

ANNUAL REPORT 2015

**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**



ANNUAL REPORT 2015
OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

During 2015, the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was influenced by domestic, European, and global political developments. This mainly applied and applies to the Foundation's support of Alexis Tsipras' Syriza government in Greece, which was elected in January 2015 for the first time, and endorsed once again in a second election in September. During a period characterized by the harsh policies of austerity that are being implemented by the EU and the IMF, and under significant German influence, the victory of a left-wing alliance party represented a strong sign of support for democratic self-determination and a vote against the increasingly authoritarian character of neoliberalism. Although the Greek elections were followed by partial successes for the Left in Spain and Portugal, a strong social movement that could stand up to the economically failed and socially devastating policy diktat that is hollowing out Europe as a democratic community has yet to materialize. A country governed by an anti-neoliberal power would never be able to bring about large-scale social change without the support of such a movement. This is especially the case with an economically weak country such as Greece. Nevertheless, the very existence of a left-wing government that is attempting to tread an alternative path does at least constitute a thorn in the side of the EU's dangerously inappropriate policies.

While acknowledging the reasonable and legitimate criticism of the Tsipras government, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung provides understanding of the Greek government's work, and offers solidarity as far as possible for an institution providing political education. The French socialist politician Pierre Mendès once declared, "To govern means to choose." We do not have to agree with every decision made by the Greek government. But we do need to remember that Syriza's decision-making powers are severely constrained by the setting in which the party governs. Importantly, Syriza did not create this situation: it was primarily caused by the party's predecessors, the EU's institutions, the German government, and the lack of resistance in Europe to dogmatism.

The dominant policy within the EU has resulted in severe damage that goes beyond the anti-social treatment of Greece. The EU is now losing its appeal and acceptance in major policy areas because it has failed to offer a range of southern European countries a convincing way out of the profound and persistent economic and social crises in which they find themselves. Furthermore, the economic catch-up played by many, although not all, Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004, 2007, or 2013 has stalled, and this has been compounded by the worsening levels of inequality in many European countries. Finally, the fact that the EU has stripped a democratically elected and legitimate government of its decision-making capacities leads people to question parliamenta-



Dagmar Enkelmann and Florian Weis

ry-democratic achievements, despite the fact that they constitute a cornerstone of the European approach.

The devastating effect that this lack of solidarity is having within the EU is particularly clear from the challenges facing Germany and other parts of Europe with regard to the large numbers of people who are seeking refuge in Europe. It is first and foremost these people, but also countries such as Greece, who are suffering most under the EU's policies.

In Germany, the Foundation's educational and analytical work and networking are conducted amid tense relations at the domestic level. On the one hand, there is a strong need to work with and for people in need of refuge; this is reflected in the actions of the many people from diverse sections of the population who are providing refugees with immense levels of practical support. However, their actions are opposed by increasingly strong right-wing populist forces such as the AFD and Pegida. The Foundation is responding to this in a number of ways, such as by undertaking educational work for and with local politicians, developing informative material on the arguments that people need to engage with in debates, and providing spaces where discussions can be held in order to help answer difficult questions. Importantly, our work in this field is also strengthened by the experiences gained from the approximately 80 countries in Europe and beyond where we are active and the contacts we have made in these regions.

This last point is also applicable to our work on climate change, climate justice, and energy democracy. We have been strengthening our work on these issues within various fields as part of our focus on social-ecological transformation. In 2015, this mainly involved preparing for and monitoring the Paris climate summit. The Foundation established a working group that met regularly to discuss publications, events, and shared positions. This resulted in publications on energy democracy and the myths of the green economy, among others. In March, the Foundation supported a climate theater project in Berlin, and some of our representatives participated in conferences with climate activists. The Foundation's international offices also developed climate policy projects and organized events with local partners.

Our work on climate change enabled the Foundation to influence the work undertaken in Paris. If we take both weeks into account, our delegation consisted of almost 50 people, including around 30 colleagues from international partner organizations from 15 different countries. This was the first time that the Foundation was officially certified at a summit such as this. Every week, five delegates had the opportunity to follow the conference proceedings and to witness firsthand the on-going struggle over a climate agreement. We also organized twelve forums and workshops at various locations as part of the alternative summit, all of which were highly popular. This was particularly the case with a panel discussion involving Naomi Klein, a writer who is critical of globalization, and the newly elected leader of the British Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn. This was initiated by the Foundation's New York office and attended by more than 700 guests.

In late November 2015, the Hans and Lea Grundig Prize celebrated the 25th anniversary of the Foundation with an award ceremony that attracted 400 guests. The event was accompanied by the publication of a book entitled *Ich lebe am fröhlichsten im Sturm* (I Live Most Happily Within the Storm), a short film, and a workshop on the international work of the Foundation, among other activities.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was founded in 1990 as the Gesellschaftsanalyse und politische Bildung e. V., mainly by academics from East Germany who combined a self-critical approach to the failure of the state-socialist model with the aim of bringing about a democratic socialist renewal. It was not until 1999 that the Foundation eventually began to receive global funds from the German Ministry of the Interior. Since then, the Foundation's association has been adapted and expanded, as has the board that is chosen by it, the local foundations, the composition of the workforce, and our lecturers. Nevertheless, many people who currently work in the Foundation have been with us since the beginning, and the intention to promote a critical perspective on social and international developments from a democratic socialist viewpoint is not only still present, but has become even more important.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's 25th anniversary is also the perfect occasion to thank Evelin Wittich, one of the Foundation's founding members and an executive board member until 2008, who went on to become director of the Academy for Political Education and the Focus Point Rosa Luxemburg. Evelin Wittich wound up her work as a member of the Foundation in January 2016 to enter a well-earned retirement. However, she remains highly involved in the Foundation's educational work, with the association, and in publishing Rosa Luxemburg's works.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Dagmar Enkelmann".

DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN
Chair of the executive board

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Florian Weis".

DR. FLORIAN WEIS
Executive director

FOCUS: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CLIMATE

IT'S NO LONGER JUST ABOUT POLAR BEARS

THE STRUGGLE FOR CLIMATE JUSTICE

2015 was the year of the climate. The large summit that took place in Paris was held up as the last chance to save the world. In August, a fierce debate was sparked in Germany when more than 1,000 people trekked across the "lunar" landscape of the open-cast lignite mine in Garzweiler wearing white overalls. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* argued that this new anti-coal movement was following in the not-so-small footsteps of the anti-nuclear movement. Throughout this period, reports were published in the media about floods and droughts, tornadoes and tsunamis, and extreme weather events, which, although not exclusively caused by climate change, have become far more likely because of it.

The year ended with a climate treaty that was celebrated as a historical event by a significant portion of the press and civil society. But the year also closed with the realization that, once again, we had experienced the warmest year since records began. In fact, nine out of the ten warmest years on record have occurred since the turn of the millennium. Clearly, then, time is of the essence: either we begin protecting the climate now, or we can forget about preventing climate change at all.

CONFUSION AMONG THE LEFT

Although the Left agrees that time is running out when it comes to climate change, there is still no consensus about whether we should focus more intensively on this matter. Moreover, is "the environment" even a core left-wing issue? Surely, given the drastically rising levels of migration throughout the world, the increasing risk of a "great war," growing inequalities, the precariousness of people's daily lives, and the increasing levels of stress-related diseases, the Left should be more focused on social than environmental issues? After all, time is also of the essence when it comes to dealing with the diverse facets of neoliberal capitalism's current "transformation crisis."

This skeptical view normally remains below the surface, but when it is expressed it can be summarized as: "There are social issues and there are environmental issues, and the latter are the luxury of the well-heeled middle classes." It is both surprising and frustrating to hear this view expressed by some parts of the Left. "Environmental issues" are never solely or even generally about the environment (understood as a collection of flora and fauna), because environmental issues involve social relations.



In an act of civil disobedience, 1,500 activists brought the digging to a halt at the Garzweiler lignite surface mine, Europe's largest single emitter of CO₂.

This point is clear if we look at climate change. The people who suffer the most from climate change are the people who contribute toward it the least – as is the case with all “environmental crises.” Conversely, the people who are most responsible for causing climate change usually suffer the least from it. Climate change, therefore, is a profoundly unjust phenomenon. The rich have caused the problem, but the poor will have to pay for it. Everyone will be affected by rising sea levels, but whereas people in Bangladesh are likely to go under in the floods, the Netherlands has the resources to build floating cities. And when Hurricane Katrina flooded New Orleans, the (generally) more affluent white population escaped the city, whereas the (generally) poorer black population was left behind.

Similarly, as the capitalist growth economy is the driving force behind climate change, anyone who wants to stop climate change will have to deal with capitalism, whether they want to or not. Clearly then, climate change is neither primarily about the environment nor merely about the distraught polar bears floating aimlessly on isolated sea ice that we are always reading about; climate change is about people, and social relations. It involves questions of distribution, property, class, exploitation, the system, and capitalism. In short, it is about all or nothing. And this is why climate change represents a central issue for the Left.

SITES OF INTERVENTION: FROM PARIS TO THE RHINELAND

If the Left is to effectively further the struggle for climate justice, as usual we need to begin with the strategic question of where we can and should invest our limited resources. There are at least two areas that are particularly relevant in this regard. The “world community” has been meeting at global climate summits for more than 20 years to resolve the issue of climate change, which, at heart, is a global issue. Climate change is produced throughout the world, which is why “unilateral” climate policy action will never be particularly effective. Moreover, as the countries of the Global South rightly point out, we will not be able to protect the global climate until the North supplies massive levels of funding. Until now, shockingly little has come out of previous negotiations, greenhouse gas emissions have continued to rise since the first climate summit took place, and a trade in indulgences has been established for polluters. However, climate change remains a global problem, and climate summits are the only places where negotiations are taking place on this issue at the global level.

The second area in which the Left can and should intervene are the sites where climate change is being produced; sites where fossil fuels are being burned to keep the wheels of the capitalist growth machine turning. This clearly includes Ger-

many, which, despite its shift to renewable energy, currently mines and burns more lignite than any other country in the world. Furthermore, when it comes to the climate, the environment, and people's health, lignite is the dirtiest, most damaging fossil fuel of all. This situation has led the climate movement in Germany to take up the fight for a speedy end to the use of coal – the second pillar of the centralized fossil-nuclear energy system, alongside nuclear power.

In 2015, the Foundation focused its work on these two central areas. This included organizing various events, some of which were organized together with partners from the anti-coal movement. Although the movement is still in its early days, during the first half of 2015 it prepared an international conference entitled "Struggle for the climate." The conference took place between April 10 and 12, and hundreds of people from Europe and beyond met at the University of Cologne to answer the questions of where, how, and with whom discussions about a solidarity-based energy and climate policy could be conducted most effectively. In addition to providing an opportunity for direct networking between activists and interested parties from diverse spectra and generations, the conference gave the climate movement the space it needed for debate about issues and strategy. In fact, many of the participants used the event to jointly prepare for the climate-policy debates and protests that were to take place in the second half of the year. In addition, the conference enabled the participants to share experiences and focus on developing broad social alliances with the aim of achieving a climate-just transition in energy policy.

In 2015, the Foundation also partnered with the summer school "Degrowth konkret: Klimagerechtigkeit" (The specifics of degrowth: climate justice), which took place at the Rhineland Climate Camp from August 9 to 14. The summer school enabled the Foundation to continue the work on the critique of growth that we began the year before. The ways in which degrowth and climate policy issues are entangled became clear during courses held over a number of days and evening discussions. The Foundation also organized a panel discussion entitled "Austerität, sozialer Kollaps und Postwachstumsökonomie? – Strategien von den Rändern" (Austerity, social collapse, and the post-growth economy? – Strategies from the peripheries), which particularly focused on the economic and political crises in southern Europe and their impact on the exploitation of raw materials and the destruction of the natural environment. The debate took place on August 13 and was attended by hundreds of interested people in the circus tent serving as the climate camp's central venue.

Throughout the year, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung followed the discussion about the UN's climate talks in December with its own positions, and traveled to Paris with an international delegation. For the first time, accreditation enabled representatives from the Foundation and its partner organizations to participate in the official summit. In the run-up to the summit,

the Foundation published factsheets, brochures, maps, and texts. These publications provided a critical perspective on the summit and discussed its chances of bringing about fundamental climate policy change, the use of coal in Germany, and the financialization of nature. In addition, the Foundation established an extensive Web dossier and ran a dozen events, most of which took place as part of the alternative summit that was organized by critical civil society groups and individuals. One of the highlights of the Foundation's time in Paris was a debate that was co-organized by the Foundation's New York office. A panel comprising the leader of the British Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn, the renowned author, Naomi Klein (*Capitalism vs. Climate*), and international trade unionists discussed the details of a "just transition" to a post-fossil fuel future.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Despite the numerous critical voices that assumed otherwise, the Paris summit indeed resulted in a global climate agreement; however, it is still unclear how the ambitious objective of keeping global warming to below a two-degree-Celsius temperature increase can actually be achieved. Activists in climate movements and NGOs are quite clear that this objective will never be reached without pressure from social movements. Therefore, these groups will have to not only continue the struggle against burning fossil fuels, but also strengthen their struggle in the future. This includes identifying just solutions at the global level that could largely mitigate the effects of climate change and ensure that the poorest – who are most affected by climate change – are not simply left to their fate.

THE FOUNDATION'S WORK AT THE PARIS CLIMATE SUMMIT

The Paris climate summit (COP 21) took place between November 30 and December 12, 2015. It represented the climax of several years of diplomatic choreography, and was perceived early on as a showdown. In the run-up to the event, the summit's importance could hardly be emphasized enough and its participants were portrayed as ready and willing to adopt a legally binding agreement on climate protection. The summit has indeed cast a long shadow. Nevertheless, many activists in social movements were highly doubtful about whether an agreement would even be possible. The lack of progress in the past was said to demonstrate that no serious conclusions could be expected. During the run-up to the summit, the Left's complicated relationship with the UN climate process gave rise to a debate at the Foundation about whether we should even participate in Paris. In response to this, the New York and Brussels offices developed a "summit strategy," which suggested a multi-track approach aimed at ensuring the Founda-



Solutions to the climate crisis and the role of unions: a panel discussion with climate activists Naomi Klein (second from the left) and the leader of the British Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn (third from the left)

tion's diverse positions were properly taken into account. This enabled the Foundation to participate for the first time as an official, accredited observer at a UN climate conference. Five representatives from the Foundation and our partner organizations attended the summit; most of the delegates from partner organizations were from the Global South. The delegates participated in side events and delegate meetings, held talks about their research projects, and published their experiences on various social networks. Their views of the summit opened the delegation's daily meetings, which comprised around 30 people.

Many delegates found it challenging to have to choose from among the countless events that were taking place. The Foundation organized more than ten events, some of which were directly linked to the Paris negotiations on the Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC); others took place in cooperation with initiatives and political alliances that had clearly positioned themselves outside of the summit's diplomatic influence. The Foundation was also present at the official civil society meetings on the edge of the sealed-off conference site at Le Bourget Airport. However, unlike most other large organizations and NGOs, the Foundation's approach meant that we participated in the Peoples' Climate Summit (from December 5 to 6) in Montreuil near Paris. This event was organized by critical groups and social movements. In addition, the Foundation also took up the opportunity to participate in the Climate Action Zone, held in the Le104 art and exhibition center, and this ensured that the issues most important to the Foundation were discussed at these locations and that we came into contact with activists from around the world.

In addition to energy policy, just transitions during change, human rights, and the links between agriculture and climate, the perspectives and demands made by the international climate justice movement that gathered in Paris constituted the focus of the Foundation's events and discussions. Our information stalls, some of which had to be improvised, not only proved to be thriving distributive hubs for the Foundation's publications, but also helped spark extremely interesting debates – in particular about the role of the federal government and of Germany as "lignite world champion."

The eventful days in Paris opened up new avenues of cooperation for the Foundation and deepened existing partnerships. Cooperation with the international trade union network Trade Unions for Energy Transition was particularly fruitful, and the Foundation worked with this network to organize the panel discussion mentioned above with Naomi Klein and Jeremy Corbyn on December 7. The debate focused on alliances and strategies, and included the issue of bringing together social forces and struggles that are currently separated, and the ways in which these groups could be thought of as belonging together. Bridging the differences within the Left was viewed as essential if the necessary systemic change is to be brought about, and the Foundation will continue facing up to this challenge in the future.

FLEEING FROM CLIMATE CHANGE

In 2015, the issue of migrants traveling through some far-away country could no longer be reduced to a side issue in German politics. The arrival of over one million refugees and migrants placed the "fight against the causes of migration" in



Burning Shell oil pipeline, Bodo, Nigeria, 2012

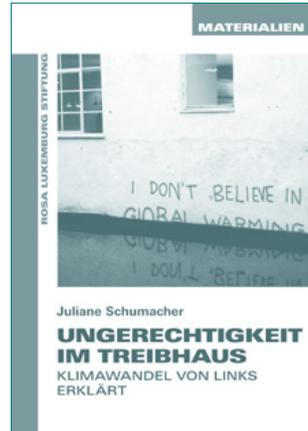
the focus of German media attention and the subject of political activism. In the future, climate change will become one of the most important causes of migration, if not the most important cause. This point is relevant now, however, because climate change has already started and will continue to worsen, even if the Paris Agreement is fully implemented.

Climate change causes migration because it results in the forced displacement of large numbers of people. It results in declining agricultural yields, and rising sea levels that lead to flooding. In some regions, people will find it increasingly difficult to survive, and those who are displaced by the results of climate change have been referred to as "climate refugees." In early July 2015, a conference took place in Berlin entitled "Auf der Flucht vor humanitären Krisen: zur sozialen Dimension des Klimawandels" (Fleeing Humanitarian Crises: The Social Dimension of Climate Change). The Foundation organized the conference with DIE LINKE's Bundestag parliamentary group. The current political situation led the conference to focus on the main cause of migration – the dominant model of growth – as well as the consequences of the resulting misguided climate policies, human rights violations, and the pros and cons of various policy approaches. The conference also made it clear that the German government's negotiation strategy demonstrated that the government provided very little room for change and lacked the willingness to grant "climate refugees" special protection. Nevertheless, some of the people present were highly critical of devising a separate category for "climate refugees," as they believed that this could be used as a pseudo-basis for further bureaucratic distinctions, and potentially undermine solidarity with other refugees. Finally, massive doubts were raised about the "self-help debate," as this was said to result in affected countries just being fobbed off with alms and left to adapt to changing environmental conditions by themselves. Moreover, this issue should not be reduced to finding the best possible means of adapting to climate change, it was argued, because the discourse of resilience de-politicized the discussion. Instead, the debate

concluded that everything humanly possible should be done to prevent the worst consequences of climate change and to create a socially and ecologically just world.

SELECTED COOPERATION PROJECTS LINKED TO OUR KEY ISSUE

- International conference "Kampf ums Klima" (Fight for the Climate) with Attac Deutschland, ausgeCO2ht, Oikos University Group Cologne, Solidarische Vielfalt and Allerweltshaus Cologne; April 10–12, 2015, University of Cologne. See: <http://kampfumsklima.org/>
- Series of events "Kohlegesprache – über Wachstum und Klimagerechtigkeit" (Talks about Coal – On Growth and Climate Justice) with Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie und Attac Deutschland; June 7, 2015, Hamburg; June 8–9, Aachen; June 16, Leipzig; June 17, Augsburg; June 18, Frankfurt
- Film screening of *La Vida Buena* and discussion with the mobilization alliance from Berlin, Ende Gelände; July 14, 2015, Berlin
- Panel Discussion: "Klima, Kohle, Kapitalismus. Wege aus der Klimakrise" (Climate, Coal, Capitalism. Solving the Climate Crisis) in cooperation with Ende Gelände; July 27, 2015, Berlin
- Summer School "Degrowth konkret: Klimagerechtigkeit" (Degrowth in Detail: Climate Justice) with Konzeptwerk Neue Ökonomie, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, BUND and many others; August 9–14, 2015 in Lützerath, Rhineland. As part of the summer school, the course "Just Transition: Konzept, Strategieentwicklung und Vernetzung – Herausforderungen und Widersprüche einer gerechten Transformation" (Just Transition: Concept, Strategy Development and Networking – Challenges and Contradictions of a Just Transition) was organized from August 10–11, and a panel discussion entitled "Austerität, sozialer Kollaps und Postwachstumsökonomie? Strategien in der Euro-Krise" (Austerity, Social Collapse and Post-growth Economy? Strategies in the Euro Crisis) was organized for August 13, 2015
- The Web seminar "Fracking, Erdgas, Klimawandel: Mehr Gas für eine erneuerbare Zukunft?" (Fracking, Gas, Climate Change: More Gas for a Renewable Future?) with Powershift e. V.; November 25, 2015
- Events were also organized as part of the COP21 Climate Summit with various partners: December 3–9, 2015, Paris. See: www.rosalux.de/kapitalismusalternativen/specials/klimagipfel-in-paris/cop-21-climate-summit-in-paris/reports-on-our-events-in-paris.html
- A report-back event, "Nach dem UN-Klima-Gipfel: (Don't Trust the COP?)" (After the UN Climate Summit: (Don't Trust the COP?)) in cooperation with Ende Gelände; December 16, 2015, Berlin



SELECTED PUBLICATIONS ON OUR KEY ISSUE

Sören Becker, Matthias Naumann, Laura Weis

Energiedemokratie
Grundlage und Perspektive einer kritischen Energieforschung
Studien 1/2015, 48 pages, February 2015
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41357

Kylie Benton-Connell, Lara Skinner, Sean Sweeney
Power to the People
Toward Democratic Control of Electricity Generation
Working Paper No. 4, 62 pages, June 2015, published by Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED), in cooperation with Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, New York Office
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41571

Ulrich Brand
Schöne grüne Welt
Über die Mythen der Green Economy
luxemburg argumente No. 3; 4th revised edition, 60 pages, September 2015
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/38335

Ulrich Brand
Brave Green World
The Green Economy Myths
Luxemburg Argumente No. 3, 4th revised edition, 54 pages, September 2015
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/38457

Ulrich Brand
La meilleure des économies
Économie verte : mythes et réalité
Luxemburg argumente No. 3, 4th edition, 60 pages, September 2015
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41903

Eddie Cottle
The Myth of a Green Economy and Green Jobs: What Strategy for Labour?
Sustainable development 2/2015, 11 pages, February 2015, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung South Africa
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41799

Malte Fiedler
The EU Energy Union: What's Behind It?
Policy Paper, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels Office
8 pages, November 2015
Download: www.rosalux.eu/publications

Malte Fiedler
The Making of the EU Internal Energy Market
Policy Paper, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels Office
12 pages, November 2015
Download: www.rosalux.eu/publications

Fabian Hübner
A Bright Future for Fossil Energy in the EU?
Policy Paper, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels Office
8 pages, November 2015
Download: www.rosalux.eu/publications

Jutta Kill
Ökonomische Bewertung von Natur
Der Preis für Naturschutz?
Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung
66 pages, July 2015, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels Office
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41695

Jutta Kill
Economic Valuation of Nature
The Price to Pay for Conservation?
A Critical Exploration
58 pages, June 2014, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels Office
Download: www.rosalux.eu/publications

Jutta Kill
L'Évaluation Économique de la Nature
Donner un Prix à la Nature pour la Protéger?
64 pages, November 2015, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels Office
Download: www.rosalux.eu/publications

Peter Polder, Tamra Gilbertson, Antonio Tricarico
Natural Gas Lock-In
Current Politics in the European Union
40 pages, September 2015, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Brussels Office
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41796

Juliane Schumacher
Ungerechtigkeit im Treibhaus
Klimawandel von links erklärt
Materialien No. 11, 28 pages, August 2015
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41693

Sean Sweeney
Energy Democracy in Greece
Syriza's Program and the Transition to Renewable Power
Working Paper No. 3, 26 pages, January 2015, published by Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED), in cooperation with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, New York Office
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41095

Sean Sweeney
Der Klimawandel und die große Tatenlosigkeit
Neue gewerkschaftliche Perspektiven
Diskussionspapier No. 2, 24 pages, February 2015, edited by Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED), in cooperation with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, New York Office
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41266

Sean Sweeney
The Hard Facts about Coal
Why Trade Unions Should Re-evaluate their Support for Carbon Capture and Storage
Working Paper No. 5, 62 pages, June 2015, published by Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED), in cooperation with Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, New York Office
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/41571

THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The year 2015 was characterized by small victories and massive defeats. This led to uncomfortable questions for socialist research into transformation that also affected the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. Unfortunately, many of our interpretations of the crisis were proven correct, especially the pessimistic scenarios we presented on current forms of crisis management. Although we believed that the situation was still open to change and outlined a number of possible paths to transformation, we also emphasized the likelihood of the situation ending in authoritarian closure.

The Institute attended the 2nd Democracy Conference in November 2015 as well as the 12th Villa Rossa Workshop in Volterra at the end of August 2015, where we discussed the question of whether Europe was falling apart, a possibility that has now become quite feasible. Europe has moved away from a common consensus in terms of a hegemonic project and toward hegemonialism and power. This has not solved the crisis. Moreover, contradictions will continue to force themselves into the open. This also became clear when, shortly after Greece had been subjugated, a massive influx of migrants led to the Dublin Convention being revoked, which in turn produced discord in the European power bloc. Although the prospects of a left-wing government in Spain or renewed social democracy in the UK may be generating widespread nervousness, right-wing populism is rampant almost everywhere. This is making it increasingly difficult to develop a left-wing approach to transformation, and despite its importance, socio-ecological transformation is simply not on the agenda. This was also clear at the Paris summit, a high point of the Foundation's work during 2015.

In the future, we will have to focus more strongly on the subjects of transformation. This understanding constitutes an important shift in our approach, and we have been advocating this change for quite some time. It was also a central theme during the 4th Transformation Conference "Jenseits der Imitation" (Beyond Imitation), which took place in September. However, if discourse really is to translate into effective praxis, the "mosaic" needs to be actively pieced together. This occurred in October at the conference "Um-Care – Für neue Strategien in Pflege und Gesundheit" (Um-Care – For new Strategies in Nursing and Health), which was jointly organized by the Institute, Netzwerk Care Revolution, DIE LINKE's Bundestag parliamentary group, and ver.di.

Nevertheless, we need to go one step further and ask ourselves how can we reach people who feel completely excluded from society and who expect nothing else from politics. In 2015, we undertook numerous studies and analyses, including the publication "Landschaften der Prekarität" (Landscapes of Precarity), which emerged from the Foundation's

Fellowships have existed at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis since 2012, and are aimed at intensifying the Foundation's cooperation with academia.

discussion group, "Analysis of Class and Social Structure," and educational material on "Jenseits der Prekarität" (Beyond Precarity), which was prepared by a newcomer to the Institute, Miriam Pieschke. Finally, we are using these studies to elicit ways of developing pilot projects that deploy outreach practices aimed at organizing in "socially disadvantaged" neighborhoods.

FELLOWSHIPS

As part of the realignment of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Peace, Foreign and Security Policy Unit, **Malte Daniljuk** published a study entitled "Globale Umordnung. Geopolitische und geoökonomische Veränderungen im Umfeld der Europäischen Union" (Global Rearrangement. Geo-political and Geo-economic Changes in the European Union Environment). The Foundation extensively discussed the study's interim results, with some chapters published individually in journals such as *LuXemburg*, *Blättern für deutsche und internationale Politik*, and *Prokla*, as well as online in *Telepolis*. The study focused on issues such as the correlation between the fracking boom in the United States and the decline in crude oil prices, the Ukraine conflict, and the TTIP free trade agreement.

Corinna Genschel continued the analysis undertaken by the contact unit "social movements and the linking party," which was begun in 2014. In recent years, the unit has developed into an essential aspect of political infrastructure for important social movements in Germany, and an indispensable link between the party and social movements. Corinna Genschel also took on a leading role in planning the Foundation's strategic activities related to "Europa nach dem Coup" (Europe after the Coup). After her fellowship ends, she will continue to organize and help develop the concept behind a major strategy conference on the future of Europe that the Institute is preparing for June 2016.

Dieter Klein focused on whether a comprehensive social and environmental transformation is only possible when undertaken against the ruling classes; in other words, against those who currently control the structures of property, power, interpretation, and the military. Or is it possible that part of the ruling elite could constitute both opponents and allies of comprehensive progressive transformation? Dieter Klein looked at the New Deal in the United States and the struggle for arms limitation during the Cold War to develop a strate-



Fellow Malte Daniljuk researches processes of "global rearrangement" at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

gy for the Left that can be viewed as "antagonistic cooperation" (Rilling). Moreover, his approach focuses on deploying counter-power and counter-hegemony to take advantage of and intensify the cracks and cleavages that exist within the ruling power bloc. Klein's book *Gespaltene Machteliten. Verlorene Transformationsfähigkeit oder Renaissance eines New Deal?* (Divided Power Elites. Lost Transformation Capacity or the Renaissance of a New Deal) will be published by VSA: Verlag in 2016.

As part of her fellowship, **Tove Soiland**, the feminist philosopher, produced a study that questioned one of the early women's movement's main hopes: that the downfall of the bourgeois nuclear family and its inherent Oedipal structure would simultaneously bring down paternal authority and thus patriarchal hegemony. The study argues instead that sexual hierarchies still exist on the societal level, but have established themselves in an environment that is explicitly understood as egalitarian. Moreover, neoliberal financial market capitalism has appropriated significant emancipatory achievements and incorporated them into its system of domination.

Raul Zelik, writer and social scientist, wrote several articles about the reorganization of the Spanish Left and Podemos. These articles culminated in the book *Mit Podemos zur demokratischen Revolution?* (With Podemos on the Path to Democratic Revolution?), which was published in 2015 by Bertz + Fischer. Raul Zelik has also developed a wide-ranging program on Spain for the Foundation's Centre for International Dialogue, which should start in 2016. Finally, he also managed to complete the work that he originally planned: a pamphlet on key problem areas of transformation "Im Multiversum des Kapitals. Wer herrscht wie, wer protestiert, wer nicht und warum nicht?" (Who Rules and How, Who is Protesting, Who is Not, and Why?), which is due to be published in 2016 by VSA: Verlag.



STEPHAN KAUFMANN
**«DIE HALBSTARKEN
 VON ATHEN»**
 FÜNF JAHRE EURO-KRISE –
 IRRTÜMER, INTERESSEN UND
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Close to the protests in Athens after the referendum, July 2015



Wake-up call for Europe: Syriza's flag at a London rally in 2015

GREECE: THE EUROPEAN CATALYST

Syriza tried the impossible and in doing so politicized the issue of democracy in Europe. This saw the party acting as a “huge catalyst” (Tom Strohshneider) by unmasking the current European project as being based on authoritarian neoliberalism, and arousing hope for another Europe. However, the negotiations between Greece and its creditors on July 13, 2015 ended in heavy defeat; not just for Syriza, but for the entire European Left. The “Greek Spring” was to be followed by a cold European winter. Moreover, the dynamic of the European crisis

resulted in rampant chauvinism, racism, and disintegration. It is now more urgent than ever to ask which strategic, programmatic, alliance-based, linking positions and practices will encourage people to get involved and bring about a real change in power relations.

To help answer this question, the Foundation organized a European strategy conference as part of a process involving a range of European meetings and initiatives. Although specific lessons need to be drawn from the actions of the Tsipras government, assessments still need to be undertaken in solidarity. Defeats always constitute important moments of reappraisal, learning, and reorganization. An initial assessment was conducted with numerous representatives from Syriza and diverse Greek social movements. The results were published, among other places, in the Greek special edition of *Luxemburg*. Importantly, we were able to acquire Syriza's former general secretary, Tasos Koronakis, as a fellow of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis, and Nasos Iliopoulos, from Syriza's Central Committee, is producing a study on the first Tsipras government.

The Greek social movements and Syriza have demonstrated that a strategy of intervention can widen the social base far beyond the left-wing and activist milieu when intervention is applied to concrete everyday social relations as part of civil society organizing. As solidarity networks rely on mutual help and political organizing and were linked to a new form of “connected party” (Porcaro), they constituted a key aspect of this process. The “Syriza experience” (Koronakis), however, has also demonstrated that self-organization must be strengthened in all areas when a party forms the government. This means that instead of asking for the support of movements and voters on a case-by-case basis, new linking practices need to be developed with society between the different functions of government, party, movement, and self-organization. Future left-wing projects, therefore, need to ask how the relationship between government, parliamentary groups, and the party can be conceptualized so that the contradictions that

necessarily occur between these groups can be dealt with cooperatively. Linking practices are needed to bridge the lines of division between the party and the Left, and the task of developing them should be taken up by all sections of the Left. Clearly, these issues are not just important for Greece.

As such, the Foundation will continue working with Syriza and increase our accompaniment and support of the Greek government, as much as our capacity permits, in fields such as migration and refugee policy, health policy, and solidarity-based health clinics. We have also supported political reorganization in Spain for many years through analyses of the country's situation and concrete left-wing praxis conducted by Mario Candeias and Paul Zelik.

In many places, new municipalism has succeeded in linking everyday organizing by individuals and within neighborhoods to "connecting platforms" aimed at taking over institutions: it is not just Barcelona and Madrid whose mayors originate from left-wing local government. Moreover, the connecting practices developed by the movements within the Spanish state and in Greece are gaining importance in Germany. The welcome initiatives, urban policy organizing and platforms, and new initiatives on organizing in so-called socially disadvantaged areas are testament to this. The Foundation aims not only to provide incentives in these fields but also to increasingly use organizing as a means of establishing and developing "political infrastructure" within them.

LACK OF PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS: DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES DO NOT COME ABOUT BY THEMSELVES

The declining participation in German democratic elections since the 1980s has been the focus of regular political and media attention. Some people interpret high voter turnout as evidence of strong support for parliamentary democracy; in contrast, low turnouts are viewed as passive criticism of the system. However, since the publication of investigations into the last German general election (if not before), it has become common knowledge that voter turnout is divided along social lines: people who live in "poor" neighborhoods are significantly less likely to vote than those in more affluent areas. Therefore, social inequality clearly translates into political inequality, because politics no longer adequately represents the interests or living conditions of people on the lower rungs of the social ladder.

This social divide can account for up to one third of the votes that were not cast at the last German general election.

Debates about voter turnout always involve discussions about the work of parties, about the current state of "democracy," about the democratic public sphere, and about social cohesion. Clearly then, voting and voting behavior constitute essential issues for the Foundation. Since the summer of 2015, the six political foundations that are affiliated to the parties

represented in the Bundestag have been working together, albeit from different angles, to understand and develop counter-strategies to the causes and motives behind the increasingly low levels of voter turnout. This work is particularly focused on demonstrating the diversity of options available to us. It is essential to realize that there is not just one 'type' of non-voter; there is no single cause behind low voter turnout; and there is no single policy measure that can resolve this problem in the short term. This particularly applies to the use of "technical" measures such as ensuring that polling stations remain open for longer or placing ballot boxes in shopping malls.

Instead, we need to realize that the majority of non-voters probably have good reasons for not voting; moreover, their reasons may have developed over a long period of time. Non-voters sometimes believe that no one is listening to them. Perhaps they feel unrepresented in the language and worldview of political parties and MPs. It is also possible that they expect nothing better from politics, and – despite all of their efforts to the contrary – they remain trapped in a particular social situation. These points bring a number of issues to the fore: the fact that parliaments have voluntarily given up their sovereignty to economic powers; the privatization of institutions such as public companies, which previously enabled governments to implement decisions taken by a democratic majority in policy areas such as social security, transport, and housing; the growing social polarization and lack of opportunities available to the lower half of society (which is no longer buttressed by the welfare state); exclusion rather than inclusion; the decay of political language, which no longer speaks of "citizens" as "sovereign," but as "customers," who are provided with "deals" during elections by the political machinery; and the dismantling of democratic, political education in schools and adult education. It is essential that we understand this, because democratic societies do not come about by themselves; they thrive on participation.



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HORST KAHRS
**ABSCHIED AUS
DER DEMOKRATIE**
ZUM SOZIALEN KLASSEN-
CHARAKTER DER WACHSENDEN
WAHLENTHALTUNG UND DER
PREISGABE STAATSBÜRGER-
LICHER RECHTE
Studien of Rosa-Luxemburg-
Stiftung



Um-Care conference on Berlin's Alexanderplatz: a network of tape symbolizes the reorganization of care and health based on business principles.

“UM-CARE” FOR NEW STRATEGIES IN HEALTH AND CARE

There are very few sectors in which the consequences of economization and austerity are being felt as strongly as in nursing and health care. The people working in this sector and the patients themselves are suffering from the intensification of working practices and staff shortages, both of which can endanger people's health. This situation is worsened by the fact that state benefits have been cut, treatment now needs to provide value for money, and the lowest bidder always wins the contract. There is rarely enough time left over for (self-)care, for people to provide support to others, or just for quiet and relaxation. This leads to new barriers in health care that particularly affect people in need of care and assistance. Moreover, it perpetuates a situation in which poverty leads to illness and where caring for others causes poverty. When people look to private services to fill the resulting gaps in provision, the typical divisions of labor means that this work is generally conducted by women. Over the last few years, the Foundation and its Institute for Critical Social Analysis have begun concentrating on the “cri-

sis in social reproduction” as part of our focus on transformation. In 2014, we tested an “organizing format” for the first time at the “Care Revolution” action conference. This format was aimed at bringing together social analyses, the Foundation's educational goals, and political organization. In 2015, we further developed the approach at a conference entitled “Um-Care – Für neue Strategien in Gesundheit und Pflege” (Um-Care – For New Strategies in Health and Care). This conference took place between October 15 and 18 in Berlin, and around 400 participants met to share their experiences and develop common strategies. Health work, care, and assistance were placed at the heart of the debates. Importantly, the range of people who attended in 2015 was significantly larger than in the year before.

The Um-Care conference was jointly organized by DIE LINKE's parliamentary group and Network Care Revolution. In addition, a variety of initiatives and individuals, as well as activists from associations, self-help organizations, and social movements, were all involved in preparing the event. We particularly welcomed the strong participation by active trade unionists in the around 30 workshops and the several panel discus-

sions, and their participation proved highly productive. There are a number of questions that need to be asked in this sector: How can employees successfully organize while working under the precarious conditions common in outpatient work or home care? How can the new labor disputes in care be broadened? Which alliance strategies will help ensure that these disputes develop into socio-political struggles? And how will the public infrastructure have to be organized if it is to take into account the needs of workers, patients, people in need of care, and their relatives?

The importance of developing a needs-based, democratic, and social infrastructure that deploys a solidarity-based model of financing was a common thread running through the debates at the conference. In the coming years, the demand to strengthen infrastructure such as this will continue to represent a focus for diverse socio-political struggles and an important point of reference for both the Institute for Critical Social Analysis and the Foundation as a whole. Finally, the challenge to build viable welcoming structures that provide care and effective integration for people in need of refuge demonstrates that the time has come for infrastructure such as this.



Limits of Marxism-Feminism: Luxemburg Lecture with Gayatri C. Spivak



Luxemburg Lecture with advisor to Syriza James K. Galbraith

LUXEMBURG LECTURES

The Foundation regularly invites intellectuals from around the world to give talks as part of the Luxemburg Lectures. In 2015, the debates focused on experiences gained from Greece, Marxism-feminism, and Marxism and transformation.

MARCH 20, 2015

Saskia Sassen (sociologist and economist): **WHAT DO WE SEE WHEN WE GO BACK TO GROUND LEVEL - DE-THEORIZE, IN ORDER TO RE-THEORIZE?**
With Shahrzad Mojab (Toronto)

MARCH 21, 2015

Gayatri C. Spivak (postcolonial theorist and literary critic): **EINE GRENZE DES MARXISMUS-FEMINISMUS (A LIMIT OF MARXISM-FEMINISM)**
An event organized as part of the congress "The Strength of Critique: Trajectories of Marxism-Feminism"

MAY 5, 2015

Michael Burawoy (sociologist and a representative of the public sociology approach): **MARXISMUS NACH POLANYI (MARXISM SINCE POLANYI)**
With Hans-Peter Müller, in cooperation with the Institute for Social Sciences, Humboldt-University, Berlin

JUNE 18, 2015

Jason Moore (sociologist and environmental activist): **KAPITALISMUS UND DAS GEWEBE DES LEBENS (CAPITALISM AND THE FABRIC OF LIFE)**
ECOLOGY AND CAPITAL ACCUMULATION
With Michael Brie

NOVEMBER 13, 2015

Tasos Koronakis (former general secretary of Syriza): **NACH DEM COUP. PARTEI UND BEWEGUNG - ENDE DER VERBINDENDEN PARTEI? (AFTER THE COUP. PARTY AND MOVEMENT - THE END OF THE CONNECTING PARTY?)**

NOVEMBER 16, 2015

Kurt Seifert (journalist): **FORTSCHRITT ALS "REISE NACH INNEN" (PROGRESS AS AN "INWARD JOURNEY")**
ON THE RELEVANCE OF RUDOLF BAHRO'S VISIONS
With Michael Brie

DECEMBER 14, 2015

James K. Galbraith (economist): **GRIECHENLAND UND DIE EUROPÄISCHE UNION: EINE AUTOPSIE (GREECE AND THE EUROPEAN UNION: AN AUTOPSY)**
With Michael Brie

THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was established to provide political education, and this is reflected in the work of all of our departments, regional offices, and foundations. However, the Academy for Political Education holds the main responsibility for continuously developing, evaluating, and establishing the Foundation's cross-sectoral understanding of education. The Academy particularly aims to ensure that people are better placed to take action during socio-political disputes and conflicts. In order to achieve this, we organize a range of events from evening events and day-long workshops to weekend seminars and modular further education programs. We also publish educational material and handouts for influencers. The Academy's work targets a number of groups and takes into account the requirements and needs that arise from everyday political praxis. Our work is guided by the principles of providing our participants with respectful critique, an awareness of hierarchical structures, and a desire to create emancipatory opportunities for participation. People who are active within DIE LINKE or the trade unions are just as much part of our target group as people from social movements, initiatives, and NGOs.

The Academy intends to provide basic knowledge while identifying and opening up new approaches to politics and political engagement. We seek to break away from the rigid separation of educational content and teaching and to use a range of methods to make complex relationships far more understandable. In order to do this, we get involved in public debates about political education through our publications or by attending events.

In 2015, the Academy continued to focus on the question of how our target groups can be expanded and how spatial, linguistic, and other barriers can be dismantled in order to come closer to the goal of gaining the widest possible level of inclusion. This, of course, represents a central question for a left-wing political foundation.

The Academy's most important pillars are the local academy, the "training for politics" team, and the youth educational network: each has different priorities and target groups. In this regard, more emphasis is being placed on interdisciplinary cooperation as well as cooperation across departments and between issues. This enables us to ensure that the entanglements between the fields in which we work are made clear and that we can support processes of social change within them. These fields extend to political economics, contemporary history, gender relations, neo-Nazism and other ideologies and structures of inequality, migration, international politics, and social movements, European politics, and socio-ecological transformation.

**FURTHER EDUCATION:
POLITICS AS A PROJECT OF CHANGE**

In October 2014, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung launched a year-long further educational training program entitled "Politics as a Project of Change." Against a background in which temporary commitment, issue-based protests, and new alliances are gaining importance in politics, and in which established organizations and traditional left-wing political forms appear to be becoming less attractive, this program is aimed at people who work on specific processes of renewal in organizations of any size. The program is aimed at enabling people to ensure that their organizations interpret organizational change as linked to general societal change, inspire their coworkers to aim for new goals, plan a route from the here-and-now to meeting and implementing these goals, positively deploy the plurality of opinions and the heterogeneity of the people involved, provide support to people during conflicts and crises, and gain reliable partners and build viable alliances with them. The program is a practical course that is undertaken alongside the participants' work. It unites fundamental aspects of process control and organizational development with political strategy development and project management. The pilot event was attended by 18 people from very different political contexts. They ranged from parliamentarians belonging to DIE LINKE and representatives of trade unions, to people involved in social movements and members of local initiatives and associations. In order to address this heterogeneity of political forms, content, and organizational logics, the team decided to make a number of conceptual changes to the program: First, the participants were not interpreted as being a learning group, but as a network. This also had a direct impact on the choice of methods, the way the process and relationships were conceptualized, and the time allocated to feedback during the program. Moreover, it led the team to adapt the learning model to ensure that its content provided more practical motivation, and this also resulted in more time for collective critique and context-specific learning. Second, the participants' heterogeneity was regularly used as the basis for discussions. This enabled the participants to use their



A pilot becomes a regular project organized by the Foundation.

own experiences to focus on the opportunities and difficulties presented by cooperation with people from other political contexts.

This heterogeneity was also supported and addressed by the composition of the team and the choice of venues: course modules took place in a union education center run by IG BAU, in the municipality of Niederkaufungen, at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Berlin, and at the Peter Weiss House in Rostock. The team was made up of people from Attac, verdi, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and social movements. The program covered communication cultures, understandings of transformation, strategies of social change, understandings of organizations and practices of change, as well as many other useful tools for everyday political engagement.

An intensive phase of evaluation began after the pilot event finished. The first result is that the program will be included as part of the regular services provided by the Foundation. The evaluation also demonstrated two central areas of tension. First, although successful projects on political cooperation lead their participants to seriously question their own organizational identities, the form of cooperation promoted by the program does not lead to the construction of a "new" identity. Second, despite the need for joint action in the here-and-now, there are still good reasons for stubbornness, differences, and oppositions when it comes to developing a common vision. These tensions will be explored during this program's further development.



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VERANSTALTUNGSREIHE
INSIGHT NSU
**STRUKTURELLER RASSISMUS,
DIE NSU-MORDSERIE
UND DIE VERSTRICKUNG
DER GEHEIMDIENSTE**

BEGINN: 14. NOVEMBER 2014

Die Diskussion über den strukturellen Rassismus der Polizeibehörden bei den Ermittlungen zur NSU-Mordserie und die verhängnisvolle Beziehung zwischen Geheimdiensten und neonazistischen Strukturen durch sogenannte V-Leute ist bislang nur am Rande und vorwiegend aus deutscher Perspektive geführt worden. Die Veranstaltungsreihe «Insight NSU» will diese Lücke schließen.
Die Reihe beginnt am 14. November 2014 mit Liz Fekete vom Londoner Institute of Race Relations (IRR). Fortgesetzt wird sie ab Januar 2015 mit Gästen aus Griechenland (u. a. zum Prozess gegen führende Funktionäre der faschistischen Partei Chrysi Avgi/Goldene Morgenröte), Nordirland (u. a. zur Rolle des britischen Sicherheits- und Militärapparats und protestantischen Paramilitärs im nordirischen Bürgerkrieg), Ungarn (u. a. zum Prozess gegen Neonazisten wegen der Morde an sechs Roma) und der Türkei (u. a. zum Prozess gegen die Mörder des armenischen Journalisten Hrant Dink und die Rolle der Polizei).

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Weitere Informationen unter:
WWW.ROSALUX.DE

Invitation to a series of events on the NSU complex

INSIGHT NSU

A SERIES OF EVENTS ON THE NSU COMPLEX

Public discourse about the NSU (National Socialist Underground) has been largely insubstantial. This situation has been worsened by reports that have become tied up in minute details, profane conspiracy theories, or depoliticized court-based reporting. “Insight NSU,” a series of events that began with a visit by Liz Fekete from the London Institute of Race Relations in November 2014, was aimed at opening up the narrow focus of reporting and exploring the NSU within the hitherto largely neglected European context. It was also aimed at providing views from outside of Germany on the way in which the country has dealt with this disaster.

This year’s events began in January with a visit by the Northern Irish NGO activist Daniel Holder, from the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ). His talk focused on collusion during the Troubles in Northern Ireland: collusion involves the barely controllable actions of the military, police, and intelligence services that are undertaken in secret as part of the perceived fight against terror. It occurs when state agencies are jointly responsible for, if not the initiators of, clandestine structures, or when they use informants to exert influence over a specific milieu, when they endorse, provide support for or control crimes, or knowingly allow crimes to happen, even involving serious crimes such as murder.

Similar patterns of involvement by state authorities have been uncovered as part of investigations into right-wing terrorism. This is reflected in testimonies by the Turkish lawyer Hakan Bakırcıoğlu, who represents the family of the Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink (murdered in 2007) and Thanassis Kampagiannis, the Greek lawyer representing two of the victims at the Athens trial of the neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn. In 2015, the last event in the series concentrated on the judicial processing of the murder of at least six Roma by neo-Nazis in Hungary in 2008 and 2009. Eszter Hajdú has made a documentary about this issue. The events had unusually high levels of attendance and took place in cooperation with the German Republican Lawyers’ Association (RAV) and NSU Watch, among others. Representatives of the co-plaintiff in the Munich NSU case ensured that parallels, differences, and possible conclusions could be drawn about the partially networked European right-wing terrorists. A highlight of the series was the speakers’ tour entitled “NSU-Terror, Staat und Aufklärung” (NSU Terror, State, and Investigation), which took place at the end of June 2015. The Turkish delegation, consisting of the journalists Tanıl Bora and İsmail Saymaz and the social scientist Yasemin İnceoğlu, described their views of the NSU case and linked them to their experiences of the “deep state” in Turkey. The crowded events also took place in unusual locations: at Munich’s Kammerspiele; in Cologne’s Schauspiel, and in Berlin’s Maxim Gorki Theater.

FOUR THINGS THAT WE NEED FROM YOU!

A NEEDS-ANALYSIS OF YOUTH EDUCATION

When choosing left-wing organizational forms, young people tend to opt for political youth groups, info-shops, cultural centers, and other projects that provide them with collective spaces. These spaces encourage politicization and political exchange and enable young people to discuss and develop their political involvement. In addition, it is here that school strikes and youth blocs at demonstrations against Nazis are planned, or where support for climate protests is organized. Clearly, then, young people make a difference.

One of the biggest challenges faced by youth groups is their constant renewal. This is of course an inherent characteristic, but when “older” members leave, a large amount of the group’s experiences, knowledge, and important networking contacts are also lost.

This is where the “training” working group comes in, with its focus on providing youth education within the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The working group supports emancipatory projects run by young people and helps them become more politically effective. In 2015, the Foundation met with randomly selected left-wing youth groups in order to understand their needs. This was followed up with a specially designed five-hour workshop conducted with the young people in order to understand which aspects of political practice come easily to them, the areas in which they face difficulties, and what they actually need in order to be more successful. This assessment resulted in four policy and practice-related learning areas: formulating a political identity and understanding of the group; learning more about political networks and alliances; improving the ability to translate ideas into practices; and providing youth press work with more political visibility.

In 2016, day-long workshops that reflect these learning areas will be organized for young people in order to strengthen their work and provide them with targeted support.



Amazon employees from Germany, Poland, and Spain meet during an event organized by the Foundation in October 2015 in Berlin.

SOLIDARITY BEYOND BORDERS

EUROPEAN NETWORKING BY AMAZON EMPLOYEES

With a turnover of over USD 107 billion in 2015, Amazon is the undisputed global market leader in the booming e-commerce industry. The group consists of retailers, logistics and internet platform technology companies, music and video streaming service providers, film producers, newspaper publishers (*The Washington Post*), and IT manufacturers. The company employs more than 183,000 people throughout the world, mostly in low-wage jobs. In Europe, Amazon operates a total of 30 distribution centers; nine of them are in Germany, the most important market outside of the US. In 2013, Amazon had a turnover of almost EUR 5.8 billion in Germany alone.

The organization of wage labor at Amazon is characterized by technical resources and authoritarian leadership methods that enable human labor to be continuously monitored and optimized. Amazon's quasi-religious team ideology stands in sharp contrast to the atomization of the workers, the company's extensive use of temporary employees, and its systematic recourse to a "precarious" reserve army.

Since March 2013, ver.di has conducted strikes at Amazon's sites in Germany with the aim of signing a collective agreement for retail workers. However, Amazon has been able to avoid most of the consequences of the strikes by arranging for its orders to be prepared in neighboring countries. In 2015, the Foundation's working group "Solidarity along Transnational Production Chains" focused on supporting the education and networking activities of Amazon's employees in Europe. The aim was to answer the problem caused by companies with international workforces by ensuring that labor struggles can also be internationalized. The highlights of this work were the panel discussion, "Solidarität über Grenzen hinweg" (Solidarity Beyond Borders), which took place on October 3, 2015 at ver.di's headquarters in Berlin, and the subsequent "inter-

nal" network meeting on October 4, at which more than 50 employees from various Amazon sites in Germany, as well as ver.di secretaries and colleagues from Poland and Spain, discussed their experiences.

The panel discussion at the Solidarity Beyond Borders event took place with Bernd Riexinger, chair of DIE LINKE, Maria del Rosario García Sánchez from Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO) in Spain, Kacper Stachowski from Poland's NSZZ Solidarność, and Christian Krähling, ver.di's representative at Amazon in Bad Hersfeld (Hesse). It focused on how European Amazon employees could jointly overcome the restrictions placed on their rights. Importantly, the event was specifically linked to existing networking activities. Maria del Rosario García Sánchez's visit meant that CC.OO also joined the European network. The network is organized as part of the UNI Global Union and brings together trade unionists from the French CGT, the British GMB, the Czech OSPO, as well as ver.di and Solidarność.

The 4th UNI Amazon networking meeting took place on the fringes of the ver.di National Congress in Leipzig at the end of September 2015. The meeting was supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and, for the first time, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Between October 2 and 3, DIE LINKE's parliamentary group organized a commission entitled "Amazon – Strategien für 'gute Arbeit' und Tarifbindung" (Amazon – Strategies for 'Good Jobs' and Binding Wage Agreements). As a means of documenting and analyzing the on-going labor struggles of Amazon's employees, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung commissioned a study that was published in November 2015 ("Der lange Kampf der Amazon-Beschäftigten"/The Long Struggle of Amazon Employees). The report, which is now in its 2nd edition, has gained a very wide reception in employment-based and political education. The study is available online (in German) alongside all of the Foundation's other publications.

NATIONWIDE WORK

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been active for many years in all 16 German states. An important part of the Foundation's political education takes place at this level, and the Foundation in Berlin closely cooperates with the regional foundations. In 2015, nearly 2,200 events, attended by around 100,000 participants, were organized in the regions. The Foundation's events are not only aimed at supporters of DIE LINKE, but also at a wider public audience. The regional foundations work with initiatives and social movements, with trade unions, and other educational providers, but also with other regional foundations.

At the local level, regional foundations in some of the larger German states such as Bavaria, Lower Saxony, and North Rhine-Westphalia organize Rosa Luxemburg Clubs. It is at this level that the Foundation's educational work is carried out in detail, in partnership with a variety of civil society partner organizations and groups. Much of the extensive work undertaken at this level is conducted by volunteers.

The Foundation's department for Nationwide Work coordinates cooperation between the Foundation's various departments and the regional offices and regional foundations. The latter are partly financed by grants from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Berlin and partly through donations and membership fees. In many federal states, additional funding is available from regional funds.

In 2015, anti-fascism and anti-racism constituted a particular focus, with almost 400 of our events covering issues such as remembrance, and discussions of the rise of right-wing radical and populist forces in Germany and the right-wing terror committed by the NSU. More than 400 events were devoted to European and international politics, and around 150 events dealt with the proliferation of armed conflicts throughout the world and their possible solutions. Around 90 events took place on each of the following issues: current aspects of European politics (particularly Greece and the euro crisis), and migration and asylum. Other important issues included the critique of capitalism/developing alternatives, developments in democracy, and socio-ecological restructuring. These priorities were complemented by a wide selection of events on economic, social, and gender policy issues, philosophical and social theory, as well as cultural and artistic themes. Women accounted for around 40 percent of the participants; under-30s accounted for nearly 30 percent.

The following sets out some of the highlights from this year's educational events organized by the regional foundations.



Last updated: May 2016



Conference in Stuttgart: What comes after the “summer of migration”?



The Foundation was the principle organizer of the “Summit of (the) Alternatives” in Munich.

BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

CONFERENCE ON WELCOMING CULTURE AND THE REGIME OF DEPORTATION

In Europe, 2015 was marked by large movements of migrants and the way in which society dealt with the resulting challenges. Official policy fluctuated between the friendly face of the “humanitarian imperative” as expressed by the slogan “We can do it,” to tightening the right to asylum. In contrast, German civil society demonstrated that it is more than capable of providing solidarity and practical help.

Nearly 3 million out of the 10.6 million people living in Baden-Württemberg come from a family with a “background of migration.” As such, nothing could be more natural than organizing a conference in the region at the end of the year entitled “Willkommenskultur, Ausgrenzung, Abschieberegime” (Welcome Culture, Exclusion, and Regimes of Deportation) with the aim of analyzing and developing a critique of Germany’s and Baden-Württemberg’s refugee policy and building a network of people active in this field. In organizing the conference, it was important for us to focus on the local level and to ask what could be done at this level to support people who are in need of refuge and to counteract divisions in society. Almost 100 people participated in numerous working groups on how to develop a constructive and appropriate coexistence at the local level. They also attempted to answer the questions: How can local authorities solve the problem of the lack of living space? How can we support the children of refugees in their eagerness to learn and ensure that they will have good career prospects and opportunities? What can we do to prevent this situation from leading disadvantaged groups to face even more competition in the housing and labor markets?

In the future, sharing opinions on these issues and building a stronger network of people involved in the refugee and migration policy field will continue to constitute important areas for the political education provided by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Baden-Württemberg.

BAVARIA

THE SUMMIT OF (THE) ALTERNATIVES

At the beginning of June 2015, the G7 met in Schloss Elmau in Upper Bavaria. One year earlier, the group “Stop G7 Elmau” had been founded to organize a counter event. On June 3 and 4, 2015, the “Summit of (the) Alternatives” took place in Munich. The summit demonstrated a surprising and very welcome level of cooperation between people from different parts of the political spectrum. A total of 38 organizations were involved in planning the summit, including NGOs of various sizes, members of youth union organizations, as well as foundations and parliamentary groups. The Kurt Eisner Association (the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Bavaria) acted as the summit’s main organizer.

The alternative summit focused on the global balance of power, current wars and militarization, free trade, climate change and the climate crisis, global health policy, the overwhelming influence of corporations in the fields of agriculture, food, and human rights, as well as migration and asylum, marine protection, women’s empowerment, austerity, financial markets, and public debt. The summit was attended by 66 speakers from 19 countries, including the economist, Jayati Ghosh, the well-known critic of globalization, Jean Ziegler, and the former Italian partisan, Adelmo Cervi. Overall, more than 1,000 people participated; nearly 40 percent were under 30 years of age. Unfortunately, the summit was accompanied not only by large media interest, but also by a massive police presence. In fact, the police deployed such a high level of repression against people involved in demonstrations that only parts of the program organized for the protest camp in Garmisch-Partenkirchen could actually take place. There was not enough space at the summit for a radical critique of the G7’s policies. In the future it will be essential to ensure that radical perspectives and related parts of the political spectrum are more strongly represented.



A voice of young feminism: Laurie Penny (at the center of the picture) in the SO36 club in Berlin



The Neue Bühne theater in Senftenberg: venue for "Provinz versus Provinzialität" (Province versus Provinciality)

BERLIN

UNSPEAKABLE THINGS: SEX, LIES AND REVOLUTION

In 2015, the continuation of cooperation with Laurie Penny represented a highlight of the work by Helle Panke e. V. – the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's regional foundation in Berlin. Laurie Penny is one of the most important voices of young feminism. When she visited us for the first time in October 2012, we discussed her theories about the sexualized public treatment of women and women's bodies. The discussion coincided with the translation of her book *Meat Market* into German and took place in a rather closely-knit circle of feminists in a small bookshop in the Berlin district of Prenzlauer Berg. Just three years later, and it is clear that media hype surrounds the author and blogger from London. On June 17, 2015, this was further demonstrated when the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and *Missy Magazine*, together with Nautilus, Laurie Penny's German publisher, organized a further event with Laurie Penny. This time more than 440 women, intersex and trans people, and men gathered together in Club SO36 in the district of Kreuzberg. This second event marked the publication of the latest collection of her texts entitled *Unspeakable Things: Sex, Lies and Revolution*, which was translated into German by Anne Emmert. Stefanie Lohaus, editor of *Missy Magazine*, and Laurie Penny discussed the ubiquity of misogyny in the media, the lack of solidarity among women, and the need for a feminist approach; an approach that needs to be expressed at work, between women who are neighbors, and in everyday places such as while traveling on the train, in order to reject the discrimination and violence faced by women and LGBT people. Laurie Penny called for feminism to be focused on justice and equality, but also for freedom for all. Furthermore, she spoke of a form of feminism that provides us with the freedom to be who we are, to love whoever we want to love, and that secures us the space to invent new gender roles. Finally, she also encouraged everyone to act with pride when confronted by those who want to deny us these rights.

BRANDENBURG

WORLD HISTORY AND STORIES FROM THE PROVINCE

In June 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Brandenburg organized the fifth and final cultural conference in the series "Provinz versus Provinzialität" (Province Versus Provinciality) at the Neue Bühne theater in Senftenberg. The conference followed the proven principles of naturally combining an issue with a location, and theoretical reflections with practical experiences from the "province" as part of the same dialog. In addition, it reflected the view that theater, music, dance performances, exhibitions, and readings are integral parts of this process rather than just "cultural framing."

The series was opened in 2011 with the issue of "Kulturelle Substanz im ländlichen Raum" (Cultural Substance in Rural Areas) in Oderbruch. In 2012, this was followed by "'Pisa schock' und musische Bildung" ('Pisa Shock' and Musical Education) in Bautzen, in 2013 "Grenzen – Grenzüberschreitung – (Inter)Kulturelle Bildung" (Borders – Border Crossing – (Inter) Cultural Education) in Schwedt/Oder, and in 2014 "Welt anschauen: Räume. Bilder. (Look at the World: Spaces. Images. In Motion) at Kunstmuseum Dieselkraftwerk in Cottbus. In 2015, the cultural conference focused on "Weltgeschichte und Geschichten aus der Provinz" (World History and Stories from the Province); it closed with Heiner Müller's "Germania 3. Gespenster am toten Mann" (Germania. 3 Ghosts at Dead Man), which was directed by Manuel Soubeyrand. The conference's dramaturgy followed much of the material presented in the piece by Heiner Müller, namely, the interpretation of history as a collage. For example, the 70th anniversary of Germany's liberation from National Socialism and the 25th anniversary of the coming together of both German states was analyzed from a rather unusual perspective, the view from the "province'," and, informed by Walter Benjamin, in accordance with the view that historical accounts (need to be regularly freed from conformism).



Snowden makes it clear: software vulnerability is not the only threat to internet security.



Six discussion events focused on the developments in Greece.

BREMEN

AFTER THE SUMMER OF SNOWDEN

On June 12, 2015, the second anniversary of Edward Snowden's publication of secret service documents was marked by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative in Bremen with a panel discussion and the documentary *Citizenfour*. Around 300 people attended the event that was held at the ://about blank techno club in Berlin. Jacob Appelbaum, journalist and internet activist, and Sarah Harrison, Wikileaks activist and a supporter of Edward Snowden, were invited as guests.

The debate focused on the key question: What follows from the disclosures about global total surveillance? Different views were expressed about how the leaks by Snowden should be dealt with in Germany. On the one hand, the governing coalition's and the security apparatuses' strategy of "sitting it out" was said to be preventing a profound public debate about surveillance. Appelbaum and Harrison, however, countered that the NSA inquiry had at least begun to provide a parliamentary account of the political consequences of the revelations since Snowden. Moreover, transparency on government surveillance was said to be relatively high in Germany. "Your state," Appelbaum pointed out, "does not protect you. But at least you are being told that."

The German security authorities, in particular the German Intelligence Service (BND), were said to cooperate closely with the US intelligence services, to seek legal advice from the US, and to rely on its surveillance programs. In return, the BND provided assistance through data transfer for the US military's global drone war. Moreover, the German government also tolerated the control of military drones from the US air base in Ramstein. This led Appelbaum to call for active intervention against the country's killing policy: "Why don't you just cut off their water or power?"

HAMBURG

CHANGE! EUROPE! SOLIDARITY!

The year 2015 started with a bang: On January 25, Syriza won the Greek elections. Alexis Tsipras became the new Greek prime minister and he announced an ambitious program of reform that rejected neoliberal austerity and capitalism structured around clientelism. However, the financial markets and the ruling political forces responded heavy-handedly, and Tsipras was forced to accept a third memorandum. On the one hand, this meant that the Syriza government, which was re-elected in September, would now have to implement an austerity policy that it had already rejected; on the other, it also made the party responsible for the search for alternatives. Over the course of six debates, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Hamburg discussed these developments with numerous participants. In January, just two weeks after Syriza's election victory, Gregor Kritidis and Paraskevi Grekopolou spoke about the prospects for fundamental political change. And while Syriza was standing on the Brussels stage, Babis Agrolabos, a journalist from Athens who works with *Editors' Newspaper*, set out the history of Syriza, a project that constitutes both a party and a movement. The discussion about the future of Greece culminated in prominent representatives coming together from trade unions, the church, and academia to express solidarity with the struggles in the country. Against the background of the debate about German reparations for Greece, the historian Karl Heinz Roth underlined the political cynicism inherent in Germany's position. The fight in Spain against austerity was the subject of an event with the writer Raul Zelik, and the series of events closed with Stephan Kaufmann, a journalist from Berlin, providing a critical summary under the title "Sieg der Erpressung" (Victory for Extortion). All in all, this series of events managed to link political education to current developments in a manner that is rarely possible.



Armenians heading to detention camps, April 1915



Group picture with women from the University of Rostock, picture taken in July 1988

HESSE

100 YEARS OF TURKEY'S DENIAL OF GENOCIDE

In order to mark the 100th anniversary of the genocide against the Armenians, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's regional foundations in Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate organized an event with the editors of the magazine *Infobrief Türkei*. The event focused on the survival of the Armenians in light of the systematic discrimination that they have faced and the official denials of the genocide. The event was deliberately organized for November.

The historian Talin Suciyan spoke about "Türkei als Topographie des Völkermordes – Postgenozidhabitus der Leugnung" (Turkey as a Topography of Genocide – The Post-genocide Habitus of Denial). Her research is focused on oral accounts of the genocide against the Armenians and the emigration that it caused. She pointed out that despite the Treaty of Lausanne, Armenians were unable to operate schools outside of Istanbul. Between 1930 and 1950, many Armenians were expelled from rural areas and had to leave Turkey. Similarly, forced conversions to Islam and discrimination meant that many Armenians continued to leave the country during the 1960s. Finally, she pointed out that accusations of "denigrating Turkish culture" were deployed as juridical weapons against Armenians and other Christians. Her speech was followed by a talk by the *Infobrief* editors, who concentrated on the continued resistance within Turkey against recognizing these events as genocide. Moreover, the editors explained that the current praxis of assimilation and denial could to a certain extent be viewed as a continuation of the genocide. They argued that it is currently extremely difficult in Turkey to take action against the denial of genocide, despite the fact that it demonstrably represented a collective crime. Finally, Turkey was said to be increasingly developing toward a dictatorship under the current AKP government. The event was very well received, not only by Armenians, and is a good example of how "open wounds" can be dealt with methodically and appropriately within an educational context.

MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN

DEMOLITION – TRANSITION – OPTIMISM

The "political shift" that occurred in 1989 represented a significant turning point for the University of Rostock. On April 1, 2015, 25 years later, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung invited interested parties and people who witnessed the events at the time to a colloquium in the university's auditorium to discuss what happened and the consequences. In what type of climate did the shift take place? What impact did it have on lecturers? Do any continuities exist? What overhauls took place? Is the time ripe for a historical analysis?

The event was organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. There was clearly a great need to discuss these issues, and the event was attended by over 100 people. The participants included the university's rector, Wolfgang Schareck, three of his predecessors, and academics from almost all of the university's faculties. The former rectors, Gerhard Maeß, Wolfgang Methling, and Sybille Bachmann, introduced the discussion and set the focus of the debate: the political framework put in place by the Treaty of Unification, the centralized control exerted by the Academic Council and other bodies, the new beginnings and the radical change brought about by democratic self-government, the Honor, Approval and Selection Commissions, the technical assessments of faculties and academics, the continued employment (or rejection) of staff, and the professional paths of people who were "phased out." These issues were covered by various speeches on the process of transformation that occurred at the university and were discussed in detail. The historian Kersten Krüger, who was responsible for the preparation of the institution's 600th anniversary, viewed the debate as an important contribution to the history of the Alma Mater Rostochiensis – and she was not the only person to do so. This was further illustrated in September, when the debate's proceedings were published.



Implementing programs: How can we implement left-wing policies at the municipal level?

LOWER SAXONY
CERTIFIED LOCAL POLITICS

In 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Lower Saxony, together with the Linke Kommunalpolitische Forum Niedersachsen, organized a series of seminars entitled “Grundlagen emanzipatorischer Kommunalpolitik” (The Foundations of Emancipatory Politics at the Local Level). Demand was enormous: training courses took place in 13 towns in Lower Saxony under the guidance of volunteer speakers, and were attended by 200 people. Everyone received a certificate at the end of the session.

The seminars provided people who had ambitions in local politics with the chance to discuss various left-wing issues, alternative projects, and approaches in local communities with experienced local politicians. The debates focused on social housing, solidarity-based financing for public transport, education for all, and social participation. Alongside basic information, the events were aimed at continuing the collective development of left-wing strategies in order to make life in local areas affordable and to ensure that everyone has a high quality of life. Moreover, they were organized to help build the foundations of emancipatory, left-wing local politics in Lower Saxony.

The seminars not only provided important substantive suggestions and discussions, they also focused on the feasibility of left-wing politics under the current difficult budgetary situation faced by many municipalities and the restrictions placed on them by legislation that they are unable to influence. Linked to this was the question of how (new) alliance partners could be found. In 2016, this successful series of seminars will once again be organized directly in local communities to ensure that the seminars remain as accessible as possible. Feedback from the participants was highly positive. Education at the local level will remain a key aspect of the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Lower Saxony.



Participants in Bochum: Walther Müller-Jentsch, Christoph Jünke, and Frank Deppe (from right to left)

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA
IN HONOR OF VIKTOR AGARTZ (1897-1964)

On January 17, 2015, a conference took place in Bochum to mark the 50th anniversary of Viktor Agartz’s death. The conference was organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) with the Institute of Economic and Social Research, the Institute for Social Movements, and the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB). Agartz was a left-winger involved in international union policy work during the post-war period; a person seemingly without a homeland. He promoted a socialist form of economic democracy, and eventually became the head of the DGB’s Economic Research Institute. Agartz criticized the concept of union co-determination and participation within companies as the co-management of capitalism, and therefore came into conflict with some sections of the DGB and the SPD.

The conference was attended by around 100 participants. It was aimed at examining the historical relevance of Agartz’s arguments and discussing the structural and cyclical problems currently faced by emancipatory movements, in particular the labor and trade union movements. Following the opening introduction by Stefan Berger (Institute for Social Movements), Iris Bernert-Leushacke (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung NRW), and Guntram Schneider (Labor Minister, NRW), the discussion was devoted to Viktor Agartz. The second half of the conference concentrated on the issue of union co-determination and economic democracy. It took the form of a debate between economist and social scientist Walther Müller-Jentsch and political scientist Frank Deppe. In addition, a talk was held by Reinhard Bispinck and Thorsten Schulten (both from the Institute of Economic and Social Research). The day ended with a panel discussion on current union policy issues with Klaus Barthel (Bundestag, SPD), Jutta Krellmann (Bundestag, DIE LINKE), Mag Wompel (LabourNet Germany), and Thorsten Schulten (Institute of Economic and Social Research).



Port Bou: Entry to the Walter Benjamin memorial



Ralph Schock from Saarländischer Rundfunk leads the literary walk.

RHINELAND-PALATINATE

WALTER BENJAMIN – FROM THE END OF HISTORY UNTIL NOW

Walter Benjamin's ideas are an important point of reference for left-wing politics. In order to discuss his critique of hegemonial forms of historiography, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Rhineland-Palatinate and the Institut Français in Mainz organized a two-day symposium on October 23 and 24, 2015. The conference focused on Benjamin's historical-philosophical arguments, first published in 1942 in a special issue of the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (Journal of Social Research). Benjamin had taken his own life while attempting to escape Nazism in 1940. In an introductory lecture, Gérard Raulet presented Benjamin's text *Theses on the Philosophy of History* and placed it in its biographical and historical context. The text's high level of artistic expressiveness and the theoretical aspirations that Benjamin linked to the aesthetic dimension are clearly illustrated by his debates with Paul Klee, as Gregor Wedekind argued afterwards. Frank Voigt's study of Benjamin's analysis of the magazine *The New Era*, which placed Benjamin's concept of historical materialism in a contemporary context, was followed by a debate about positive utopian historical thought on the one hand, and negative critical thought on the other. Marcus Hawel took issue with Benjamin's understanding of revolution in light of the Marxist debate on theory. Caroline Heinrich contrasted this with the continuous process of historical oppression that culminates in the concept of a victim. Thomas Schröder examined the overlap between Sigmund Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* and Benjamin's views. Finally, Heike Demmel demonstrated the app "historia viva: Walter Benjamin," which presents texts, sound bites, and photos about Benjamin's life and work at eleven stations. The app describes his escape from the Nazis, his exile, the help he provided to other people who were fleeing the Nazis, and his journey to the border town of Portbou.

SAARLAND

FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF ALFRED DÖBLIN

In 1916, Alfred Döblin resignedly described his "experiences on the front" by stating that "We also fought the battles of Verdun – with our ears." The psychiatrist and author from Berlin, who would later gain great popularity with his novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, actually volunteered for military service. He spent 1915 to 1917 as a military doctor in a military hospital in Sarreguemines in Lorraine, almost 150 kilometers from Verdun, but his experience there clearly traumatized him. The time spent by Döblin at the confluence of the River Saar and River Blies – today the border rivers between France and Germany – was the subject of a literary walk organized in August 2015 by the Peter Imandt Society. It was very well-attended, with 50 participants taking part. The walk was led by Ralph Schock, literary critic, author, and an editor at *Saarland Rundfunk*. The walk began at the Ritterhof, a former winery that was one of Döblin's favorite places. Döblin's letters and short stories were read out at various stops. "Now I'm stuck in the middle of nowhere in Lorraine," he complained, and clashed with his superiors over the poor medical care and food supply. Despite his initial enthusiasm for war, Döblin's patriotic feelings soon disappeared and he suffered a nervous breakdown. The walk dealt with Döblin's transformation from a patriot into an opponent of war, and the walk stretched for six kilometers before arriving back at its starting point. Under the Ritterhof's old chestnut trees, it was hard to imagine how the sounds of war had pounded the idyllic valley and changed the lives of so many people. Prompted by the Peter Imandt Society, the town of Kleinblittersdorf has placed seven bilingual info boards along the route, describing Döblin's complicated relationship with this historic site.



Pegida and similar organizations use the Web for their political campaigns and to spread hate.

SAXONY

SOCIAL MEDIA AND RIGHT-WING MOBILIZATION

It is not just since the rise of Pegida that the internet has played a significant role in spreading racist and inhuman content. In Saxony, this situation has become far worse over the past year: many refugees' homes have been burned, and politically active people, including journalists and left-wing politicians, have been repeatedly threatened and attacked. In early December 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Sachsen initiated a meeting at Dresden's Cultural Forum that was attended by about 50 people to analyze this situation and to work out what could be done.

Simone Rafael, editor of Netz-gegen-Nazis.de, which is run by the Amadeu Antonio Foundation, described how right-wingers foment political fever and promote hate on the internet. Her conclusion was that "right-wingers intensively and strategically use social media." The blogger and political consultant, Martin Fuchs, however, pointed out that social media tends to reflect what is going on in people's minds. He labeled the divergence of social groups into worlds that are completely separated from one another when it comes to the information they receive as particularly concerning. Gunter Neumann, head of online and social media at Mittledeutsche Rundfunk (MDR), described the way in which the broadcaster deals with hateful comments on its websites. He argued that the fact that many people are no longer reachable through public service broadcasting and major newspapers and magazines was a major problem, and emphasized the need to urgently find strategies to reverse this development. Silvio Lang used his own experience to vividly portray how it feels to be threatened and insulted on social media. Fortunately, these threats are not usually carried out, and Lang stressed that he would not give in to the threats he had received. The discussion was led by Peter Stawowy from Flurfunk Dresden, and a film of the event is available on our website.



Eva von Angern (DIE LINKE) talking to the author Adriana Altaras (right)

SAXONY-ANHALT

READING WITH ADRIANA ALTARAS

On September 24, 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Saxony-Anhalt and the Saxony-Anhalt's Women's Council organized a reading at Magdeburg library with Adriana Altaras. The author, actress, and director read from her bestseller *Tito's Glasses. The History of my Exhausting Demanding Family*, to the enchantment of much of the audience. The evening was moderated by the chair of the Saxony-Anhalt's Women's Council, Eva von Angern (DIE LINKE).

With joy, humor, and an admirable level of frankness, the author spoke about her Jewishness and her family history that led her to travel across Europe. The audience in the packed library listened closely to her stories about her mother's Jewish funeral, and what she termed the "Jewish Massacre" (the circumcision of her first-born). Her "Aryan" husband with his "German virtues," as well as her father, a former Yugoslav partisan who had always wanted to be a hero, also played important roles in her life.

There was hardly anyone in the room who could resist the author's charm, and the way in which she dealt with Judaism, which she mainly described as a way of life, was both witty and critical. She made fun of old rites without placing herself above the people who uphold them. She laughed at her interpretations of her own history, about "stubborn family secrets," and the fact that everyone thinks "Jews are nice, as long as they are victims." It should therefore come as no surprise that one chapter of her book is entitled "The rabbi in the Aldi bag." Her warm and lively reading certainly fulfilled its educational purpose: the audience clearly expressed sympathy for and interest in Jewish culture, traditions, and customs, many of which at first glance may seem unfamiliar.



Criticism becomes necessary when right-wing men pose as victims.



In 1993, 700 miners lost their jobs in Bischofferode.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

REAL (RIGHT-WING) MEN

In May 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Schleswig-Holstein and Kieler Krach AG (a movement-oriented event group) organized an event entitled “Die ‘Maskulisten’. Organisiert-er Antifeminismus im deutschsprachigen Raum” (The ‘Masculists’. Organized Anti-feminism in German-speaking Countries) that was attended by 80 people. The sociologist Andreas Kemper spoke in front of a predominantly young audience (more than two thirds were younger than 30 years of age) in Kiel’s alternative communications center, Alte Meierei. Kemper described the right-wing men’s movement as a product of the creeping depoliticization of the civil men’s movement and the disappearance of the autonomous men’s milieu. Right-wing men’s groups typically claim they face reverse discrimination. They believe that the men’s rights movement is “defending” itself against “genderism,” the “PC language police,” and “do-gooders.” These views can also be linked to the anti-feminism of the Norwegian mass-murderer Anders Breivik. Parts of the anti-feminist men’s rights movement view Breivik as a victim of “political correctness,” which they see as linked to feminism. In the lively discussion that ensued at the event, the relation of “men’s rights activists” to Alternative for Germany (AfD) was also discussed, and the participants debated the extent to which ‘masculists’ had adopted classical forms of argumentation.

The event was culturally embedded in others run by Krach AG. It began with coffee and vegan cake, and closed with music at the Alten Meierei in the evening. Well over 50 per cent of the participants were women. In 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Schleswig-Holstein organized 82 events; women’s participation averaged at over 51 per cent, and more than 48 per cent of the participants were 30 years of age or younger.

THURINGIA

THE BATTLE FOR BISCHOFFERODE

Bischofferode was once the center of potash mining, but it gained notoriety in 1993, when the Treuhandanstalt forced through the closure of the mines as part of the merger of the East and West German potash industries. The miners put up fierce resistance, and sensational solidarity actions took place in their support that even made it into the world press. Today, the Thomas-Müntzer-Kaliverein Bischofferode e. V. runs a small museum – once the mine’s hospital – to keep alive the memory of the region’s potash mining that originated at the beginning of the last century.

In December 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Thuringia invited a group of interested people to travel to the site where, 22 years ago, the last shift ended and 700 miners finally lost their jobs. The tour of the museum was led by 62-year-old Gerhard Jüttemann, who was the deputy chair of the works committee and one of the main initiators of the resistance, and his former colleague Willibald Nebel. They described the desperate struggle fought by the miners to defend their jobs. Following the tour, the writer Volker Braun read from his book *Die hellen Haufen* (The Bright Mounds). In the book, Braun draws comparisons with the Peasants’ Revolt of 1524-1525 as he portrays a fictional account of a collective uprising by people who were knocked aside by the fall of the Berlin Wall. Their struggle ultimately failed due to the hesitancy of its stakeholders and the brutality of the authorities. The impressive journey into the history of the sell-out of an East German industry was complemented by the documentary *The Kali-Krimi* (The Potash Thriller), which focused on the additional protocols related to the spectacular takeover of the East German potash industry by the global player K+S. These protocols were only published 20 years after the mine had been sold, and the film clearly demonstrates that the miners in Bischofferode stood no chance against those in power.

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

In 2015, the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID) underwent far-reaching restructuring. In the spring, a joint planning workshop took place with the Foundation's European offices to lay the groundwork for reshaping the ZID's administrative structures. Since September, the ZID has been divided into four major regional divisions: Europe, Africa, Asia/Middle East, and America/United Nations. These divisions are complemented by Global Tasks and Special Funds, as well as the administrative Department for Planning, Monitoring, Evaluation, and Financial Control.

The official opening of the liaison office in Buenos Aires in December 2015 also represented an important step for our international work. Going forward, the newly established international office will strengthen the Foundation's profile in Argentina as well as in Chile and Uruguay. In addition, the ZID welcomed new directors to the international offices in Delhi, Hanoi, Tel Aviv, Quito, Dakar, and Johannesburg.

After a strong increase in our resources and thus in our staff abroad and at the headquarters, 2015 represented a year of stabilization in terms of project work. With approximately € 19.2 million being made available by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, and about € 4.1 million from the German Foreign Office, our work in the 18 international offices with more than 300 partners was continued successfully. Furthermore, an additional € 1.8 million from climate special funds, as well as from the special initiatives "fighting the causes of migration," "A world without hunger," "Middle East and Northern Africa" and "transformation partnership North Africa," were available for project work. In 2015, the ZID's budget, including administrative grants, amounted to almost € 29 million.

During 2015, the ZID's staff was involved more heavily than ever before in the Foundation's various themes within interdisciplinary projects undertaken in Germany. Some of our more memorable work included events and publications on the situation in Greece, a number of fact-finding missions that brought people to Germany, and the event about our international work as part of the Foundation's 25th anniversary. The international conference "Saat Macht Satt," which was held in May in Berlin, and our participation in the movement conference "Kampf ums Klima" (Struggle for the Climate) in April in Cologne, represented further milestones in this regard. Both events were exceptionally well-attended. In December, the Foundation's international delegation of around 50 people attended the UN climate summit in Paris. Eight international offices and partners from fourteen countries were involved in eleven events at the summit.



Information-gathering and educational trip on migration and the border regime to Tunis: meeting with the mothers of refugees

GERMANY NEEDS A REVOLUTION

THE PALESTINIAN-JORDANIAN DELEGATION IN GERMANY

In November 2015, politicians from Palestine and Jordan involved in social policy visited Berlin and Potsdam to discuss left-wing approaches to this field over the course of three days. After conversations with Katrin Schäfgen from the Foundation’s Scholarship Department, during which representatives of Afaf Abuhashhash (the Palestinian People’s Party) learned about the link between social and educational injustices in Germany, the party concluded that “Germany needs a revolution.”

Abuhashhash and other partners of the Foundation’s Palestine Office had prepared numerous questions for the Foundation: How did the minimum wage develop in Germany? What is the relationship between the party and unions? What are social relations like in the East and West? What are DIE LINKE and the unions doing to bring about radical social change? The answers to these questions led to further questions. For example, Mohamad Hussainy (Identity Center, Jordan) was surprised when Norbert Reuter (ver.di) argued for higher wages and against Germany’s export surplus: “Wouldn’t that be a disadvantage for Germany?” he asked.

At a round table on the situation in Palestine, Iyad Riyahi (Al Marsad) pointed out that “aid funds” do not bring about social progress. The prerequisite for this, he argued, was an end to the occupation. Instead of spending billions on preserving the status quo, western states should provide political support to Palestine.

Since Palestine and Jordan are also “refugee nations,” the delegations were particularly interested in the situation of refugees in Germany. In this regard, the debate with Refugee Club Impulse (RCI) was particularly motivating. On the one hand, it took place without the need for an Arabic interpreter, but it

also enabled the delegation to draw inspiration from the fighting spirit and creativity of RCI’s refugee theater group that was fighting for its own rights. It also highlighted the fact that collectively fighting for your own interests lies at the heart of left-wing social policy.

LEFT-WING POLITICS ALONG THE ROUTES TRAVELED BY MIGRANTS ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN

To mark the second anniversary of the refugee tragedy in Lampedusa, the ZID supported an information-gathering and educational trip on migration and the border regime. The participants included various parliamentary representatives of DIE LINKE from federal and state government, and even some of the party’s chairs. They traveled from Tunis to Palermo, a key route used by migrants from North Africa to cross the Mediterranean.

Talks with official bodies such as the European Commission and the UN Refugee Agency in Tunisia showed that these organizations were primarily focused on managing and preventing migration. In contrast, the meeting with the Foundation’s civil society partner organizations at least portrayed a realistic picture of the consequences of this migration policy: these organizations help people in need of refuge and those who have been made illegal to secure their rights and provide them with information about safe routes of passage to Europe.

Importantly, the journey by ferry demonstrated just how easily and safely the Mediterranean can be crossed. Nevertheless, the understanding that 2,500 people lost their lives on this route in 2015 alone strengthened the delegates’ resolve to provide migrants with legal ways of entering the EU.

The visits to various parts of the Italian refugee processing and deportation system in Sicily demonstrated the severity

with which the EU receives refugees after such a perilous crossing. The decentralized accommodation system in Palermo, however, provided a welcome contrast. This system is based on the “Charter of Palermo,” a radical manifesto adopted by the Council of Cultures and Leoluca Orlando, Mayor of Palermo, and he provided detailed information about it to the delegation. On October 3, the anniversary of the disaster in Lampedusa, a public event was organized to remind people about the inhumane impact of the EU border regime and to present and demonstrate the need for left-wing alternatives.

OVERCOMING COLONIAL STRUCTURES

THE EAST AFRICA OFFICE IN DAR ES SALAAM

When a Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung delegation traveled through East Africa eight years ago, it noted arbitrary land seizures instead of food sovereignty, “free trade” instead of regional exchange, and the persecution of minorities and civil society actors, as well as restrictions on the media instead of participation and transparency.

This was reason enough for the Foundation to commit itself to the region. The Foundation initiated its first projects in 2009. In 2012, the establishment of an international office in Dar es Salaam in Tanzania enabled the Foundation to significantly expand its work.

Increasing exploitation of natural resources and mineral deposits by multinational corporations often leads local populations to lose their livelihoods, as these are based on small-scale farming and they gain no sustainable benefits in return. Instead, locals often suffer from poor working conditions in the mines and are fobbed off with starvation wages. In addition, heavy pollution wreaks long-term damage. Issues such as these form the focus of the Foundation’s work conducted alongside initiatives from the region.

The organization Haki Madini, for example, fights in Tanzania for more transparency and popular participation in processes aimed at developing better mining regulation at the local, national, and international levels. The organization’s associated investigative, mobilization, and lobbying work is primarily aimed at strengthening the interests of the local population in their relations with transnational corporations during contractual negotiations, as well as improving the political and economic participation of local communities in the implementation of specific projects. The Foundation’s cooperation with our Tanzanian partners CESOPE and Caritas concentrates on action against uranium mining in the country. Despite the lack of legal certainty and supervisory authorities in Tanzania, mining permits have already been issued. In Uganda, the partner organization NAPE supports local communities in their fight against arbitrary land seizures and evictions due to oil exploration on Lake Albert or dam building. The establishment of environmental action groups as well as a community radio station are important tools with which to gather and disseminate

information and engage in public debate. In 2016, the Foundation intends to focus on the socially and environmentally sustainable use of natural resources in East Africa, the population’s opportunities for political participation, and the equitable distribution of economic revenues in this region.

Further key issues include enabling the region to overcome structural impediments and the ways in which these have been reinforced since colonialism. Importantly, the patterns of exchange that developed during colonialism are still present in the region: Africa supplies the raw materials while “old” industrialized countries and new, “emerging markets” deliver the finished goods and (increasingly also) services. The Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between the EU and the East African Community (EAC) adopted in 2014 also needs to be seen in this light. Along with SEATINI, our partner in Kenya and Uganda, the Foundation has critically monitored the negotiation process and focused on expanding the competences of East African negotiating committees. Although we were unable to prevent the EPA, this work led many of its clauses to be drawn up in a far more socially just manner. In the coming years, work will need to concentrate on influencing the EPA implementation process in order to ensure that trade relations primarily benefit the social and economic development of people in East Africa.

In its early stages, the East Africa office was able to develop and expand relationships with key strategic partners in the region and thereby provide sustainable support to initiatives campaigning for social justice in the fields mentioned above. This work will be continued by the team headed by the new director, Dorothee Braun.

“LET’S MEET AT ROSA’S!”

THE ISRAEL OFFICE IN TEL AVIV

The social protests that took place in 2011 and 2012 on Tel Aviv’s magnificent Rothschild Boulevard with its villas, expensive apartment buildings, and banks have not been forgotten. Back then, hundreds of people pitched their tents on the road’s central reservation in the spirit of Büchner’s slogan “Peace to the huts, war to the palaces” to demonstrate for affordable housing. Images of the protest were seen all around the world. However, when the Stiftung made plans to move into a spacious building on this boulevard, many people believed it was absurd to think that a place for exchange could be established in this social environment.

This view changed dramatically in 2015. Since housing and space for events in Tel Aviv continue to be extremely overpriced, and meetings in restaurants and pubs are impossible due to the high costs involved, the Foundation’s premises are increasingly being used by a wide-ranging left-wing audience. This includes public events by left-wing grassroots organizations, internal meetings of progressive NGOs, discussions by self-organized refugees from sub-Saharan Africa, and meet-



Rothschild Boulevard in Tel Aviv: The site of social protests in 2011/12 and now the address of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

ings by members of the left-wing opposition in the Knesset when they need a place in Tel Aviv that guarantees confidentiality. The Foundation's building is being used far more regularly and broadly than ever before: since April 2015, around 200 events have been organized with more than 2,000 visitors, and toward the end of the year, around 350 guests attending events every month.

Within just a year, the Foundation's office in Tel Aviv has developed into a center for the Israeli Left. Left-wing, progressive activists are often heard declaring "Let's meet at Rosa's!" It is important to realize that the Israeli Left is not in a particularly good shape. It represents a small minority that is facing increasing repression and that works within a social environment where free spaces are becoming steadily harder to find. Moreover, although progressive struggles often take place simultaneously, they are rarely linked to one another. This makes some of the initiatives that use our premises even more important. The Stand Together initiative, for example, is attempting to bring together struggles that are currently separated. This includes resistance to gentrification and the struggle against the occupation and for the rights of the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel. The initiative is now organizing its actions from the Foundation's office,

and this included the largest demonstrations that took place in 2015 against the growing levels of violence and for a just Palestinian-Israeli coexistence. The Social Economic Academy also meets at the Foundation's office. The Academy cooperates with the newly established union "Workers' Power!" and politicizes shop stewards and workers' councils, many of whom hold progressive positions when it comes to workers' rights, but reactionary and nationalistic views on other issues.

Opening up the office to new groups has also strengthened the Foundation: it is now perceived as an important part of an active international left-wing movement. This, in turn, has led to numerous encounters with the constantly changing Israeli Left, such as with actors from the Arab-Palestinian minority, or from the cultural sector, which is facing increasing repression. These productive exchanges have led to greater commitment in this area. One example is the Arab Khashabi Ensemble Theater, whose successes proved to be one of the great artistic surprises of 2015.

In the future, these developments and perspectives will be reflected on our new website, which aims to be a platform and a means of opening up the diversity of the Israeli Left to a German audience.

DEPARTMENT AMERICA

NORTH AMERICA AND UNITED NATIONS



Office: New York/US

Founded: 2012

Project countries: US, Canada, Germany, United Nation seats

Office management: Stefanie Ehmsen and Albert Scharenberg (since 2012)

Employees: Six

www.rosalux-nyc.org/de

Focuses: Dialog between the North American and European Left; alternatives to austerity policies; critical social analysis; global shifts of power; social-ecological transformation

ANDEAN STATES



Office: Quito/Ecuador

Founded: 2010

Project countries: Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela

Office management: Miriam Lang (2010–2016), Karin Gabbert (since 2016)

Employees: Nine

www.rosalux.org

Focuses: Strengthening the role of civil society organizations in the implementation of the new Left constitutions and the rights these enshrine (in particular for indigenous peoples and women); determining alternatives to the currently dominant economic model based exclusively on the export of raw materials

CONO SUR AND BRAZIL



Office: São Paulo/Brazil

Founded: 2003

Project countries: Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay

Office management: Gerhard Dilger (since 2012)

Employees: Ten (including three at our liaison office in Buenos Aires)

www.rosaluxspba.org

LIAISON OFFICE BUENOS AIRES



Founded: 2015

Project countries: Argentina, Chile

Office management: Elisangela Soldatelli (since 2015)

Employees: Three

www.rosaluxspba.org

Focuses: Human rights and democracy (particularly in the context of the mining sector and other large-scale projects); socio-ecological transformation; strengthening participatory research and advanced training programs on local participation and regional development (particularly in the context of extractivist projects); urban buen vivir.

MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND CUBA



Office: Mexico City/Mexico

Founded: 2007

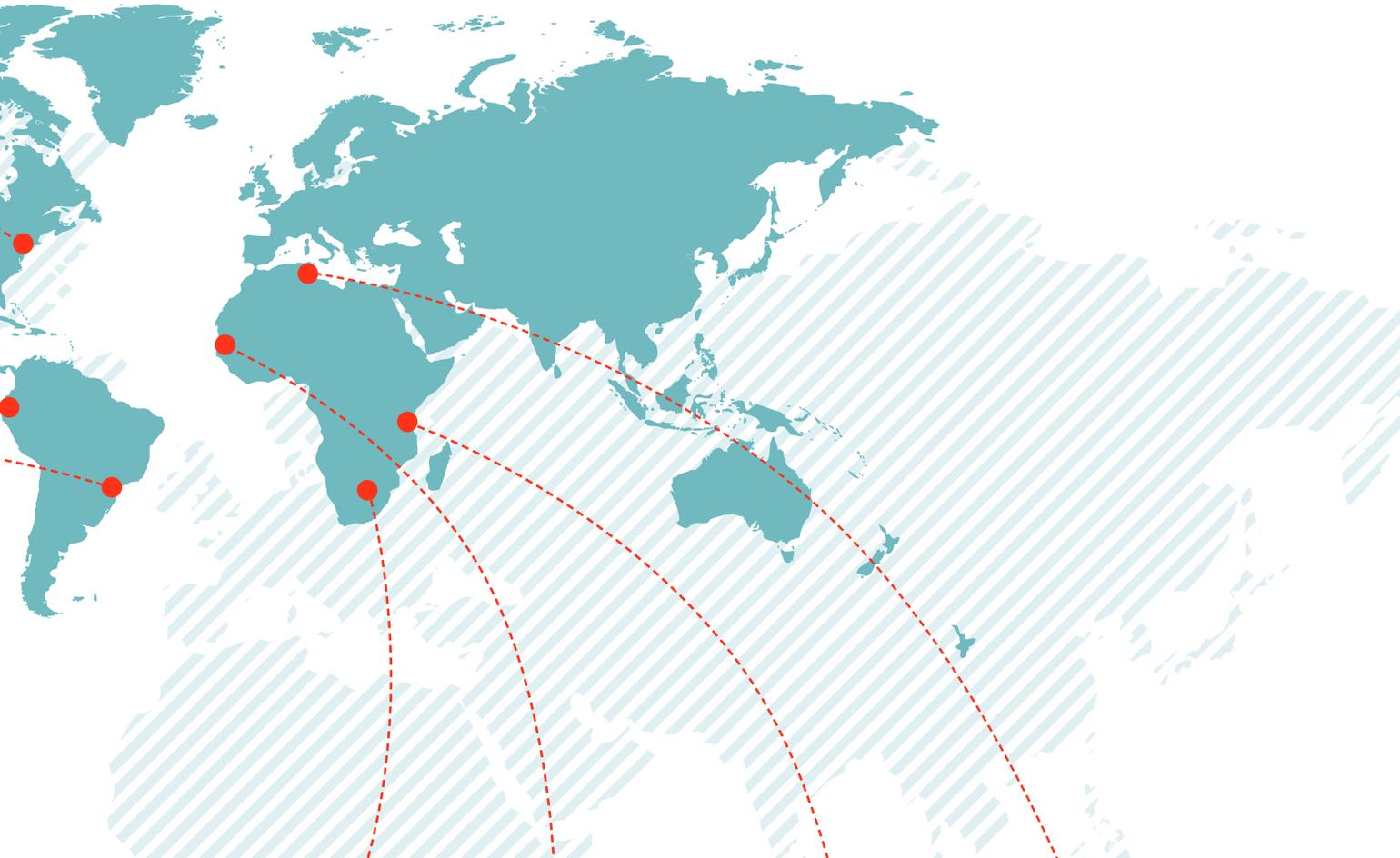
Project countries: Costa Rica, Guatemala, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua

Office management: Torge Löding (since 2011)

Employees: Ten

www.rosalux.org.mx

Focuses: Participatory democracy and social inclusion; alternatives to the hegemonic model of democracy; transformation; alternative development approaches that are politically, economically, socially, culturally, and ecologically viable



**DEPARTMENT
AFRICA**

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Office: Johannesburg/South Africa

Founded: 2003

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

Office management: Armin Osmanovic (2010–2016), Jörn Jan Leidecker (since 2016)

Employees: Ten

www.rosalux.co.za

Focuses: Participatory democracy; employee organizations and social justice; natural resources; vulnerability and alternatives

WEST AFRICA



Office: Dakar/Senegal

Founded: 2010

Project countries: Senegal, Burkina Faso, Mali, Ghana, Guinea, Niger, Nigeria

Office management: Claus-Dieter König (2010–2015), Armin Osmanovic (since 2016)

Employees: Eight

www.rosalux.sn

Focuses: Food security (access to information and education); alternative economic and social policies; protection and/or improved management of natural resources; awareness raising as a prerequisite for political participation.

EAST AFRICA

Office: Dar es Salaam/Tanzania

Founded: 2012

Project countries: Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda

Office management: Siegfried Schröder (2011–2016), Dorothee Braun (since 2016)

Employees: Nine

www.rosalux.co.tz

Focuses: Use of natural resources to the benefit of local people; regional integration and international trade relations based on the needs of local populations; defense and expansion of democratic rights

NORTH AFRICA



Office: Tunis/Tunisia

Founded: 2014 (registered)

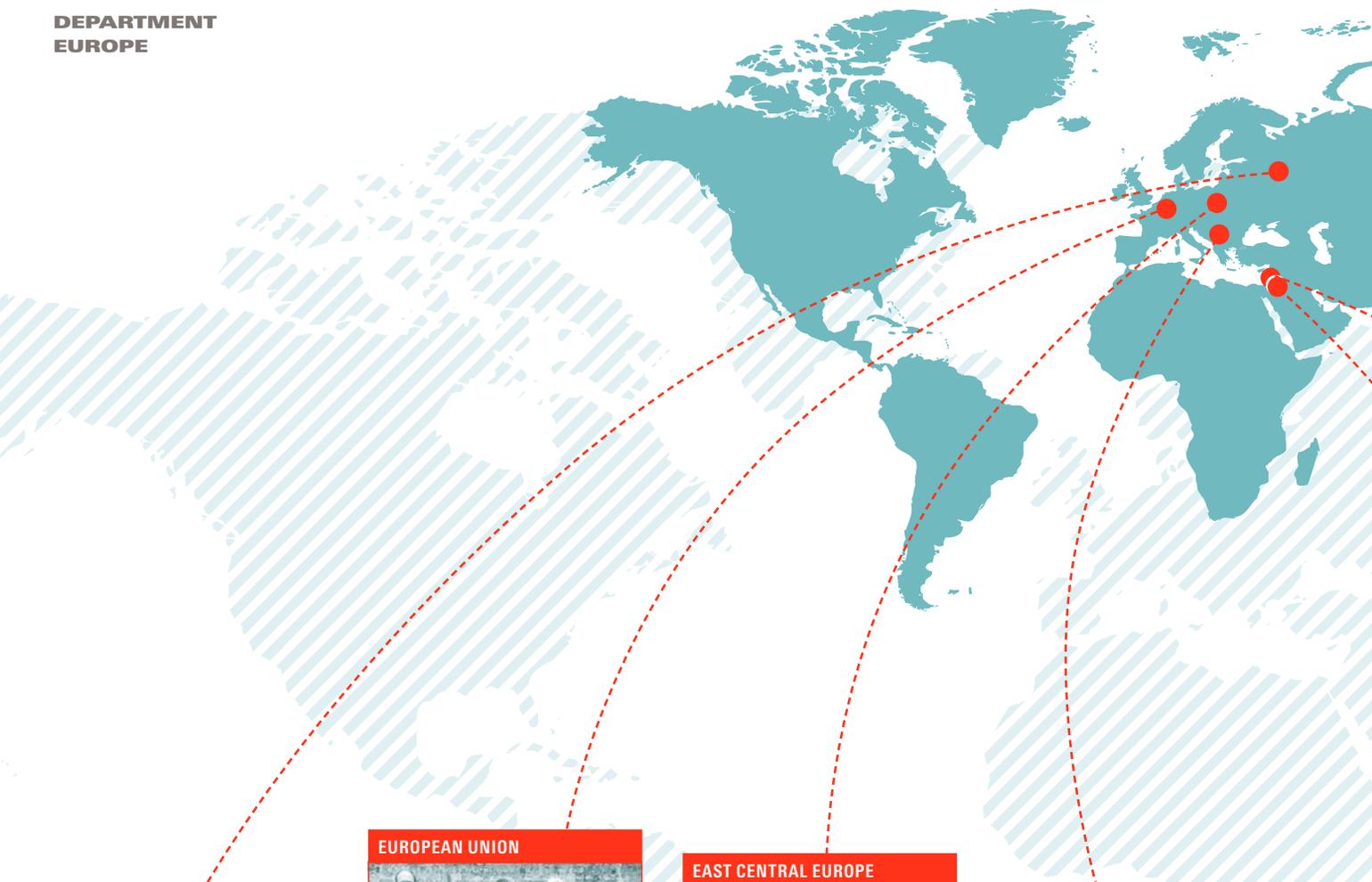
Project countries: Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco

Office management: Peter Schäfer (since 2013)

Employees: Six (soon seven)

www.facebook.com/RosaLux.NorthAfrica

Focuses: Development of socio-economic alternatives; strengthening political participation, in particular of young and female activists



**RUSSIA, CENTRAL ASIA
AND THE CAUCASUS**

Office: Moscow/Russia

Founded: 2003

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

Office management: Tiina Fahrni (2012–2016), Kerstin Kaiser (since 2016)

Employees: Seven

www.rosalux.ru

Focuses: Enhancing the public visibility of initiatives in the areas of migration, disability policy, and gender justice; the welfare state; differentiated understanding of history; concepts for sustainable regional development; holistic development of small and medium-sized towns as living spaces

EUROPEAN UNION



Office: Brussels/Belgium and liaison office in Athens/Greece

Founded: 2008

Project countries: European Union

Office management: Martin Schirdewan and Claus-Dieter König (since 2015)

Employees: Eight (including at our liaison office in Athens)

www.rosalux-europa.info

Focuses: Cooperation with and support of left-wing actors and left-wing strategies in Europe and global regions; global role of the EU (for example in trade, foreign, and energy policy); social-ecological transformation; criticism of Europe's border regime; left-wing migration policy

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE



Office: Warsaw/Poland

Founded: 2003

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

Office management: Joanna Gwiadzdecka (since 2010)

Employees: Six

www.rls.pl

Focuses: Women's and LGBT rights; visions for an alternative society by young democratic and left-wing actors; critical and differentiated reflection on recent history; employee interests in structural economic change; welfare state and social justice

SOUTH EAST EUROPE



Office: Belgrade/Serbia

Founded: 2010 (registered)

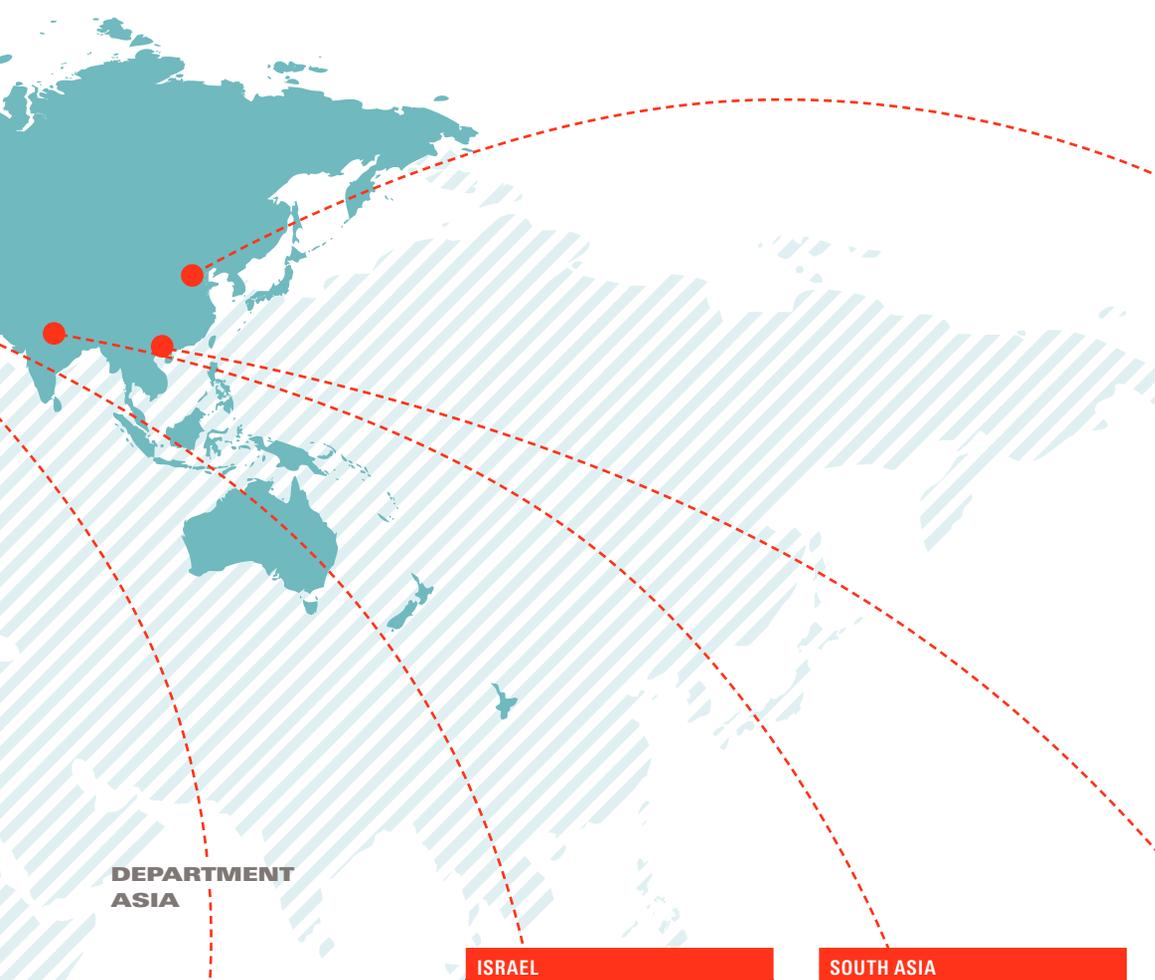
Project countries: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania

Office management: Boris Kanzleiter (since 2009)

Employees: Six

www.rosalux.rs

Focuses: Support of unions, feminist, and LGBT organizations and the autonomous organization of Roma people; development of left-wing political alternatives, critical history



DEPARTMENT ASIA

PALESTINE



Office: Ramallah

Founded: 2008

Project countries: Palestine, Jordan

Project countries: Palestine, Jordan
Office management: Katja Hermann (since 2012)

Employees: Six

www.rosaluxemburg.ps

Focuses: Emancipatory education approaches; questions of social justice and participation, in particular with regard to marginalized groups; alternatives to economic dependency and neoliberal development approaches; advancing pluralism and freedom of opinion

ISRAEL



Office: Tel Aviv

Founded: 2009

Project countries: Israel

Office management: Tsafir Cohen (since 2015)

Employees: Six

www.rosalux.co.il

Focuses: Promoting left-wing alternatives; advancing joint Arab and Israeli peace projects; socio-economic rights, in particular concerning just and equal access to natural resources and housing; advancing the dialog between Israel and Germany and between Israel and Europe; promoting the integration of Israel in the Middle East

SOUTH ASIA



Office: New Delhi/India

Founded: 2010 (registered in 2012)

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

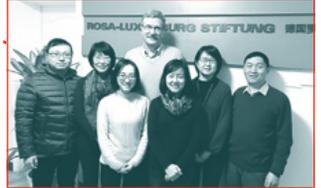
Office management: Stefan Mentschel (since 2015)

Employees: Twelve

www.rosalux.de

Focuses: Agriculture (agriculture, food security, and food sovereignty); work environments and union organization (employee rights, precarious employment, solidarity in transnational production chains); social transformation (education, political education, research projects)

EAST ASIA



Office: Beijing/China

Founded: 2008

Project countries: China, Mongolia, North Korea

Office management: Lutz Pohle (since 2008)

Employees: Seven

www.rosalux.de

Focuses: Social justice; socio-economic transformation; participatory political approaches and peaceful development of international relations in transformation countries in East and Southeast Asia

SOUTHEAST ASIA



Office: Hanoi/Vietnam

Founded: 2009

Project countries: Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos

Office management: Liliane Danso-Dahmen (since 2015)

Employees: Twelve

www.rosalux.vn

Focuses: Social justice; social-ecological transformation; participatory political approaches

PROJECT FUNDING

We cooperate with further providers of political education by externally funding projects. In 2015, we received around 950 applications for project funding. These applications provide the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung with a good overview of political education activities in Germany. This year, too, through our funding of numerous events, conferences, publications, and research projects, we influenced and advanced the work of other providers of education. Last year, the Foundation funded 159 projects, to a total of € 473,400.

Eight large projects received a total of € 172,060 (36% of the budget):

- Linke Medienakademie e. V.: Training session for global and local-level media content production; € 49,000.
- INKRIT e. V.: *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus* (Historical-critical Dictionary of Marxism) – editorial work on volume 9 (from “Maschinerie” to “naturwüchsig”); € 38,000.
- Rolf Hecker: New edition of the works of Marx and Engels, volume 13 and work on volume 44; € 28,000.
- Migrationsrat Berlin-Brandenburg e. V.: Network Inclusion Leaders. Berlin Workshop; € 16,060.
- VSA publishing house: Help with the publication of the commemorative publication *Ich lebe am fröhlichsten im Sturm* (I Live Most Happily Within the Storm) to mark the 25th anniversary of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, edited by Dagmar Enkelmann and Florian Weis; € 11,000.
- Reiner Tosstorff: Completion of the biography on Robert Dißmann; € 10,000.
- Julia Schnegg: Exhibition “We Will Rise. Refugee Movement”; € 10,000.
- Bewegungsakademie e. V.: Education program Attacademie; € 10,000.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung funded 18 projects with sums of between € 5,000 and € 9,999, 89 projects with sums of € 1,000 to € 4,999, 35 projects with sums of € 500 to € 999, and 9 with less than € 500.

EXAMPLES OF PROJECT FUNDING

JULIA SCHNEGG: “WE WILL RISE. REFUGEE MOVEMENT.” EXHIBITION AND ARCHIVE OF THE PROCESS
Funding provided: € 10,000

The “We Will Rise” exhibition is representative of the numerous activities and applications for funding we have received from ref-

ugee initiatives and groups that strive to improve the political and social situation of refugees and tackle increasing racism. It documents the beginnings of the refugee movement, the protest march from Würzburg to Berlin, and the occupation of the Oranienplatz square and Gerhard Hauptmann School in Berlin. The refugee movement is complex and fragile. The exhibition organizers wished to show the movement's history and provide these on-going struggles with a space for articulation and dialog. Presented in three languages, the exhibition consisted of information boxes, photographs, and video clips and was shown during the week of events at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, "Die widerspenstige Internationale" (The Defiant International) in a large tent in front of the Postbahnhof in Berlin, July 16–25, 2015.

GESELLSCHAFT FÜR SINN UND FORM E. V.: SYMPOSIUM AND EVENING EVENT "RICHTIGE LITERATUR IM FALSCHEN? SCHRIFTSTELLER - KAPITALISMUS - KRITIK HEUTE" (TRUE LITERATURE FOR A FALSE WORLD? AUTHORS, CAPITALISM, AND CRITICISM TODAY)
Funding provided: € 5,500

"In what kind of a world do we actually live?" was the question discussed by 18 renowned authors and members of the literary scene during a two-day series of events at the literature

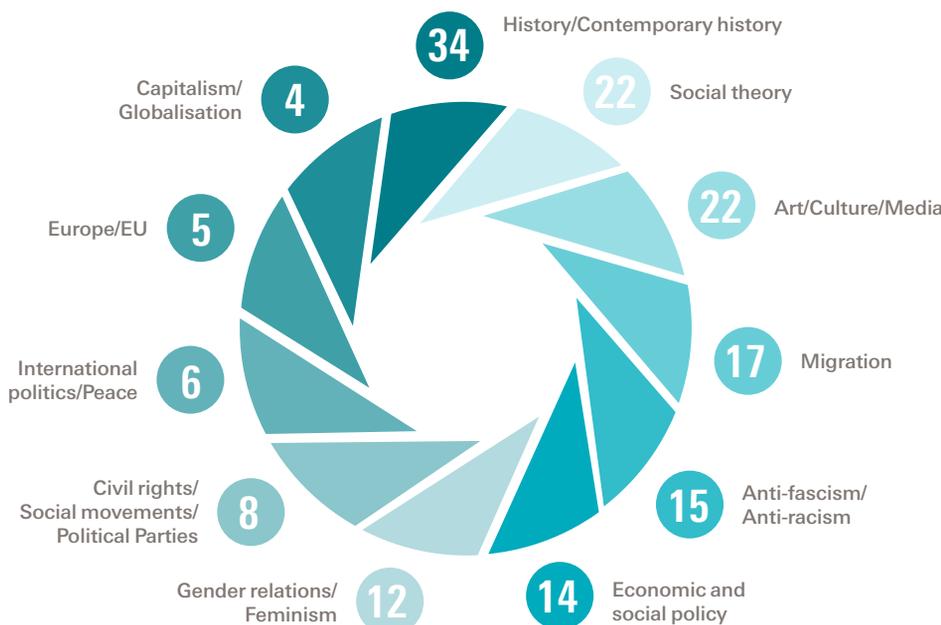
forum in the Brecht-Haus in Berlin. In the face of the profound transformations and consequent multiple crises of capitalism, discussions focused on the role played by literature, as well as the tensions arising at the intersection of literature with reality, artistic forms, and socially desired impacts. A closing panel discussion focused on the potential to develop a critical and emancipatory literary discourse. The events attracted many visitors and were covered by all national daily newspapers. The project will be continued in the coming years.

FRANZ SCHIERMEIER PUBLISHING HOUSE: FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE PUBLICATION OF "KARL KLÜHSPIES: MÜNCHEN NICHT WIE GEPLANT. STADTPOLITIK, BÜRGERWILLE UND DIE MACHT DER MEDIEN" (KARL KLÜHSPIES: MUNICH NOT AS PLANNED. URBAN POLICIES, THE WILL OF CITIZENS AND THE POWER OF THE MEDIA), EDITED BY MÜNCHNER FORUM E. V.
Funding provided: € 2,000

In response to the city of Munich's exhibition on urban development "München wie geplant" (Munich as Planned), the Müncher Forum association decided to publish its own book. The book documents the successful resistance of citizens against various urban development projects since the 1960s,

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FUNDED 159 PROJECTS IN 2015

THE THEMES OF THE FUNDED PROJECTS



THE TYPE OF THE FUNDED PROJECTS





One poster from the series "Concerning the NSU": with the support of the Foundation, the first posters were hung up at the turn of the year 2014/15 in Berlin and Munich.

which also ensured that today, projects need to take greater account of the concerns of citizen initiatives. The result is a lavishly illustrated book entitled *München NICHT wie geplant* (Munich Not as Planned), which, in detail and with numerous photographs, describes and tells the story of resistance to urban development in Munich. The book is highly illustrative of the struggle of civil society to have a say in processes of urban planning and development.

BEATE MARIA WÖRZ: "IM KONTEXT NSU – WELCHE FRAGE STELLEN SIE?" (THE NSU – WHICH QUESTIONS WOULD YOU ASK?). NATIONWIDE POSTER CAMPAIGN
Funding provided: € 2,600

Which single question would enable us to understand the series of murders, the involvement of Germany's domestic intelligence service, as well as the grave mistakes committed by the police, politics, and the justice system? The artist Beate Maria Wörz took part in several sessions of the parliamentary fact-finding commission on the NSU. In her further work dedicated to the crimes committed by the NSU, she asked people to come up with questions. She collected around 50 contributions from victims and their relatives, politicians, journalists, academics, and numerous other people connected to the case. Printed in black letters on a white background, the questions were hung throughout Germany on large posters at highly visible points in public spaces. Ayşe Demir, spokesperson for the Turkish Association of Berlin and Brandenburg, for example, asks: "Why do politics and society refuse to recognize the role of right-wing populism as a breeding ground for racist violence?" Today, this is definitely a question worth thinking about.

With 34 projects, history/contemporary history was the strongest focus. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung funded for example:

- AKEBI e. V.: "Anerkennung des Völkermords" (Recognition of the Genocide) – A series of events to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the genocide committed against Armenians, January to July 2015 in Berlin; € 1,000.
- Initiative für einen Gedenkort ehemaliges KZ Uckermark e. V. (Association for a Memorial Site at the Former Concentration Camp KZ Uckermark): International anti-fascist feminist construction and meeting camp for girls and young women, August 24 to September 3, 2015; € 1,000.
- KoMMedia e. V./Freiburg: Walter Benjamin damals und heute – Multimediales Bildungsmaterial zu Leben und Flucht des deutsch-jüdischen Philosophen und Kritikers (Walter Benjamin in Past and Present – Multimedia Education Material on the Life and Flight of this German-Jewish Philosopher and Critic); € 4,500.
- Axel Weipert: *Die Zweite Revolution. Rätebewegung 1919/1920* (The Second Revolution. The Movement for a Workers' Council Republic 1919/1920), be.bra publishing house, Berlin 2015; € 1,425.
- Marion Kraft (Ed.): *Kinder der Befreiung. Transatlantische Erfahrungen und Perspektiven Schwarzer Deutscher der Nachkriegsgeneration* (Children of Liberation. Transatlantic Experiences and Perspectives of the Post-war Generation of Black Germans), UNRAST Publishing House, Münster 2015; € 1,000.

For 22 projects, social theory was also a core funding focus:

- Iman Attia, Swantje Köbsell, Nivedita Prasad (Eds.): *Dominanzkultur reloaded. Neue Texte zu gesellschaftli-*

chen Machtverhältnissen und ihren Wechselwirkungen. In memoriam Birgit Rommelspacher (1945–2015) (Hegemonic Culture Reloaded. New Texts on Social Power Structures and Networks. In Memoriam Birgit Rommelspacher (1945–2015)), Transcript Publishing House, Bielefeld 2015; € 1,500.

- Werkstatttagung: “Wozu brauchen wir das?” (What do we Need that for?) The philosophy of education and pedagogic practice, November 26–28, 2015 at RheinMain University Wiesbaden; € 554,50.
- Gesellschaft für subjektwissenschaftliche Forschung und Praxis e. V.: “Kritische Psychologie im Internet” (Critical psychology on the Web) – redesign of the website; € 1,000.
- International conference: Materialistische Dialektik. Marx-Lektüren im Dialog (Materialist Dialectics. Reading Marx as a Dialog), October 30–31, 2015 at the Free University of Berlin; € 1,000.

In 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also funded numerous publications. Among these were:

- Fatima El-Tayeb: *Anders Europäisch. Rassismus, Identität und Widerstand im vereinten Europa* (Different but European. Racism, Identity, and Resistance in United Europe), UNRAST Publishing House, Münster 2015; € 900.
- Andreas Heyer (Ed.): *Schriften aus dem Nachlass Wolfgang Harichs – Band 6.2: Wolfgang Harich – Philosophiegeschichte und Geschichtsphilosophie – Vorlesungen. Teilband 2: Vom Entwicklungsgedanken der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwartskritik* (From the Writings of Wolfgang Harich – Volume 6.2: Wolfgang Harich – History of Philosophy and Philosophy of History – Lectures. Volume 2: From the Concept of Development in the Age of Enlightenment to a Critique of the Present), Tectum Publishing House, Marburg 2015; € 1,000.
- Christina Perinciolo: *Berlin wird feministisch. Das Beste, was von der 68er-Bewegung blieb* (Berlin turns Feminist. The Best that Remains from the 1968 Movement), Querverlag, Berlin 2015; € 1,000.
- Rahel Sophie Süß: *Kollektive Handlungsfähigkeit. Gramsci – Holzkamp – Laclau/Mouffe* (Capacity for Collective Action. Gramsci – Holzkamp – Laclau/Mouffe), Turia + Kant Publishing House, Vienna/Berlin 2015; € 1,000.
- Christian Wolter (Ed.): *Arbeiterfußball in Berlin und Brandenburg. 1910–1933* (Worker’s Soccer in Berlin and Brandenburg. 1910–1933), Arete Publishing House, Hildesheim 2015; € 500.
- Andreas Hechler, Olaf Stuve (Eds.): *Geschlechterreflektierte Pädagogik gegen Rechts* (Gender-reflected Pedagogy as an Instrument against the Far Right), Barbara Budrich publishing house, Opladen 2015; € 900.
- Anne Huffschmid, Wolf-Dieter Vogel, Nana Heidhues, Michael Krämer (Eds.): *TerrorZones. Gewalt und Gegenwehr in Lateinamerika* (TerrorZones. Violence and Resist-

ance in Latin America), Assoziation A, Berlin/Hamburg 2015; € 1,000.

- Aktion Dritte Welt e. V./iz3w: Dossier “Sexarbeit” (Sex Work) in the journal *iz3w*, November/December 2015; € 1,000.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung maintained many long-term cooperative arrangements. These included projects with the Bundeskoordination Internationalismus (BUKO; Federal Coordination of Internationalism), Musik und Soziale Bewegungen (Music and Social Movements) the Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Prekäre Lebenslagen (National Working Group on Precarity), and VVN-BdA and KAIROS Europe. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also established new and fruitful contacts and provided support to young actors in the field of political education. Wherever opportunities for direct cooperation projects developed at the local level, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung forwarded the awarded funding to its regional branches. The following is a selection of the 22 projects that received funding in this way, totaling € 19,845:

- gruppe tag e. V.: “Leipzig – die utopische Kommune” (Leipzig, the Utopian Commune), research, writing competition, staging, and publication as part of the culture festival “Kultur/Standort. Bestimmung” (Culture/Location. Definition) in Leipzig 2015; € 1,000.
- “Stop G7” Alliance: International Summit of (the) Alternatives. International congress on the occasion of the G7 summit at Schloss Elmau in Upper Bavaria, June 3–4, 2015, Munich; € 3,500.
- Verein zur Förderung der Lehre im ökologischen Landbau e. V. (Association to Advance Education in Organic Farming Practices): “Frohes Schaffen!? – Arbeit in der Landwirtschaft” (Good Work!? – Work in Agriculture). 23rd Witzenhauser Conference, December 1–5, 2015 in Witzenhausen (Hessen); € 1,000.
- Mieterforum Ruhr/Martin Krämer: “Netzwerk Mieten & Wohnen – Konferenz 2015” (2015 Conference of the Renting and Housing Network), September 25–26, 2015 in Hamburg; € 1,500.
- Miriam Henke, “Freundeskreis im Gedenken an den rassistischen Brandanschlag von Mölln 1992” (Circle of Friends to Commemorate the Mölln Arson Attack in 1992): Mölln speech by Argyris Sfountouris, November 7, 2015 in Bremen; € 1,100.

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 By funding projects, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung highlights the broad range of issues under discussion by the Left in the public political sphere. Funded projects complement the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s political education efforts thematically and regionally, as well as in terms of target groups.



Since fall 2014, Mark Mühlhaus has repeatedly visited the Kurdish region of Rojava. He has documented the life of refugees seeking protection and shelter from Daesh in the small Kurdish town of Pirsûs, and visited the Yezidi refugee camp in the Christian-Kurdish town of Dêrik close to the Iraqi border. His exhibition "Back to Rojava," a project by attenzione photographers, Civaka Azad, Medico International, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, is based on this work. If you are interested in the exhibition and/or wish to order individual photographs, you can find more information here: www.rosalux.de/news/41859















THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

Over the years, it has become well-known that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung provides student and PhD scholarships to committed young people. The numbers speak for themselves: there are currently over 1,100 scholarship students and nearly 2,000 alumni.

Countering the different forms of inequality and injustice in society remains the Foundation's declared goal. For example, with its scholarship program, the Foundation specifically targets women (over 50 per cent of recipients). Similarly, the Foundation aims to advance access to education for people from migrant backgrounds. The percentage of scholarship students from this group has risen again, and stood at 37.4 per cent last year.

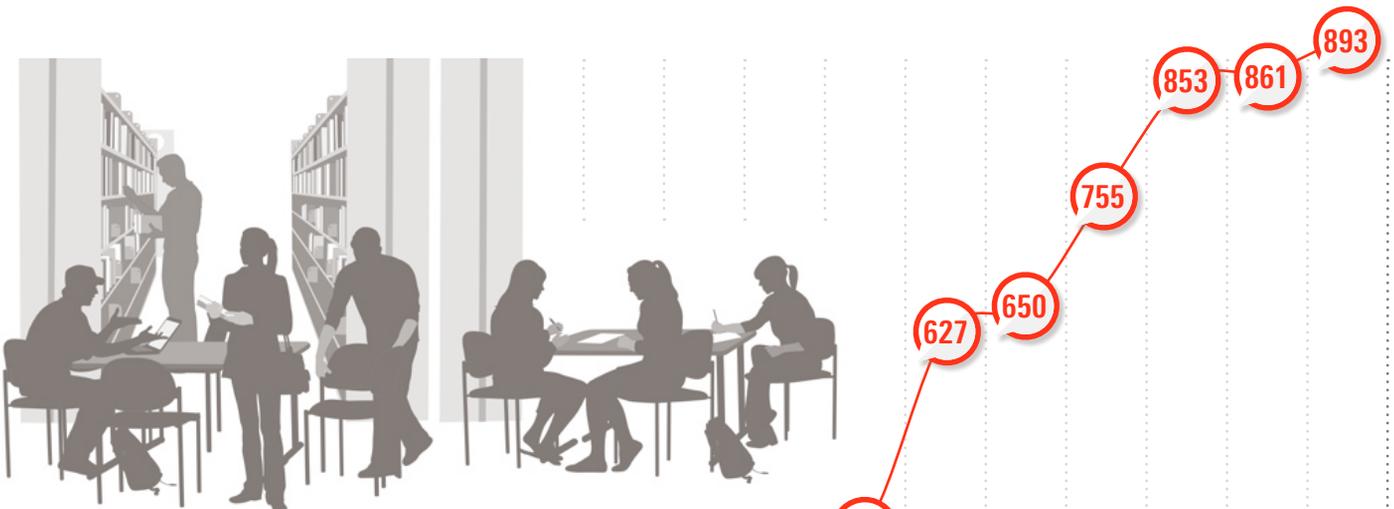
Besides providing financial support, scholarships offer numerous opportunities for exchange, with regional meetings taking place in the different German states, as well as PhD seminars, empowerment workshops, and excursions. A characteristic feature of our program is that scholarship students co-organize and/or co-develop most events. A good example is the semester break course, which students jointly conduct with the scholarship department. This week-long course includes systematic introductory and advanced level workshops, cultural performances, and political discussions on numerous subjects.

Scholarship students regularly become involved in further activities at the Foundation. They participate in thematically focused discussion circles, write papers for our "Standpunkte" series and articles for our journal *LuXemburg – Gesellschaftsanalyse und linke Praxis*, or give presentations at meetings and conferences.

Great emphasis lies on self-organization and democratic participation. Scholarship students elect a council to represent their interests vis-à-vis the scholarship department and the Foundation, and send delegates to sit on the committee that discusses and grants scholarships.

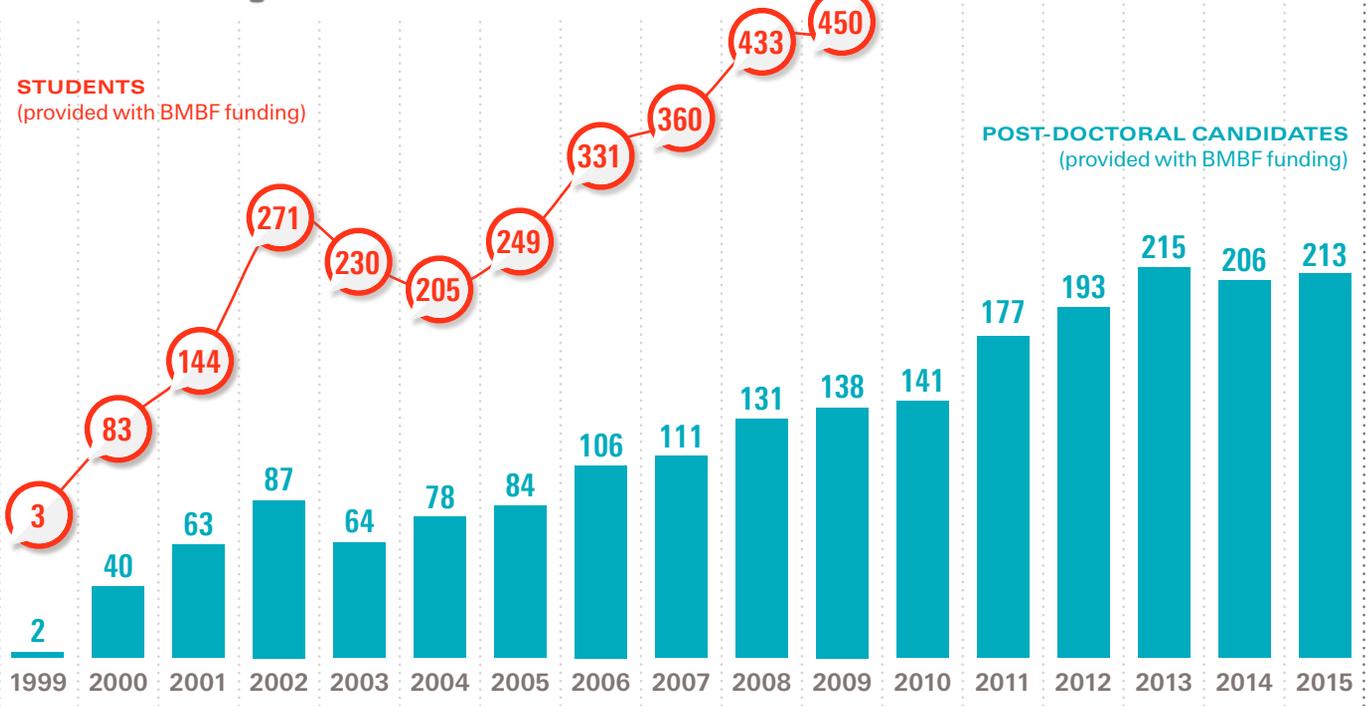
After 16 years, the scholarship department can clearly demonstrate the positive balance of its mission: many former scholarship students now work at universities and research institutes, in schools, medical institutions, actively participate in the culture and art scene, and not least in politics. Some of our alumni also work for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in our German and foreign offices or volunteer as academic tutors, for example.

DEVELOPMENTS IN FUNDING

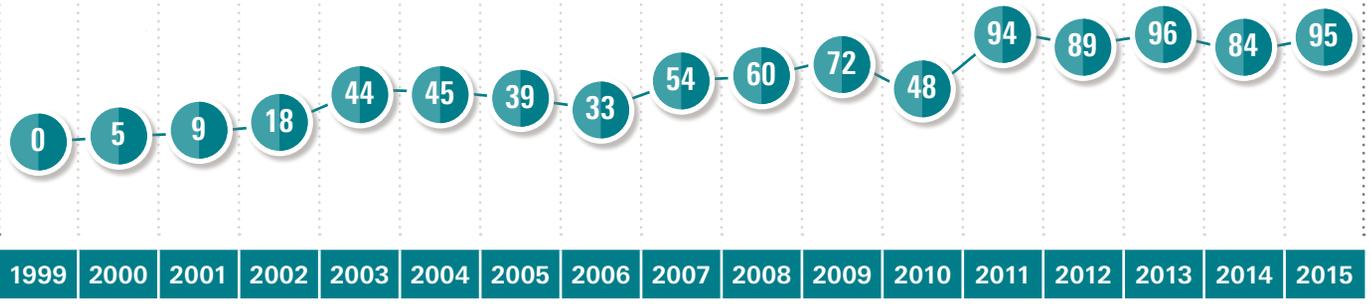


STUDENTS
(provided with BMBF funding)

POST-DOCTORAL CANDIDATES
(provided with BMBF funding)



SCHOLARSHIP RECIPIENTS
(provided with funding from the AA)





A research subject for our PhD program: protests against the West German Emergency Acts by members of the Goetheplatz theater in Bremen on May 27, 1968

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S SECOND PHD PROGRAM ON THE HISTORY OF THE LEFT

On June 3, 2015, at the Ruhr-University of Bochum, the opening event for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's second PhD program took place at the House for the History of the Ruhr. By setting thematic agendas and calling for applications for its programs, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung can advance the debates that are important for a plural Left. In particular, this can stimulate academic research outside of the social and political mainstream that is otherwise hardly found in universities today.

This is also true for the program, "Geschichte linker Politik jenseits von Sozialdemokratie und Parteikommunismus" (The history of Left-Wing Politics Beyond Social Democracy and Party Communism). This program is part of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's strategy to research left-wing currents, movements, and organizations as broadly as possible. For this program, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung announced funding for one postdoctoral lecturer and four PhD scholarships, which were awarded to highly qualified young researchers.

Stefan Berger, professor of social history and social movements at the Ruhr-University of Bochum and director of the Institute for Social Movements, directs the program with Mario

Keßler, professor of modern and recent history at the Centre for Contemporary History at the University of Potsdam. Overall, these are ideal conditions for ensuring that the program can meet its high expectations.

Ralf Hoffrogge received postdoctoral funding to research "Gewerkschaftliche Krisenwahrnehmung und Krisenpolitik in Deutschland und Großbritannien 1919–2013" (Crisis Perception and Response Policies of Unions in Germany and Great Britain 1919–2013).

Sarah Langwald received funding for her PhD project "Proteste gegen staatliche Repression und Überwachung in Westdeutschland zwischen 1945 und 1968" (Protests Against State Repression and Surveillance between 1945 and 1968). Richard Stoenescu will research "Syndikalismus in Deutschland und den USA zwischen den Weltkriegen" (Syndicalism in Germany and the US Between the Two World Wars); David Bebnowski, "Die Neue Linke und die Theorie – Anziehungskraft und Niedergang politischer Ideen im Spiegel der Zeitschriften *Das Argument* und *Prokla*" (The New Left and Theory, Attractiveness and Decline of Political Ideas as Reflected in the Journals *Das Argument* and *Prokla*); and Julia Ehms, "Ende des revolutionären Syndikalismus. Die Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschland (FAUD) und [dem] Versuch syn-

dikalistischer Betriebsarbeit in der Weimarer Republik“ (The End of Revolutionary Syndicalism. The Free Worker’s Union in Germany and the Attempts toward Shop-level Syndicalist Organization During the Weimar Republic).

These questions alone evidence the greater plurality and diversity of left-wing history than is often described in the academic mainstream. Documenting its organizational forms, trends, ideas, and discourses, and making these visible has the potential to stimulate debates on the past, present, and future of left-wing politics in Germany, but also in Europe and globally. Such research creates the bases for new left-wing alliances.

To grant a greater number of people access to the research results, besides the regular program meetings, participating universities will organize one public event per term. During these events, the students will present intermediary results for discussion with historians and members of the History discussion group at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the main aim being to advance networking in the academic and political spheres and ensure the external visibility of our program.

The successful opening event in Bochum with around 50 guests laid a solid foundation. Marcel van der Linden from the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam gave a remarkable talk titled “Anarchismus. Eine sozialhistorische Ortsbestimmung” (Positioning Anarchism from a Social and Historical Perspective). In the afternoon, a panel discussion on “Old Left – New Left? Continuities and Ruptures as Snapshots of Left-wing Politics” was organized with members of the program and offered them an initial opportunity to discuss their PhD projects with an expert public.

The next public event is set to take place on June 23, 2016 at the University of Potsdam.

ECOLOGICAL MODERNIZATION AS A HEGEMONIC PROJECT

Initially, in the 1970s, when consciousness of a looming ecological crisis was growing, researchers were convinced of the fundamental contradiction between protecting the environment and economic growth. Environmental movements interpreted ecological concerns as symptoms of a systemic crisis and criticized the developmental model of modernity, which depends on permanent economic growth and the exploitation of nature. Unsurprisingly, broad segments of the population and socially powerful actors were skeptical of such radical criticism. Within this contested framework, individuals and organizations from academia, politics, and business advanced their project of ecological modernization. Instead of seeking a clean break with existing structures, the project emphasized the potential of technological innovation as a response to environmental degradation. They were driven by the conviction that economic growth and the protection of the environment are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but that they can also positively influence each other.

With its central demands for sustainable development and a Green Economy, ecological modernization has become an increasingly dominant approach in international environmental policy since the 1980s. The approach has integrated the demands made by critics, without taking on their fundamental and anti-systemic stance. Through such strategically selective tendencies, the project has won the support of numerous NGOs and other actors in the environmental policy field. This hegemonic position has relegated alternative proposals for a profound transformation of the social-ecological framework to a very marginal position.

Timmo Krüger, PhD scholarship student of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, shares the radically critical approach. In his thesis, he hypothesizes that only a profound transformation of social structures can provide an adequate response to the ecological crisis. To what extent can the struggles over hegemony in international environmental policies, he asks, politicize, i.e. fundamentally call into question, the established social practices and structures, and are these perceived as modifiable and worth modifying at all?

Krüger analyzes these dynamic processes by looking into the debates surrounding Carbon Capture and Storage (CCS). CCS technologies aim to extract carbon from industrial emissions and store it in underground deposits. As such, CCS technologies stand emblematically for the kind of approach that seeks technological solutions to climate change without ever calling into question the fossil-fuel-based and centralized energy infrastructure and, as such, plays a key role in the struggle over the hegemony in environmental policy.

Canada’s coal-fired power station Boundary Dam is the first in the world to apply controversial CCS technology.



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POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

The main aim of the Political Communications Department is to provide the wider public with comprehensive and clear information on the Foundation's educational programs, publications, and academic contributions. This forms the basis of the department's mission: to act as a link between the Foundation – as a left-wing educational institution – and the public. Good communication with the outside world relies on intensive internal communication. With this aim, the department's staff works with all other departments at the Foundation, at both the national and international levels. The department's staff is responsible for a wide range of tasks, both at the Foundation and externally, which often means making public appearances as presenters or speakers. Clearly, the department is far more than just a behind-the-scenes service provider.

The "PolKomm" department is responsible for the Foundation's various publications. It also manages the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's online presence, oversees the *RosaLux* journal, prepares the annual report, and provides a monthly online newsletter. The department ensures that the media at home and abroad are fully informed on the activities of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, it organizes advertising and giveaways, and provides support for exhibitions. In 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung published more than 100 works – from the "Standpunkte" and "luxemburg argumente" series to the "Analyse" papers and "Manuskripte" volumes and books in cooperation with publishing houses.

The provision of a wide range of content online reflects the steady growth in the importance of the internet for public relations. In addition to the www.rosalux.de website and various blogs, the Foundation also uses social media such as Facebook and Twitter, Google+, YouTube, and SoundCloud to distribute information. Furthermore, audio and video documentation of events is becoming increasingly important, as it enables the Foundation's educational services to be used anytime and anywhere.

PolKomm is also highly involved in many of the Foundation's key projects. This includes work on internet policy issues, organizing and determining the agenda of the Festival of the Left (which takes place in the heart of Berlin every year, on Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz, and attracts thousands of visitors), and providing support to visitors from the constituencies of left-wing members of the Bundestag. The department has also been involved in optimizing planning procedures within the Foundation, preparing internal and external communication strategies, and developing a centralized database of addresses.



First 100 days of Syriza: the timeline on the Foundation's website received a great deal of attention.

THE SHORT GREEK SPRING

PROVIDING EDUCATION AS A FORM OF SOLIDARITY

The January 25, 2015, Greek parliamentary elections were followed more closely than probably any other European election in the last 25 years. The victory of the left-wing alliance Syriza at the ballot box provided the European Left with new hope that breaking with the dominant austerity policies was indeed possible. Several months of negotiations with the EU, however, brought the defeat of Syriza and concluded in a third austerity package, which the left-wing Greek government must now implement.

In close cooperation with our Athens office, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's employees have been analyzing the situation in Greece and the impacts of the global economic and financial crisis on the country. Syriza's rise to power in January 2015, under economically and politically highly challenging circumstances, soon became the focus of public debate. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was involved in this debate at various levels and earned recognition for its publications even from beyond the Foundation's traditional sphere.

Guided by its political communication department, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung published an online dossier with analyses and background information on the Left and the crisis in Greece ("Die Linke und die Krise in Griechenland") on its website. This offered the Greek Left, otherwise hardly represented in the German media, a space to voice its opinions. The dossier presented facts on Greece's economic and social situation, and information and commentaries on the debates between the Greek government and international creditors and the internal struggles in Greece. On May 6, 2015, to mark the 100th day in office of the Syriza-led government, rosalex.de published a timeline of the debates up to that point and evaluated what the Left had achieved.

Six weeks after the elections, in cooperation with the left-wing daily newspaper *Neues Deutschland*, a 64-page dossier on the "first act of the Greek spring" was published. The dossi-

er compiled texts that demonstrated the Greek government's motives and goals and included some of the official documents that people often mentioned and referred to, but that hardly anybody had actually ever read. Likewise, in April 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung published the volume "'Die Halbstarken von Athen'. Fünf Jahre Euro-Krise – Irrtümer, Interessen und Profiteure" ('Athens' Yobs.' Five Years into the Crisis – Mistakes, Interests and Winners) in its "Materialien" series, a continuation of an earlier edition on Greece published in the "luxemburg argumente" series.

The attempt to break with austerity policies and solve the Greek crisis by negotiating with the country's creditors had failed. Led by the German government and the troika – consisting of the European Commission, European Central Bank (ECB), and International Monetary Fund (IMF) – the Euro-group forced the Greek government to deepen the processes of the redistribution of wealth from the ruled classes to the owners of capital and sell off the remaining public property. By closing Greek banks' access to liquidity, the ECB extorted the Greek government. In response, in August 2015, *Neues Deutschland*, again in cooperation with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, published a second dossier, which focused on the turn of events in the Greek spring and was entitled "#This Is A Coup." With the overwhelming "Oxi" (No) to creditor policies in the referendum at the end of June, the Syriza-led government made a daring step forward. However, Greece then went on to accept the agreement reached at the EU summit on July 13, a step many have criticized as capitulation. "Blockupy goes Athens" activists wrote "Understanding defeat will prepare for victory" after these events. After this Brussels putsch, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung feels further committed to providing a critical analysis of events.

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www.rosalux.de/100-tage-syriza
www.rosalux.de/griechenland





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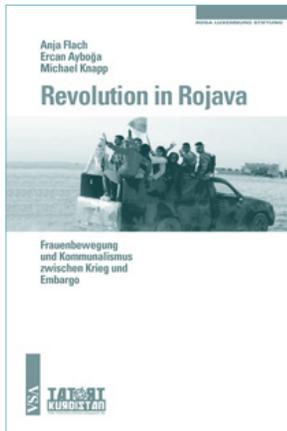
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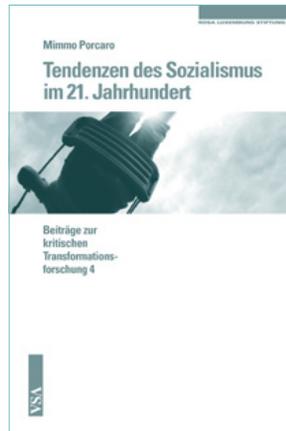


Harald Pätzolt
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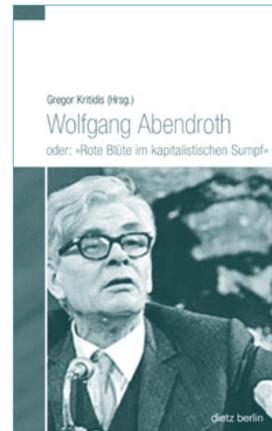


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 Michael Knapp
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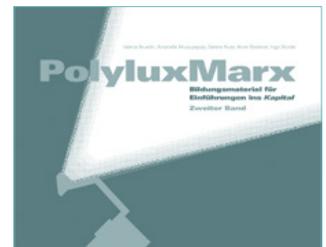
Wladislaw Hedeler, Mario Keßler (Eds.)
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 Holger Politt (Ed.)
 Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, 344 pages,
 ISBN 978-3-320-02302-7

THE ARCHIVE AND THE LIBRARY

The Archive of Democratic Socialism (ADS; Archiv Demokratischer Sozialismus) offers the interested public, employees of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and scholarship students a broad collection of literature and archive material. Founded in 1999, the materials in the archive focus on the political development and history of the DIE LINKE Party, the party environment, and its predecessor organizations PDS and WASG. Further literature and source materials on important topics and questions for an emancipatory, left-wing political movement, based on a democratic socialist approach, complement the archive. The central task remains to collect documents on the formation and development of the fundamental political currents represented by DIE LINKE in Germany, as well as to evaluate, analyze, and preserve them, and make them accessible to the public.

Although they include publications on left-wing history and theory in general, the materials collected at the library do tend to focus on DIE LINKE, the party environment, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and, not least, on literature by and about Rosa Luxemburg, to whom the Foundation owes its name.

In 2015, the ADS published two new volumes in its finding aid series. They are available in print, and can also be accessed online on the website of the Foundation. At the end of March, the ADS published Finding Aid 13 “Dr. Heidi Knake-Werner, MdB (1994 bis 2002)” (Dr. Heidi Knake-Werner, Member of the Bundestag (1994–2002)). It contains documents on the activities of Heidi Knake-Werner as a member of parliament. It primarily highlights her importance as a distinguished labor market and social policy politician, and documents her work as the deputy party leader and chair of the parliamentary group of the PDS faction in the German parliament. A foreword provides information on the political biography and activities of Knake-Werner and describes how the ADS collected and edited these roughly 22 meters of documents.

Finding Aid 15 covers the history of the PDS in the German state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern between 1989 and 2007, and is the first such individual state-level history of a regional PDS party. Around 17 meters of documents provide information on the history of this regional PDS branch and its activities in the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern parliament before its integration into the new DIE LINKE Party. The focus is on the work of the party’s executive in the state. Extensive materials that reflect the work of regional working groups and the factions in the state parliament complement the documents on party executive meetings, regional party conferences, elections, and committees. In addition to a simple index, the finding aid includes information on and an overview of the PDS in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and its regional structures.

“POSTERS OFFER ORIENTATION”

AN INTERVIEW WITH KATHARINA KÖPPING ON
THE ARCHIVE’S COLLECTION OF POSTERS

What posters does the ADS collect?

Köpping: Taking over a collection of around 1,400 posters from the Karl-Liebknecht-Haus cultural and information center, plus some other small collections, forced us, in fall 2015, to consider and sharpen the profile of our collection of posters. In a similar way to the profiles established by the archives of the other political foundations in Germany, we focus on documenting and collecting information on federal, federal state, communal, and European election campaigns conducted by the party we are affiliated to, and this includes information on events, important issues, and campaigns. Documents cover the history of the PDS, WASG, and the DIE LINKE Party from 1990 until today. Our archive also collects posters from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and its network of foundations.

Where do the materials collected at the ADS come from?

Köpping: Most of the materials we receive reach us together with the documents provided by the members of the party federal executive, the regional parties, and the offices of the members of the federal and regional parliaments, as well as the EU parliament. We have been in contact with the agencies that produce these materials for some time and hope that in future they will send us posters and the corresponding digital files directly.

How can the materials be accessed?

Köpping: Our mandate is education. We therefore strive to make the posters of DIE LINKE and its predecessor organizations accessible for academic research. The archive is open from Monday to Thursday from 9am to 12 noon and from 1pm to 5pm. We are working to get our collection online and, as a long-term goal, we hope to become part of Germany’s most important website for archives, www.archivportal-d.de. Our efforts toward full online documentation are another reason for our interest in receiving document image files – so-called born-digital objects – directly, as this would save us from having to first digitalize the materials.

How important is the collection?

Köpping: I would like to answer from an art-historic perspective. Personally, I have a strong affinity with images as sources, and the materials collected at the ADS must of course be understood in their political context. From my experience, historical research often gives little consideration to images, often marginalizing them. Interestingly, this contradicts a very image-oriented zeitgeist. In school education, for example, party political posters play a very important role. During elections, the media also frequently base their discussion of parties’ political programs on their poster campaigns. Not least, posters, as condensed image-text templates, offer a possible

Ohne Frau



geht nichts

PDS

From our collection: PDS poster from 1994

orientation for political identification. I find it really exciting to analyze these from a historical perspective. As a woman who was socialized in the GDR, I remember a poster from 1994 against West Germany’s abortion law, “paragraph 218”. This was a time when the concrete terms of German reunification had led to a lively and long overdue debate on the different rights held by women in East and West Germany. Posters, with their condensed messages, embody extremes and easily end up being targeted by political adversaries. Exemplary in this sense is the CDU’s “red socks” campaign in the 1990s, which was first embraced by the FDP and then reinterpreted positively by the PDS. Another example is the PDS’s anti-Nazi campaign in 1994. When the first posters emerged showing SS runes cut into the short hair on the back of someone’s head, the police of Salzwedel in Saxony-Anhalt took up criminal investigations against the PDS! Naturally, these materials belong to the history of these parties and are therefore important objects for our archive.

NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

November 27, 2015 marked a memorable anniversary: a quarter of a century at the service of political education. Around 400 guests attended the ceremony in the location where the new building of the Foundation will stand in 2017, the site of the former Postbahnhof in Berlin's Friedrichshain district. The neighboring Postbahnhof Club, usually a concert venue, was perhaps not the obvious place for such a ceremony. Nonetheless, it proved an excellent choice.

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The celebrations included events such as the awarding of the Hans and Lea Grundig Prize on November 26 at the Berlinische Galerie. "Die Stiftung international – ein Ausschnitt" (examples of the Foundation's international projects) on November 27 highlighted the diversity of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work outside of Germany. Four representatives from the Foundation's partner organizations spanning four continents spoke about central questions for internationalism: flight and migration, processes of social transformation, food security and global trade, and extractivism.

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To toast and celebrate the Foundation's work together, ambassadors, members of the federal and regional parliaments, representatives from other political foundations, organizations, and associations, as well as Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung members, employees, and cooperation partners attended. In her opening speech, Dagmar Enkelmann, chair of the executive board, recognized the considerable achievements of the founders of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and highlighted the Foundation's impressive development. She spoke about the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's continuous growth, in particular during recent years, and also how it had the right goals. A Europe of shared values was one such goal emphasized in the Foundation's education programs and activities. "Without alternatives" was a phrase coined by Chancellor Merkel, not the Foundation, Enkelmann said, which aims to develop alternatives to the dominant system of today.

Hans-Ulrich Jörges, from the weekly *Stern*, who was the second speaker at the ceremony, also insisted on standing by this goal. In his talk, he reminded the audience of the genuine commitment of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the affiliated DIE LINKE Party to democratic socialism and, consequently, of the need to block any tendencies toward a more social democratic approach. Being a socialist implies posing the question of property rights. The Foundation should carry its name with pride. After all, untarnished names such as that



1992

Peace activist Laura von Wimmersperg and actor Erwin Geschonneck during the conference "Living History – Conflicting German Biographies" in Berlin



1994

During the event series "My Biography," Hans Modrow (on the left) interviews the political author Wolfgang Leonhard in Berlin. Michael Brie is on the right.



2003

An information stand during the first ecumenical church assembly in Berlin

HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE FOUNDATION'S FIRST 25 YEARS

The Foundation's delegation at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

2005



At Warsaw's Jewish theater, the director of the Foundation's office for East-Central Europe, Joanna Gwiazdecka (third from the right), receives the "Warsaw Ghetto Uprising" award.



2011

of Rosa Luxemburg are rare in the history of the socialist Left. The audience rewarded these words by Hans-Ulrich Jörges with much applause; he had certainly struck the right tone. A panel discussion followed with Jane Angerjäv, Thomas Händel, Jan Korte, Gabriele Gün Tank, and Evelin Wittich ("Five Faces from 25 Years of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung"). Evelin Wittich, a member from the very beginning and former executive director, and until very recently director of the Academy for Political Education, provided an insight into the Foundation's beginnings, to which she contributed significantly. Jane Angerjäv described how she became involved with the Foundation as a scholarship student and then spoke about the funding goals of the scholarship department, whose deputy director she now is. Thomas Händel, European Parliament member of the DIE LINKE Party, spoke about the importance of alternative educational pathways. His colleague on the executive board, Jan Korte (deputy chair of DIE LINKE in the German parliament), spoke about policies of history and memory based on his book, *Kriegsverräter* (War Traitors), in which he describes the continuities of anti-communism. The journalist and integration commissioner for the Berlin district of Tempelhof-Schöneberg, Gabriele Gün Tank, a board member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since 2014, spoke about the challenges associated with working with immigrants and her experiences with their autonomous organization. Music during the evening was provided by the Greek band Lizeta Kalimeri & Friends. The evening ended with piano music. Even after the last words were spoken on the stage, the talking, laughing, and celebrations continued with people toasting to the next 25 years.

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During the anniversary celebrations, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung presented the commemorative publication "Ich lebe am fröhlichsten im Sturm" (I Live Most Happily Within the Storm). The authors write about how the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung sees itself and describe the activities of the many full-time staff and volunteers in Germany and abroad. Documents and photographs spanning 25 exciting years complement the chapters.



DAGMAR ENKELMANN/
FLORIAN WEIS (EDS.)
«ICH LEBE AM FRÖHLICHSTEN IM STURM»
25 JAHRE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG: GESELLSCHAFTS-ANALYSE UND POLITISCHE BILDUNG
VSA: Verlag 2015

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Awards ceremony on November 26, 2015 at Berlinische Galerie

ART ON FLIGHT AND EXILE RECOGNIZED

OVER 250 APPLICATIONS FOR THE HANS AND LEA GRUNDIG PRIZE 2015

Named in memory of the anti-fascist artists Hans Grundig (1901–1958) and Lea Grundig (1906–1977), the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung again awarded the Hans and Lea Grundig Prize in 2015. This year's prize recognizes the efforts of artists, art historians, and art mediators to address questions related to flight and migration. Olga Jitlina, a St. Petersburg-based performance and video artist, received the prize in the visual arts category for her interactive installations on the hardships migrants face and the pain of losing one's home country, in which she also reflects on the spirit of resistance shown by migrants in North America and Russia. Lith Bahlmann and Matthias Reichelt (both from Berlin) received the art history prize for their book *Sogar der Tod hat Angst vor Auschwitz* (Even Death is Afraid of Auschwitz), on the life and works of the Austrian Rom and artist Ceija Stojka (1933–2013). Ines Weizman and her team from the Bauhaus University in Weimar received the prize in the art mediation category for their project "Aus dem zweiten Leben. Dokumente vergessener Architekturen" (Stories from a Second Life. Documents of Forgotten Architects) on the biographies of exiled German-Jewish architects.

Over 200 guests took part in the award ceremony on November 26 at Berlinische Galerie. Thomas Köhler, the director of the museum, Florian Weis, director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and Petra Pau, vice president of the German parliament, all gave speeches during the event. Eva Atlan, Eckhart Gillen, and Thomas Flierl, who presided over the jury, gave the laudatory speeches. With 260 applications received, the call for applications was clearly met with great interest. To accompany the event, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung published the booklet "Lea Grundig: Kunst in Zeiten des Krieges" (Lea Grundig: Art in Times of War), which features little-known texts by Lea Grundig and includes photographs of her artworks.



The nicely decorated venue during the Münzenberg Congress.

GLOBAL SPACES FOR RADICAL SOLIDARITY

FIRST INTERNATIONAL WILLI MÜNZENBERG CONGRESS
IN BERLIN

During this long weekend at Franz-Mehring-Platz in Berlin, the international atmosphere most likely very much resembled that of the original Willi Münzenberg Congresses. People from the North of Europe met with people from France and Switzerland, and Russians met with Americans. Unlike during the original conferences, where the majority of participants were communists from all over the world, it was mainly communism researchers from over a dozen countries who attended between September 17–20, 2015. The roughly 250 conference participants had the choice of 37 talks and 10 panels. The conference focus was broad, spanning the activities and ideas of Willi Münzenberg (1889–1940), his media empire, and the history of his international networks during the inter-war period. The conference touched on classic questions for the worker movement such as international solidarity, alliance strategies, and the hopes many pinned on the young Soviet Union. The talks dealt with the esthetics of left-wing films and there was debate over the question as to whether the concepts for Europe that developed between the two world wars could potentially serve a plural Left as positive visions beyond Stalinism and social democracy. Talks on anti-colonialism and the integration of anti-Stalinist positions in anti-fascism during the 1930s completed the picture.

The keynotes then offered a broader focus. Holger Weiss (Turku/Finland) discussed the global networks of unionized sailors, dockworkers, and other workers, currently being researched under the label of a radical “Black Atlantic.” In his talk on the International Workers’ Relief between 1921 and 1933, Kasper Braskén (also from Finland) emphasized the importance of a sense of solidarity, which was used to convince wage earners of the need for revolutionary action. This idea of mutual solidarity was already key to Münzenberg’s global activism. In our times, where optimism threatens to turn

people into fools and pessimism easily leads to sluggishness, Münzenberg could well serve as the protagonist of a “cultural international” and as a role model for humanitarian and democratic socialism. Münzenberg fought for the establishment of the German Popular Front after 1933, but after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin-Pact, Münzenberg became one of the most prominent critics of Stalinism when he published his article, “The Traitor, Stalin, is You.”

Further information on activities by the Münzenberg Forum is available here: www.muenzenbergforum.de.



For one week, a circus tent served as a venue for exhibitions, events and concerts.

THE “DEFIANT INTERNATIONAL”

The “Defiant International” provided numerous perspectives on migration flows. This series of sixteen events took place from July 16–25 in a circus tent erected at the building site of the Foundation’s new headquarters in Berlin. Events centered on the “We will Rise!” exhibition on the protest movements of refugees in Berlin. There were theater presentations such as the Asylum Dialogs and a performance by the group Lampedusa in Hamburg and the Schwabinggrad Ballett. Philipp Rucht from the Center for Political Beauty, Trésor from Voix des Migrants, and Julia Maikowsky from Watch The Med discussed “Deaths in the Mediterranean, How Should we React?” Imran Ayata performed the “Songs of Gastarbeiter,” which provided an entertaining insight into immigrant pop culture in Germany since the 1960s. A speed-dating event for activists aimed to create new links between people. Further talks dealt with issues such as health care for migrants and racial profiling by the police. Concerts, readings, and films rounded off the events.



The expert conference in Erfurt on the right to strike and the exclusive applicability of collective agreements, with highly qualified speakers opened by Thuringia's Minister President Bodo Ramelow

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE - EXCLUSIVE APPLICABILITY OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS - UNION PLURALISM

ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG SYMPOSIUM

In the context of a draft law presented by the German government, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung intervened in 2015 in the heated public and internal union debate over how exclusively applicable collective agreements should be. During the highly acclaimed symposium on April 13 in Erfurt, around 100 people discussed the pros and cons of the draft law and its potential effects on the right to strike. A particularly remarkable aspect of the event was that it brought together representatives from the different sides, such as the managing director of the Confederation of German Employers' Associations (BDA), Reinhard Göhner, and the leader of the German train drivers union (GDL), Claus Weselsky, as well as the distinguished labor law expert and critic of the draft law, Wolfgang Däubler. Further organizations represented on the panel and among the audience included the German Trade Union Confederation (DGB), various craft unions (GDL, Cockpit, Marburger Bund, and UFO), as well as politicians, academics, and judges from the German Federal Labor Court based in Erfurt. The Minister President of Thuringia and member of DIE LINKE, Bodo Ramelow, gave the opening speech. A few months later, the GDL would ask him to act as arbitrator in the protracted conflict between the union and Deutsche Bahn.

Reinhard Göhner at first characterized the draft law as a reaction to the "excesses" committed by individual craft unions. In his view, these excesses threatened to become a growing trend. Free collective bargaining, Göhner argued, rested on the universal applicability of collective agreements within one company. In his view, the draft law posed no threat to craft unions. If one weighed up the different protected rights against each other, the draft law was clearly defensible, he argued, as it secured the freedom of collective bargaining and therefore did not contradict Germany's Basic Law. Wolfgang Däubler, a former professor of law at the University of Bremen, dis-

agreed with Göhner's expectations that the draft law would promote collective agreements across various employers. He argued that quite the opposite was true. Göhner then warned that adopting the draft law would increase inter-union competition, thus making it more difficult for unions to defend the interests of employees jointly. In substance, this would undermine the right to strike. Claus Weselsky in particular argued that the draft law in its current form posed an elementary threat to the rights of "specialized" unions, because it effectively denied them the right to strike. This he considered an attack on the freedom of organization and a breach of Germany's Basic Law. The GDL therefore decided to appeal to the Federal Constitutional Court. "The draft law curtails employee rights and weakens unions. Competition, not union, will be the result," Bodo Ramelow emphasized.

Reinhard Bispinck, head of department at the Institute of Economic and Social Research (WSI) of the union-friendly Hans-Böckler-Foundation, presented his research findings and provided background information on the phenomenon of craft unions and their role in collective bargaining. Stefan Greiner, professor of law at the University of Bonn, and Ulrike Wendeling-Schröder, a former labor law professor at the University of Hannover, discussed strikes in the general interest services sector.

Chair of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Dagmar Enkelmann, emphasized the need for constructive solutions to inter-union conflicts. In this regard, providing important contributions and offering itself as a platform for discussion was as much an aim of the conference as setting out a longer-term perspective for the Foundation. The conference closed with a panel discussion moderated by the journalist and political scientist, Thomas Leif, in which Claus Weselsky (GDL) discussed the perspectives for universally applicable collective agreements beyond the framework of the draft law with representatives from the railway and transport union EVG (Eisenbahn- und Verkehrsgewerkschaft), the union ver.di, and Marburger Bund.

BRINGING THE FUTURE TO THE PRESENT - THE "LINKE WOCHEN DER ZUKUNFT" (LEFT-WING WEEK FOR FRESH VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE)

To a certain extent, the future has always been a cornerstone of left-wing theory and practice. It seems we need to revive this visionary capacity and free it from a burdening historic legacy. After the alleged "end of history," the great left-wing narratives appeared antiquated; they had become distorted hopes without appeal. Our task will be to restore a vision for a left-wing future: for a tomorrow that we can build and enjoy together.

This was the challenge facing the "Linke Woche der Zukunft" (Left-wing Week for Fresh Visions for the Future). The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized this event in cooperation with DIE LINKE and the party's faction in the German parliament for the first time last year. From April 23–26, 2015, the discussions at Franz-Mehring-Platz 1 focused on developing different possible scenarios for the future, on thinking boldly, but also on the need to begin constructing these utopias today and forcing them upon the dominant powers.

As the goal was to initiate a discussion with as many people as possible, the event took on various formats. International panels with distinguished speakers first provided an analysis of the current situation: What can we expect from capitalism today, from EU policy, the energy transition and climate policy, healthcare, care, and education? How will we work in the future? What holds society together in the face of growing inequalities and the subordination of democracy to the market? After this introduction, discussion-oriented formats focused on political practices and concrete alternative projects. The event concluded with a series of small workshops on developing left-wing strategies for change. The more than 80 individual events also included readings and films, as well as further arts-related contributions, for example, a performance by artists who use adhesive tape in their work. The event opened with a soiree in the Grüne Salon at the Volksbühne theater.

"Wer kann die neue Zukunft machen?" (Who can Make the New Future?) was the motto during this warm summer evening. Nearly 300 people attended, which meant that many could only watch a livestream of the event at Karl-Liebknecht-Haus from the opposite side of the street. Volker Braun opened the event and read from his *Zukunftsrede* (Speech for the Future). Katja Kipping moderated the following discussion between the Marxist-feminist Frigga Haug, Evgeny Morozov, one of the most profiled critics of digital capitalism, and Anke Domscheidt-Berg, a former member of the Pirate Party. That the struggle for the future is already well underway was the theme of the performance of "History is a warm gun" by Margarita Tsoumo and the Greek theater group, The Erasers. The evening concluded with a reading by Dietmar Dath from the most recent of his numerous novels *Venus Siegt* (Venus Wins). Dath is one of the most-recognized intellectuals devel-

oping concepts for left-wing future perspectives in the German-speaking countries.

Many people attended over the following days: around 1,000 visitors representing the entire breadth of the Left in society came, and the audience was surprisingly young. There was a friendly and respectful atmosphere, which was at the same time serious and concentrated. Most of the debates were not as tiringly entrenched as they often are within such contexts. The overall sunny weather also contributed to this special atmosphere: not only during the workshops, but also during breaks on the sunny patio, participants intensively discussed fresh visions for a left-wing future.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized nearly 40 events on questions such as the universal applicability of collective agreements and the right to strike, the precarization of work, responses to the care crisis, democratic approaches to digitalization, futuring and double transformation, structural change in (coal mining) regions, and communism for children. A further highlight of the Foundation's program was a workshop by the Kameradistinnen. Participants learnt how to use a smartphone to make a film. They also gave an overview of the many different formats that were used during these four days to discuss concepts for a left-wing future.



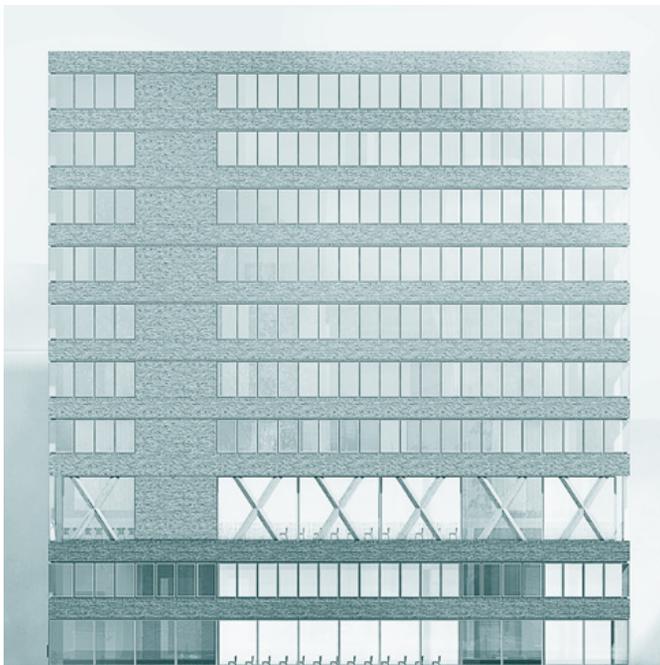
The tape art installation by Klebebande engaged with the logo of the "Left-wing Week For Fresh Visions for the Future".



On March 30, 2016, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung selected projects in the open realization competition for the Foundation's new building. The initial idea had been to award first, second, and third prizes and three acknowledgments. After intensive debate, it was decided to award a first place, three third places, and two acknowledgments. ARGE KIM NALLEWEG architects and César Trujillo Moya from Berlin won the first prize. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung will now take up contract negotiations with the prize-winners for one of the building designs. Building work is to begin in 2017 and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung expects to be able to move into the new building located at Straße der Pariser Kommune 8 in 2018.



The design includes a rooftop terrace adjacent to the event area.



The winning design by ARGE KIM NALLEWEG and César Trujillo Moya

ATTRACTIVE AND TRANSPARENT

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG HOLDS TENDER FOR NEW BUILDING

Good things require time – and this is not always merely a cliché to help explain away delays. In the case of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's new building, giving the project sufficient time could indeed improve the quality of the result. At the beginning of September 2015, and only after extensive preparations, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung launched a realization competition in the form of a two-phase call to find a general planner by mid-2016. Back in 2014, the Foundation used the first payment from the total € 20.4 million it is set to receive

from the federal budget until 2018 to purchase the site for its future headquarters through its real estate company, Franz-Mehring-Platz 1 mbH. The site is located at Straße der Pariser Kommune 8. Straße der Pariser Kommune 8 mbH und Co. KG is the company now in charge of constructing the building on behalf of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, which is the company's sole partner. Because the construction will involve public funds, the company is bound to adhere to public procurement and funding regulations. The site is opposite the former packing warehouses of the Postbahnhof and subject to a 2005 urban development plan, which has since been reworked in greater detail with regard to urban planning considerations. As many as 155 architecture firms took part in the competition's first phase, which closed at the end of October 2015. The award committee scheduled its first session for December 3 and 4, and this resulted in the selection of 24 projects for the second phase. Committee president, Ulrike Lauber, emphasized the great appeal and attractiveness of the competition for architects. The second phase of the competition will require greater interdisciplinarity. Firms will be asked to refine their designs and name the engineers for the building's structural planning and technical equipment. During its second session at the end of March 2016, the award committee will select three winners from these updated designs. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has committed itself to maximizing publicity for its building project and aims to base its work on transparency and communication. An exhibition of all of the proposals in May 2016 will mark the beginning of these efforts. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung plans to move into its new building in 2018.

www.rosalux.de/event/55832



Wilfriede Otto

**CLEARING OUT
THE AUGEAN STABLE**
IN COMMEMORATION OF
WILFRIEDE OTTO

On February 2, 2015, Wilfriede Otto, a very early member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, passed away. Wilfriede Otto struggled tirelessly to learn the lessons of history.

In the winter of 1989/1990 her superiors disappeared. Only the upright remained, among those whose "names were known." Wilfriede Otto, born in 1933, was one of them, and in February 1990 she is said to have started a working group on the "Victims of Stalinism." A few days later we met. We were a group of three people not involved in the GDR party structure and we created the PDS party's first, but short-lived Committee for History. With her characteristic elegance, this not-particularly-tall, slender, and elegant woman took her pack of Duett cigarettes from her handbag and began to talk in her dialect from Saxony.

During the following months, we frequently met in overcrowded Stalinism forums. Countless times I heard her brave "Yes, these things did happen. I have nothing to add at the moment," which was often met with sneers. She then would disappear into the archives to find something to add. In the victims' groups, people had long stopped sneering at her and had begun to value her. She publicly represented her party whenever the PDS needed her, and in most instances, these appearances were related to unpleasant questions about the past. On a personal level, she had no yearning for greatness. She preferred down-to-earth work to a politician's remuneration. She was a very active member of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's board of trustees for nearly 20 years, and enriched the board's work with numerous historical and historical-political talks and publications. There was hardly a general assembly in which Wilfriede did not intervene. Sometimes she was critical, but always very loyal to, yes, her Foundation. What motivated Wilfriede? She wanted to free the socialist spirit from the prison into which it had been thrown by Stalinism. The woman with the red hair knew that this would only be possible after clearing out – profoundly – the Augean stable. How much we will miss her.

Jörn Schütrumpf

UPHOLDING THE "THIRD WAY"
IN COMMEMORATION OF EDGAR MOST

A banker, the "backbone of capital," who works for the left-wing Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung? This was what many wondered when Edgar Most became a member of the Foundation in 2013. After all, he had been the CEO of the Deutsche Kreditbank and the Ostdeutsche Bankenverbund, an advisor to the federal government on the development of Eastern Germany, and had even sat on the board of Deutsche Bank until 2004.

Edgar Most was born in 1940 in Tiefenort in Thuringia. After his banking apprenticeship at Deutsche Notenbank in the GDR, in 1962 he switched to the Schwedt branch of Deutsche Investitionsbank to accompany the development of a new industrial town. He went on to become the GDR's youngest bank director. In 1974, Edgar Most began to work for the East



Edgar Most

German central bank. On March 19, 1990, he founded Deutsche Kreditbank AG, East Germany's first private bank. He focused the bank's business activities on managing the loans of former East German companies and supporting the establishment of new banking structures. His efforts prevented the loss of around 30 per cent of all jobs in former GDR companies.

Edgar Most was a relentless critic of the sell-out of East Germany. "Instead of turning the East into a sort of West German appendix, we should have developed it from within," he wrote in his book *Fünfzig Jahre im Auftrag des Kapitals* (Fifty Years at the Service of Capital). Even when the framework of a society changes, banks nonetheless must continue to "act in a socially responsible manner." In his "Masterplan Ost" (Master Plan for East Germany), setting out the necessary steps in the process of German unification, he demanded increases to the budget for education and research and the cancellation of the old debts inherited from the GDR in industry, agriculture, and the housing sector.

Edgar Most was a harsh critic of neoliberalism. "It is impossible to maintain a social system that accepts and promotes such phenomena in a globalized world in the long-term. More than simply a financial crisis, we are facing a crisis of the system," was his analysis of the current situation. His vision of a "third way" that re-defines the relationship between the state and the market, society and capital, has not been realized – or, as the author is tempted to write, at least not yet. Before his death on December 12, 2015, he laid important groundwork. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is deeply thankful to Edgar Most.

Dagmar Enkelmann

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENTS

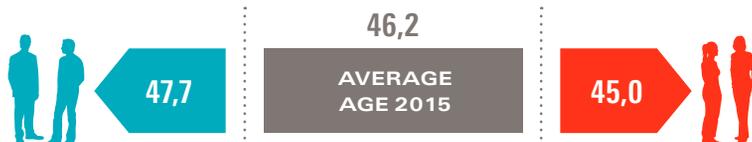
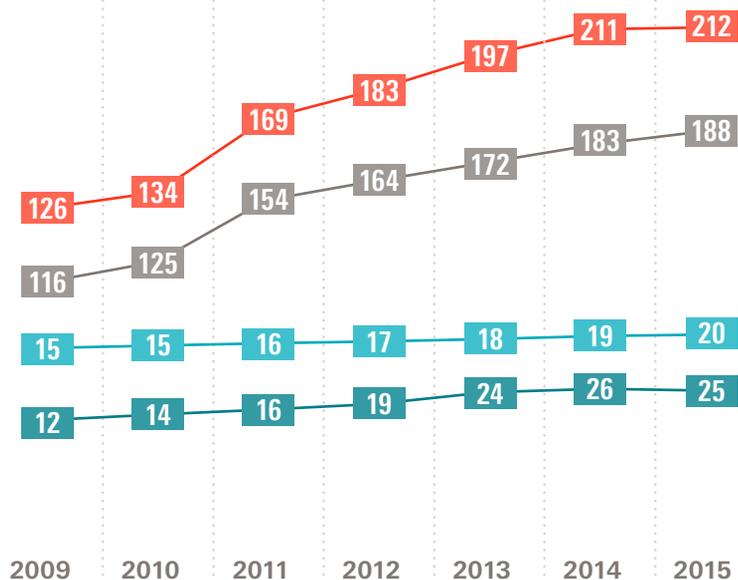
Much like 2014, 2015 was also characterized by the implementation of the collective bargaining agreement reached in 2013 to strengthen participation. Candidate selection procedures for positions in the Foundation now involve the entire staff of the department concerned: from defining the job profile, selecting and interviewing potential candidates, to the decision on employing a candidate. The management of the Foundation, departmental management, and staff take this decision jointly and as equal parties. In most cases, they reach a unanimous decision.

The same procedure based on the collective agreement is also applied when filling vacant management positions. The requirements of these positions are discussed with the respective departments and discussed by the works council. Discussion results feed into the stipulated requirements for these positions, which are then reflected in the job advertisement and taken into account during candidate interviews. The departmental meeting nominates up to two employees for the selection committee. In the case of the promotion of an RLS employee, following the executive board's decision on who it wishes to appoint to a vacant management position—the staff of the department concerned then decides whether it approves the nomination. So far, with approval rates between 90 and 100 percent, approval has basically always been granted. Moreover, the heads of department and the works council of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung have agreed on principles of "Good departmental management." These principles inform management decisions and function as a benchmark for feedback on the management of departments by staff every two years. Every four years, this evaluation also includes the question as to whether staff wish to retain their departmental management for another four years.

On November 1, 2015, the most recent employer and works council agreement on conflict management took effect, which is governed by a spirit of conflict prevention and, in the case of conflict, early intervention. Beyond having access to mediators, in the case of conflict, staff can now also direct themselves to a coordinating group consisting of a mediator, a member of management, the head of the personnel department, and a member of the works council. This group coordinates, manages, and evaluates conflict management in the Foundation and, in complicated cases brought before them by individual employees or bodies of the Foundation, is tasked with finding collective solutions.

In 2016, we will be in a situation to evaluate whether the changes the collective bargaining agreement implies for the participation of staff in decisions have proven successful in practice.

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 2009 AND 2015



Percentage of total staff:	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Female staff	54%	55%	51%	56%	55%	56%	55%
Male staff	46%	45%	49%	44%	45%	44%	45%
Staff from a migrant family	10%	11%	11%	15%	14%	15%	15%
Staff with permanent contracts	82%	84%	81%	80%	77%	76%	78%
Part-time staff	9%	22%	17%	20%	23%	24%	29%
Staff on parental leave			2%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Trainees			2%	3%	4%	3%	0%
Passive phase of semi-retirement						1%	1%

Other forms of employment:

Staff in limited part-time employment ¹	6	8	12	7	7	7	8
Internships ²	11	22	34	35	37	36	34

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

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

THE FOUNDATION'S BODIES

ENCOURAGEMENT FOR THE NEXT 25 YEARS

THE GENERAL MEETING

Against the backdrop of celebrations to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the Foundation's well-attended general meeting took place on November 28, 2015.

To open the event, Dagmar Enkelman, chair of the executive board, emphasized how encouraging and inspiring for the coming 25 years the ceremony the previous day at the site of the former Postbahnhof in Berlin had been. 2015, she said, had been a very successful year for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and she highlighted in particular the Foundation's program during the Paris climate conference and the work in solidarity with Greece. Executive director Florian Weis stressed the breadth of events organized across Germany – around 2,500 in 2015 – and, to increase the Foundation's public visibility, suggested focusing capacities and resources even more. He mentioned peace, migration and flight, labor union policy, and culture as fields currently in flux, which makes the development of new analytical tools necessary.

Bodo Ramelow (minister president of Thuringia), Bernd Riexinger (co-chair of DIE LINKE), and Gregor Gysi (member of parliament) spoke on these and other questions, and congratulated the Foundation on its 25th anniversary, emphasizing its important role as a mediator for the Left in society.

A further important point for discussion was the status of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's historical research. According to executive board member Detlef Nakath, one fifth of all events focus on historical questions, making history an important focus in the Foundation's political education work. Participants generally agreed that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung needed to take a two-pronged approach, focusing on the personal and political continuities between the Nazi state and West Germany from the early post-war period until today, as well as critically appraising the GDR's controversial past and real socialism. To conclude, Ralf Hoffrogge presented the Foundation's PhD course "Geschichte linker Politik in Deutschland jenseits von Sozialdemokratie und Parteikommunismus" (History of Left-wing Politics in Germany beyond Social Democracy and Party Communism) at the Ruhr-University of Bochum. Thanks to the inspiring and comradely spirit of the debates, the participating members of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung felt that the well-attended meeting had been a success.

In 2015, the general meeting accepted the following new members: Marcel Bois (Hamburg), Sophie Dieckmann (Saxony/Berlin), Sahra Mirow (Baden-Wuerttemberg), Siri Schultze (Bavaria), and Eva Völpel (Berlin). Furthermore, members elected Alex Demirović onto the academic advisory board he now heads.



During the general assembly, Dagmar Enkelmann (on the right) thanks Evelin Wittich for her work, which goes back to the beginnings of the Foundation.

MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

ORDINARY MEMBERS

Jan van Aken
 Ali Al Dailami
 Dr. Dietmar Bartsch
 Dr. Peter Bathke
 Prof. Dr. Günter Benser
 Dr. Joachim Bischoff
 Dr. Marcel Bois
 Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brand
 Dr. André Brie
 Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brinkmann
 Sandra Brunner
 Christine Buchholz
 Prof. Dr. Michael Buckmiller
 Dr. Carolin Butterwegge
 Gerda Daenecke
 Sevim Dağdelen
 Daniela Dahn
 Birgit Daiber
 Prof. Dr. Frank Deppe
 Richard Detje
 Ulrike Detjen
 Sophie Dieckmann
 Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann
 Klaus Ernst

Ilsegrit Fink
 Dr. Thomas Flierl
 Claudia Gohde
 Prof. Dr. Stefanie Graefe
 Dr. Bärbel Grygier
 Dr. Gregor Gysi
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 Klaus Höpcke
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 Prof. Dr. Margit Mayer
 Sahra Mirow
 Dr. Hans Modrow
 Cornelia Möhring
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 Dr. Florian Weis
 Janine Wissler
 Dr. Dietmar Wittich
 Dr. Evelin Wittich

Dr. Ulrich Wolf
 Ulrike Zerhau
 Gabi Zimmer

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 Kurt-Eisner-Verein – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bayern
 Helle Panke e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg e. V.
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 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e. V.

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt e. V.
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e. V.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Dr. Kurt Hövelmans
 Prof. Dr. Reinhard Mocek
 Dr. Wolfgang Spickermann

RESTING MEMBERSHIP

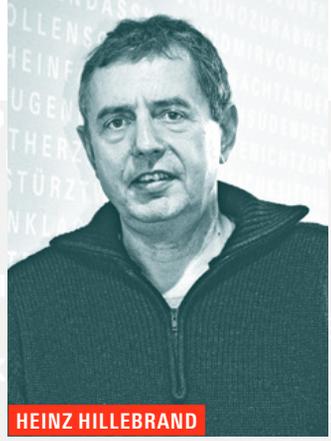
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 Dr. Marion Schütrumpf
 Fanny Zeise

Last updated: May 2016

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD



DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN



HEINZ HILLEBRAND

Last updated: August 2015



JAN KORTE



DR. FLORIAN WEIS



SYBILLE STAMM



ULRIKE DETJEN



THOMAS HÄNDEL



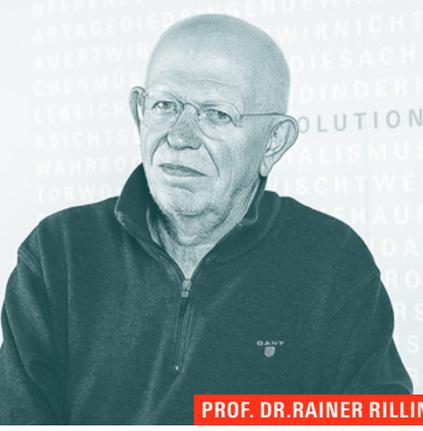
GABRIELE GÜN TANK



PROF. DR. DÖRTE PUTENSEN



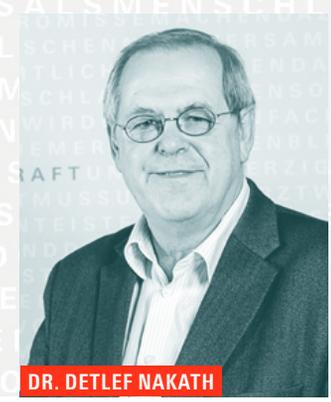
DR. SABINE REINER



PROF. DR. RAINER RILLING



KERSTIN KAISER



DR. DETLEF NAKATH



PEETER RAANE

A POLITICAL BODY

EXECUTIVE BOARD FOCUSES MORE ON CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

The high workload of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's executive board is unusual considering the body's volunteer-driven nature. The 14 (later 13) members met for eight board meetings in 2015, two of which were closed meetings lasting several days, and also invested time in numerous preparatory discussions. Beyond simply complying with the tasks laid out in the statutes (deciding on the budget and personnel development), the board in 2015 decided to focus more on current political issues. In close cooperation with the experts from the Foundation and the staff of the foreign and regional offices of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the board set out to analyze how these issues can best be integrated into educational programs and research.

Discussions concentrated on the current state, perspectives, and further development of the European Union, and focused in particular on the approaches taken by European institutions vis-à-vis Greece and its left-wing government, the dynamics of migration and flight, as well as the nationalist tendencies surfacing in individual member states. This

work led to proposals for educational materials and events, ideas for practical solidarity, and personnel decisions that correspondingly strengthen the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's topical focuses. In addition, the board became involved in the planning efforts for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's new building, and this led to changes in the project management structure. Work on sharpening the Foundation's topical profile also continued. Individual members of the board were involved in further developing the requirements and descriptions for new positions. Enhancing the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's capacity to analyze the social consequences of the digitalization of work processes (industry 4.0), was thereby the aim.

Kerstin Kaiser left the board after nearly three years. She took over management of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Moscow office in March 2016. Irene Dölling has been a permanent guest at the board meetings. When she gave up her position as director of the academic advisory board, she also left the board and was succeeded by Alex Demirović.

THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

Last year, the academic advisory board consisted of 14 (later 13) members. Its central task is to use its academic competencies to support the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung at the intersection of science, education, and politics. Its director until the end of the year was Irene Dölling. Alex Demirović was elected as her successor. In 2015 the volunteer advisory body met twice in Berlin and held a two-day closed meeting in Frankfurt/Oder. Its work focused on:

- supporting the fourth transformation conference "An den Durchbruchstellen kritischer Transformationsforschung. Offene Fragen" (Apertures for Critical Transformation Research. Open Questions)
- continuing the discussion on the thematic axis "democracy and equality"
- bringing current academic debates into the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung

In cooperation with the Brandenburg and Berlin Institute for Social Science Studies (BISS), in September 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's academic advisory board actively prepared, organized, and provided follow-up to the fourth transformation conference, during which the former advisory board member Rolf Reißig was honored on his 75th birthday. The advisory board advanced the position that transformation research from a left-wing perspective today

urgently required a conceptual approach centered on actors and their praxis. The advisory board's first meeting therefore focused on Miriam Pieschke's (advisor in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung project "Jenseits der Prekarität" [Beyond Precarity]) project "Partizipationsferne als transformatorische Herausforderung. Was sind Erfolgsbedingungen und -faktoren für eine gelungene Organisierung von vermeintlich Nicht-Organisierbaren?" (Non-participation of Individuals as a Challenge for Transformation. What are the Conditions and Factors to Organize those that Allegedly Cannot be Organized?).

The last meeting in November 2015 focused on democracy approaches with the potential to provide orientation to the Left. Contributions by Isabell Lorey and Alex Demirović in the *LuXemburg* journal (3/2014), in which they discuss the relation between constituting and constituted democratic power, formed the basis for discussion. Rainer Land provided input on current academic analyses of the crisis and presented the central arguments advanced in *Modern Political Economics. Making Sense of the Post-2008 World* by Yanis Varoufakis et al. As in past years, members of the board were also active on the Foundation's study and PhD scholarship committee and sat on the committees that award the Huffschmid and Hans and Lea Grundig Prizes.

MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović: born in 1952, earned his qualification as a lecturer in political sciences and political sociology, was a member of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung between 2007 and 2014, senior fellow at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis, member of the academic advisory board of Attac Germany and BdWi (Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler), and editor at *Prokla* and *LuXemburg*. Main research interests: critical social theory, materialist theories of state and democracy, political philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Irene Dölling: born in 1942, professor emeritus for women's studies and the sociology of gender relations at the University of Potsdam. Chair of the academic advisory board. Main research interests: personality theory, cultural theory, sociology of gender relations, transformation processes in East Germany.

Prof. Jörg Hafkemeyer: born in 1947, journalist, author, and filmmaker, honorary professor of cultural journalism at the Berlin University of the Arts. Trains reporters and moderators for Schweizer Rundfunk and for Deutschlandradio Kultur, works for ARD, Deutschlandradio Kultur, and various newspapers, including *Cicero*.

Prof. Dr. Frigga Haug: born in 1937, professor emeritus of sociology at the Hamburg University of Economics and Politics, chair of the Institute for Critical Theory (InkriT), co-editor of the journal *Das Argument*, and the *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus* (Historical-critical Dictionary of Marxism); member of Attac's academic advisory board. Main research interests: Marxist-feminist theory, labor, interventional social research.

Dr. Stefanie Hürtgen: born in 1970, political scientist, researcher at the Institute for Social Research at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt. Main research interests: sociology of labor and economics, trade union theory, Europe, transformation research.

Prof. Dr. Michael Krätke: born in 1949, professor of political economy at the University of Lancaster, UK, and director of the Institute for Advanced Studies. Co-editor of various journals including *SPW* and the book series *Historical Materialism*. Main research interests: political economics, Marxism, anti-capitalism.

Dr. Rainer Land: born in 1952, philosopher and economist, works at the Thunen Institut für Regionalentwicklung e. V., co-founder of the East German Studies Network, and a member of the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung's Green Academy. Main research interests: social economics, evolution theory, ecological modernization, transformation research.

Prof. Dr. Birgit Mahnkopf: born in 1950, professor of European social policy at the University of Economics and Law in Berlin; member of Attac's academic advisory board, and the Labor Research and Advisory Center in Vienna, and Grüne Bildungswerkstatt, Austria. Main research interests: social-eco-

logical transformation, globalization, European integration, the informal economy, industrial relations.

Dr. Ingo Matuschek: born in 1961, sociologist. Main research interests: flexibility and the subjectification of work, qualitative methods, political action in everyday environments.

Prof. Dr. Margit Mayer: born in 1949, from 1990 to 2014 professor of political science at the department for politics and social science and the John F. Kennedy Institute of the Free University of Berlin. Since 2014, associate professor at the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the TU Berlin, member of the Institute for Social Movement Studies (ipb). Main research interests: American and comparative politics, urban policies, social movements.

Prof. Dr. Birgit Sauer: born in 1957, professor of political science at the University of Vienna. Main research interests: theories of the state and democracy, governance and gender, comparative gender policy research, multiculturalism, as well as politics and emotions.

Dr. Thomas Seibert: vice-chair of the academic advisory board, born in 1957, philosopher and ethnologist, works at Medico International, activist member of Interventionistische Linke (IL), board member of the Institut Solidarische Moderne. Main research interests: political philosophy (Marxism, existentialism, deconstruction).

Dr. Michael Thomas: born in 1951, director of the Brandenburg and Berlin Institute of Social Studies (BISS), member of the Alexander von Humboldt foundation, and Leibniz-Sozi- etät, member of the fact-finding commission "Zukunft der ländlichen Regionen" (Future of Rural Regions) in Brandenburg state's parliament. Main research interests: regional research and development projects, transformation research.

Dr. Axel Troost: born in 1954, economist and politician, honorary president of the Working Group Alternative Economic Policy (Memorandum Group) and board member of the Institut Solidarische Moderne, deputy chairman of the DIE LINKE Party, member of the German parliament, DIE LINKE faction's parliamentary spokesperson for finance, and member of the finance committee in the Bundestag.

Prof. Dr. Susanne Völker: born in 1964, professor at the University of Cologne of methods in education research and social research methods with a particular focus on a gender perspective. Main research interests: qualitative social research methods and methodologies, processes of social transformation and social inequalities, transformation of (waged) work and gender arrangements.

A BROAD RANGE OF SUBJECTS

ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG DISCUSSION GROUPS

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung currently has 21 discussion groups. Most of these groups developed out of voluntary structures, but since 2007 have subsequently established themselves as permanent communication forums. Experts and other interested people use these forums as exchange platforms on questions of historical and current relevance. Recently, many of these groups have aimed to overcome a certain Berlin-centeredness. For example, in April, the "Right-wing Extremism" discussion group organized a meeting on the Pegida movement at the Peter-Weiss-Haus in Rostock. This was followed by a discussion in November in Potsdam on the change of focus, strategy, and behavior of neo-Nazis. A meeting by the "Metropolitan Politics" group in June in Halle focused on housing, refugees, and accommodation. In June, the "European Politics" discussion group, in cooperation with the Europe political spokespersons of the DIE LINKE Party factions in the German and German state parliaments, analyzed the situation in Greece and the options for a left-wing government. During a meeting in September, the same group discussed the increasing number of refugees now coming across the Balkans.

"Cultural Salon," a new series of events by the "Culture" discussion group, takes a very different approach. The first event on September 21 in the Salon of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, which received a lot of public recognition, dealt with a dancers' strike at Friedrichstadtpalast and the Berlin Opera Foundation. There were also new developments. The "The Left and Religion" discussion group formed on December 7, and aims to promote tolerance between different religions. Clearly, the discussion groups deal with a broad range of questions. Their semi-public character provides a protected space for the exchange of positions and perspectives. At the intersection of remunerated and volunteer work, the discussion groups help to sharpen the thematic profile of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

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Last updated: January 2016

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MIGRATION

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From 1 March 2016: Massimo Perinelli (perinelli@rosalux.de)

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

Friedrich Burschel (burschel@rosalux.de)

METROPOLITAN POLITICS

Katharina Weise (weise@rosalux.de)

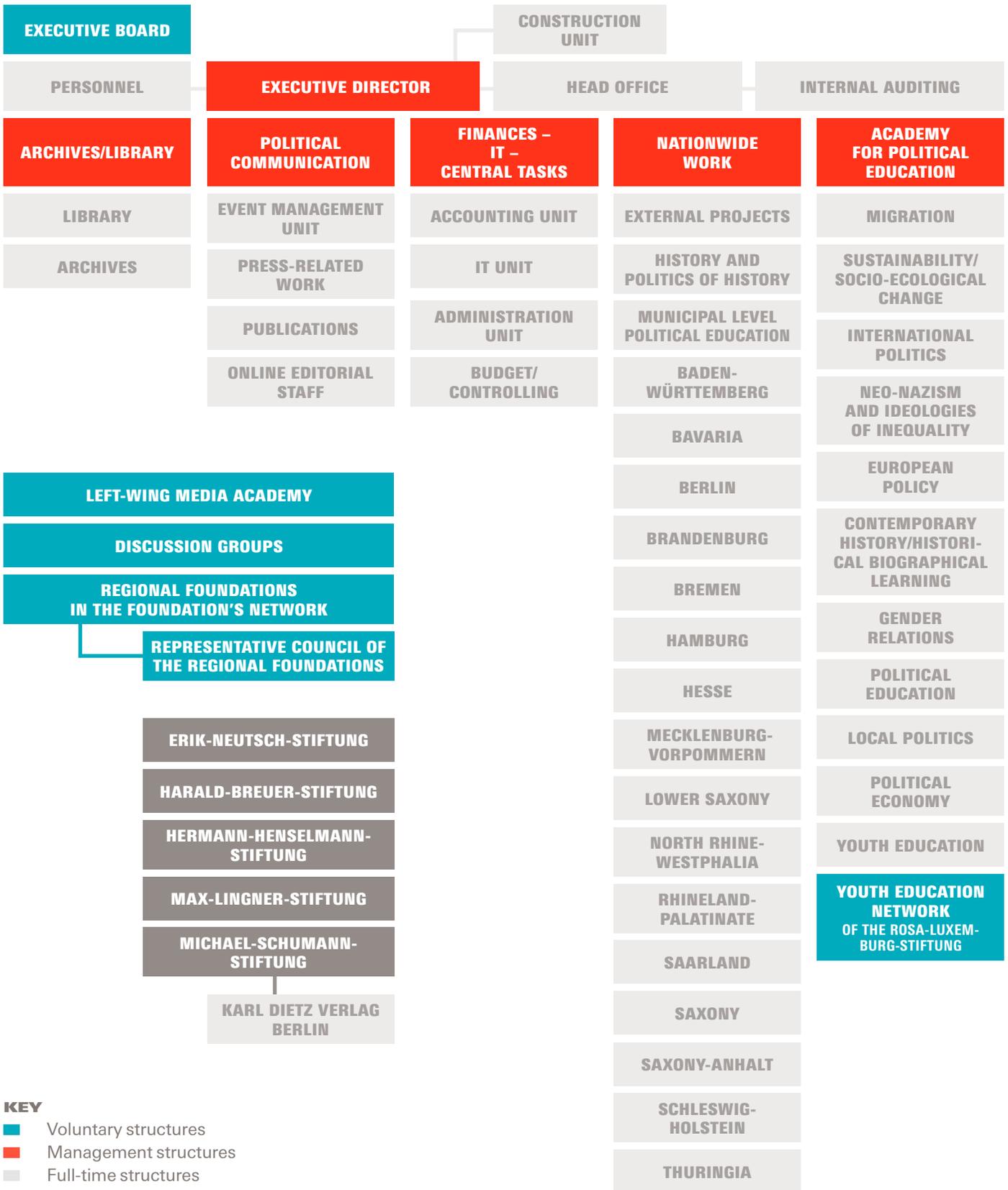
LEFT-WING INTER-PHILOSOPHICAL DIALOG

Jürgen Klute, Cornelia Hildebrandt (hildebrandt@rosalux.de)

ECONOMIC POLICY (ON HOLD)

N.N.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



KEY

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

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

FOCUS POINT ROSA LUXEMBURG

DATA PROTECTION OFFICER

WORKS COUNCIL
OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

**INSTITUTE
FOR CRITICAL
SOCIAL ANALYSIS**

**SCHOLARSHIP
DEPARTMENT**

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

PARTIES AND SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS

SUPPORT PROGRAM

HEAD OFFICE

*LUXEMBOURG
JOURNAL*
EDITED BY THE
RLS EXECUTIVE BOARD

ALUMNI WORK

DEPARTMENTS

INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

DEMOCRACY
AND STATE

**ACADEMIC TUTORS
OF THE ROSA-LUXEM-
BURG-STIFTUNG**

DEPARTMENT FOR GLOBAL TASKS
AND SPECIAL FUNDS

ROSA LUXEMBURG/
ACADEMIC COOPERATION

THEORY AND HISTORY OF
SOCIALIST
TRANSFORMATION

**FELLOWS' WORKING
GROUPS**

DEPARTMENT AFRICA

SOUTHERN AFRICA
JOHANNESBURG

PEACE AND
SECURITY POLICY

AK AFRICA

WEST AFRICA DAKAR

EAST AFRICA DAR ES SALAAM

SOLIDARITY-BASED
ECONOMY

NORTH AFRICA TUNIS

ISRAEL TEL AVIV

THE PUBLIC/
ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL
STRUCTURE

DEPARTMENT FOR ASIA
AND THE MIDDLE EAST

PALESTINE
RAMALLAH

FEMINIST ANALYSIS
OF SOCIETY AND
CAPITALISM

AK ASIA

EAST ASIA BEIJING

POLITICAL ECONOMY
OF GLOBALIZATION

AK TURKEY

SOUTH ASIA NEW DELHI

SOUTHEAST ASIA HANOI

TRADE UNIONS/
LABOR/PRODUCTION

DEPARTMENT AMERICA

UN/NORTH AMERICA NEW YORK

SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL
TRANSFORMATION

AK LATIN AMERICA

ANDEAN REGION QUITO

RESEARCH
INTO PRECARIETY

SOUTH AMERICA SÃO PAULO

CULTURAL FORUM
OF THE ROSA-LUXEM-
BURG-STIFTUNG

DEPARTMENT EUROPE

EUROPEAN UNION BRUSSELS

**AK EASTERN, CENTRAL AND
SOUTHEAST EUROPE**

EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPE
WARSAW

RUSSIA/CENTRAL ASIA/CAUCASUS
MOSCOW

SOUTH EAST EUROPE BELGRADE

THE FOUNDATION'S BUDGET

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a political foundation affiliated with the DIE LINKE Party. Like the other party-affiliated foundations, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung receives most of its financing from the federal budget. This includes funding from the Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), the Federal Foreign Office (AA), and the Bundestag administration. Only foundations that represent a significant and sustained intellectual and political current in society are entitled to receive funding. The Bundestag decides on the concrete criteria.

Evidence of the endurance of an important political current is provided in practice by a political party's repeated entry into the Bundestag, whereby the party must enter parliament at least once with enough votes to establish a parliamentary group. The amount of funding a foundation then receives is dependent on the election results from the last four federal elections of the party to which the foundation is affiliated.

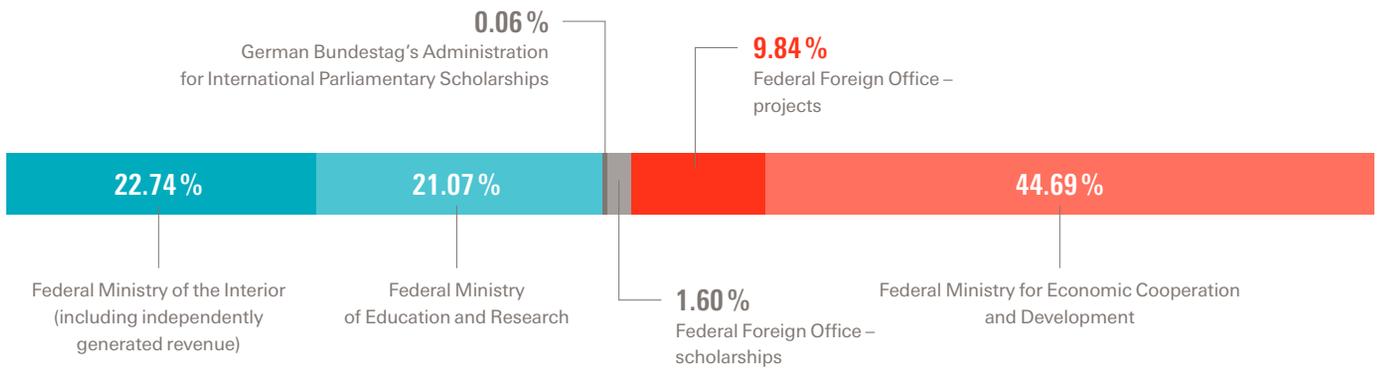
Following the successful re-entry of DIE LINKE into the Bundestag in 2005, when the party received enough votes to form a parliamentary group, as well as the increased number of votes that the party gained in the national elections in 2009, the annual grants provided by the federal ministries have been adjusted accordingly. The ultimate goal was parity with the foundations affiliated with other political parties; this finally occurred in 2011.

Compared with 2010, grants increased from € 30.6 million to € 53.2 million in 2015. In a 1998 joint statement, the party-affiliated foundations committed themselves to publishing details of their revenues and expenditures in the name of openness and transparency, and this has been done ever since. By publishing details of the Foundation's accounts, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also fulfills the obligations to which it committed itself as part of this agreement.

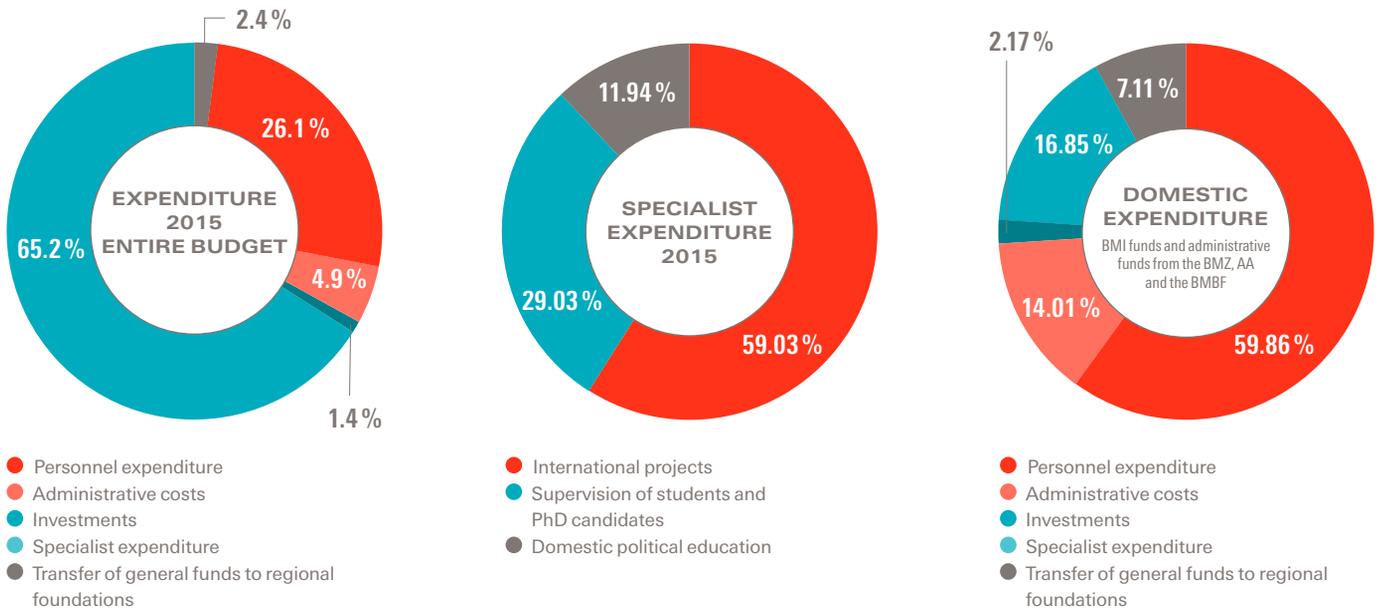
The Foundation's largest grants come from the BMI (so-called general funds), the BMZ, the BMBF, and the AA. These general funds constitute the backbone of the Foundation's political education budget in Germany and fund the Foundation's offices. The funds are used to organize seminars, conferences, and colloquiums, provide teaching and learning resources, and award research grants to projects with socio-political objectives, especially in the field of educational research.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also uses funds from the BMZ and the AA to maintain its international network. This includes funding the Foundation's overseas offices, projects with partner organizations, and events held abroad. The grants from the BMBF are used to award scholarships to highly gifted undergraduates and doctoral students. In addition to these federal funds, party-affiliated foundations can also be funded from regional budgets. These funds are used by the ten re-

REVENUES 2015



EXPENDITURE 2015



gional associations that constitute the Foundation's network at the regional level.

The Foundation is required to fulfill its statutory responsibilities without resorting to using organizational resources or personnel from the party with which it is affiliated, and it is prohibited from providing its party with funds or money-equivalent services. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung receives the annual grants set out in its grant notification, which are accompanied by supplementary provisions ensuring that funding is properly monitored and used for its stated purposes. As a po-

litical foundation, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to ensure that its annual accounts are independently audited. For the 2014 fiscal year, the auditor confirmed that the general funds provided by the Federal Ministry of the Interior and administrative grants provided by other ministries were used sparingly and in accordance with the legal guidelines, and that all other requirements were met. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung uses a monitoring procedure that is suitably equipped and staffed to ensure that the Foundation correctly adheres to the relevant funding guidelines.

PROFIT AND LOSS STATEMENT AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2014

Assets	December 31, 2014 in EUR	December 31, 2013 in EUR
A Fixed assets		
I Intangible assets		
Trademark rights	5,000.00	5,000.00
Computer software	38,811.11	47,795.83
II Property		
Furniture and fixtures	629,184.77	763,725.56
Payments for RLS building project	4,080,452.48	31,337.87
III Financial assets	25,000.00	
Total assets	4,778,448.36	847,859.26
B Accounts receivable and other fixed assets		
I Further receivables	3,181,713.00	367,185.00
II Receivables from grants	0.00	0.00
III Other assets	183,123.68	135,291.09
Total liabilities	3,364,836.68	502,476.09
C Liquid assets		
Total liquid assets	2,236,376.13	2,311,068.33
D Accrued income	42,722.78	1,103.72
Total	10,422,383.95	3,662,507.40

Liabilities	December 31, 2014 in EUR	December 31, 2013 in EUR
A Net assets		
I Previous year	311,756.71	684,341.65
II Surplus/deficit	-26,431.22	801,656.42
III Reserve	15,819.71	60,819.71
IV Reserve	45,000.00	
Total net assets	346,145.20	1,546,817.78
B Advances and contributions from donations	4,778,448.36	847,859.26
C Accrued liabilities		
Other accruals	349,626.82	306,386.30
D Liabilities		
I Accounts payable to credit institutions	5,153.72	640,045.54
II Accounts payable	554,620.73	39,626.07
III Other liabilities	24,387.97	0.00
Total liabilities	584,162.42	679,671.61
E Deferred income	4,364,001.15	281,772.45
Total	10,422,383.95	3,662,507.40

INCOME STATEMENT AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2014

		2014 in EUR	2013 in EUR
I	Income	52,196,979.19	46,565,609.91
1	Federal grants	52,032,269.98	46,449,010.26
2	Donations	8,892.63	6,962.04
3	Membership fees	15,090.00	15,145.72
4	Other revenue	140,726.58	94,491.89
II	Expenditure	-45,763,953.49	-42,039,250.17
1	Expenditure for activities according to the statutes	-33,418,783.44	-31,939,328.44
	Conferences and seminars	-809,325.73	-840,654.62
	Publications	-493,997.29	-571,027.87
	Research projects	-316,521.47	-240,605.36
	Transfer of general funds	-1,064,554.60	-916,611.29
	Support of students and postgraduates	-10,285,853.76	-9,236,914.86
	International cooperation	-19,963,530.47	-19,625,770.21
	Other expenses	-485,000.12	-507,744.23
2	Staff costs	-12,401,135.85	-11,445,510.00
	Wages and salaries	-10,342,946.98	-9,430,192.34
	Social security contributions	-2,058,188.87	-2,015,317.66
3	Administrative costs	-2,161,579.37	-2,085,515.92
	Operating expenses	-347,512.78	-322,477.67
	Other administrative costs	-1,814,066.59	-1,763,038.25
4	Investments	-4,241,911.75	-293,599.13
III	Annual surplus/deficit	-26,431.22	801,656.42

REVENUE IN 2015 (PROVISIONAL)

I	Income in EUR	53,291,909.63
1	Contributions	53,175,717.64
	Federal Ministry of the Interior (incl. independently generated revenues)	12,090,088.36
	Federal Ministry of Education and Research	11,206,522.27
	German Bundestag administration for international parliamentary internships	30,114.51
	Foreign Office scholarships	848,363.00
	Foreign Office projects	5,235,000.00
	Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	23,765,629.50
2	Donations	9,241.00
3	Membership fees	14,897.50
4	Other revenue	98,557.20
5	Reductions	-6,503.71

EXPENDITURE IN 2015 (PROVISIONAL)

II	Expenditure in EUR	-53,474,886.58
1	Staff costs	-13,971,448.13
	Of which for staff expenditure in Germany	-10,799,758.25
a)	Wages and salaries	-11,530,664.64
b)	Social security contributions and other	-2,440,783.49
2	Administrative costs	-2,622,551.97
2.1	Operating expenses, devices, equipment and furniture, consumables	-491,702.15
	Network, software, and system support	-259,011.13
	Agency fees	-46,410.00
	Maintenance fees and repairs	-28,717.87
	Office and consumable supplies	-39,278.68
	Rented equipment	-63,716.70
	Tools and small appliances	-49,409.88
	Books /teaching materials	-5,157.89
2.2	Management and maintenance of properties and construction works	0.00
2.3	Other administrative costs	-2,130,849.82
	Rent and costs for premises	-850,168.95
	Cleaning	-21,054.14
	Maintenance of operational rooms	-23,750.94
	Insurance	-3,695.72
	Contributions and other duties	-40,692.52
	Work conducted by third party contractors in administration	-470,711.31
	Repair work and maintenance of technical installations	0.00
	Advertising/announcements	-49,114.08
	Representation costs	-25,008.97
	Entertainment costs	-1,131.40
	Travel expenses	-192,751.06
	Third party vehicles	-2,291.99
	Courier service	-2,854.74
	Training costs	-69,772.34
	Postage/telephone/internet costs	-137,432.80
	Journals/books/media	-42,506.47
	Legal consultancy/auditing/accounting	-51,408.10
	Incidental costs of monetary transactions	-13,723.96
	Other taxes	0.00
	Other expenses	-132,780.33
3	Allocation to the special item from contributions for fixed assets	-752,705.59
4	Specialist expenses	-34,861,132.39
	Conferences and seminars	-1,447,905.52
	Publications	-565,436.93
	Research contracts	-427,600.83
	Other specialist expenses	-347,123.17

International projects	-21,325,727.43
Support of students and postgraduates	-10,487,065.35
Of which for students in Germany	-9,716,743.51
Of which for students in other countries	-742,607.63
Of which for international parliamentary internships	-27,714.21
Intellectual support of scholarship recipients	-260,273.16
5 Transfer of global funds	-1,267,048.50

NOTE:

In 2015, the following associations and foundations were provided with general funds for political and democratic education:

■ 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 e. V. – Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saarland ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt – Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein: werkstatt utopie & gedächtnis e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e. V. ■ Max-Lingner-Stiftung ■ Michael-Schumann-Stiftung

OVERVIEW OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE EXPECTED IN THE 2016 BUDGET**Revenue in EUR***

Grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	11,260,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (expected)	11,500,000.00
Grants from the administration of the German Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	21,650.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	27,128,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for projects	5,431,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for scholarships	800,000.00

Expenditure in EUR (extract)

Staff costs	-14,800,000.00
Administrative costs	-2,730,000.00
Of which for investments	-400,000.00
Specialist expenses (not including permanent employees)	-39,000,000.00
Of which for the education program	-4,400,000.00
Of which for scholarships	-9,600,000.00
Of which for projects associated with international cooperation	-25,000,000.00

* not including independently generated revenues

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All data and figures are current as of January 2016 unless otherwise stated.

“Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth - the soil and the laborer.”

KARL MARX