (centre).

STAYING VISIBLE - EVEN DURING THE PANDEMIC
 THE LIBRARY OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

For over 20 years, the library of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (library identifier B 1599) has been a renowned specialized academic library. As a reference library, its over 30,000 media items and more than 1,500 different journal titles are available to the public. It also provides RLS staff at all locations with research material, information, and academic literature.

In 2021, one focus of the library's work was to make our unique holdings visible. This included displaying the periodicals collection in the Zeitschriftendatenbank (periodicals database, ZDB) of the German National Library. The entire holdings are now searchable not only in the library's online catalogue, but also for the first time in the GBV union catalogue. In addition to these catalogues, since 2021 the library's holdings have also been fully represented in WorldCat, the world's largest bibliographic database.

Despite the pandemic, last year we were able to open the new reading room together with the archive and—with the necessary hygiene measures, of course—to hold events. For example, we continued the *Linke Literatur im Gespräch* (Left-Wing Literature in Discussion) series: in keeping with the new address of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, we presented a book on the Communist Louise Michel, edited by Florence Hervé and published by Karl Dietz Verlag, to mark the 150th anniversary of the Paris Commune.

In October, RLS chairperson of the board and contemporary witness Dagmar Enkelmann together with co-editor Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan presented the book *Ausschluss: Das Politbüro vor dem Parteigericht* (also published by Karl Dietz Verlag) in the reading room of the archive and library. This event epitomized the synergetic possibilities of the History

Centre: working with archival documents, expertise in the fields of contemporary history, research, and education policy, the publication possibilities as well as a venue for events—all under the one roof. We hope to be able to present such projects to the public more often in the future.

ANNIVERSARIES AND MORE
 FROM THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT

In 2021, there were several anniversaries in the calendar that had special significance for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. It was the 150th anniversary of its namesake of course, which reverberated across all areas of the RLS, but primarily in the activities of the Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism.

The 22nd of June marked the 80th anniversary of the invasion of the Soviet Union by the German Wehrmacht. Together with some of the foreign offices, we created a collection of online texts that dealt with historical-political issues in the various countries of Eastern Europe with a focus on the Second World War and German fascism. Several authors, mainly from the RLS History discussion group, provided information about current right-wing historiography in the new booklet *Gegenwartsgestrige* (Yesteryear's Contemporaries). We marked the anniversary of 1,700 years of Jewish life in Germany by launching a new series of publications (*1.700 Jahre jüdisches Leben in Deutschland*). Edited by Riccardo Altieri, Bernd Hüttner and Florian Weis, the first volume of *Jüdinnen und Juden in der internationalen Linken* (Jews in the International Left) has been published, and there are plans for further volumes.

The 18th of March 2021 was also the 150th anniversary of the proclamation of the Paris Commune. Together with the Fondation Gabriel Péri (Paris), we invited German and French historians and politicians to an online conference to discuss their perspectives on the event, which is deeply inscribed in the history of the labour movement. With Detlef Siegfried

Barricades during the Paris Commune, 18 March 1871.



(University of Copenhagen) and Jürgen Danyel (Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History Research Potsdam) we discussed a hub of international communism and alternative globalization at the presentation of the book *Weltrevolution in der DDR 1961–1989* (World Revolution in the GDR 1961–1989) on the history of the FDJ “Wilhelm Pieck” Youth Academy. In this context, we also considered the possibilities of a contemporary history exploration of the secretive area at Bogensee, which has lapsed into a kind of Sleeping Beauty slumber for years. With *Seismographen des Wandels* (Seismographs of Change), we began a series of events in autumn 2021 that will foreseeably have an even greater impact moving forward. It focuses on fleeing, migration, and how such events are remembered. The first evenings — organized by journalist Achim Engelberg — featured talks by filmmaker and president of the Akademie der Künste Jeanine Meerapfel, historian Marion Detjen, and singer-songwriter Hans-Eckardt Wenzel, among others. Recordings of the events are available on the RLS website. Finally, in November we hosted a conversation alongside the exhibition *Im Schatten von Auschwitz* (In the Shadow of Auschwitz). Svenja Goltermann (Zurich) and Anna Hájková (London) discussed *Das Leben im Ghetto Theresienstadt* (Life in the Theresienstadt Ghetto), a place the Nazis had set up 80 years earlier as a transit station to the concentration and extermination camps.

The individual episodes of the Rosalux History podcast with Anika Taschke and Albert Scharenberg were very successful. In addition to the topics already mentioned here, they dealt with Black Lives Matter, Clara Zetkin, the squatter movement, the history of slavery, and the Spanish Civil War. The monthly newsletter Making History provides information about our history work.

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 You can also follow it on Twitter at @rls_history.

Announcement for an event series in autumn 2021.



The RLS's storehouse of knowledge in the library.

**DIGITAL RECORDS, CLOUD SERVICES,
 AND AUTOMATED WORKFLOWS**
 THE ARCHIVE OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The archive of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is tasked with securing and preserving analogue and digital records of left-wing socio-political parties and movements, their historical roots, and their leading representatives, as well as making them accessible to the public. In 2021, in the run-up to the Bundestag elections, numerous documents were acquired from members of the Bundestag, some of whom had been active for many years, such as Kirsten Tackmann and Ulla Jelpke. In total, more than 31 linear metres of files and over 300 gigabytes of data were acquired. For the first time, the proportion of digital documents was predominant in the acquisitions. In addition, new archive holdings were created or added to, including those of the party executive, the regional associations of Die Linke, and holdings on individuals.

The documents, which were transported to the new RLS building on 90 pallets, had to be stored in the new archive rooms. We have launched an online platform for the registration and ordering of the RLS's records that need to be preserved. As part of the digitization of the records, all posters (2,421 in number) have been digitized and are now searchable.

Online access to archival documents in the cloud has been very well received and is becoming increasingly popular. We introduced a ticket system for the systematic processing of user enquiries. Partially automated workflows now make it possible to process user requests efficiently and transparently. The main focus of the requests was on the PDS Bundestag minutes from the 12th to 14th legislative periods, PDS election posters from the 1990s, photos from

the *Bürgerinitiative Lenindenkmal* (Lenin Monument Citizens' Initiative) and WASG documents. The users came mainly from academia, Die Linke, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung itself. A special project in the past year was the expansion of the edition *Fraktionen im Deutschen Bundestag 1949–2005* (Parliamentary Groups in the German Bundestag 1949–2005) by the Commission for the History of Parliamentarianism and Political Parties (KGParl) to include the documents of the parliamentary groups Bündnis 90/Die Grünen and the PDS. One of the goals of the Commission—founded in 1952 as an independent research institution in Bonn and based in Berlin since 2006—is compiling and publishing the meeting minutes and transcribed audio documents of the most important parliamentary groups in the German Bundestag. The Commission thus provides a reliable database of sources. At the meeting of the Commission in January 2021, the decision to extend the project, which had already been unanimously supported in 2020 by all the parliamentary group executives and heads of archives of the political Stiftungen present, was confirmed. By extending the period of investigation from 1990 to the end of the 15th parliamentary term in 2005, the archive holdings of Bündnis 90/Die Grünen and the PDS/Linke from the 1990s and 2000s will now also be edited. This expansion has been expressly welcomed by the chair of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Dagmar Enkelmann, as well as by the parliamentary party leader of Die Linke, because it opens the possibility of indexing important holdings on the history of parliamentarianism after the end of the Bonn Republic and making them accessible to academics and the general public. In the course of the project, the scope of the holdings in question for the period from 1990 to 2005 was first determined on the basis of the information provided by the archives. The minutes of the parliamentary groups of the CDU/CSU, SPD, and FDP as well as of the regional group of the CSU (1949–2005 in each case) and of the parliamentary groups of Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (1983–2005) and the PDS (1990–2005) are now published in a new TEI-XML-based edition system. All minutes of the the PDS for the period to be edited were made available digitally by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung archive.

PAUL LEVI PUBLISHED

THE COMPLETE EDITION OF HIS WRITINGS IS NOW AVAILABLE

Paul Levi (1883–1930) is one of the forgotten great intellectuals of the German-Jewish bourgeoisie. Once a lawyer and partner of Rosa Luxemburg, he was one of the founders of the KPD, along with her, Leo Jogiches, Karl Liebknecht, and other members of the Spartacus League. From March 1919 to February 1921, he was its chairman, aimed to implement a revolutionary realpolitik, refused to subject the KPD to the

politics of Moscow—and was expelled. Later he became the intellectual leader of the left wing of the SPD. After about ten years of work, the edition of Paul Levi's *Gesammelte Schriften, Reden und Briefe* (Collected Writings, Speeches, and Letters), edited by Jörn Schütrumpf under the title *Ohne einen Tropfen von Lakaienblut* (Without a Drop of Lackey's Blood), has been completed with the latest volume II/3. It complements volumes II/1 and II/2, which contain Levi's texts from his main works, the journal *Sozialistische Politik und Wirtschaft* (SPW, 1923–1928), and from the journal *Der Klassenkampf: Sozialistische Politik und Wirtschaft*, published from October 1928. The present volume gathers all texts that were written outside of these journals between 1923 and Levi's death on 9 February 1930.

The volume contains a total of 308 documents: brochures, speeches, articles, letters, postcards, and extensive material on Levi himself. Some prominent works from these years include the first edition of Rosa Luxemburg's Introduction to National Economy (1925) and the publication of Trotsky's 1917: *Die Lehren der Revolution* (The Lessons of the Revolution, also 1925), which Levi oversaw. Also included are the continuation of his 1924 reflections *Über realistischen Pazifismus* (On Realistic Pacifism, published in Volume II/1) on the occasion of the 1929 Magdeburg SPD Party Congress (*Wehrhaftigkeit und Sozialdemokratie*) and his examination of the rise of fascism. In this context, Levi discussed the hostility towards democracy among intellectual "elites" and analysed the crushing of a pro-democracy movement in an extensive text on the Conspiracy of Catiline (*Verschwörung des Catilina*).

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If Levi's work had been waiting to be discovered, this volume concludes it. Now it awaits the readers who will discover him.
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Jörn Schütrumpf (ed.)
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THE RLS NETWORK ACROSS GERMANY

The mission of the regional branches of the RLS, the Landesstiftungen, is to provide local political education. The regional branches operate in each of the 16 German federal states and organize a large part of the political educational 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. 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 2021, 760 in-person and 677 online events took place, with some 94,000 total participants. This means that compared to 2020, there was a slight increase in the number of events and participants in the second year of the Coronavirus pandemic. Online events, including both video and audio productions, are now a permanent part of the regional branches' repertoire. In 2021, joint projects were undertaken by the RLS Network Unit in collaboration with individual regional branches: after a break due to the Coronavirus pandemic in 2020, two courses from the Political Academy for Young Activists were offered again. With a new title *Nicht nur interpretieren, auch verändern!* (Not Only to Interpret, but Also to Change!) and a new schedule— one week instead of six weekends— participants from Bavaria and Rhineland-Palatinate, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, and Brandenburg had the opportunity to exchange content, learn together and network. Efsun Kızılay (RLS Network Unit) and Ercan Ayboga (Hessen Regional branch) interviewed Serpil Temiz Unvar about racism in German society, the shootings in Hanau, and its consequences. In memory of her murdered son and the victims of Hanau, Serpil Temiz Unvar founded the Ferhat Unvar Educational Initiative, which offers people who have suffered racism a place to go. Serpil Temiz Unvar gave a video presentation which outlined how political education can confront racism in society and talked about developing an effective practice of remembrance.

Educational trips are now an integral part of our educational programmes. Seven educational trips were offered in 2021, which went to North Rhine-Westphalia, Hamburg, Berlin, Amsterdam, Austria, and Slovenia. Fourteen educational trips within Germany and abroad are planned for 2022, and some are already fully booked. Andreas Merkens (RLS Network Unit) published an article on the importance of this form of learning, available online at: www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/44929/bildungsreisen-als-lernzeit.

In the following, the regional branches present some highlights of their educational activities from 2021.





In Amsterdam, destination for an educational trip in 2021, the bike symbolises a new kind of transport policy.



An event during the Political Academy for Young Activists 2021 in Würzburg.

BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

MOBILITY AND JUSTICE IN EVERYDAY LIFE – AN EDUCATIONAL TRIP TO AMSTERDAM

Cycling, walking, buses, and trains must play a greater role in climate-friendly forms of transportation, both in Germany and worldwide. But how can this be achieved? And how can sustainable mobility be adapted to make cities and societies more just?

In October 2021, the RLS Baden-Württemberg organized a four-day educational trip to Amsterdam to provide answers to these questions. Discussions with transportation experts, urban activists and politicians, as well as bicycle tours of different urban areas gave the participants—many of whom are active local politicians from Baden-Württemberg—a vivid impression of the successes of a transport policy that no longer prioritizes the needs of motorized individual transport. This process of “changing lanes” in mobility is complex, and its success requires not only a shift in the approach to urban planning, but a profound cultural transformation as well. A change in the use of public (urban) space to facilitate better mobility for cyclists and pedestrians must be accompanied by an expansion of the public bus and rail infrastructure, and intelligently link individual and collective transportation. Last but not least, the lessons learned have demonstrated that any such process of transformation must be socially inclusive and promote gender equality if it is to fit in with a left-wing political agenda.

The educational trip, which was organized together with the *Forum Linke Kommunalpolitik* (Left-Wing Local Politics Forum) in Baden-Württemberg, was able to provide the participants with valuable suggestions and ideas for their own (local) political practice and to facilitate the networking of (local) left-wing political actors in Baden-Württemberg. We intend for our future political education offerings to continue working in this direction.

BAVARIA

NOT ONLY TO INTERPRET, BUT ALSO TO CHANGE!

The Political Academy for Young Activists 2021 was organized by the Kurt Eisner Association together with the RLS regional branches in Bavaria and Rhineland-Palatinate. The course offers left-wing activists under the age of 35 the opportunity to acquire theoretical knowledge, analytical skills, and practical tools to help shape social change together with other activists. While previous political academies were held over the span of seven weekends, the format was changed this year to include an introductory day, a week of courses and an elective module. The week-long course took place in the *Jugendbildungsstätte Unterfranken* (Unterfranken Youth Education Centre) in Würzburg. Most of the 24 participants were already politically active in Die Linke, in the climate movement or in anti-fascist, anti-racist, or feminist work.

Seven team members presented a diverse programme that provided a foundation in political education. The activists immersed themselves in 100 years of left-wing history, and debated contemporary political trends and prospects for the future. The first part of the programme included an introduction to capitalism, an introduction to Marx’s theory, and left-wing theories of the state. On the following days, the activists were able to choose between the topics of climate policy, racism, the new right, or gender relations. Under the motto “Strategies to change the world”, the activists situated themselves in their political context and designed their own projects.

The elective module, which took place in Rhineland-Palatinate on a weekend a few months after the week-long course, offered participants the opportunity to network with people from all over the country. Those interested could devote themselves to internationalism or learn about forms of organizing as part of the Political Academy Brandenburg/Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, which ran in parallel. Since the Political Academy was so well received in Bavaria this year, it will run again in 2022.



Rüdiger Dannemann and Dimitra Alifieraki on the “Elective Affinities” panel.



In May 2021, left-wing activists met up at the Cottbus Strombad.

BERLIN

GEORG LUKÁCS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Georg Lukács is one of the 20th century’s great intellectuals. He witnessed many of the social upheavals of his time and reflected on their importance for aesthetics and literature, but also philosophy. Lukács’s own political activity was strongly influenced by these events as well. His epochal work *History and Class Consciousness* was the initial spark of Western Marxism and influenced critical theory, practical philosophy, and humanist Marxism. His *Theory of the Novel* and his elaboration of a Marxist aesthetics also made his work into a cornerstone of 20th century literary theory.

To mark the 50th anniversary of his death on 4 June 2021, the “Helle Panke” e. V. of the RLS Berlin, in cooperation with the International Georg Lukács Society and the Leibniz Centre for Literary and Cultural Research, among others, organized a one-day conference at the Aufbau Haus in Berlin Kreuzberg. Due to the pandemic, the entire conference was streamed online, with panels either filmed in-person or taking place entirely online.

Matthias Koch, managing director of Aufbau Haus as well as Aufbau publishing house, introduced the conference and Christoph Links described why Georg Lukács is so important for the publisher. The day was organized into three panels—Politics, Aesthetics & Art, and Elective Affinities. In addition, there was an international (online) panel with representatives from Lukács’s home country and later place of work, Hungary, as well as from China and Brazil, where Lukács is currently tremendously influential. Axel Honneth and Michael Löwy concluded the rich conference day with their lectures.

With over 1,200 participants throughout the day, the conference had an exceptional turnout. Reports on the conference were also published in the Hungarian journal *Mérce*, in *junge Welt* and in *Z: Zeitschrift für marxistische Erneuerung*. All the lectures were recorded and are available on the “Helle Panke” Youtube channel.

BRANDENBURG

THE COTTBUS FROM BELOW FUTURE CONFERENCE

“If one person dreams alone, it is only a dream. When many people dream together, it is the beginning of a new reality.” Under this motto, the Komuna Initiative, supported by the RLS Brandenburg, invited people to *#CottbusvonUnten* (*#CottbusfromBelow*). The conference provided much needed space for exchange and networking after civil society actors had been largely unable to meet in Cottbus/Chósebus due to the Coronavirus pandemic. Given the challenges such as the growing lurch to the right and new structural changes, this kind of networking was long overdue. Moderated by the *Stuhlkreisrevolte* collective, about 70 activists from Cottbus and Spree-Neiße met at an online warm-up event in May and then over a weekend in October at the Cottbus Strombad. Emancipatory forces in the region may be modest, but they are diverse, and constant fluctuation within activist networks generates a constant need for new networking.

In addition to the plenary sessions, the focus was on the workshops and project groups, which saw members rotate through several different groups. Participants exchanged ideas about how the city and the region could be developed, coming up with new visions and concrete projects that would effect structural change from below and lead the region towards principles of solidarity and sustainability. The activists also painted a large interactive image which visualized their aspirations.

The relaxed environment, which included a play area for children, information stands, and the *Bus der offenen Werkstätten Brandenburg* (Brandenburg Open Workshops Bus) were key factors of the event. The conference’s success has become clearer in retrospect: three of the project groups continue to meet and have since made plenty of valuable contributions to civil society in Cottbus. Many participants also expressed the desire to organize a follow-up conference to discuss the prospects of cooperating in future.



Norbert Schepers in discussion with Zaher Habib (r.).



In Hamburg North, most garden lots had to make way for office complexes.

BREMEN

TIME TO MAKE DREAMS COME TRUE

On 25 November 2021, Zaher Habib read from his book *Zeit, Träume wahr zu machen* (Time to Make Dreams Come True) at the Kukoon cultural centre in Bremen's Neustadt. The novel is based on true events and describes the experience of a young Afghan boy named Ahmad, who had to flee Afghanistan. The book gives a profound and touching account of his life in Afghanistan, his friends and his family, and the horrific story of how he lost it all. At a young age, he is taken against his will across Afghanistan to Iran and Turkey, where he is sexually abused. After several years, he manages to leave Turkey with the help of a friend and come to Germany. After going to therapy, he manages to take his destiny into his own hands. Zaher Habib got to know Ahmad through his work as an interpreter, and fulfilled his wish to share his story, not only to give hope to other refugees, but also to raise awareness about the situation of Afghan refugees. One of the aims of Zaher Habib's novel is to help people understand why people suddenly become homeless and how difficult it can be for refugees to realize the dream of a better life and of a better future that is both secure and peaceful. Zaher Habib dedicated the book to all people who had to and still have to flee their homelands.

The book launch was occasioned by the 20-year anniversary of the 11 September terrorist attacks in the USA. In the spring, the Rosa Luxemburg Initiative Bremen also brought more attention to the topic within the RLS network, which resulted in some good debates and initiatives. The event was broadcast live on Facebook and Youtube and can still be viewed online. The book *Zeit, Träume wahr zu machen: Entführung, Flucht und Verschleppung Ahmads aus Afghanistan* (Time to Make Dreams Come True: Ahmad's Abduction, Flight and Deportation from Afghanistan) was published by Kellner publishing house in Bremen at the end of October 2021.

HAMBURG

HAMBURG NORTH: BETWEEN THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORY AND A WRECKING BALL

Most Hamburg residents have heard of the *City Nord* (Hamburg North) district. Perhaps they've past it, but few have bothered explore it more closely. Hamburg North is a leafy business district which formerly epitomized modernist architecture. Ten years after the end of the Second World War, architects looked to New York rather than to the "thousand-year-old" tradition of German architecture for inspiration. Several phases of construction began in 1961. On the tour hosted by the RLS Hamburg, participants learned about the architectural shift from modernism to postmodernism and the ongoing partial redesign of Hamburg North, which prioritizes demolition over renovation. These plans may represent the wishes of the owners, but their effect on the environment is largely destructive.

The area was originally characterized by an abundance of small garden lots and makeshift homes. Thousands of people were displaced against their will to make way for the office complexes. The tour began in the neighbouring Pergola district, where a citizen's initiative to preserve the lots was rejected by the senate. In any case, a good standard of living was maintained in the district; 60 percent of apartments are publicly subsidized and some lots were preserved. Marco Hosemann, an expert on approaches to building in the urban environment and a Right to the City activist, shared his illuminating perspective with those attending, allowing them to see the familiar with fresh eyes. Photographs were also shown which gave participants a glimpse behind the facades or of already-demolished buildings. During the tour, participants used an elevated walkway which separates the neighbourhood from car traffic and discussed what the fundamental principles of a sustainable city could be.

The RLS Hamburg has been offering successful city tours for years. As long as the pandemic is ongoing, this is one of the only formats suitable for in-person political education.



Claus-Jürgen Göpfert (r.) in discussion with Mike Josef, head of planning in Frankfurt a. M.



A memorial for Mehmet Turgut in Rostock.

HESSE

THE GÖPFERT'S GUESTS EVENT SERIES

In 2021, the RLS Hesse established the event series Göpfert's Guests in cooperation with the Club Voltaire and Claus-Jürgen Göpfert, the author and former editor of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*. The series was highly popular in Frankfurt am Main and beyond. Since April 2021, Göpfert has invited various personalities from politics and culture to discuss current events. The discussions have so far taken place in both online and in hybrid formats.

On 10 June 2021, Göpfert held a discussion with Mike Josef (SPD), Frankfurt am Main's head city planner, under the title Frankfurt is Shrinking: What's Next? The pandemic interrupted a several-year long trend of rapid growth in the city. Among other things, the discussion touched on the future of large projects such as the development of districts on the A5 highway, the designated green spaces, known as Günthersburghöfe, the development of the city centre, and how the rise of the home office during the pandemic impacted high-rise construction. On 1 July 2021, Göpfert led a discussion with Florian Weis (RLS) entitled The Labour Party After Another Election Defeat. What are the causes of the Labour Party's failure in the UK? Which particular developments, especially in Scotland, should a good analysis take into account? What factors reach beyond Great Britain—and might they even have significance for the situation in Germany?

In October 2021, *Frankfurter Rundschau* editor-in-chief Thomas Kaspar and editor Helen Schindler presented *Haltung zählt: Anspruch und Geschichte der Frankfurter Rundschau* (Attitude Counts: The Goals and History of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*), written by long-time editors of the paper about its more than 75-year history. They look back at how it has developed since 1945, but also look forward: which values and goals does the newspaper wish to advocate in striving for a democratic and enlightened society in future? Göpfert's Guests will continue in 2022.

MECKLENBURG-WESTERN POMERANIA

A DAY FOR MEHMET TURGUT – NO CLOSING OF THE NSU COMPLEX INVESTIGATION!

On 25 February 2004, neo-Nazis from the NSU network murdered Mehmet Turgut. The 25-year-old was overpowered and shot while working in a food truck in Toitenwinkel, Rostock.

Since 2012, the anniversary of his death and that of the other NSU victims have been commemorated at the scene. Mehmet Turgut's family—accompanied by several initiatives and associations—has demanded a street in Toitenwinkel to be named after him for years. But the reservations of a few people have so far prevented it.

On the 17th anniversary of the Turgut's murder, the RLS Mecklenburg-Vorpommern organized an online discussion in cooperation with the memorial initiative *Mord verjährt nicht* (Murder Has No Statute of Limitation), the *Lichtenhagen im Gedächtnis* (Remembering Lichtenhagen) documentation centre and the Rostock Migrants Council. The focus was on how to implement both the family's wishes and the demands of the nationwide tribunal *NSU-Komplex auflösen* (Unravelling the NSU Complex). Journalist Heike Klefner moderated a discussion between Seyhmus Atay-Lichermann (Chair of the Rostock Migrants Council), Caro Keller (NSU-Watch), Anna Luczak (representative of the joint plaintiff in the NSU trial) and Martina Renner (Member of the Bundestag, Die Linke). The participants considered whether today, ten years after the NSU revealed itself, the forms of commemoration for Turgut in Rostock have done justice to the wishes and demands of his relatives. They also asked what if anything the parliamentary investigation committee in the Schwerin state parliament has contributed to the investigation into the NSU Complex. What did the NSU trial reveal about the murder in Rostock? Have the security offices drawn conclusions about the state's failures in handling the NSU complex, and how do they propose to confront far-right groups such as Nordkreuz and address the right-wing terror seen in the attacks in Kassel, Halle, and Hanau?



Christoph Podstawa of Die Linke Lower Saxony at the meeting in Hanover.

LOWER SAXONY

LET'S GET STARTED – A CONFERENCE FOR NEW LOCAL POLITICIANS

Local political education projects are a central aspect of the RLS Lower Saxony's work and part of its regular offerings. In 2020, in the lead-up to the local elections in Lower Saxony in September 2021, we organized a series of seminars 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. To conclude this extensive series after the elections and at the same time to kick off the new election period, we invited the newly elected local politicians to a conference in Hanover on 17 October 2021. The popularity of the event far exceeded our expectations. However, due to public health regulations, only 70 people were allowed to attend.

The aim of our conference was to prepare the elected representatives for important decisions at the beginning of the new election period, support them in their first steps, and help them connect with other people. Preparing them for the major legal procedures and various choices in the parliament and administration is an essential prerequisite for a good start in a new parliamentary period. What rights and options do individual representatives have, and what rights and options does a parliamentary group have? What needs to be considered when forming a parliamentary group? Main statutes, rules of procedure, and staffing of committees—what is important, what can be changed? All this can quickly overwhelm newly elected members.

The participants came from all over Lower Saxony. Most of them live and are politically active in rural areas, places where the lack of reliable left-wing structures presents a major challenge for political engagement. Looking back, we are convinced that both the seminar series and our conference on local politics have made a crucial contribution to the professional training of those active in local politics.



A bicycle tour through the Ruhr in search of over 100 years since the March Revolution.

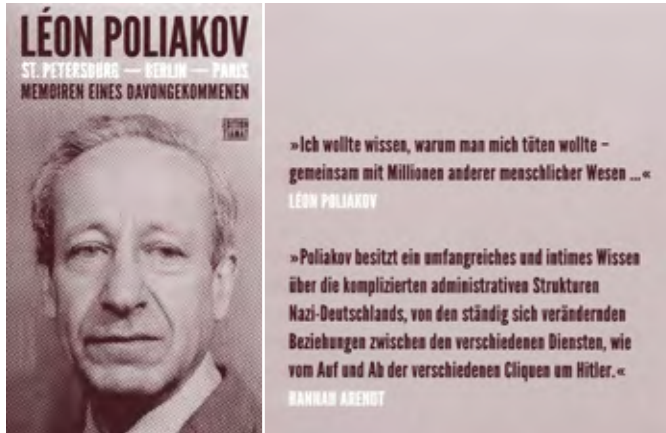
NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

THE RED RUHR ARMY VERSUS THE KAPP PUTSCH 1920

The struggle over history and who gets to interpret it is always at the heart of contemporary political disputes. The gradual shift of political discourse towards the right effects how people remember the *Kapp Putsch* and the March Revolution carried out by the Red Ruhr Army. The work of developing a politics of remembrance and a coherent ideology to make sense of the events began in different political camps during the struggles in the 1920s. In the period that followed, this rich historical work was quickly reduced to the rigidified narratives one still encounters today. For many years, the commemoration of those who struggled and died in the name of the workers' movement served as a crucial common ground which transcended all divisions between different parties and tendencies.

In cooperation with the RLS Hamburg and the Arbeit und Leben Berg-Mark association, RLS North Rhine-Westphalia members and 20 other participants cycled through the Ruhr area from 5 to 10 September in pleasant late summer weather. Along the way, we stopped at sites of the historical class struggles in Hagen, Wetter, Witten, Bottrop and Dinslaken, and discussed central theses, traditions and practices, as well as competing interpretations of the events with local historians and activists.

During tours, exhibition visits, lectures and book presentations, we asked ourselves how the problems from that time manifest in different forms today. For example, can the chauvinist terror of the Freikorps be compared with toxic masculinity and the right-wing terrorist structures that exist today? What distinguishes today's ideas on socialization from their historical predecessors? Which experiences from the past can be productively evaluated for necessary processes of social transformation in the present? Our tour concluded with a historical excursion on the steelworkers' strikes of the 1980s in Duisburg-Rheinhausen.



Announcement for the reading tour for the autobiography of Léon Poliakov.



Now canoe tours are also possible for wheelchair users

RHINELAND-PALATINATE

LÉON POLIAKOV'S *MEMOIREN EINES DAVONGEKOMMENEN* (MEMOIRS OF A MAN WHO GOT AWAY)

In his autobiography, Léon Poliakov (1910–1997) described himself as “unbelieving and assimilated, but a Jew nonetheless”. The life and work of the Jewish-French historian was devoted to finding out why he and millions of other human beings were wanted dead. In 1920, Poliakov fled with his family from St. Petersburg to Germany. In 1924 they fled to France, where his father founded the *Pariser Tagblatt*, an important outlet for German exiles after Hitler came to power. Léon Poliakov later joined the Resistance, began collecting evidence of Nazi crimes during the liberation of France, and was a member of the French delegation at the Nuremberg war crimes tribunal. His study *Vom Hass zum Genozid: Das Dritte Reich und die Juden* (From Hatred to Genocide: The Third Reich and the Jews) which appeared in 1951, was the first systematic attempt to document the mass murder of the European Jews. In November 2021, the RLS Rhineland-Palatinate invited Jonas Empen and Alex Carstiu, the translators of Poliakov’s autobiography *St. Petersburg – Berlin – Paris: Memoiren eines Davongekommenen* (St. Petersburg – Berlin – Paris: Memoirs of a Man Who Got Away), for a three-day reading tour of Poliakov’s book. In cooperation with the Initiative *Interdisziplinäre Antisemitismusforschung* (Initiative for Interdisciplinary Antisemitism Research), the opening event took place at the Trier University Library and was aimed primarily at academics. The following day, the two translators read at the Institut français in Mainz as part of French Week, which allowed them to reach a broader audience. We organized the third reading at Café Heimat in Morbach, our new cooperation partners in the Hunsrück, a place far away from the urban centres, in order to bring political education work into regional areas. The reading tour met with great interest and we were able to encourage the numerous participants to conduct a thorough engagement into the important topic of antisemitism.

SAARLAND

AN INCLUSIVE CANOE TOUR ON THE BLIES RIVER

While canoe tours have been offered on the Blies river, which borders France, for over 20 years, the river never attracted many tourists. But the site has become more popular ever since significant investments were made to build entry and exit points for canoes. Now many individuals and small groups can be found on the Blies in late summer. This stretch of the river is largely accessible via public transport, making it convenient to get to and from.

But until now, the offerings available have overlooked including those people who, despite having disabilities, would nevertheless be mentally and physically able to go on a canoe tour. After all, water itself can flow anywhere. To address this oversight, in August 2021, the Peter Imandt Society–RLS Saarland, together with social worker and wheelchair user Dunja Fuhrmann, offered the first inclusive canoe tour on the Blies River explicitly for people with disabilities. The event was a huge success.

All participants described the trip as a unique recreational experience. But there were a few shortcomings: above all, there are not enough canoe slides to assist people passing through the weirs. Those that do exist could also be made more comfortable. For now, canoes, paddlers, and luggage often have to be carried laboriously down these steep passages. Depending on the water level, this can be dangerous for everyone. Beyond that, more shaded spaces are needed, as are toilets at the entry points and rest areas, since there are hardly any places to stop along the journey.

After the trip, the participants gave a list of things that need improving to the politicians in charge. The latest reports suggest that there are plans to hold discussions with French partners and to work towards the goal of making the Blies completely accessible. When implemented, this will be a unique selling point that will benefit nature lovers both with and without disabilities in the future.



Rosa Luxemburg herself visited Felsenkeller, in western Leipzig.



Activist Kristina Igorevna Abramichev took part in the conference in Halle.

SAXONY

LEIPZIG – CITY OF THE WORKERS’ MOVEMENT

Leipzig was and is one of the most important centres of the German workers’ movement, yet this aspect of the city’s history is often neglected in the country’s general culture of remembrance, which tends to focus on the bloody Battle of the Nations or the antisemite Richard Wagner rather than on the founding of the first trade union.

With the website <https://arbeiterinnenbewegung-leipzig.de/>, the RLS Saxony intends to retell the eventful history of the workers’ movement in Leipzig in the hopes of counteracting the prevailing culture of remembrance. The website outlines 20 significant sites of the movement from 1863 to the 2000s, organized into individual “stations”. Each station corresponds to a location that can be found easily on a city map, and is accompanied by a text with photos of the location and a professional audio recording.

One of the stations is the Felsenkeller in Leipzig’s west, where Rosa Luxemburg gave her famous speech *The World Political Situation* on 27 May 1913. Luxemburg visited the trade fair city 14 times, always appearing in the traditional meeting places of the Leipzig workers’ movement such as the Volkshaus, the Pantheon in Dresdner Straße, which no longer exists, or the Felsenkeller.

The thirteenth station commemorates the people’s uprising on 17 June 1953. Strikes and demonstrations took place in almost all cities and districts of the GDR. It was triggered by an increase in workloads that many workers refused to accept. About 40,000 people gathered on Karl-Marx-Platz (today Augustusplatz). In the course of the protests, riots broke out in Leipzig, leaving nine dead and at least 95 injured. Demonstrators were called “provocateurs” by the GDR judiciary, and were persecuted and severely punished.

Other stations include the struggle of Vietnamese contract workers for the right to remain, the Monday demonstrations, and the refugee strikes in 2000.

SAXONY-ANHALT

WOMEN IN TRANSITIONAL SOCIETIES 1990–2020

On 10 July 2021, the elaborately planned hybrid German-Russian workshop *Frauen in Transformationsgesellschaften 1990–2020* (Women in Transitional Societies 1990–2020) took place at the Martin Luther University (MLU) in Halle (Saale). Those unable to attend due to Coronavirus were able to join online, and a live translation was made available. This interesting and multifaceted event was made possible by the RLS Saxony-Anhalt in close cooperation with the Department of Slavic Studies and the Prorektor for Human Resources Development and Structure at MLU Halle-Wittenberg, the Equal Opportunities Officer of the city of Halle (Saale), the RLS office in Moscow, and the RLS Saxony.

A twin-cities arrangement as well as university partnerships link the cities Halle (Saale), and Ufa and Voronezh in Russia. However, changes in political systems and in the times more generally have narrowed the prospects for setting joint priorities and acting together. Our conference offered people from politics, academia, associations, and civil society at large who are interested in fostering German-Russian contacts new opportunities for networking and strengthened existing relationships. The speakers gave lectures and led discussions that approached recent history with all its upheavals and changes from a women’s perspective; they discussed which examples are worth striving towards, how women’s lives have been impacted by social transformations, and what can be done about gender equality at the local and institutional levels. The previous evening, the German-Russian exhibition *Ohne Frauen ist kein Staat zu machen* (Without Women There Is No State) by Katja Ullmann (Dresden), Dinara Kashapova (Ufa) and Gulnas Alfredovna Sakulina (Ufa) premiered as part of the project. The exhibition is currently touring. Those interested in it can request information from us.

Conference documentation can be found at: <https://t1p.de/RLS-Doku-FiT>.



Memorial event at the Schauspielhaus Kiel for the victims of the arson attack in Mölln.



A study published in 2021 documents Amazon's labour law violations.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

MÖLLN SPEECH IN EXILE

On 23 November 1992, Ayşe Yılmaz, Yeliz and Bahide Arslan were murdered in a racist arson attack in Mölln. To commemorate them, the *Möllner Rede im Exil* (Mölln Speech in Exile) has been held annually at a changing location since 2013. The event is “in exile” because it is not part of the city of Mölln’s official commemorations.

In 2021, the RLS Schleswig-Holstein helped design and organize the event, which was supported by many local initiatives and the Kiel Schauspielhaus, where about 150 people gathered on 7 November. In addition, the ONspace gallery broadcast the event live on Bahide Arslan Square in Kiel-Gaarden.

Speakers at this year’s commemoration event included relatives of the Arslan and Yılmaz families and members of the *Freundeskreises im Gedenken an die rassistischen Brandanschläge von Mölln 1992* (Circle of Friends in Memory of the 1992 Mölln Racist Arson Attacks). In very moving and personal words, members of the Arslan family described how the events of that night still affect their lives, how difficult it is to come to terms with it, and how thankful they are to receive the support of the Circle of Friends and others who stand in solidarity. In addition, Özlem Arslan recited a poem called *Die im November gehen* (Those who leave in November), which thematizes the events and consequences of that night in literary form.

At around 3 pm, we drove together with the families and the Circle of Friends to Bahide Arslan Square. There, Dietrich Lohse, one of the spokespersons of the Round Table Against Racism, gave a welcoming speech. Detlef Schlagheck from the ONspace Gallery, which will work with the city of Kiel to host the project, gave a short introduction to the planned redesign of the square. Afterwards, the gallery invited all attendees to coffee and pastries on its premises, where many important conversations took place in a relaxed and pleasant atmosphere after the emotionally difficult day.

THURINGIA

AMAZON’S LAST MILE

In 2019, Amazon expanded to Thuringia, opening a distribution centre in Erfurt-Stotternheim. From there, hundreds of subcontracted employees deliver orders for the online giant every day.

In spring 2021, the *Faire Mobilität in Thüringen* (Fair Mobility in Thuringia) project initiated by the DGB-Bildungswerk Thüringen presented a preliminary balance sheet on working conditions at the centre. The results were based on more than 300 interviews with mainly migrant workers. The study, *Amazons letzte Meile: Ein Onlinehändler als Prekarisierungstreiber in der Paketlogistik* (Amazon’s Last Mile: The Online Retailer as a Driving Force in the Precarization of Delivery Logistics), was published by the DGB-Bildungswerk, the RLS, and its regional branches in Thuringia in September 2021. The study puts this balance sheet in the broader context of Amazon’s overall strategy.

Amazon Logistics is the only major delivery service that has outsourced all its logistics to subcontractors. The company is also experimenting with a platform-based employment model: with its Amazon Flex app, the Seattle-based corporation has incorporated the gig economy employment model—made popular by companies such as Uber or Lieferando—into delivery logistics. Using the example of the Erfurt-Stotternheim centre, the study’s authors, Jörn Boewe, Tina Morgenroth, and Johannes Schulten, show how Amazon has gained a monopoly over delivery routes, how its business and work models function, which labour and criminal law violations this involves, and what working conditions prevail there. The case study has attracted widespread interest. Its results were featured in the MDR report *Bestellt und (aus-)geliefert – Amazon und seine Fahrer* (Ordered and Delivered – Amazon and its Drivers) in November 2021. A workshop on the same topic took place at the 30th Antiracist and Anti-Fascist Council on 5 November 2021, which facilitated an exchange with trade unionists from other delivery services and from the food industry. We will join forces in 2022.

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

In 2021, the world remained in a state of emergency due to the coronavirus pandemic. All of the international locations affiliated with the RLS felt the drastic impact the pandemic had on working and living conditions. For many of our colleagues, working online and from home has become the new normal. The process of converting much of our educational work into digital formats also opened up new opportunities for cooperation and networking.

The RLS's international work continues to focus on the global struggle for social justice and climate justice. The Green New Deal is a crucial platform consisting of a comprehensive set of political and economic measures that attempts to bring social and ecological issues together and tackle them in tandem. In the meantime, several RLS publications in addition to a podcast have voiced different perspectives on a global Green New Deal. We also continued our work on international climate policy. For several years, RLS colleagues and partner organizations have been networking to provide a critical perspective at the UN climate summits and their related negotiations.

In the new normal of the coronavirus pandemic, we have added the Global Health project to the repertoire of our international work on global social justice. Coordinated by the Geneva office, the project primarily examines the social dimension of health, i.e. not only medical care, but also the social conditions necessary to maintaining good health. The relevance of these issues are most clearly illustrated in our work on food sovereignty. In 2021, the RLS published a study exposing the double standards in the marketing of highly toxic agricultural pesticides by Bayer and BASF, companies whose pursuit of profit is seriously detrimental both to people's health and to the environment.

Another focus of our international work is on supporting the struggles of left-wing activists. The Organizing for Power project, which was started in 2020, continued in 2021. In the meantime, online platforms have been used to build up a network of more than 5,000 trade union organizers from some 60 countries. In addition to labour and social movements, the target audience of our political work also includes left-wing parties. In 2021, the Womxn Unite 2.0 project hosted women from left-wing parties around the world to discuss strategies for feminizing left-wing politics. At the official opening ceremony of the RLS's new office in Tuzla (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in early September 2021, guests discussed the reconstruction of the left and the labour movement in the region.

WOMXN UNITE 2.0

“If the goal is to promote gender equality within society”, then “we have to start doing this in our own party”. With these words, Carolina, a member of the Swedish Vänsterpartiet, opened her introductory speech at the online event Womxn Unite 2.0, which took place from 22 to 24 October 2021 as part of the RLS’s Global Feminism Dialogue Programme. Women from all over the world were invited to share their experiences with feminist organizational structures and how they operate in left-wing parties. More than 50 comrades from 40 countries accepted the invitation.

In doing so, they continued a discussion that was initiated at the 2019 Feminist Future Festival in Essen, which was also organized by the RLS. At that time, the focus was on preliminary networking and exploring shared concerns; in 2021, the discussions centred around the challenges related to political parties. The following questions were addressed: how can women explicitly be recruited to work in left-wing parties? What concrete lessons can be shared about appealing to women in election campaigns? What internal structural measures do parties take to enable gender-equitable participation and how successful are they? What strategies do different parties use for shaping feminist politics?

The participants’ contributions reflected their different regional and national contexts, but also the different ideological approaches of their parties. For example, Utaara from the Landless People’s Movement in Namibia reported that election campaigns there are mainly privately financed. Since women seldom have adequate financial means, they rarely run for office. Roza from the Communist Party of Iran reported on her work in securing women’s access to education and so also to political participation. On the other hand, according to a representative at the meeting, the Communist Party of Vietnam has ambitious goals, including having 60 percent of state positions filled by women.

Despite all the political and cultural differences, the participants focused on what they had in common. They repeatedly expressed their gratitude for the unique opportunity to network globally as members of left-wing parties and to exchange views on feminist issues. The Internfeminism handbook presented by the Vänsterpartiet, which contains clear rules for communication and conduct for all members, is just one example of the practical steps that can be taken to achieve equal participation by women in left-wing parties. There is widespread interest in continuing the exchange on these steps and other strategies. For this reason, the RLS is planning a follow-up event for 2023.



Staff members Lamija Muharemagić and Emin Eminagić at the new office in Tuzla.

OPENING CELEBRATION IN TUZLA

When we think of European cities with a strong socialist tradition, the industrial city of Tuzla in Bosnia’s north-east, with its 100,000 inhabitants, is certainly not one of the first to come to mind. Tuzla seems rather insignificant compared to the capital Sarajevo, where international organizations congregate and most foreign direct investments flow. But none of that prevented the RLS from opening its newest international office in Tuzla in early 2020. Founded as the liaison office of the Southeast Europe office in Belgrade, the staff here have worked to coordinate the activities of the RLS in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Albania.

After having to operate under the restrictions of the pandemic for a year and a half, an official opening event was finally organized at the beginning of September 2021, with guests attending from the region and the RLS headquarters in Berlin. The event was a great opportunity to discuss the reconstruction of the left and the labour movement in the region, to network, and to meet various project partners working with the office, such as the Tuzla organization Front Slobode and the Albanian Institute for Critique and Social Emancipation.

Tuzla office director Emin Eminagić has more than ten years of experience as an activist in the region and is confident that the RLS can help progressive forces there promote democratic-socialist ideas: “We can only fight for these things together — by remembering the long-forgotten concept of solidarity and orienting our society around it. As one of our comrades used to say: ‘There can be no bright future for Bosnia and Herzegovina if there is no bright future for Kosovo, Albania, Serbia, Northern Macedonia, and Croatia’. I would add that there cannot be a bright future for Europe and the world if there is no bright future for Southeastern Europe.”

SYSTEMATIC FOUL PLAY

THE EXPLOITATION OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE RUN-UP TO THE 2022 WORLD CUP IN QATAR

“Sportswashing” is the term used to describe the insidious new advertising strategy used by authoritarian regimes like the one in Qatar to improve their bad image by hosting glamorous major sporting events and investing in international sports clubs. However, the beautiful appearance masks a bitter reality: the living and working conditions of the more than two million migrant workers who have built the infrastructure for stadiums, subways, and hotel complexes in Qatar in recent years and who toil in the hotel industry and in private households resemble modern slavery. Their freedom of movement and freedom of contract are denied by the *kafala* system, which makes their residence and work permits dependent on their employer. Protest and resistance are rendered impossible by the lack of press freedom, the ban on trade unions and organizing, inadequate legal protection for workers, and the absence of an independent judiciary. The Qatar government is thus taking to extremes a system that has already had devastating consequences for democracy and for people in various places around the world in the past, from Rio to Sochi, from Johannesburg to London. Major sporting events are the cause of unprecedented concentration of wealth among the rich, displacement, environmental destruction, and contempt for labour and human rights. But the maths works out: “sportswashing” ensures profits for national elites, FIFA, and the International Olympic Com-

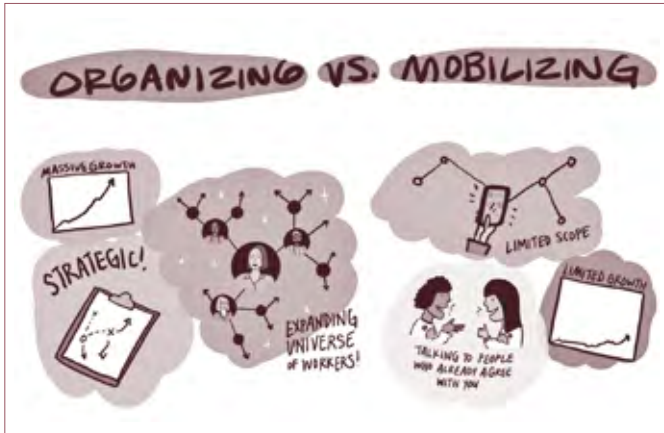
mittee, as well as flourishing business (in Qatar’s case in the oil and gas sector, arms trade, banking and auto industries) in addition to geopolitical advantages, and rendering even the most authoritarian and repressive governments socially acceptable.

These complex interrelationships are described in the brochure published by the RLS under the title *Systematic Foul Play: What We Can Learn From the Controversial World Cup in Qatar*, which gathers contributions from experts from human rights organizations, trade unions, fan initiatives, and migrant workers. It was presented on 24 November 2021—one year before the World Cup—at an online panel discussion hosted by the Berlin football club SO36. A leaflet *Anpfiff zum Fairplay* (Kick-off to Fair Play; first edition: 90,000 copies) emphasizes the numerous forms that the grievances and injustices observed around the world in connection with major sporting events can take. For this reason, the RLS Network Unit, together with left-wing fan initiatives and other actors, is planning more activities for 2022 that aim make the issues visible and to show how social and democratic standards are systematically subordinated to profit motives and to upholding various actors’ reputations. A speaking tour where migrant workers themselves will have their say is a part of this plan.

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For further information, see: www.rosalux.de/fairplay.
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The catastrophic working conditions at the World Cup construction sites in Qatar were the main topic of an event in Berlin.





The O4P programme explains the difference between organizing and mobilization.

ORGANIZING FOR POWER

Organizing for Power (O4P) is an international training and networking programme led by trade unionist Jane McAlevey which brings together trade unionists, full-time organizers, and activists from around the world. The programme was jointly launched in 2019 by the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation and the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. Originally coordinated from the RLS Tel Aviv, and since 2021 from the new London office, O4P has trained over 20,000 participants from 110 countries in 11 languages since its founding, making it the most well-attended event in all of the international work undertaken by the RLS.

The programme's success is due to the fact that it demands a lot from the participants and focuses on active learning. The intensive six-week main course is reserved exclusively for groups of at least ten people. They must register in groups to ensure that the courses are actually used as a starting point for collective organizing on the ground. In addition, more than 100 volunteer facilitators lead smaller online working groups in so-called breakout sessions, which facilitate intensive exchange on methods and practices. The focus here is on the key tasks of organizing: How to engage in one-on-one conversations? How to identify leaders in the workplace or in the neighbourhood? How to develop a language that aims at helping those we are speaking with to become active themselves? These breakout sessions are complemented by an introduction to tools such as six-step structured organizing conversations, systematic mapping, structural testing (a method of testing collective agency by increasing levels of action) and strike mobilization.

Together with Jane McAlevey and trade unionists from around the world, the RLS will continue to develop O4P, which will be a step towards a building a transnational network for organizing workers and activists from a left-wing standpoint.

INTERNATIONAL PARTY DIALOGUE BETWEEN VIETNAM AND GERMANY

Due to the global coronavirus situation, the party dialogue between Die Linke and the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) supported by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung had to take place online in 2021. Representatives of both parties have been meeting for a strategic exchange for four years now. The last meeting was chaired on the Vietnamese side by Le Hoai Trung (member of the Party Central Committee and head of the Commission for External Relations). The delegation of Die Linke was headed by the two party co-chairs Janine Wissler and Susanne Hennig-Wellsow.

The first part of the meeting was set aside to exchange information on the implications and decisions made at the 13th National Congress of the CPV (January 2021) and the 7th Party Congress of Die Linke (February 2021). At the 13th National Congress of the CPV, members had voted on the country's strategies for socio-economic development for 2021 to 2030. The CPV, which is Vietnam's ruling party, has set itself the goal of turning Vietnam into a socialist-oriented industrialized country by the middle of the 21st century.

The second part of the meeting focused on current political conflicts. The participants from Die Linke reported on the Bundestag elections, the political situation in the European Union and Germany's foreign policy in relation to the Asia-Pacific region and to the United States, Russia, and China. The representatives of the CPV explained the current foreign policy of Vietnam and the situation in the South China Sea. They emphasized the need to resolve the current disputes between China and the littoral states through diplomatic and legal channels and in accordance with the UN Charter and the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. The Vietnamese government is committed to a self-determined, multilateral, and diversified foreign policy and to active international economic and political integration.

DOUBLE STANDARDS IN THE PESTICIDE SECTOR BAYER AND BASF PROFIT FROM HIGHLY TOXIC ACTIVE INGREDIENTS IN PESTICIDES

Among other things, double standards in the pesticide sector refers to the fact that corporations like Bayer and BASF produce and sell active ingredients on the international marketplace which are banned in the European Union. This practice is symptomatic of an irresponsible economic policy that places German and European export interests above the due diligence to comply with international human rights standards. Farmers and workers in the agricultural sector in the global South pay the price for this with their health.

In order to draw attention to this scandal and to intervene in political processes, the RLS, together with INKOTA and the Pesticide Action Network Germany, published the study



Extremely dangerous pesticides are the rule rather than the exception on vineyards in South Africa.

Hazardous Pesticides from Bayer and BASF: A Global Trade with Double Standards in April 2021. The study shows that the two chemical companies are responsible for the marketing and development of at least 33 pesticide active ingredients that pose an acute threat to human health. Many of these active substances are lethal even at low doses, others are considered potentially carcinogenic, mutagenic, or toxic to reproduction. In Brazil, Mexico, and South Africa, at least eight of these active ingredients can be found in the list of pesticides marketed by the two companies; in South Africa alone, six of these active ingredients can be found in their pesticide products.

On vineyards in the Western Cape province, for example, the insecticide Tempo SC sold by Bayer is used on a large scale. It contains the highly toxic active ingredient (beta-)cyfluthrin, which is lethal even in small doses. A representative of the South African NGO Women on Farms Project reports that some farm workers are sent to work on the vineyards even while highly toxic pesticides are being sprayed. Workers describe the protective equipment provided to them as mere "decoration". It is only given to them one day before an external inspection and has to be returned afterwards. Representatives of the South African NGO Khanyisa and the trade union CSAAWU report many other abuses: in many factories in the citrus sector, the mixing of pesticides takes

place without protective equipment. Pesticides are spilled and not properly cleaned up. In addition, some farmers force workers to remove the labels from the pesticides, making it difficult for inspectors to detect pesticide misuse during inspections.

Agrochemical companies like to claim that their highly toxic pesticides are "safe" so long as they are used properly. Of course, this is untrue, and the companies know it. These companies exploit the fact that countries in the global South have less strict regulations and make profits from the sale of highly toxic pesticides at the expense of people and the environment. According to the latest scientific estimates, 385 million people globally suffer unintentional acute pesticide poisoning every year.

The research by the RLS is meant to assist the struggles of NGOs and trade unions in South Africa for better occupational safety for farm workers and for a government ban on highly toxic pesticides. While Bayer claimed the study results were invalid, initiatives in Germany are calling for an end to the double standards in the international trade of active pesticide ingredients. A significant first step towards this would be banning German corporations from exporting highly toxic pesticides and active ingredients. Accompanying parliamentary inquiries and measures, such as those initiated by Die Linke, increased political pressure. The activism of civil

society initiatives paid off when the coalition government announced in its coalition agreement of December 2021 that it would ban the export of certain pesticides that are illegal in the European Union due to the risks they pose to human health.

ACTIVITIES OF THE REGIONAL OFFICE IN GENEVA

Since 2019, the regional office in Geneva has acted as a liaison between the United Nations and other Geneva-based international organizations and RLS project partners in the Global South. Our work is currently focused on three issues: social rights, social-ecological transformation, and organizing workers internationally.

THE GLOBAL HEALTH PROJECT

The human right to have access to the best possible healthcare, enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is denied to half of the world’s population. Millions of people around the world die from diseases that could easily be cured given the current state of medical knowledge. In many parts of the world, there is a lack of reliable medical infrastructure. A third of the world’s population has no access to the medications they need because patent laws serve the interests of the pharmaceutical industry, which leads to high prices and prevents the fair distribution of resources—a trend which predates the coronavirus pandemic. In many places, basic medical care must be paid for privately, even in public hospitals, which is unaffordable for many people. As a result, instead of ensuring that healthcare is available and accessible to the public, health is becoming a commodity for the privileged.

A shortage of access to medical care is only one part of the global public health crisis. Our health is impacted by the conditions we grow up, live, work, and learn in. It is estimated that 20 million people die each year from poverty-related diseases. The sheer coincidence of where you are born determines your life opportunities and expectancy. But these inequalities cannot be attributed to geographic differences alone. Poor people everywhere get sick more often and die earlier than people with higher incomes.

The axiom of the Global Health project, which the RLS launched at the beginning of 2021, is that healthcare must become a public good which everyone everywhere is entitled to. To this end, we worked with initiatives like the Geneva Global Health Hub and the think tank Foraus to influence the World Health Organization and to advocate for a waiver of COVID-19 vaccine patents.

For more information and publications on global health, visit: <https://rosalux-geneva.org/dossier/global-health>.

ATLAS OF ENSLAVEMENT

To mark the International Day for the Abolition of Slavery in December 2021, the Geneva office published the *Atlas der Versklavung* (Atlas of Enslavement), a publication intended to draw attention to the largely ignored phenomenon of slavery in the 21st century and to put the issue on the political agenda. It is wrong to assume that slavery no longer exists today. In fact, according to the latest estimates of the International Labour Organization, at least 40 million people worldwide are affected by “modern slavery”. This includes forced labour, forced prostitution, and other forms of exploitation. Modern slavery is woven into our clothes and is particularly prevalent in the global sex industry and domestic work. The coronavirus pandemic has further exacerbated the situation of those subject to modern-day slavery, as most of these people are undocumented and now face the additional risk of deportation. In addition, the economic recession that accompanied the pandemic is likely to put even more people at risk of trafficking and slavery. This makes modern slavery one of the central issues in the world of work of our time.

For more information and to view our film on the topic, visit: <https://atlasofenslavement.rosalux-geneva.org/>.



ATLAS OF ENSLAVEMENT
 FACTS AND FIGURES
 ABOUT FORCED LABOUR
 AND EXPLOITATION
 December 2020
 Paperback, 60 pages
 ISBN 978-3-948250-41-6



OUR INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

MEXICO CITY

NEW YORK

QUITO

SÃO PAULO

BUENOS AIRES

LATIN AMERICAN UNIT

ANDEAN 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
Interim office director: Karin Gabbert
rosalux-ba.org

GLOBAL FEMINISM DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

Location: Buenos Aires, Argentina
Year founded: 2019
Project countries: worldwide (focus on Latin America)
Programme director: Alex Wischnewski

BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY



Location: São Paulo, Brazil
Year Founded: 2003
Project countries: Brazil, Paraguay
Office director: Torge Löding, from September 2022: Andreas Behn
rosalux.org.br

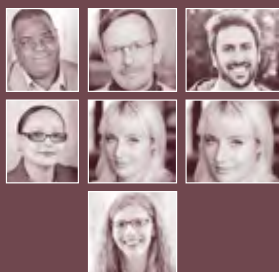
MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA, AND CUBA



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

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
<https://rosalux.nyc>

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION POLITICS AND GLOBAL SOCIAL RIGHTS



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



AFRICAN UNIT

EAST AFRICA



Location: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Year Founded: 2012
Project countries: Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda
Office director: Dorothee Braun, from September 2022: Katrin Voss
www.rosalux.co.tz

WEST AFRICA



Location: Dakar, Senegal
Year Founded: 2010
Project countries: Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, 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, Algeria, Morocco
Office director: Armin Osmanovic
www.rosaluxna.org

ACADEMIC COOPERATION IN NORTH AFRICA

Location: Tunis, Tunisia
Year Founded: 2015
Project countries: Tunisia
Office director: Nadia El Ouerghemmi
<https://academiccooperation-rosalux.org/en/homepage/>

SOUTH AFRICA



Location: Johannesburg, South Africa
Year Founded: 2003
Project countries: South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Madagascar, Mozambique, Mauritius, Namibia, Comoros, Botswana, Seychelles
Office director: Siegfried Schröder, as of April 2022: Janine Walter
www.rosalux.co.za

FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

Location: Johannesburg, South Africa
Year Founded: 2017
Programme countries: worldwide (focus on South Africa)
Programme director: Jan Urhan
www.rosalux.de/en/dossiers/food_sovereignty

EUROPEAN UNIT

SOUTHEAST EUROPE



Location: Belgrade, Serbia
Year Founded: 2010
Project countries: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania, Montenegro
Office director: Krunoslav Stojaković, from September 2022: Maria Oshana
www.rosalux.rs

LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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

EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE

Location: Warsaw, Poland
Year Founded: 2003
Project countries: Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia
Office director: Holger Politt, from September 2022: Achim Kessler
www.rls.pl

CENTRAL EUROPE



Location: Prague, Czech Republic
Year Founded: 2018
Project countries: Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary
Office director: Joanna Gwiazdecka (until June 2022)
<https://rosalux.cz/>

WESTERN EUROPE



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

TRADE AND ECONOMICS DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

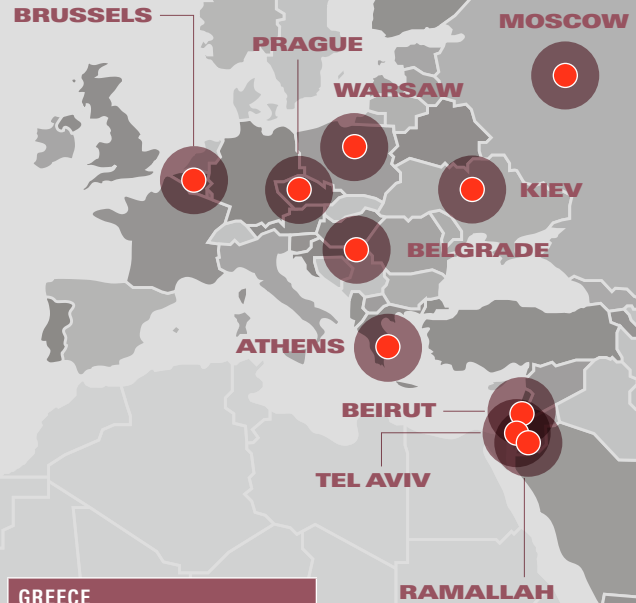
Location: Brussels, Belgium (in the regional office)
Year Founded: 2018
Project countries: worldwide (focus on Europe and EU trade relations)
Office director: Arif Rüzgar
www.rosalux.eu

LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Location: Madrid, Spain
Year Founded: 2017
Project countries: Spain, Portugal
Programme Coordinator: Anna Schröder

UKRAINE

Location: Kiev, Ukraine
Year Founded: 2016
Project country: Ukraine, Moldova
Programme Coordination: Ivo Georgiev
<http://rosalux.org.ua/de/>



GREECE



Location: Athens, Greece
Year Founded: 2012
Project countries: Greece and the Mediterranean
Office director: Maria Oshana, from March 2022: Friedrich Burschel
<http://rosalux.gr/de>

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

RUSSIA, BELARUS, AND SOUTH CAUCASUS

In April 2022, the Russian authorities de-registered the Moscow office. Work for these project countries is being temporarily continued from Berlin.
Year Founded: 2003
Project countries: Russia, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan
Office director: Kerstin Kaiser, from September 2022: Joanna Gwiazdecka
www.rosalux.ru



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: Karin Gerster
www.rosalux.ps

LEBANON, SYRIA, IRAQ



Location: Beirut, Lebanon
Year Founded: 2017
Project countries: Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Qatar
Office director: Miriam Younes, from February 2022: Tanja Tabbara
www.rosalux-lb.org

ASIA UNIT

SOUTH ASIA



Location: New Delhi, India
Year Founded: 2010
Project countries: India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan
Office director: Currently vacant, contact via the Asia Unit in Berlin
www.rosalux.in

SOUTH EAST ASIA (MANILA OFFICE)



Location: Manila, Philippines
Year Founded: 2019
Project countries: Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia
Office director: Liliane Danso-Dahmen
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.rosaluxhanoi.org

CHINA



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

CENTRAL ASIA



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

FUNDED PROJECTS

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung cooperates with a variety of political education organizations from across Germany's federal states through project funding. In the second year of the pandemic, Corona has continued to make itself felt in various ways. We received a total of 332 applications, representing another slight decrease from last year. Nevertheless, we were able to observe that many project partners made use of newly discovered digital alternatives. Various types of digital educational formats took on a central role. Among the funded projects are numerous online or hybrid events, podcasts, radio broadcasts, and some documentaries. A total of 128 projects were funded last year. Of these, 39 projects were locally managed by the RLS regional branches. 313,313 euros were used, of which 57,150 euros went to the Landesstiftungen as core funding.

Five large projects were supported with a total of 140,500 euros (45 percent of the budget):

- Berliner Institut für Kritische Theorie e. V.: publication of a historical and critical dictionary of Marxism: preparation of volume 9/2, *Mitleid bis Nazismus*, publication of volume 10, *Negation der Negation bis Phantasie* – 45,000 euros
- Three projects at the Linken Medienakademie e. V.: LiMA-Hybrid-Akademie 2021 *Virale Solidarität* (Viral Solidarity), the education programme *Bildet Links! Migrantisch. Solidarisch. Digital.* (Left education!/Make Links! Migrant. Solidarity. Digital.), and the *Zukunftscampus 2021* (Future Campus 2021) for journalists – 60,000 euros
- Digitalcourage e. V.: Consulting and federal coordination for the #unteilbar campaign – 10,000 euros
- Panzerkreuzerrotkäppchen PKRK: TreuhandTechno. Dancing in the Dark – 15,500 euros
- Frauensommerakademie* e. V.: *Frauensommerakademie 2021* (Women's summer academy) Shame on you off us! – 10,000 euros

Nine projects were funded with between 5,000 and 9,999 euros, 19 projects with between 2,000 and 4,999 euros, 71 with between 1,000 and 1,999 euros, and 22 projects with between 500 and 999 euros.

CENTRAL PROJECTS IN 2021 ON THE THEMATIC FOCI "SOCIETY OF THE MANY" AND "REFUGEES AND MIGRATION"

One of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's key thematic foci is *Kampf gegen rechts für eine Gesellschaft der Vielen* (Fighting Against the Right for a Society of the Many). We have decided to present three special projects that fit under this theme here:

RADIO DREYECKLAND: COLOURFUL CULTURE, RADIO SHOWS BY AND WITH ARTISTS WITH EXPERIENCES SEEKING ASYLUM. A PROJECT FROM THE EDITORIAL TEAM OUR VOICE – DIE STIMME DER UNSICHTBAREN (THE VOICE OF THE INVISIBLE), JANUARY TO DECEMBER 2021 – 1,000 EUROS

The RLS funded an eleven-part radio serial featuring artists with experiences seeking asylum. The team uses their slot on Freiburg’s independent Radio Dreyeckland to give space to the personal stories, but especially to the artistic work, of artists with a migrant or refugee background. The first four episodes of Colourful Culture were produced in collaboration with the

artists Dara, Ahmed and Reda, through February 2021. The following episodes primarily comprised interviews and the life and asylum seeking stories of people with a refugee or migrant background. The artists’ narratives frequently refer to their experiences of what it is like to live and work as an artist in a predominantly white and racist society—a situation recently compounded by the coronavirus pandemic, which eliminated performance opportunities and, with them, sources of income. Colourful Culture thus became an important mouthpiece for initiatives, refugee communities, and for the artists themselves. The series will continue in 2022. More information at: <https://rdl.de/sendung/colourful-culture>.

IN 2021, THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FUNDED A TOTAL OF 128 PROJECTS





"Look & Act: Assert Human Rights!": Grandmas Against the Right at the event of the same name in Berlin in summer 2021.

WIR PACKEN'S AN E. V.: PANEL DISCUSSION *HINSEHEN & HANDELN. MENSCHENRECHTE DURCHSETZEN!* (LOOK & ACT: ASSERT HUMAN RIGHTS!), BERLIN, JUNE 2021 – 1,500 EUROS

In 2021, Wir Packen's an e. V., based in Brandenburg, drew attention to the situation of refugees at Europe's external borders with numerous actions and tremendous commitment, as well as providing concrete emergency aid on the ground. The RLS funded this association to hold an event on 19 June for World Refugee Day. Activists and people with experiences of fleeing from Bosnia, Greece, and Germany came together in an open-air panel discussion and spoke about the human rights violations being committed by the European Union in the Balkans and the Aegean Sea. About 100 visitors came to the event at Mariannenplatz. The program was recorded and is available online at: <https://wir-packens-an.info/flucht-ist-erst-vorbei-wenn-du-wirklich-in-sicherheit-bist/>.

DIS:ORIENT E. V.: RADIO BROADCAST, *RESONANZ. ARABISCH-DEUTSCHE LESEREIHE IN DREI TEILEN* (RESONANCE: AN ARABIC-GERMAN READING SERIES IN THREE PARTS), OCTOBER TO DECEMBER 2021 – 1,000 EUROS

Resonanz is an Arabic-German literary radio show that was broadcast in three parts on Leipzig's Radio Sphere in the autumn of 2021. The series was organized by Shabaka, a Leipzig collective that aims to build a network of people writing in Arabic, translating from Arabic into German, and

people interested in literature, and to raise the profile of Arabic literature in Leipzig. Guests on the three episodes were Yosra Esseghir and Amal Khlif (Chaml authors' collective), as well as Nora Amin and Najat Abdul Samad. In the first part of the show the authors read from their works, in the second part they talked about the intersectional feminist and activist perspectives in their work. The broadcasts can be listened to at: <https://sphere-radio.net/sendungen/shabaka/>.

Projects on the topic area social theory/critique of capitalism were most strongly represented, with 19 projects. Some examples of funded projects:

- Kollektiv kritzel.klar: *Pic und Voice und das Geld*, educational video clips in simple language, July 2021 – 2,000 euros
- Samuel Pufendorf Gesellschaft für politische Ökonomie e. V.: 2nd International European Modern Monetary Theory Conference, September 2021 in Berlin – 1,500 euros
- Gesellschaft für subjektwissenschaftliche Forschung und Praxis e. V.: *12. Ferienuniversität Kritische Psychologie* (12th Summer University for Critical Psychology), September 2021 in Berlin – 2,100 euros
- Rubus project: *Politisches Rahmenprogramm der Frauen-Lesben-Trans-Inter-Baustelle* (Political Framework Program of the Women-Lesbians-Trans-Intersex-Works-in-Progress, Workshops), April 2021 in Guben – 500 euros
- Berliner Gazette e. V.: BLACK BOX EAST conference, September 2021 in Berlin – 4,000 euros

With 18 projects, the Struggle against the right/anti-racism topic was among the main project funding foci. Among others, we funded:

- Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt e.V.: *OMAS GEGEN RECHTS. Alt, weiblich, gefährlich* (Grandmas Against the Right: Old, Female, Dangerous), publication, Berlin 2021 – 1,500 euros
- Netzwerk Solidarische Landwirtschaft e.V.: Online conference, *Kartoffel, Kürbis, Vaterland – Landwirtschaft aus rechter Hand* (Potatoes, Pumpkins, Blood and Soil – Extreme-Right Agriculture), March 2021 in Jena – 1,000 euros
- Project Verein e.V./Conne Island: *6. Antifaschistischer Jugendkongress 2021* (6th Anti-Fascist Youth Congress), August 2021 in Chemnitz – 5,000 euros
- Fremde für Fremde: *Seminarwoche für fremde reisende Handwerker*innen* (Seminar Week for Foreign Itinerant Tradespeople), October 2021 in Wehlen, Elbsandsteingebirge – 1,000 euros

The “Society of the Many” theme was represented by 15 funded projects; a selection:

- Amaro Drom e.V.: *Bundesjugendtreffen Terne Sinti und Roma 2021* (Federal Gathering of Terne, Sinti, and Roma Youth), November 2021 in Düsseldorf – 5,000 euros
- LAFI NK e.V.: *In der ersten Person: Sichtbarmachung und Empowerment lateinamerikanischer und karibischer Migrantinnen in Berlin* (First Person: Visibility and Empowerment for Latin American and Caribbean Migrants in Berlin), short films, Berlin 2021 – 750 euros
- Bildungswerkstatt Migration & Gesellschaft e.V.: *Black Wendland: Wochenende für Black Empowerment und selbstbestimmtes Leben auf dem Land* (Weekend for Black Empowerment and Self-Determination in the Countryside), September 2021 in Meuchefitz – 1,500 euros

A wide range of topics was covered by the supported publications. Here is a selection:

- Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie e.V.: *Wirtschaft demokratisch gestalten lernen: Digitalisierter Kapitalismus* (Learning to Shape the Economy Democratically: Digitalized Capitalism), educational material, Leipzig 2021 – 7,900 euros
- Heike Kanter, Michael Brandmayr, and Nadja Köffler (eds.): *Bilder, soziale Medien und das Politische: Transdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf visuelle Diskursprozesse* (Images, Social Media, and the Political: Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Visual Discursive Processes), Bielefeld 2021 – 900 euros
- Activism e.V.: *Von Verschwörungen und Ideologien: Geschichten zu Zeiten einer Pandemie – grafisch und sachlich erzählt* (Conspiracy Theories and Ideologies: Stories in the Time of a Pandemic), online publication, Munich 2021 – 1,500 euros.
- iz3w e.V.: iz3w issue #383: *Stop it! Polizeigewalt* (Stop it! Police Violence), Freiburg 2021 – 500 euros

- Lagergemeinschaft Ravensbrück Freundeskreis e.V. (ed.): *Polnische Frauen in Ravensbrück: Biografische Skizzen zur Vielfalt der Verfolgungshintergründe und der erlebten Erfahrungen* (Polish Women in Ravensbrück: Biographical Sketches), Fürstenberg 2021 – 1,000 euros

Several projects were organized locally by the RLS regional branches (Landesstiftungen). Networking between political educators across the federal states is promoted through local cooperation and mediation of contacts. Here are some examples:

- Karin Kaper Film: *Walter Kaufmann – Welch ein Leben!* (What a Life!), film screenings in Saarland, Saxony, and Mecklenburg–Western Pomerania, 2021 – 2,400 euros
- Studio Naxos: *Das postmigrantische Theater neu denken: Ursprünge – Entwicklung – Chancen – Potenziale* (Re-thinking Post-Migrant Theatre), conference, May 2021 in Frankfurt am Main – 1,000 euros
- alinae lumr e.V.: *Biberbrunnen – ein dokumentarischer Hörspaziergang gegen das Schweigen* (A Documentary Audio Walk against Remaining Silent), May 2021 in Beverstedt – 1,000 euros
- nö theater e.V.: *No Corona, no cry: Dokumentarisches Theaterstück über die Genese der Corona-Proteste* (A Documentary Theatre Piece on the Genesis of the Coronavirus Protests), September 2021 in Cologne – 1,000 euros
- Subbotnik e.V.: *Kantine (de Pizan): Das Theoriefestival in Chemnitz* (Cantine Festival), August 2021 in Chemnitz – 5,000 euros

In 2021, a broad spectrum of left-wing topics was once again addressed in various formats and worked up into political education materials or programmes. The funded external projects round out the RLS’s political education spectrum thematically, regionally, and in terms of target groups.

Christa Luft in discussion with Anna Stiede (l.) and Susann Neuenfeldt (r.) from TreuhandTechno.



The diverse activities surrounding the 150th birthday of our namesake included the artistic examination of the reception and influence of Rosa Luxemburg on today's society – in this case through graffiti art. Berlin graffiti artists Minamania and Mark Straeck put the famous Luxemburg quote "I was, I am, I shall be" at the center of their artistic work. In addition, young people from the Berlin-Brandenburg region dealt with the historical personality under the guidance of artist Daniel Ihrke. On the Open Day itself, artist Danny Figueroa offered free graffiti workshops.





DRG

ROSA LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG











FRIEDEN?



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.

2021 was another year spent under pandemic conditions for the Scholarship Department as well. Our most important tasks were securing the scholarship payments, organizing and handling the selection process, maintaining contact with scholarship holders, alumni, and academic trustees, as well as the further development of digital educational formats.

In addition to our annual events, one of our key topics in 2021 was *Rosa gegen rechts* (Rosa Against the Right). The digital educational formats invited students to engage with the fight against the right and for a “society of the many” in diverse areas such as pedagogical and political education in trade unions or the police.

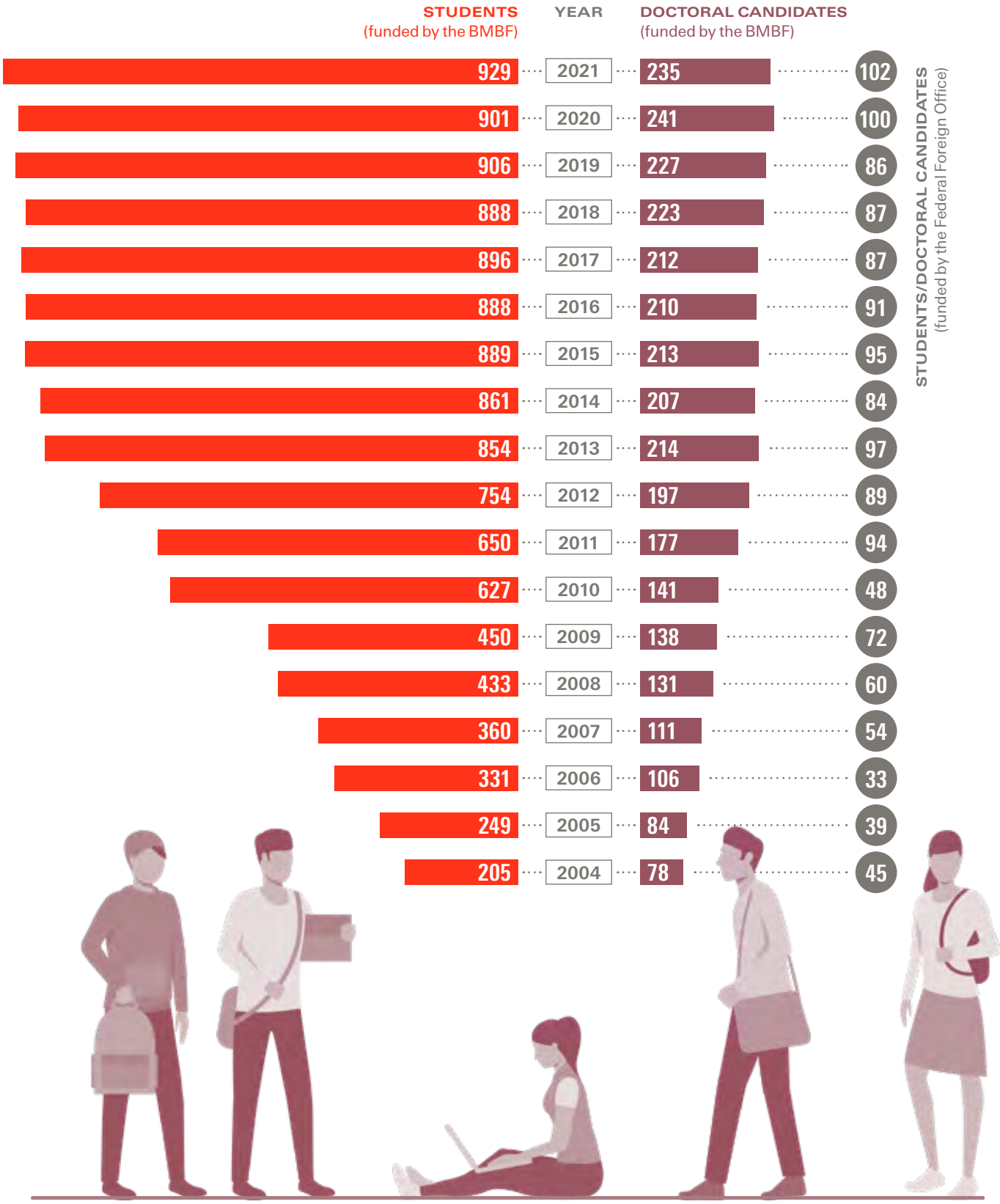
In response to the specific burdens that students were (and are) facing during the pandemic, we offered online group coaching in 2021. This combination of individual support from a coach and mutual counselling and exchange was intended to help the scholarship holders work on issues they had in common.

In our education policy podcast *Bildung in Rosa: Ein Podcast auf dem Weg zu inklusiver Bildung* (Education in Pink: A Podcast Towards Inclusive Education), we discussed the different dimensions of educational inequality with various experts. However, rather than limiting ourselves to the level of analysis, we went one step further towards equality: together we developed scenarios for the future of possible and necessary changes that enable participation. The podcast series will culminate with an event in 2022 in which many experts will participate. The results will then be published and the network will be expanded step by step.

In our work with alumni, we continued our successful digital series RLS: *(Um-)Wege* (RLS: (De)Tours). In these online talks, former scholarship holders share their (im)possible educational pathways.

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 broad 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





Riccardo Altieri

“WHAT WOULD ROSA DO?”

ROSI WOLFSTEIN’S AND PAUL FRÖLICH’S INFLUENCE ON THE RECEPTION OF ROSA LUXEMBURG

Many of Rosa Luxemburg’s comrades—Mathilde Jacob, Luise Kautsky, Paul Levi, Sophie Liebknecht, and of course Clara and Kostja Zetkin—are well known to a scholarly public. But who today knows Rosi Wolfstein and Paul Frölich and what they have to do with Rosa Luxemburg? The fact that both have largely been forgotten may be due to the fact that they could not be placed in the (post-)Stalinist historical tradition of the socialist states because, after 1950, they opposed the SED and thus the GDR, while in West Germany hardly anyone was interested in biographies of left-wing socialists from the pre-war and inter-war periods.

This gap has now been filled by the publication of *“Antifaschisten, das waren wir...“: Rosi Wolfstein und Paul Frölich. Eine Doppelbiografie* (“Anti-fascists, That’s What We Were...”: Rosi Wolfstein and Paul Frölich, A Double Biography), a dissertation by Riccardo Altieri. It was funded by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and will also be available online free of charge from February 2023.

In 1912, Wolfstein joined Luxemburg in election rallies. In return, Luxemburg, a teacher at the SPD party school, brought

Wolfstein, who was born in Witten, to Berlin and became her teacher. Frölich already knew the renowned politician from his work at the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, intended to invite her later to give lectures in Hamburg, and came to realize that she and her like-minded colleagues had a hard time in the SPD. The First World War widened the rifts between Luxemburg’s anti-militarist supporters and what would later become the Majority Social Democratic Party of Germany (MSPD). At the founding party congress of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in December 1918, Wolfstein, Frölich, and Luxemburg all met together for the first time. After 15 January 1919, Wolfstein relentlessly upheld the memory of her murdered teacher, particularly in the Prussian parliament.

As “Luxemburgists”, both were expelled from the KPD in 1928–29 for opposing Stalin. In the Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany (SAP), to which they belonged from 1931, they regarded Luxemburg’s political convictions as a moral imperative for their own actions. After Frölich had edited Luxemburg’s works in the 1920s, with Wolfstein’s assistance as proofreader, from 1937 to 1939 they jointly wrote one of the earliest biographies on Luxemburg, which was published under Frölich’s name. Willy Brandt, also a member of the SAP, would later complain that at every turn the two of them asked, “What would Rosa do?”

In the month of his death—in March 1953—Paul Frölich’s last text was published, also on Rosa Luxemburg. Rosi Wolfstein lived until 1987 and was the last living contemporary witness. She acted as a consultant for Margarethe von Trotta’s Luxemburg film and was even called the “second Rosa Luxemburg” by some.

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DOING DOCTORAL STUDIES DURING A PANDEMIC

INTERVIEW WITH THE SCHOLARSHIP HOLDER
JOSEPHINA SCHMIDT

Josephina Schmidt is a social worker who is completing her doctorate in education with a dissertation on “Women in Social Psychiatric Residential Homes” at the Eberhard Karls University in Tübingen. She received a scholarship from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung from 2018 to 2021. She lives in Stuttgart with her child and partner.

What is it like for you to pursue a doctorate during a pandemic?

Schmidt: The pandemic has had a big impact on my PhD work. I can hardly keep up with my schedules because the circumstances are constantly changing. I have already been in quarantine seven times. Staying motivated takes a lot of energy. Fortunately, we are a very good team at home. My partner is also working on his doctorate, so we understand each other very well. My son makes sure that we also do different, nice, and fun things from time to time. All in all, like most people, we have withdrawn to the private sphere considerably.

As a social worker, I am very concerned that this has made social problems, such as domestic violence, less visible and housing conditions more precarious for many people.

Another challenge while pursuing a doctorate is that the public aspect is mostly lacking. Although many colloquia and conferences take place online, and the various exchange opportunities with other Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung scholarship holders are very helpful, online communication is quite exhausting and feedback is only possible to a limited extent. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, I also had to give up the lectures I was giving on the side.

Your dissertation project deals with vulnerable people with mental health issues who need special attention during the coronavirus pandemic. On the other hand, you are confronted with the *Querdenker* movement in Stuttgart. How do you feel about this contrast?

Schmidt: The big demos, where tens of thousands of people vented their anger about the restrictions, really frightened me. Nationalist, antisemitic, and conspiracy theorist slogans, stickers, and posters can be seen everywhere in the city. In order not to leave the public discussion to the so-called *Querdenker*, rebuttals are not only made at counter-demos, but also in everyday life, for example when conspiracy theories are posted in parents’ chat groups or when I witness the growing fear of vaccination in school classes. Or when in social psychiatry, on which I do research and in which I have also worked, there is no demarcation between justified criticism of psychopharmaceuticals and esoteric conspiracy theories.

In dealing with anti-vaxxers and coronavirus deniers, I distinguish between people for whom I have a social work commit-



Josephina Schmidt

ment and people whom I meet as a citizen, colleague, or private person. Regarding the first group, I take their fears very seriously, whereas for the second group, I make my position clear and don’t engage in arguments.

Rosa Luxemburg was continually confronted with nationalist, antisemitic, anti-intellectual, and chauvinist hostility. What significance to her thoughts and actions, guided by rationality and solidarity, have for you?

Schmidt: I often draw on Rosa Luxemburg. What inspires me is how she created the space in her private relationships and friendships to develop, reflect, and consolidate her political positions. As far as I know, Rosa Luxemburg also practised in her private life what she advocated politically. It is also very important to me, if possible, to live in the present in a way that reflects what I imagine a better world could look like. Unfortunately, Rosa Luxemburg experienced plenty of times how political opponents are not always clearly recognizable and that hostility can come from all sides. And this uncertainty also applies today to the *Querdenker* movement. Rosa Luxemburg is a role model for me because she kept on fighting tirelessly.

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POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

For Political Communication, 2021 was a year of continual experimentation. New, permanent digital formats were needed in the pandemic situation to compete in the struggle for public awareness while no or only very limited events could take place in person. This too in the year of our namesake's 150th birthday.

The experimentation began on 4 and 5 March with a multi-faceted digital festival programme and an online, English-language conference. The German-language programme celebrating Rosa Luxemburg's life and work was meant to function as an *Ermutigung in Zeiten der Pandemie und anderer Katastrophen*—encouragement in times of pandemic and other catastrophes. More than 3,500 viewers tuned in to the live stream—around fourteen times as many as fit into our main hall.

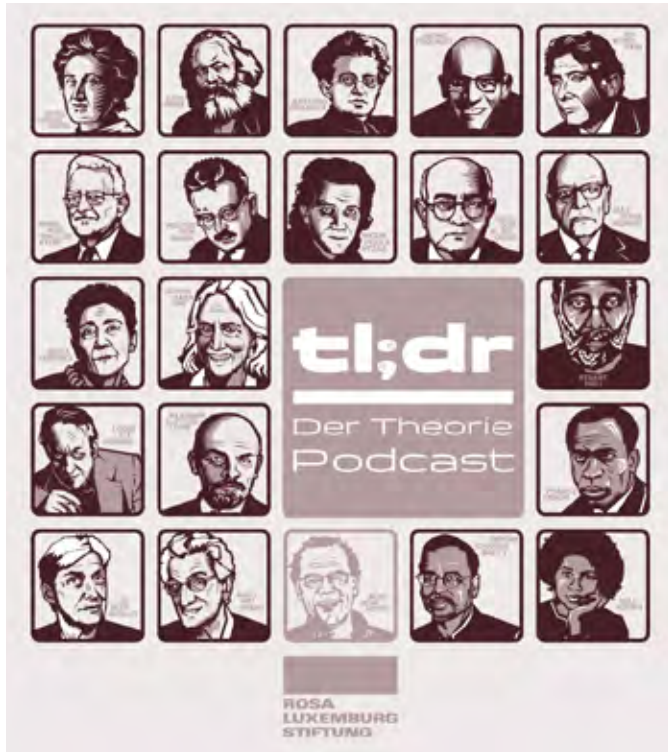
A brief coronavirus time-out in the summer changed nothing: 70 percent of the 231 public events we organized were exclusively digital or hybrid.

In the second year of the pandemic, we further intensified the use of the dpa subsidiary Newsaktuell to send out our press releases. The 23 press releases, displayed on an equal footing with dpa reports, were accessed by 40,666 users, meaning an average of 1,768 hits per release. Despite the pandemic we were able to further expand our network of contacts in journalism.

If the pandemic restrictions had one good thing going for them, it was that more people were reading overall—both on paper and online. The total circulation of our print products was just under 50,000 copies. Demand for our online content increased by 14 percent from last year, with our website www.rosalux.de thus receiving almost 2.8 million visits. We rose to this demand for information only too gladly, with more than 1,000 publications (including our new *luxemburg beiträge* format) and articles, as well as more than 1,100 news items and reports. Access to our social media content also climbed noticeably. 769 posts were published on our German-language Facebook page alone, and the number of subscriptions rose to 84,624. Our posts received 121,648 likes, 10,882 comments and were shared 25,630 times. The videos posted there and on our YouTube channel were viewed for 52,350 minutes. The number of our followers on Twitter increased by almost 14 percent to 35,833.

In January, our new Instagram channel was launched, imparting glimpses of RLS work to a younger target population. With 218 posts published, we reached over 1.1 million contacts. The channel garnered more than 7,000 followers in the space of a year.

In summary, the experiment has been a success—Political Communication is now thoroughly digitized!



Artistically modified portraits of theorists by Navid Thürauf.

A PODCAST WITH USE-VALUE

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG THEORY PODCAST STARTED IN 2021

“Too long, didn’t read” —that’s how many of us feel when we think of Walter Benjamin’s unfinished Arcades Project or Antonio Gramsci’s 2,000-page Prison Notebooks. “Every beginning is difficult, holds in all sciences,” Marx wrote in the preface to his magnum opus Capital, thus preparing generations of would-be students for endless hours spent with exchange value and use value, constant and variable capital, and the fetish character of the commodity.

Since then, left-wing theoretical development has evolved and branched out; hardly anyone can follow the “cold tide” (Ernst Bloch) of sober materialist social analysis and theory in its entirety. With the theory podcast we attempt to provide an overview of central works of Marxist, feminist, postcolonial, post-structuralist, and critical theorists. We want to explain the different theoretical traditions in their mutual references and influences, so that the congealed knowledge of actors and movements can gradually be unlocked.

Alex Demirović, who as a member of the board of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and professor emeritus of political theory has a profound knowledge of different theoretical approaches, gives an introduction to the work in question. He rehearses the authorial influences and important biographical milestones and explores these in more depth with experts.

Where are the central lines of thought of the authors to be found, how were the modes of thought and critical analysis elaborated? What are the connections to other theoretical schools, where can theoretical links to other theorists be found? Where are the points of contact for today’s debates and questions? What do the unrealized potentials of the theories consist in?

In the first year since the launch of the podcast, we presented works by Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Edward Said, Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, Walter Benjamin, Nicos Poulantzas, Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, Silvia Federici, Donna Haraway, and Stuart Hall. Distinguished guests included Lia Becker, Manuela Bojadžijev, Alexander Gallas, Katharina Hoppe, Rahel Jaeggi, Serhat Karakayalı, Andrea Kretschmann, María do Mar Castro Varela, Miriam Pieschke, Nora Räthzel, Susanne Schulz, and Ruth Sonderegger.

There are now over 16,000 subscribers to the show via the various podcatchers, and up to 2,000 views via Soundcloud on the RLS website. Currently, 2,000 new listeners subscribe every month. This demonstrates the potential in the booming area of academic podcasts as well as the demand for knowledge and education in the digital realm.

In 2022, the theory podcast will feature contributions on the major works of Louis Althusser, W.I. Lenin, Frantz Fanon, Judith Butler, Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, bell hooks, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Ernst Bloch, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. The podcasts make it easier to start reading on one’s own, and give overviews of theses and key terms that help to break through the thicket of theory. An educational format has thus been created that teaches sophisticated theory in a

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG ON SOCIAL MEDIA

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accessible way, delivers stimuli for thought, and encourages people to read and think along.

@ROSALUXSTIFTUNG

THE RLS IN THE FAST-PACED INSTAGRAM REALM

Since January 2021, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has expanded its presence to Instagram. The account was initially started to accompany the *ROSA150* project, sharing insights into Rosa Luxemburg’s life and work. As the year went on the topics became more diverse, and we now use it to present publications, articles, and events, transmit impressions of everyday life at the RLS, and to commemorate important left-wing personalities and events.

The purpose is not only to portray our work, but also political education itself. We want to meet users in their everyday lives, give them food for thought, and provide them with tidbits of knowledge. We achieve this not least through adjusting our content to suit the way the platform works. We do not only use classic text and image elements, but also short videos or humorous elements such as memes. Instagram as a platform is based on rapidity: an infinite amount of content is made available every second. We want our account to make left-wing topics and perspectives visible in this chaos, mostly

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung now has its own account on Instagram.



influenced by pop and youth culture, and to provide users, particularly less politicized ones, with helpful knowledge basics via high-quality posts.

And it is working: with a total of 218 posts, we were able to reach more than 1.1 million people in 2021 and presently (March 2022) have more than 8,500 followers—and counting. Particularly successful for us in terms of reach was the use of “reels”, an Instagram short video format. With videos about new episodes of our Rosalux History podcast, or criticizing the current coalition government’s policy with regard to healthcare and climate justice, or explanations of the *kafala* system as part of our project on the 2022 Football World Cup in Qatar, in each case we have reached several tens of thousands of users.

In addition to the main channel, there are other accounts of the foundation with a sharper thematic focus, such as @rosalux_klima, @rosalux_history, @rosalux_migration and @rosalux_kritischerkonsum. This diversity of channels enables the RLS to both provide an overview of our work and engage in political education, while also offering sufficient space for our main areas of focus.

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Even though as a left-wing organization we of course regard social networks such as Instagram (which, like Facebook, belongs to the Meta Group) with a measure of scepticism and criticism, their use in 2021 is almost indispensable if we want to reach younger target groups. Over 70 percent of our followers on Instagram are aged between 13 and 34. If we want our left-wing social criticism and left-wing perspectives on world events to remain relevant, we must expand our activities on social media platforms and, in this context, also engage in new forms of digital communication and political education. For those who don’t want to miss out, be sure to follow us at @rosaluxstiftung.

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In 2021, we not only set up our own channel, but also analysed the phenomenon of Instagram as part of our study *Visueller Aktivismus mit Instagram* (Visual Activism with Instagram, www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/44580), published in June. We also offer workshops providing interested users with practical help in the successful use of Instagram in their own political work: our seminars on strategies for action against hate online, and critiquing the (commercial) influence of influencers on social media platforms, were fully booked.



SELECTED ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PUBLICATIONS

Nadja Rakowitz

Applaus ist nicht genug

Myths, problems, and struggles in the health sector during the pandemic
luxemburg argumente no. 19, 44 pages
ISSN 2193-5831

Jörn Boewe, Stephan Krull,
Johannes Schulten

E-Mobilität – ist das die Lösung?

A survey of automotive industry employees regarding social-ecological transition
luxemburg beiträge no. 1, 84 pages
ISBN 978-3-948250-35-5

Eva Völpel

Rückverteilen

Intensified struggles over the future and financing of social services
luxemburg beiträge no. 3, 52 pages
ISSN 2749-0939

Hendrik Sander

Wer bezahlt die mobilitätsgerechte Stadt?

Instruments for alternative financing of public transport
luxemburg beiträge no. 7, 80 pages
ISSN 2749-093

Melanie Stitz, Paul Wellsow

Wie geht politische Bildung?

A guide to political education and successful events
Educational materials, 44 pages
ISBN 978-3-948250-37-9

Redaktionsgruppe

Die Genossenschaftler*innen Selbstverwaltet und solidarisch wohnen

Cooperatives and their importance for public-welfare oriented housing policy
Paperback, 96 pages
ISBN 978-3-948250-31-7

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (ed.)

Atlas of Enslavement

Facts and figures about forced labour and exploitation
Paperback, 60 pages
ISBN 978-3-948250-41-6

Michael Brie

Friedrich Engels und die Wohnungsfrage

Friedrich Engels and the housing question
Paperback, 80 pages
ISBN 978-3-948250-46-1

Vera Wegmann

Daseinsvorsorge und Rekommunalisierung

Recommendations on public services and re-communalization
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ISBN 978-3-948250-38-6

Benjamin Luig

Bittere Orangen

The export of citrus fruits from South Africa to Germany
Stapled, 48 pages
ISBN 978-3-948250-27-0

Wolfram Adolphi (ed.)

Heinrich Fink

Peace as life principle
Manuskripte new series, no. 29
144 pages, ISSN 2194-864X

Vincent Streichhahn

#Ländersache

Saxony-Anhalt before the election
luxemburg report, 20 pages
ISSN 2747-9617

Anne Goldenbogen, Sarah Kleinmann
Aktueller Antisemitismus in Deutschland

Contemporary antisemitism in Germany
Studien 1/2021, 50 pages
ISSN 2194-2242

Tanja Maier

Visueller Aktivismus mit Instagram

Visual activism with Instagram
Studien 10/2021, 28 pages
ISSN 2194-2242

Katrin Nicke

Linke Akteure in den Städten und Gemeinden

On the state of democracy and the role of the party at the local level
Studien 13/2021, 58 pages
ISSN 2194-2242

FROM KARL DIETZ VERLAG, BERLIN

Ishay Landa

Der Lehrling und sein Meister

Translation of The Apprentice's Sorcerer, on the liberal tradition and fascism
Translated from English by Raul Zelik
Paperback, 408 pages
ISBN 978-3-320-02383-6

Søren Mau

Stummer Zwang

A Marxist theory of the economic power of capital
Translated from English by Christian Frings
Paperback, 360 pages

Timo Daum, Sabine Nuss (eds.)

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IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER PUBLISHERS

ARGUMENT-VERLAG

Mario Candeias (ed.)

Klassentheorie

On Making and Remaking
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VSA: VERLAG

Andrej Holm (ed.)

Wohnen zwischen Markt, Staat und Gesellschaft

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Paperback, 248 pages
ISBN 978-3-96488-080-2

Jane McAlevy

Macht: Gemeinsame Sache

Unions, Organizing and the Struggle for Democracy
Paperback, 216 pages
ISBN 978-3-96488-115-1

All publications, except those published by Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, are available as free downloads.

DISPATCHES FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

LETTING THE GUESTS STREAM THROUGH OUR DOORS

Hosting an open day during a pandemic is, to quote Bertolt Brecht, “the simple thing/ so hard to achieve.” Nevertheless, on Sunday, 5 September 2021, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung opened its new headquarters to its cooperation partners, political comrades-in-arms, and other guests. A few obstacles had to be overcome in the run-up to the event: due to the increasing number of infections, it quickly became clear that granting open access to the building was out of the question. Only people who were vaccinated, had recovered, or had tested negative were allowed in. A hygiene plan and an orientation system had to be developed and implemented. The programme was ambitious. The mood in the interdepartmental planning team and in the event management fluctuated between optimism and scepticism. And then came the train drivers’ strike...

Despite all this, the open day was a success. Four panel discussions took place in the large hall. The speakers took turns to talk about myths and assertions in current housing policy, the profit logic in the German health system and its consequences, about how climate change will transform our lives, and about post-migration realities in the East and the West. There were just under 100 people in the large hall, which normally seats 300. That’s why we streamed all the presentations live. For it to succeed, the Facebook live stream had to start on time, or else nothing would have worked: there were several panel discussions every hour, with changing audiences, so starting on time became a permanent challenge. After all, what offline panel discussion is ever so strict about time?

In the meantime, the visitors could see the exhibition *Krieg und Frieden* (War and Peace) in the foyer. The complex topic was illustrated by around 80 panels in a variety of formats and from different perspectives.

In the basement we showed parts of the exhibition *Schicksal Treuhand – Treuhand-Schicksale* (Destiny Treuhand – Treuhand Destinies), in which East German contemporary witnesses have their say about their experiences during the reunification period. In the boiler room, visitors could experience the artistic research project TreuhandTechno, which examines the developments of the Treuhandanstalt (Trust agency) and of the techno scene in the East at the beginning of the 1990s and engages with them in a performative way. The rumbling basses of the walk-in sound and video installation created by the Panzerkreuzer Rotkäppchen collective had to be turned down so as not to drown out the moderated programme on the stage behind the building, which included live music, discussions, and a clown show.



The first open day was well attended.



Having fun with Dolchu the clown.



Discussion about post-migration realities in East and West with Lydia Lierke and Massimo Perinelli in the main hall.



On the open-air stage and in the seminar rooms there were many discussions about RLS projects.



The Red Swing Trio ensured the mood was good outside.



In early September, under the title "Today is the Answer", the RLS opened the doors of its new headquarters at Straße der Pariser Kommune 8A to its partners, comrades from the left-wing community and interested visitors.

The patios were open for graffiti artists and those who would like to become one. On the street side, Minamania and Mark Straeck created a 35-metre-long artwork with the Luxemburg quote “I was, I am, I shall be” at its centre. On the courtyard area, young adults engaged with Luxemburg’s reception and influence on today’s society. Children, young people, and entire families seized the opportunity to participate, free of charge, in the *Sprayen für Anfänger*innen* (Graffiti for beginners) workshop. Untrained in the use of the spray can, their droplets did not always hit the target. This part of the programme in particular caused many headaches in the run-up to the event. In the end, it proved to be a good idea to cover the striking X-shaped supports and the railing and to protect the patio floor with painter’s fleece.

The guided tours of the building with information on architecture and sustainable building methods were very popular, as was the art project *262 Klincken* (262 Door Handles), an international door handle exchange project with political and social actors who are connected to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in different ways. They give each other a door handle, and stay in long-lasting contact as a result. Many guests wanted to touch the original door handle from the main house of the Liliesleaf farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg, which Nelson Mandela had held in his hand.

The timing of the guided tours and the start of the events were coordinated so as to minimize the number of people in the corridors and stairwells. This meant that the guided tours had to be fast paced. This was not ideal for visiting the library, with its vast research collection and state-of-the-art workstations for visitors, the exhibition *Asmaras Moderne – Architektur im Wandel der Zeit* (Asmara’s Modernity – Architecture through the Ages) by photographer Jean Molitor, or the great view over the city and the Spree from the eighth floor windows.

Looking back, we were quite brave. With a planning period of only ten weeks, which partly coincided with the main holiday period of many staff members and participants, we took a big risk, especially since we had no chance to test in advance whether such a broad programme with such diverse activities would work in the new building. Are we satisfied with the

A discussion event on the small stage.



RLS Executive Director Daniela Trochowski.

result? Yes, but there is still room for improvement. Our wish for next time? We want more guests streaming in!

“PATHS ARE CREATED BY OUR WALKING THEM”

AN INTERVIEW WITH EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
DANIELA TROCHOWSKI

In 2020, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung turned 30. A good occasion to look back at what has been achieved and to define new goals. In 2021, the Executive Board set the course for an organizational development process (ODP) and commissioned the management to plan and implement it.

Why is there a need for change?

Trochowski: We are the largest socialist education and research organization in Germany. Our goal is to strengthen leftist actors’ ability to make a difference. We see our task as enabling and advancing left-wing actions and discussions in society. This is a tall order. For us to meet it—especially given the current situation of Die Linke—we have to increase our visibility and impact in society, and we must develop unique selling points. To do this, it is important to narrow down our topics and projects, to define goals and target groups more precisely, and to assess our achievements with a critical eye.

What goals are associated with the ODP?

Trochowski: Last year, the Executive Board approved a policy document that formulated thematic priorities, our role in Die Linke and in relation to left actors in various areas of society, and also a call for a greater public impact. With the ODP, we want to align the resources, structures, and processes in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung with this goal. We want to become more successful in our work, and this means, among other things, that we need to be more focused, create structural synergies, but also be ready and willing to change.

How will staff be involved?

Trochowski: We have always emphasized that this process will be led by management. Besides, decisions on fundamental structures are the responsibility of the Executive Board. Nevertheless, there will be room for our colleagues to participate in the discussion. Here I'm thinking, for example, of the actual design of structures and procedures, which the staff themselves know best and which they work with.

What is the time frame for the ODP?

Trochowski: According to our current schedule, we want to finish the process by the beginning of 2023 at the latest.

How will the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung present itself on its 40th birthday?

Trochowski: We have a clear profile and are noticeable and recognizable from the outside. So that even those who have been looking for us in vain will eventually find us. We are a firm pillar in the left-wing family, in left-wing research, associations, and trade unions. For our target groups, we are the prime destination when it comes to acquiring knowledge, seeking support, finding spaces for strategic discussions, and meeting the need for political education and analysis, as well as the tools and methods needed to do so. Moreover: the RLS is a lively place where volunteers act as opinion multipliers.

THREE QUESTIONS ABOUT TWO LOCATIONS

INTERVIEW WITH KATRIN SCHÄFGEN

Since the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung moved into its new building at Straße der Pariser Kommune 8A, staff in Berlin have been working at two locations. The Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID) has remained at Franz-Mehring-Platz 1 (FMP1). Deputy Executive Director Katrin Schäfgen reports on the challenges and opportunities presented by the spatial division of the RLS's headquarters.

RLS Deputy Executive Director Katrin Schäfgen.

**What is the biggest challenge of working at two locations?**

Schäfgen: Our work now requires much more planning and coordination. We used to be able to go to the office next door to clarify whatever came up, or to quickly answer a question in the hallway, but now have to organize meetings. Cross-departmental work implies overcoming additional hurdles and there is an increased danger of inner-departmental isolation. Working in two locations also means major adjustments for our administration: IT and network technology must be provided and maintained at both locations, the offices in the "old building" must be renovated to ensure similar working conditions. And the staff at FMP1 have to travel longer distances to hold events or to reach key areas of the *Stiftung*.

What strategies have the staff developed to exchange ideas between the two locations?

Schäfgen: In terms of its work, the ZID is connected to the headquarters through numerous themes, projects, and networks. It is also clear to everyone that we are still one *Stiftung*. Occasionally, we hold our management meetings at FMP1. There are also regular after-work events at FMP1. There are meetings like the *feministischen Mittagstisch* (feminist lunch) or the open ver.di Lunch. Last year we organized a summer party, which was attended by many of our colleagues.

What opportunities and positive dynamics do you see in the current situation?

Schäfgen: To really to live up to the idea of "one *Stiftung* at two locations", we all need to make an effort. And I see it happening. For example, meetings or appointments aren't held in the new building by default. Another positive aspect is that appointments are now more binding. We still have to find a solution for the important informal meetings—after the pandemic is over.

Personnel officer: "I think that the new building is missing the ZID. The proximity of all departments at one location presents many opportunities and it would be easier for the ZID to cooperate with other departments. The only advantages of the old location I can think of are that it has character and history." Advisor at the Institute for Social Analysis: "I like the new building and feel comfortable here. It's nice and bright at my workplace. For me, one of the biggest disadvantages of the new building is that we hardly meet spontaneously any more, because we are now spread over seven floors. This means that in our day-to-day work, we no longer tend to quickly check things with each other."

THE RLS SUBSIDIARIES

As trustee, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is responsible for six subsidiary Stiftungen, which all deal with very different topics. The Max-Lingner-Stiftung, for example, is dedicated to the work of the painter and graphic artist Max Lingner (1888–1959) and commemorates 20th-century art, which was shaped by emigration, war, and imprisonment in concentration camps, as well as the cultural awakening in the post-war period. The Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung promotes engagement with questions around architecture, urban planning, and social urban development. The cooperation is intended to enrich the educational work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and to help it reach a broader audience.

This is also the aim of the Harald-Breuer-Stiftung, which is primarily active in Africa, and the Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung, which focuses on artistic and literary matters, as well as the conservation of the work of Erik Neutsch. The Modrow-Stiftung promotes cultural remembrance of, and reflection on, everyday life, work, art, the media, and culture of the GDR, and the Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung (for the Commemoration of Democratic



Max Lingner, *Weintraubenverkäuferinnen* (Grape Sellers), 1949.

Socialists) is concerned with German and European history of the 20th and 21st century, in particular the biographies of figures from the labour and union movements.

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

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

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 Cover of the journal *Henselmann*. The journal's editor, the Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung, is supporting Berlin's world heritage application for post-war modernist architecture and urban planning.



responsibility for specific projects. In doing so, we can build on the wealth of experience gathered by the previous contact persons Meinhard Tietz and Andrea Reimann.

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

Chair: Evelin Wittich

Email: evelin.wittich@rosalux.org

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

www.rosalux.de/stiftung/treuhandstiftungen/erikneutsch-stiftung

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

www.max-lingner-stiftung.de

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

Chair: Thomas Flierl

Email: info@hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de

www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de

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

Chair: Hans Modrow

Email: info@modrow-stiftung.de

www.modrow-stiftung.de

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

Chairs: Anny Heike and Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan

Email: clara-zetkin-stiftung@rosalux.org

www.rosalux.de/news/id/39808

AWARD-WINNING WORKS

THE RLS AWARDS PRIZES FOR OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE FIELDS OF VISUAL ARTS, LITERATURE, AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

VISUAL ARTS: HANS-UND LEA-GRUNDIG-PREIS

Collaboration and the critique of colonialism: the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung awarded the 2021 Hans-und-Lea-Grundig-Preis in the Visual Arts category to Rajkamal Kahlon for her anti-racist artwork *Die Völker der Erde* (The Peoples of the Earth) and to Rudolf Herz for his three-part project on the politics of remembrance, the *Lenin Komplex* (Lenin Complex). In the Art History category, Dorothea Schöne was awarded for her biographical exhibition project on the sculptor Joseph M. Abbo. Natacha Nisic won in the category of Art Education with the online project The Crown Letter, which showcases and connects women artists worldwide.

“By focusing on the themes of flight, exile, and migration, the award succeeded in drawing a contemporary parallel to the legacy of the artist couple whose name it bears,” said RLS Executive Director Daniela Trochowski. Over 240 works by artists from all over the world were submitted.

Prizewinner Rajkamal Kahlon in her studio.



Additional prizewinners (l. to r.): Dorothea Schöne, Rudolf Herz, Natacha Nisic.





Prizewinners (l. to r.): Thomas Lipsky (1st prize prose), Laura Antonia Leschke (2nd prize poetry), Tom Aschman (3rd prize prose), Velibor Baco (2nd prize poetry), Rike Lorenz (2nd prize prose), Philip Dingeldey (1st prize poetry), Miou Sascha Hilgenböcker (3rd prize prose).

The award ceremony was supposed to take place on 12 December 2021 in the Jewish Museum in Frankfurt am Main, but had to be postponed to the new year due to the pandemic. It was complemented by the publication of *Kunst als Widerspruch* (Art as Contradiction), which illustrates the development of the prize since the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung took over its patronage in 2011. For information on the prize winners and their work, please visit www.hans-und-lea-grundig.de.

LITERATURE: ERIK-NEUTSCH-PREIS

In 2021, the Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung held its literary competition, titled *Wendepunkte* (Turning Points), for young authors up to the age of 35. 104 participants submitted 84 prose texts and 20 poetry entries. First place went to Thomas Lipsky (prose) and Philip Dingeldey (poetry). Second place went to Rike Lorenz (prose), and Laura Antonia Leschke and Velibor Baco (both poetry). In the prose category, third place went to Tom Aschman and Miou Sascha Hilgenböcker.

The call for entries stated that “turning points change individual lives, develop into social issues, or even describe systemic changes, as Neutsch experienced twice: with the end of Nazi Germany in his early youth and later with the fall of the Berlin Wall”. The texts submitted were to be framed by today’s social developments and upheavals, their many turning points and how the younger generation views, assesses, and influences them.

The award ceremony took place on 8 August 2021 in the new building of the RLS. “With the prize, we want to encourage and support young authors to find their literary path”, said Evelin Wittich, chair of the board of the Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung, which was founded in 2006 by the writer together with his political and literary friends and is a subsidiary of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

SOCIAL SCIENCE: JÖRG-HUFFSCHMID-PREIS

Marie Grasmeier, Madelaine Moore, and Simon Schaupp have been awarded the Jörg-Huffschmid-Preis for their outstanding dissertations in social science. Grasmeier investigated professional culture in the global merchant fleet. She reconstructed how seafarers—despite racist, nationalist, and gender divisions in the crews—have developed an internationally widespread professional identity and contribute with their work to the maintenance of transnational production networks in globalized capitalism.

Moore compared the struggles against the privatization of the water supply in Australia and Ireland. Combining approaches from research into social movements, critical political economics, political ecology, and feminist theories of social reproduction, she was able to draw fundamental conclusions regarding the current political conjuncture. Schaupp examined how algorithmic control is transforming work processes, how workers are appropriating digital technologies, and what kinds of self-organization are associated with this.

The award ceremony took place on 12 November 2021 at the Haus der Wissenschaft in Bremen. The award commemorating the economist Jörg Huffschmid (1940–2009) was presented for the sixth time by the working group Alternative Wirtschaftspolitik, Attac Deutschland, the EuroMemo Group, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Prizewinners (l. to r.): Marie Grasmeier, Madelaine Moore and Simon Schaupp.





DETLEF NAKATH
1949–2021



REINHARD MOCEK
1936–2021

With deep sadness we mourn the death of our dear friend and highly esteemed colleague Detlef Nakath.

Detlef earned his doctorate in the GDR and subsequently worked as a university lecturer. After German reunification, his position was terminated under questionable circumstances. The careers of thousands of scholars ended abruptly in the same way.

Detlef Nakath, along with some friends, found the willpower and energy to start anew. From 1993, he was involved in the publication of a seven-volume series of compiled documents and commentaries on the history of the GDR, the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), and the history of East–West German relations in the 1980s. Detlef Nakath was involved in historical and socio-political educational projects for the “Helle Panke” for many years, in particular the *hefte zur ddr-geschichte* (Booklets on GDR History).

In 2004, the Leibniz-Sozietät honoured our friend’s academic reputation by electing him as a member. From 2006, Detlef became executive director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg, leading it with success and bold ideas for a decade. From 2014 to 2019, he initiated debates on history and historical projects as a member of the RLS Executive Board. He helped create the Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism. In 2020, Karl Dietz Verlag published the highly acclaimed volume *Ausschluss: Das Politbüro vor dem Parteigericht – Die Verfahren 1989/90 in Protokollen und Dokumenten* (Exclusion: The Politburo before the Party Court – The 1989–90 Proceedings in Protocols and Documents), which Detlef helped to bring to print as co-author. Until the end, he worked on a four-volume *Geschichte der deutschen Einheit aus linker Sicht* (History of German Unity from a Left-Wing Perspective), which will be published in Chinese. Its editor and main author did not live to see the second volume come to light.

We mourn the loss of a great but modest man, a serious scholar, a friend we can neither replace nor forget.

Manfred Neuhaus and Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan

When the news of Reinhard Mocek’s death reached me, his face appeared immediately before my eyes—a face of great wisdom, curiosity, sincerity, and empathy. Reinhard Mocek was an intellectual and a socialist in the best and truest sense of the word. In him, both facets came together in a completely natural manner.

Reinhard Mocek made contributions to philosophy and the history of science—in the GDR and in reunified Germany. He was able to do this seamlessly despite the epochal shift because he was true to himself before and after it. His books on bourgeois philosophy, on the history of science in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries are bound to be remembered. As will his involvement in the commission of inquiry “Overcoming the Consequences of the SED Dictatorship in the Process of German Unification”. He stood up for critical judgement and against self-righteous condemnation. He too was affected by the dismantling of the humanities and social sciences. He even had to undergo the *Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahme* (job placement scheme) before the guest professorships and employment at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science freed him from it. In 2011, the Academia Europaea had the honour of electing him as a member.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has a special reason to remember Reinhard Mocek. He was an outstanding representative of that generation of GDR intellectuals who kept democratic socialism alive and re-established it after 1989. Furthermore, he took over the chairmanship of the RLS Executive Board during the very difficult years from 2004 to 2006. It was a time when the Stiftung was at risk of dissolving and a new political left was emerging in Germany as the PDS and WASG began to work together. It was he who led the RLS on the path that made it become the Stiftung of Die Linke.

Michael Brie

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

THE FIT FÜR VERÄNDERUNG (FIT FOR CHANGE) PROGRAMME

Two years ago, the idea was born to develop a training programme for RLS staff to help them take on a wide variety of tasks and positions in Germany and abroad. We began designing such a programme in autumn 2020. In light of the sobering election results in autumn 2021 for our associated party, Die Linke, the project took on a completely new and probably even more important significance. In future, we will have to fulfil our tasks with fewer resources and staff. This requires much greater flexibility and agility from all workers and a willingness to embrace the new situation. With this in mind, we chose Fit for Change as the programme's name.

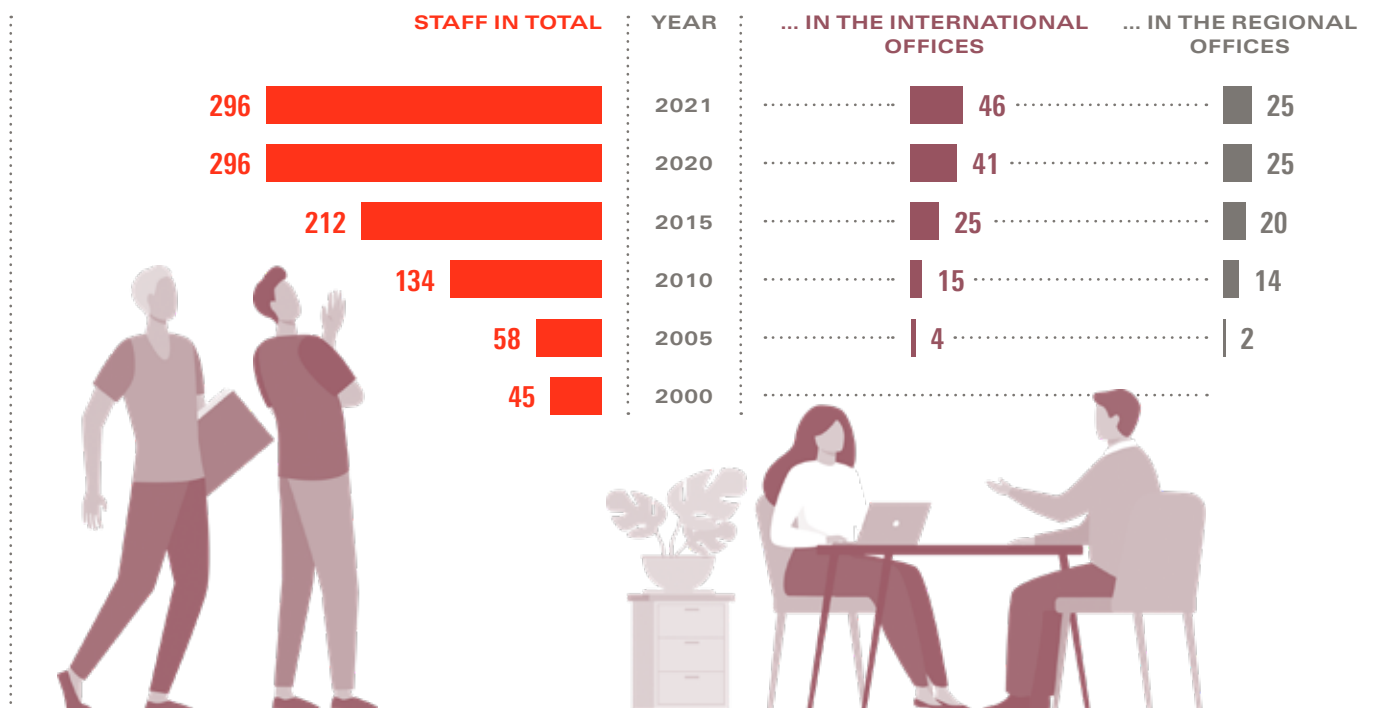
As part of an 18-month in-service training programme, the goal is to sharpen our perception of the RLS as a whole. It is intended to prepare staff for new tasks, new responsibilities, and possible rotations within the RLS. Participants will attend various internal and external seminars and workshops and will be encouraged to develop their own projects. In addition, there will be regular meetings for networking and sharing ideas. The following curriculum modules are planned:

- Rationale and framework of the RLS's work (public procurement law, funding guidelines, accounting, budget, labour law, financial planning)
- Emancipatory education
- Soft skills (moderation, negotiation, public speaking, communication, etc.)
- Project management and staff management
- International work
- Job shadowing in a regional *Stiftung* or regional office (in Germany)
- Job shadowing abroad (two weeks)
- Work on an individual project

In addition, we offer participants a mentoring programme. All mentors come from management and department heads. The programme is rounded off with discussions on development and goals, as well as individual reflection formats. In autumn 2021, we advertised the *Fit für Veränderung* training programme internally. Applications were subject to the following conditions:

- At least three years of employment at the beginning of the programme
- Willingness to change
- Willingness to take on greater responsibility
- Interest and willingness to rotate between RLS departments and units and to work on a national or international basis
- Willingness and ability to work administratively with various funding agencies

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, 2000 TO 2021



Composition in percentages	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2021
Female employees	56%	50%	55%	55%	56%	56%
Male employees	44%	50%	45%	45%	43%	44%
Gender diverse employees					1%	
Employees with migration backgrounds	0%	0%	11%	15%	18%	18%
Permanent employees	3%	90%	84%	78%	80%	78%
Part-time employees	4%	16%	22%	29%	34%	31%

Average age	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2021
Female employees	46	45	44	45	45	45
Male employees	47	48	46	48	48	49
Gender diverse employees					39	

- Ability to work in a team, social skills
- Knowledge of foreign languages
- Willingness to invest in the further education programme, as well as free time for preparatory and follow-up work.

COMMITTEES

THE MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

For the second year in a row, the General Assembly of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung had to take place as a video conference. Of the approximately 130 voting members, just under 60 percent attended the meeting on 27 November 2021.

To begin with, Dagmar Enkelmann reported on the executive board's work over the past year, in particular the launch of a strategy development process in March 2021. The latter involved discussing questions such as the setting of priorities, cross-divisional cooperation, the effectiveness of public relations work, and improved interaction between political work domestically and abroad. Daniela Trochowski recalled various highlights of the year: the major digital event on March 4 and 5 commemorating the 150th anniversary of Rosa Luxemburg's birth; the *Fest der Linken* (Festival of the Left) on 31 May, and the presentation of the new RLS headquarters at the event *Heute ist die Antwort* (Today is the Answer) on 5 September. In 2021, the coronavirus pandemic strongly impacted the work of our staff at our headquarters, in the regional branches, and abroad. This at least had the positive effect that great progress has been made on the digitalization of the Stiftung's work, and Daniela Trochowski reported on various new podcasts and the increased use of a variety of social media channels. Digital educational offerings have also been significantly expanded, she said, via a variety of online events and seminars as well as educational films and interactive games. A digital platform is currently in development that will make these new formats accessible to as many people and target groups as possible. In conclusion, Daniela Trochowski indicated that the strategic resolutions discussed by the board will be incorporated into the organizational development process, to begin in 2022.

In the general debate, the majority welcomed a more thorough-going discussion about a strategic reorientation of the RLS. Considerable space was given to the results of the Bundestag elections and their impact on Die Linke, the left more broadly, and thus also on the RLS. It was pointed out that the latter could make an important contribution to the party and its milieu, for example by providing (election) analyses, moderating debates, and mediating professional and methodological competencies. Several members referred to the importance of the RLS's work abroad. The new offices in London and Tuzla were singled out for attention, as were, in general, the diverse political activities and interventions across Europe. Dagmar Enkelmann concluded the general meeting by pointing out that the strategic debates will be deepened during an extraordinary general meeting, to be held in person in the first half of 2022.



Digital general assembly on 27 November 2021.

MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

FULL MEMBERS

Marwa Al-Radwany	Wulf Gallert	Prof. Dr. Ingrid Kurz
Renate Angstmann-Koch	Wolfgang Gehrcke	Caren Lay
Dr. Dietmar Bartsch	Claudia Gohde	Dr. Klaus Lederer
Yasmina Bellounar	Dr. Stefanie Graefe	Dr. Steffen Lehndorff
Prof. Dr. Heinz Bierbaum	Dr. Bärbel Grygier	Sabine Leidig
Dr. Joachim Bischoff	Ates Gürpınar	Katrin Lompscher
Steffen Bockhahn	Dr. Gregor Gysi	Dr. Gesine Lötzsich
Dr. Marcel Bois	Dr. Noa K. Ha	Prof. Dr. Christa Luft
Dr. André Brie	Sofia Hamaz	Dr. Helmuth Markov
Prof. Dr. Michael Brie	Thomas Händel	Ulrich Maurer
Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brinkmann	Karl-Heinz Heinemann	Prof. Dr. Margit Mayer
Sandra Brunner	Heiko Hilker	Sahra Mirow
Christine Buchholz	Heinz Hillebrand	Dr. Hans Modrow
Prof. Dr. Michael Buckmiller	Dr. Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann	Cornelia Möhring
Dr. Carolin Butterwegge	Dr. Barbara Höll	Margret Mönig-Raane
Kate Cahoon	Florian Höllen	Prof. Dr. Oliver Nachtwey
Wenke Christoph	Klaus Höpcke	Helga Nowak
Daniela Dahn	Dr. Steffen Hultsch	Dr. Onur Ocak
Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović	Meike Jäger	Dr. Harald Pätzolt
Prof. Dr. Frank Deppe	Dr. Gerda Jasper	Petra Pau
Richard Detje	Dr. Lukrezia Jochimsen	Klaus Pickshaus
Ulrike Detjen	Kadriye Karci	Prof. Dr. Dörte Putensen
Sophie Dieckmann	Dr. Andreas Keller	Peeter Raane
Dr. Cornelia Domaschke-Prochnow	Prof. Dr. Mario Keßler	Bodo Ramelow
Evelyn Edler	Katja Kipping	Prof. Dr. Katrin Reimer-Gordinskaya
Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann	Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein	Dr. Sabine Reiner
Klaus Ernst	Dr. Thomas Klein	Prof. Dr. Rolf Reißig
Dr. Thomas Flierl	Katharine Kolmans	Bernd Riexinger
	Jan Korte	Prof. Dr. Rainer Rilling
		Dr. Bernd Rump

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

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

HONORARY MEMBERS

Prof. Dr. Günter Benser
 Ilseget Fink
 Dr. Kurt Hövelmans
 Prof. Dr. Kurt Krumbach
 Prof. Dr. Manfred Neuhaus
 Prof. Dr. Jörg Roesler
 Prof. Dr. Werner Ruf
 Dr. Monika Runge
 Bosiljka Schedlich
 Fritz Schmalzbauer
 Dr. Wolfgang Spickermann
 Heinz Vietze

INACTIVE MEMBERS

Jan van Aken
 Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brand
 Dr. Lutz Brangsch
 Dr. Mario Candeias
 Dr. Stefanie Ehmsen
 Kerstin Kaiser
 Stefan Nadolny
 Norbert Schepers
 Dr. Jörn Schütrumpf
 Eva Völpel
 Dr. Florian Weis
 Fanny Zeise

As at May 2022

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD (2021)

Dr Dagmar Enkelmann (Chair): b. 1956, historian; member of the Bundestag from 1990 to 1998 and 2005 to 2013, member of the Brandenburg state parliament from 1999 to 2005, 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, from 2012 to 2021 volunteer vice president, and since 2021 member of the executive board of the Humanistischen Verbands Berlin/Brandenburg, member of the executive board of Die Linke from 2016 to 2019, state secretary in the Brandenburg Ministry of Finance from 2009 to 2019; member of the RLS Executive Board since February 2020.

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

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 *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 since 1999, voluntary activities in the community-political forum of North Rhine-Westphalia and in the NRW regional branch of the RLS since 2008, Speaker of the Council of Regional Branches from October 2014 to November 2021; member of the RLS Executive board since 2013.

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

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 from 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 Berlin-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, executive director of the Neue Deutsche Organisationen from 2016 to 2019, BQN Berlin e.V. board member; RLS Executive Board member since 2014.

WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Executive Board held a total of six meetings last year, two of which ran over multiple days. Certain members of the Board were also active in working groups preparing for the organizational development process that is currently taking place. These groups discussed the RLS's function in our social context and formulated strategic goals. A central question was how the RLS can sharpen its profile by setting thematic foci. The three current thematic foci—the fight against the right and for a “society of the many”; social-ecological transformation and climate justice; and social infrastructures, social rights, and social justice—are already reflected in many RLS activities and projects. One result that emerged from the debates was the need for additional themes—for one thing, a focus on peace policy and geopolitical challenges. Furthermore, there was consensus that a structure is required for reacting quickly to emergent developments. The coronavirus pandemic in particular has shown that certain (global) events can lead to major socioeconomic and political changes. The RLS ought to be able to respond with appropriate discussion and educational resources. A *Zeitdiagnose* (Diagnosis of the Times) working group began in 2021 in order to develop proposals in this regard. The Board also dealt intensively with the results of the Bundestag elections. In October, a discussion took place with Janine Wissler, party chair of Die Linke, and Dietmar Bartsch, chairman of the Die Linke parliamentary fraction. Since Die Linke is faced with the task of fundamentally repositioning itself, the executive board discussed what, within the scope of its possibilities, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung can contribute to this.

In the past year the Executive Board also appointed a number of new directors of RLS offices abroad as well as appointing departmental heads and confirming the functions of already active heads. Die Linke's poor performance in the federal elections will put an end to the Stiftung's growth phase, and this was taken into account in initial decisions regarding budget and personnel planning.



DR DAGMAR ENKELMANN



DANIELA TROCHOWSKI



**MEMBERS
OF THE BOARD**



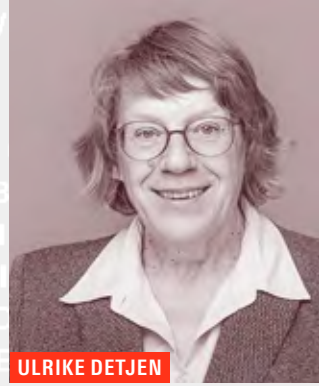
JAN KORTE



DR BARBARA HÖLL



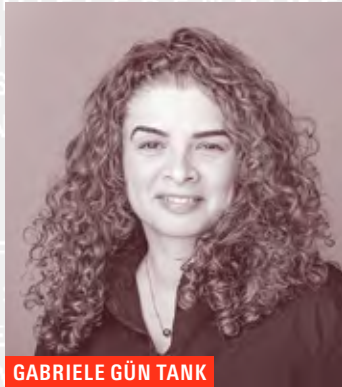
MEIKE JÄGER



ULRIKE DETJEN



RICHARD DETJE



GABRIELE GÜN TANK



PROF DR ALEX DEMIROVIĆ



DR SABINE REINER



THOMAS HÄNDEL



HEINZ HILLEBRAND



SOPHIE DIECKMANN



PROF DR HEINZ BIERBAUM

COMMITTEES

Three online workshops were held over the course of the past year with the RLS Europe Unit and Centre for International Dialogue (ZID) management. In discussions about new forms of cooperation, the strengthening of left-wing forces in Europe, and geopolitical challenges in Eastern Europe, the board developed the first key points of a European policy strategy to be further worked out in 2022.

ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

At the centre of the Advisory Board's work in 2021 was advising the Executive Board and the main RLS committees on elaborating the new strategic orientations that were adopted at the General Assembly in November. Over five meetings during 2021, the Advisory Board developed a series of suggestions for the ongoing work of the RLS. Firstly, that it is a particularly important task to "connect red and green", and link social-ecological transformation with structural policy and the defence of workers' rights. Secondly, the Advisory Board found that greater efforts should be made to communicate everyday experiences in terms of our own emancipatory counter-narrative. Thirdly, this led to considerations about which approaches to social analysis and political education will be required for the development of new socialist perspectives. Fourth came the need for stronger interaction between different formats—expert discussions, strategic consultations, cooperative development of projects as beacons for the entire RLS, etc.—and to place questions of strategic learning at the centre of concern. Taking lessons for projects in Germany from the diverse experiences of European and international work was recommended. The Advisory Board also supports the plan to evaluate the work of the RLS and draw conclusions for its future orientation.

MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

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

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

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

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

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

Prof Dr Mario Kessler: historian at the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History in Potsdam.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dr Axel Troost: economist and politician, director of the Memorandum-Gruppe and board member of the Institut Solidarische Moderne; from 2005 to 2017 elected member of the Bundestag; executive board member 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

The 19 RLS discussion groups live from the engagement of their diverse, voluntary milieu. The thematic impetus that these groups continue to provide an immense enrichment of the Stiftung's education activities.

The History discussion group was extremely prolific in the past year, bringing out two publications. In July the pamphlet *Gegenwartsgestrige: Rechte Geschichtspolitik heute* (Yesterday's Contemporaries: Right Wing Historiography Today). The articles confront the necessity of attacking right-wing attempts to achieve interpretational supremacy in the politics of history. In September, the publication *Die jüdische mit der allgemeinen proletarischen Bewegung zu vereinen: Jüdinnen und Juden in der internationalen Linken*, on Jews in the international left, appeared.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

LABOUR LAW

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

EDUCATION

Karl-Heinz Heinemann (heinemann@rls-nrw.de)
As part of the Education discussion group, the Working Group on Critical Pedagogy, Lukas Eble and Simon Kunert

EUROPEAN POLITICS

Johanna Bussemer (johanna.bussemer@rosalux.org)

FEMINISM

Barbara Fried (barbara.fried@rosalux.org)

PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

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

HISTORY

Bernd Hüttner (bernd.huettner@rosalux.org)

HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

Cornelia Domaschke-Prochnow (cornelia.domaschke@rosalux.org) and Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan (gerd-ruediger.stephan@rosalux.org)

CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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

COUNCIL ON RESEARCH, PHILOSOPHY, AND EDUCATION

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

Members of the Future of the Car – Mobility – Environment discussion group took part in the multifarious activities related to KonTra IAA—the Congress for Transformative Mobility—in September in Munich. Additionally this group worked on the RLS publication *Spurwechsel: Studien zu Mobilitätsindustrien, Beschäftigungspotenzialen und alternativer Produktion* (Changing Lanes: Studies on Transport Industries, Employment Potentials, and Alternative Production). Stephan Krull, coordinator of the group, gave a positive summary: they managed to involve interested young people. In connection with the *Spurwechsel* study, contacts were made with workers and unions in the auto industry.

The Peace discussion group wishes to expand its intermediary function in the future, and become a site for debates among activists from the peace movement, peace and conflict researchers, as well as people active in politics. The first steps in this direction were taken last year.

CULTURE

Michaela Klingberg (michaela.klingberg@rosalux.org)

MIGRATION

Massimo Perinelli (massimo.perinelli@rosalux.org)

PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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

RURAL AREAS

Steffen Kühne (steffen.kuehne@rosalux.org)

THE RIGHT

Anika Taschke (anika.taschke@rosalux.org)

SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

Uwe Witt (uwe.witt@rosalux.org)

URBAN POLICY

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

DIALOGUE BETWEEN WORLDVIEWS

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

ECONOMIC POLICY

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

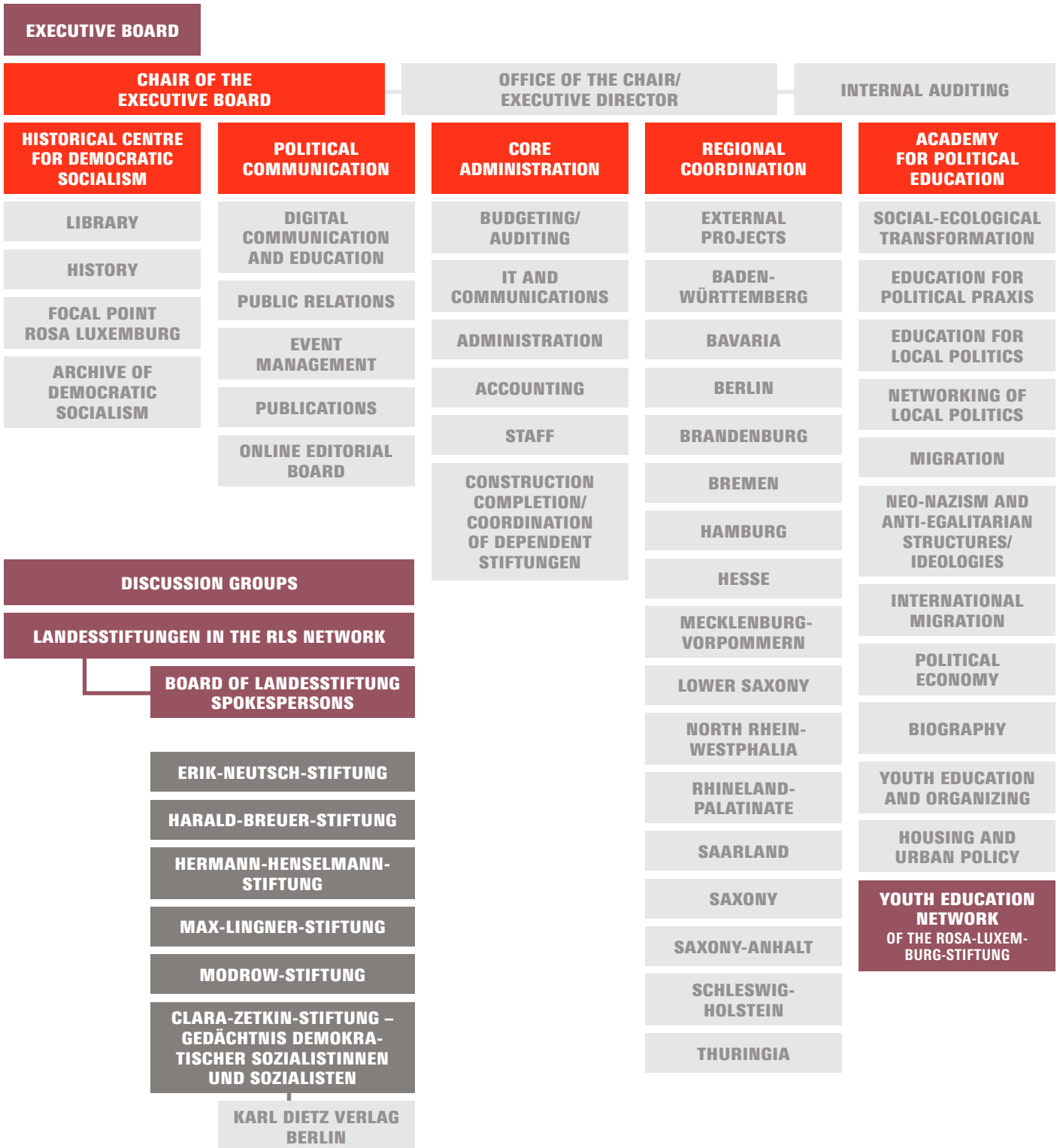
FUTURE OF THE CAR - ENVIRONMENT - MOBILITY

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

DISCUSSION GROUPS COORDINATOR

Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY



LEGEND

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

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

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

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 essential, 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.

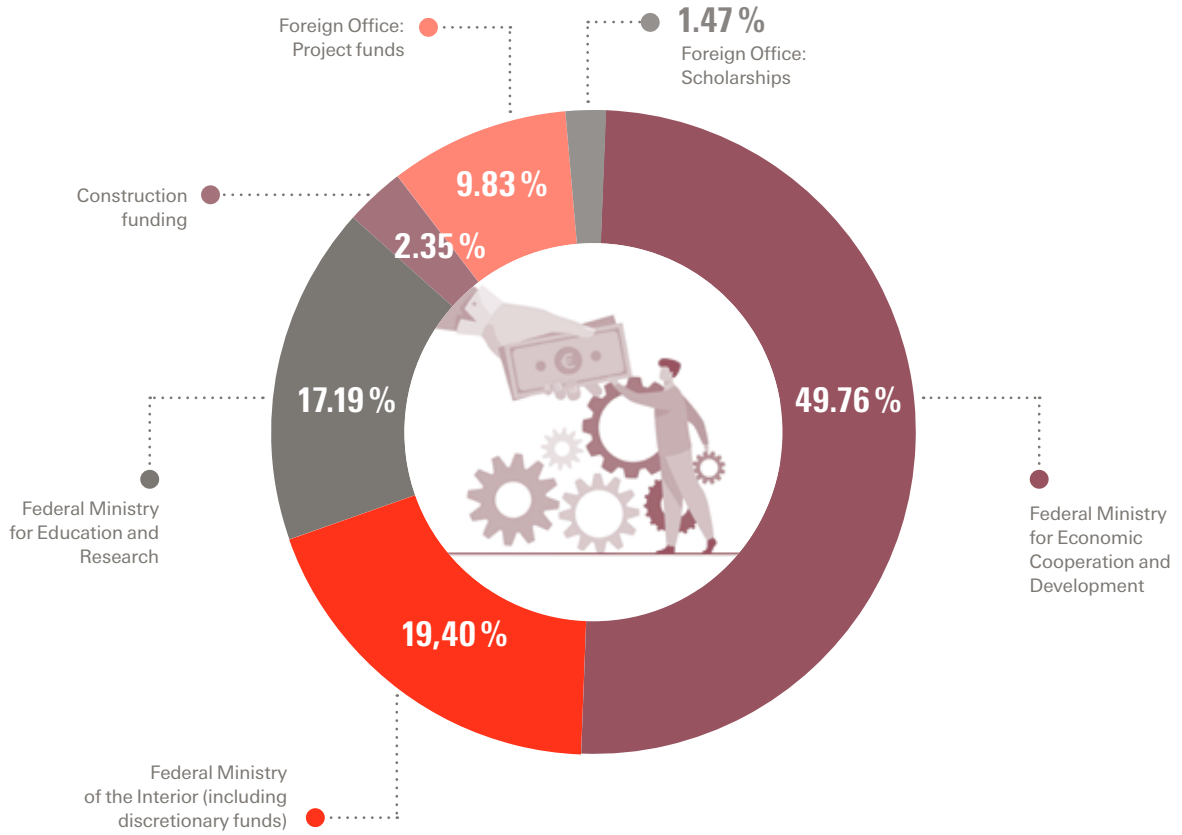
Contributions for the RLS thus rose from 30.6 million euros in 2010 to 79.8 million euros in 2021. By reporting on its income and expenses, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is fulfilling its voluntary commitment as a politically aligned Stiftung to publish and make transparent its use of funds, a practice to which all the party-aligned *Stiftungen* agreed in a joint declaration in 1998, and to which they have since adhered.

The most important financial contributions come from the BMI (referred to as core funding), which provides the backbone for our political education domestically, as well as for the maintenance of the RLS offices in Berlin and in the German federal states. 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.

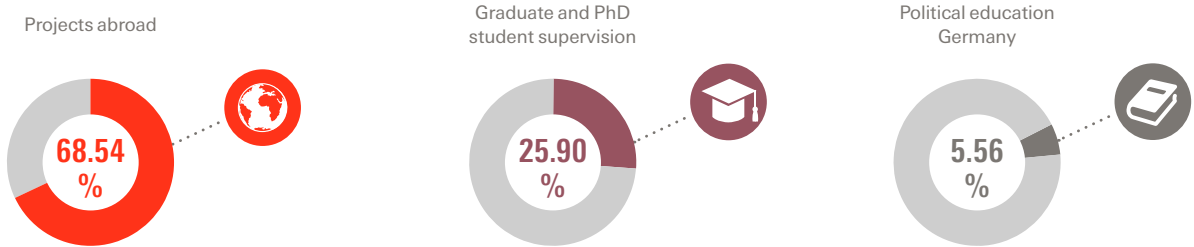
With the help of funds from the BMZ and the Foreign Office, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung maintains a network of international relationships. This includes financing its foreign offices, projects with partner organizations, and events abroad. Funding is now available for over 25 locations and projects in more than 80 countries. Contributions from the BMBF are allocated to fund scholarships and grants for talented students and PhD candidates. Besides these federal funds, politically associated *Stiftungen* are also able to make use of funds from state budgets. These funds are distributed 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

FUNDING 2021



PROJECT EXPENSES 2021



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 2020 financial year, the auditor confirmed

that the core funding from BMI and the funding provided by the other ministries for administration costs were used efficiently and economically, in accordance with regulations and legal requirements. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has put management accounting procedures in place that are equipped with the requisite staff and means for ensuring that funding conditions are met in a timely manner.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31/12/2020

Assets	31/12/2020 in euros	31/12/2019 in euros
A Fixed assets		
I Intangible assets		
Trademark rights	5,000.00	5,000.00
Software	225,680.85	309,669.70
II Tangible assets		
Real estate, rights equivalent to real estate and buildings, including buildings on third-party land	162,537.68	165,426.32
Business and office equipment	1,338,595.71	391,813.22
Advance payments for assets under construction	0.00	0.00
III Financial assets	0.00	0.00
Investments	24,830,452.48	19,087,141.20
Total fixed assets	26,562,266.72	19,959,050.44
B Receivables and other assets		
I Other receivables	0.00	0.00
a) Discretionary funds made available by BMI	2,145,025.00	4,062,739.00
b) Unused discretionary funds (BMI)	-2,145,025.00	-4,062,739.00
II Receivables from grants	0.00	1,753.21
II Receivables from affiliates	3,950.45	1,153.92
III Other assets	1,275,567.64	358,937.61
Total receivables	1,279,518.09	361,844.74
C Liquid assets		
Total liquid assets	5,266,059.63	4,334,699.41
D Accrued revenue and deferred charges	56,305.76	28,343.62
Total	33,164,150.20	24,683,938.21

Liabilities	31/12/2020 in euros	31/12/2019 in euros
A Net assets		
I Balance from previous year	272,394.62	132,308.14
II Surplus/deficit	-5,730.60	199,061.06
III Reserves	88,450.02	88,450.02
IV Reserves	205,706.02	146,731.44
Total net assets	560,820.06	566,550.66
B Additional funds from grants	26,399,729.04	19,793,624.12
C Provisions		
Other provisions	432,912.69	340,205.19
D Liabilities		
I Liabilities with credit institutions	10,114.02	4,950.41
II Liabilities from goods and services	3,697,306.38	2,927,181.11
III Other liabilities	26,553.59	28,539.44
Total liabilities	3,733,973.99	2,960,670.96
E Accrued expenses and deferred income	2,036,714.42	1,022,887.28
Total	33,164,150.20	24,683,938.21

EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS AS AT 31/12/2020

	2020 in euros	2019 in euros
I Receipts	80,940,908.13	79,587,574.70
1 Federal government grants	80,297,579.62	78,972,402.24
2 Donations	7,998.99	17,430.52
3 Membership fees	17,437.00	16,994.50
4 Income from asset management	13,174.01	10,597.88
5 Other revenue	11,400.52	76,363.89
6 Income from the liquidation of the special reserve	593,317.99	493,785.67
II Expenditures	-80,946,638.73	-79,388,513.64
1 Costs arising through statutory activities	-48,264,336.89	-46,813,293.43
Project expenses paid out of core funding	-2,294,825.97	-2,506,533.26
Transfers out of core funding	-1,143,774.41	-1,329,972.86
Grants to students and PhD candidates	-12,768,299.32	-11,785,996.45
International cooperation	-31,904,516.49	-30,869,143.87
Other project expenditures	-152,920.70	-321,646.99
2 Staff costs	-22,022,912.83	-20,430,337.76
Wages and salaries	-18,221,736.82	-16,946,272.22
Employment benefits	-3,801,176.01	-3,484,065.54
3 Asset management expenses	-6,848.17	-7,774.34
4 Write-downs	-596,206.63	-328,359.35
5 Administrative costs	-2,856,911.30	-2,997,519.68
Office equipment and supplies	-602,902.20	-616,671.45
Running and maintenance of properties and buildings		
Other administrative costs	-2,249,067.98	-2,339,297.00
Other costs	0,00	-37,102.25
6 Investments	-7,199,422.91	-8,811,229.08
III Surplus/deficit for the year	-5,730.60	199,061.06

INCOME IN 2021 (INTERIM)

I Income in euros	79,821,512.75
1 Grants	79,879,130.78
Federal Ministry of the Interior (including discretionary funds)	15,504,523.92
Federal Ministry for Education and Research	13,729,792.20
Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	1,850.00
Foreign Office scholarships	1,172,100.00
Foreign Office projects	7,849,717.00
Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	39,744,297.92
Construction materials	1,876,849.74
2 Tax-free income/donations	17,660.48
3 Membership fees	18,131.50
4 Asset management income	6,949.37
5 Other income	48,446.85
6 Revenue reductions	-148,806.23

SPENDING IN 2021 (INTERIM)

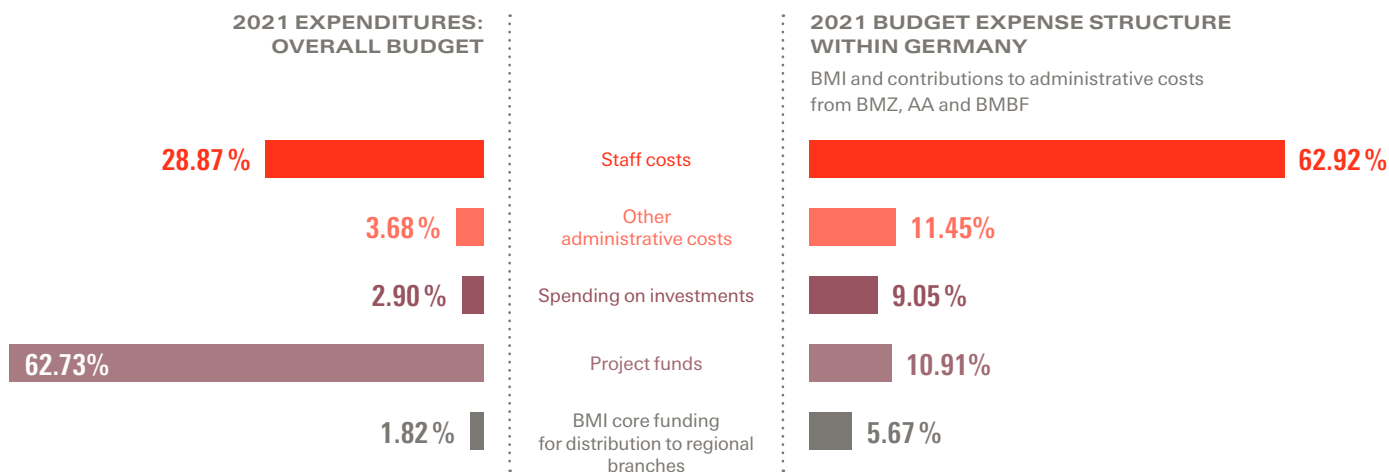
II	Expenditure in euros	-79,123,779.32
1	Staff costs	-22,842,669.71
	Of which staff costs Germany	-15,937,672.09
	a) Wages and salaries	-18,793,949.48
	b) Employment benefits and other costs	-4,048,720.23
2	Other administrative costs	-5,202,576.63
2.1	Office equipment, supplies, consumables	-2,880,530.36
	Network, software, systems administration	-407,402.09
	Maintenance and repairs	-74,338.93
	Tools and small appliances	-26,646.79
	Office supplies and consumables	-16,261.73
	Equipment rentals	-61,295.06
	Allocation to special reserve for investment	-2,294,585.76
2.2	Operation and maintenance of properties and buildings	-4,617.72
	Street cleaning/winter street maintenance	-2,079.04
	Property tax	-2,538.68
2.3	Other administrative costs	-2,317,428.55
	Other expenses for staff	-241,564.67
	Office rent and room costs	-944,764.24
	Insurance	-18,098.32
	Fees and other levies	-44,804.13
	External services, contract work, administration	-571,312.04
	Advertising	-25,239.37
	Promotional costs	-7,688.48
	Hospitality costs	-196.10
	Travel costs (falling under other administrative expenses)	-46,845.45
	Postage, telephony, internet	-147,229.83
	Journals, books, media	-61,676.21
	Legal services, accounting, bookkeeping	-58,433.35
	Monetary transaction costs	-42,948.14
	Other costs, fees, donations	-21,657.00
	Vehicle costs	-7,729.36
	Other administrative costs	-77,241.86
	Other expenses	0.00
3	Project costs	-51,071,153.03
	Total BMI project costs	-2,619,842.11
	BMI core funding allocated to third parties	-1,437,205.42
	Projects abroad	-34,015,869.37
	Supervision of students and PhD candidates	-12,856,220.62
	Scholarships Germany	-11,881,995.52
	Scholarships abroad	-973,975.10
	International parliamentary internships	-250.00
	Student networking and mentoring	-121,662.43
	Other project costs	-20,353.08
4	Asset management costs	-7,379.95

EXPLANATORY NOTE:

In 2021, core funding for political and democratic education was transferred to the following associations and Stiftungen:

- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg – Forum für politische Bildung und Kultur e. V.
- Kurt-Eisner-Verein für politische Bildung in Bayern e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bayern
- “Helle Panke” e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative – Bremer Forum für Bildung, Gesellschaftsanalyse und -kritik e. V.
- Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Hamburg – Forum für Analyse, Kritik und Utopie e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hessen – Forum für Bildung und Analyse e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Mecklenburg-Vorpommern e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg- Stiftung Niedersachsen e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen e. V.
- Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft – Verein für politische Bildung und Kultur e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt – Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein: werkstatt utopie & gedächtnis e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e. V.
- Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Rheinland-Pfalz e. V.
- Max-Lingner-Stiftung
- Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung
- Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung
- Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung
- Modrow-Stiftung

No information can yet be provided on the expected income and expenditure for 2022. The 2022 budget has not yet been passed by the Bundestag. So far, only a partial approval for the first half of the year has been given by the ministries.



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Unless otherwise stated, all information and figures
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- p. 9: www.rosaluxemburg.org, design and conception: Zoff Kollektiv
- p. 11 above: graphic: Zoff Kollektiv
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- p. 13 centre: still from the short film *Gefängnisbrief*, director: Hanna Petkoff
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- p. 33 right: Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg
- p. 34 left: still from the event, Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative – Bremer Forum für Bildung
- p. 34 right: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Hamburg
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**“Now we are able to see how an old world collapses - every day something breaks off, something subsides, something massive collapses ...
And the funniest thing is that most people don't even notice, and still think they are standing on solid ground ...”**

ROSA LUXEMBURG