

ANNUAL REPORT 2016
OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

We too need to admit that we were wrong with some of our predictions for 2016. We did not expect Donald Trump to be elected president of the United States, although we certainly understood the dangers posed by his authoritarian populist manifesto. We also stressed the considerable weaknesses of Hillary Clinton's candidacy. Our ability to do so was largely due to the expertise provided by our New York office. Although social analysis and civic education—both of which are stated in the long form of our foundation's name—can certainly fail, they have become more important than ever: How else can we provide promising solutions to social problems? As Karl Marx argued, it is not enough to interpret the world; the point is to change it. Be this as it may, during diffuse times of upheaval (such as the current period) attempts to analyze or classify the existing formation constitute far more than "art for art's sake." Indeed, analysis is essential if we are to grasp the true dimension of the upheavals and crises that we currently face. If we do not attempt to understand what is happening in today's society, it becomes just as challenging to develop serious, democratically led debates about the causes of crises, together with societal and global solutions, as it is to come up with adequate left-wing responses to nationalism, authoritarianism, and racism. Consequently, although social analysis and civic education alone cannot solve social problems, they can support attempts to do so, at least as long as they are not misjudged as quick fixes. Social analysis and civic education, therefore, can adopt classic roles such as providing critique, developing analyses, and distributing information that can be reexamined and encourage debate. However, while doing so, it must remain clearly delineated from closed and ultimately authoritarian worldviews such as those linked to terms like the "lying press" and "fake news." The way in which we assess the political direction embodied by Donald Trump, therefore, is certainly relevant: are we dealing with an authoritarian variant of neoliberalism or perhaps an authoritarian form of right-wing Keynesianism? Perhaps Trump is merely representative of the current strain of right-wing populism, a term used to describe many of the political phenomena that have taken place in recent years? Questions such as these need to be asked during analyses and civic education, because the threatening and, at times, chaotic developments that are occurring in the world often provoke other responses ranging from undifferentiated generalizations to helpless ambiguity.

In addition to Donald Trump's election victory, many countries have been shaped by other authoritarian populist trends over the last two years. This is the case with Britain, and the 2016 referendum on EU membership. The blow that Theresa May's Conservative Party experienced at the general election that followed one year later did not fundamentally undermine Brexit; this, of course, would not have been democratically



Dagmar Enkelmann and Florian Weis

justifiable, and would have only intensified the diffuse rage currently being directed at "the establishment." Nevertheless, we are seeing signs that it has been possible to put a stop to the rise of antidemocratic forces—at least for now—in France, the Netherlands, and most recently in Britain, where support for the right-wing UKIP party has collapsed. We certainly welcomed the news that neither Norbert Hofer (Austria) nor Marine Le Pen (France) was able to win their country's respective presidential election, and that Geert Wilder's one-man party failed to become the strongest force in the Netherlands. Be this as it may, these events do not signal an end to the risk posed by right-wing populist and authoritarian nationalist parties, nor have they washed away the fertile soil on which these parties nurture their support. Rather, the relief expressed among sections of the media and political class over the electoral results in Austria, the Netherlands, Germany, and France demonstrates just how appallingly accustomed we have become to the success of an—albeit heterogeneous—anti-democratic Right in Europe. It is also important to remember that Mark Rutte's (the Netherlands) and Emmanuel Macron's (France) approaches to social justice promise very little, as neither treats this concept as essential to maintaining or establishing a stable liberal democracy.

The list of threatening developments does not end there. The Foundation is also troubled by the situation in Brazil, where a democratically elected left-wing president was forced out of office as part of a cold putsch, and the country is now sliding ever deeper into social, economic, and democratic crisis. The authoritarian developments in Turkey under President Erdoğan, the endless bloody war in Syria, and the terrorist violence suffered by the people of France, Belgium, Britain, Turkey, Iraq, and many other countries are extremely worrying. However, there have also been a number of encouraging developments, including the partly successful campaigns of Bernie Sanders in the US, and of the British Labour Party under Jeremy Corbyn. Unidos Podemos in Spain, and Jean-Luc Mélenchon's candidature for the French presidency are two further examples. These campaigns connect notable organiza-

tions and traditional political practices with new actors and organizational forms. The strong expressions of solidarity, such as with refugees in Germany and in other European countries, are also reassuring, as is the support offered to people facing repression in Turkey or as shown by the Women's March in the United States. We believe that the Foundation must promote and provide these movements with support and do so without attempting to claim their successes as our own.

The Foundation also has a further crucial role to play in contributing to the development of new forms of connecting concepts and political praxis. "New class politics" and "new (or connective) feminism" are terms that are currently being discussed within this context. They describe attempts to revitalize a traditional starting point within socialist politics—namely, the view that all forms of oppression and exclusion need to be overcome, whether they are based on economic or social inequalities and exploitation, racism or other forms of discrimination. In order to do so, however, we need to stop covering up contradictions: people can be favored in some areas of life while being seriously disadvantaged in others. We also need to avoid criticizing too strongly people's right to self-assertion, independence, self-organization, and representation. Instead, we should be focusing on democratic socialist policies that can strengthen the connecting aims and forms of feminist, anti-racist, migrant-based, and socioeconomic "class politics" in opposition to the particularities of identitarianism. This approach also includes treating people—who feel abandoned by the economic-liberal elite of globalization and a culturally alien urban Left—with respect and giving them a voice. In order to do so, we will have to tap into the lively debates driven forward by Owen Jones, Didier Eribon, Oliver Nachtwey, Laurie Penny, and others.

Globalized—increasing illiberal—capitalism is wedged within a deep crisis and is endangering the foundations of democracy and peaceful international development. Although the Foundation always aims to defend democratic institutions, we believe that there is still a need for a wider national, European, and above all internationalist perspective on social justice, as well as wide-ranging equality. Next year will mark the 200th anniversary of Karl Marx's birth and this will certainly provide a substantial backdrop against which these issues can be broached—not just as part of our work. The same can be said of the anniversary of the revolutionary events that occurred in Germany between 1917 and 1919. Moreover, 2019 will mark 100 years since the murder of Rosa Luxemburg—our Foundation's namesake. The events marking this anniversary will also have an impact on our work, and not just in this context (nor exclusively as part of analyses of historical epochs), but as a motivation for a Democratic Socialist perspective that can overcome the current form of capitalism.


DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN
Chair of the Executive Board


DR. FLORIAN WEIS
Executive Director

FOCUS: THE LEFT AND CLASS

NEW CLASS POLITICS

Although the issue of class never really went away, in the case of Marxism, it remained confined to the shadows for a long time; perhaps it was occasionally mentioned in the feuilletons, but for decades it hardly played a role in left-wing politics. There are a number of reasons why class is now back on the agenda, and 2016 provides a rather chilling example: the global rise of right-wing populist parties and movements, which also seem to be the only groups raising the issue of class. Although parties such as Alternative for Germany (AfD) and Front National, as well as movements such as Pegida, receive most of their support from the center ground or the lower middle class, they address issues that are relevant to (male) workers and the unemployed. Didier Eribon, the French sociologist, argues that working class people vote for the Right “as a silent act [of] defense” in order to gain at least partial representation in political discourse—albeit in the form of “negative [...] self-affirmation.” In his autobiographical experiment, *Return to Reims*, which became a political bestseller in Germany in 2016, Eribon argues that the working class feels betrayed by Social Democracy and disappointed by the ineffectiveness of the Communist Party. He continues by searching for an explanation as to why the working class is turning to a powerful right-wing narrative, a narrative that claims to defend hard-working people and the nation against “Islam,” “migrants,” globalization, the LGBT community, and the “moralizing 1968 generation” who they assume are in power. Eribon’s Luxemburg Lecture attracted more than 700 people with a further 500 following via live stream. In addition, numerous authors also discussed his book in a special feature published on *LuXemburg online*.

Class also played a role in Britain’s decision to leave the EU: in an article for *LuXemburg*, the British journalist Owen Jones refers to Brexit as a “revolt of the working class,” though not “the kind of revolt against the political establishment that many of us would have wished for.” The majority of the votes that Donald Trump received in the United States presidential election did not come from the working class; however, it was the swing to Trump in individual states among relevant sections of white, male working-class voters that secured his victory. In an article published in *LuXemburg*, Arlie Russell Hochschild, a feminist sociologist, tried to gain an insight into the attitudes and motives of Trump supporters living in the Mississippi Delta.

In view of the growing levels of right-wing populism, Jan Korte, a member of the Foundation’s Executive Board, produced a strategy paper entitled *Neue Aufbruch* (New departure) that calls for more class-based analyses and the practical

application of their results. This paper was complimented by a Luxemburg Lecture entitled “Understanding Class” held by Erik Olin Wright, a sociologist from Wisconsin, who attempted to answer the question of how class-based analyses can account for the current situation.

CONTINUALLY UNLEASHING INSECURITY—THE FACES OF THE NEW CLASS SOCIETY

The German government’s most recent *Report on Poverty and Wealth* provided the figures to demonstrate what had already been clear for many years: neoliberal austerity, the economization of almost all areas of life, and the privatization of large parts of social infrastructure and essential public services aggravate existing inequalities. Poverty is increasing, social divisions are solidifying, and security is being replaced by a generalized culture of social insecurity and fear; even the supposedly stable middle class is currently struggling to maintain its status. Oliver Nachtwey, an economist and sociologist, describes this situation using the metaphor of a downwards-travelling escalator: people are trying to prevent themselves from moving down, which means that they have to keep on running; but it takes an enormous amount of effort to travel upwards, and it is almost impossible to arrive at the top.

In the past, it was the Left Party that was the voice of protest for the precariat. However, this class fraction is extremely difficult to grasp because nobody wants to belong to it. Since 2007, the Foundation and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s Institute for Critical Social Analysis have been exploring these differentiated worlds; the problems of precarization and the continual unleashing of insecurity in living and working conditions are no longer simply issues for a small number of people. In Germany, they affect illegalized migrant women working as cleaners, security personnel, cashiers, as well as well-trained East German agency workers in the Ruhr, (pseudo-)self-employed truckers, the computer-based proletariat in call centers, freelance journalists, and independent artists alike. These people are all subject to what Pierre Bourdieu termed “flexploitation.” The problem here is not only their insecure forms of employment, but the fact that they also face precarious living conditions, dismantled social services, and a lack of recognition and security that prevents them from planning for the future.

Miriam Pieschke translated research results related to this issue into educational material published by the Foundation as *Jenseits der Prekarität* (Beyond Precarity). This work was also taken up as part of a seminar that accompanied the Left Party’s campaign “Das muss drin sein” (Where we draw the line), and educational events were also organized together with the DGB’s youth group and the regional foundations.

Which issues separate the groups that belong to the precariat, and what unites them? These are complicated questions that the Left in Germany is only gradually beginning to tackle.



A sign of how working conditions are changing: a person delivering food for Foodora in Berlin.

Large parts of the Left long ago distanced themselves from the concerns of the majority (who are stuck in wage dependency), and retreated to academic niches. Moreover, many of the struggles of (particularly) migrant and (queer) feminist movements have been integrated into neoliberal projects; this has further increased the distance between the Left and people who have very little to gain from pluralized ways of life, particularly under intensified levels of competition. However, “class” is not the only issue that is rarely used to direct left-wing strategy; the same can be said of the reality that people face within classes themselves.

BUT WHO BELONGS TO THIS CLASS?

Are we speaking about coal miners in the Lausitz region of Germany; industrial workers threatened by digitalization or postal workers at the end of a system of computerized logistics? What about nurses in modern hospital conglomerates? Michael Vester and Sonja Weber-Menges presented a study undertaken on behalf of the Foundation about the changing structure of labor and the associated rise and fall of particular professions. Their conclusion? Class is in a permanent state of flux.

When class is mentioned in the context of Brexit, Trump, Le Pen, and the AfD, people in Europe tend to imagine the “white

working-class man” that was typical of old European industrial regions. This class fraction also has legitimate interests. Nevertheless, today the class that we are referring to is far more diverse; if we are honest, it always was. But it has now become more visibly feminine and migrant-based, and it incorporates different sexual identities, lifestyles, and orientations. For instance, as the majority of migrants in Germany also form part of the working class, the issue of class also needs to be posed from the perspective of migration. Germany has long been a society based on immigration, as Massimo Perinelli and Stefanie Kron from the Foundation’s Academy for Political Education regularly stress in their publications. Therefore, we need to change our perspective: on the one hand, our understanding of class needs to properly reflect today’s society and account for this diversity; however, we also need to avoid class reductionism as issues such as racism, gender relations, social issues, ecology, and peace are inseparably interwoven. Ultimately, there are good reasons why Marx called for the “overthrow [of] all conditions in which man is an abject, enslaved, abandoned and contemptible being.” Consequently, when we speak of the importance of returning to the issue of class, we are speaking about an approach that still needs to be developed and for which no blueprint exists. As Lia Becker argued at the “Europe what’s next?” fall academy, which was jointly organized by the Foundation, we need to establish a new form of class politics that accounts for the intersectionality and the interwovenness of the relations of oppression right from the beginning.

There should be no hierarchy of difference. Moreover, different concerns cannot simply be added together—but they can be connected together. A brief introduction to the question of

how the disparate aspects of class could be connected was jointly published by *LuXemburg* and *Jacobin* as part of the brochure entitled *Klasse verbinden* (Connecting Class). Ultimately, however, connections can only be established in areas where the Left is present in people’s everyday lives, and where it empowers people to self-empowerment through its presence in residential areas and in the workplace.

Policies such as these would also enable the Left Party to regain its credibility. This, of course, is sorely in need because it is no longer able to reach large sections of the popular classes. The fact that many people are turning their back on politics, even from left-wing politics, means that a form of class-specific discouragement to political participation exists at the lower end of the social hierarchy. An analysis and a joint event organized by all of the German political foundations focused precisely on the issue of those who do not vote in elections; Horst Kahrs was responsible for the Foundation’s contribution. Although many people may be concerned about declining levels of electoral participation, it is essential to realize that the lack of contact to these people poses an existential threat to the Left.

In order to counter this trend, real connections need to be established with the popular classes, especially in disadvantaged areas. We need to establish solidarity-based structures, increase the support we provide, and develop a stronger social base. As Mario Candeias and Michael Brie pointed out in a paper on left-wing strategy, doing so is essential if the Left is to have any real impact. The Foundation has long provided impetus and sought to strengthen the Left through publications such as this, and we also support initiatives that promote organizing in disadvantaged residential areas such as through

Many people are turning away from politics. This is why we have to approach people, knock on their doors, and get into direct contact with them, such as here in Dresden’s Prohlis neighborhood.



practical seminars on transformative organizing and political theory.

If we are to achieve these goals, we will have to speak to people and knock on their doors, particularly in existing or former left-wing strongholds. Moreover, we need to do so no matter whether we are talking to people who are German by birth, from families with a (recent) history of migration, those with or without the right to vote, or refugees. This requires patience: it means listening, discussing, and inviting people to local meetings focused on everyday problems. This is a new experience for both sides, because it means finally coming into personal contact with each other. Processes such as these are currently supported by the Institute for Critical Social Analysis, which provides the theory behind the door-to-door surveys conducted by the Left Party.

During an initial evaluation of this work, Anne Steckner argued that activists “repeatedly encountered everyday racism and violent language on the doorstep, but very few of the interviewees had a coherent worldview. Rather, the challenge was to speak about common interests, while neither watering down our own positions, nor denying the experiences of the people we were talking to.” Clearly, we need to look closer, take people who are reachable more seriously, and explore our similarities as far as possible without betraying our own positions. “Today’s experience has convinced me that hiding our anti-racist stance in order to talk to people is not only wrong, it is not even necessary. I openly objected to the racist statements I heard, but I was still able to discuss low pensions and the high costs of child care,” maintains Felix Pithan, spokesperson for the Left Party in Bremen.

We do not need to remain on the same terrain as the Right. It makes far more sense to turn “other topics, perspectives and values” into crucial (electoral) issues, as Horst Kahrs argues in an analysis of right-wing developments and class issues. After all, around eight million people are engaged in work with migrants in Germany, and their efforts are often forgotten. Moreover, their interests and silent political commitment to a democratic way of life based on solidarity are far less present in the public debate than right-wing protest.

Whether new connections can be established in this context also depends on the nature of people’s everyday experiences: Are they characterized by practical solidarity or by competition and isolation? Whatever the case, practical examples of solidarity need to be organized, at least if solidarity-based practices are to become more attractive than right-wing projects. Yet this requires space to learn and jointly test approaches. For a long time, the Foundation has supported events that enable experiments with successful forms of solidarity in paid and unpaid work, including during a European-wide meeting, analyses of struggles by the Amazon workforce, the UmCARE strategy conference on care and health together with the Left Party’s parliamentary group in the Bundestag and ver.di, and the large-scale trade union conference “Gemeinsam gewinnen!” (Win together!).



Mine workers in eastern Ukraine. A photo from the exhibition *The Victories of the Vanquished*.

The Right feeds on fear and hatred. We need to oppose their actions with hope and solidarity aimed as much at refugees and minorities as people who have lost their previous class position and the insecure middle. It is essential that people realize that their interests are being taken seriously, but it is just as important that they recognize that empathy is being expressed with their situation. Ultimately, providing recognition of people’s needs establishes a foundation with which to develop connecting practices.

GREAT STRUGGLES—SMALL VICTORIES

THE FOUNDATION’S WORK IN EUROPE IS ALSO FOCUSED ON A RETURN TO THE ISSUE OF CLASS

In an interview on Bosnian television, Emina Busuladžić stressed the need “to continue the struggle.” Busuladžić worked for DITA, a Bosnian company in Tuzla, and was an active union member and president of the strike committee. The company, which produces household cleaning products, was on the verge of bankruptcy after undergoing a dubious process of privatization. The former employees organized themselves and fought to take over the company. Today, DITA is in self-management, production continues, and it supplies one of the largest supermarket chains in the country. For many of the around 70 workers, this is the first small step towards returning to proper working conditions, fair wages, and solidarity.

The Foundation has been supporting the workers’ struggle for the future of their company since 2016. Our partner organi-

zation, Front Slobode, assists with both the company's daily practices and public relations work in Tuzla; the aim is to organize solidarity and to initiate a debate in Bosnia about the situation and the rights of workers during the capitalist transformation process underway in Bosnia. Workers, students, and many other people meet to discuss topics such as the nation, class, and economic democracy at public events organized as part of the Workers' University. In the long term, a Labor Court is planned, based on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which is to document the various violations of workers' social rights that are occurring during the country's transformation.

This will also require patience. Nevertheless, this kind of struggle needs to be fought and supported throughout Europe. This is why the Foundation is also active in countries such as Spain, where we organized seminars in Almeria, Zafarraya, and San Isidro together with the Agricultural and Country Workers' Union (SOC/SAT). These seminars were initially aimed at setting up a coordination team in Andalusia to ensure that people in the region are informed about and can secure their social rights through self-organized structures. The seminars have been very successful. In fact, the workers are now organized and are building stable structures within their local environments.

In Ukraine, we fostered the connection between art and labor in 2016 through two projects devoted to the conditions faced by workers in state-owned mines. Many miners had not been paid for weeks or even months. In order to help them safeguard their rights, practical advice was offered and trade union organizing was stepped up. In addition, voices were needed that informed the public about the wrongs that were taking place. Yevgenia Belorusets provided support in this context through her exhibition *The Victories of the Vanquished*, in which she displayed portraits of the miners. Her work was met with considerable interest in Kiev's National Taras Shevchenko Museum.

Silesian miners are another group of people who are refusing to surrender to their fate: the miners are attempting to promote a socio-ecological energy transition with the help of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. In order to do so, they have, both emotionally and physically, had to leave behind a lot of what defined their lives as miners: full employment underground, a concept of industrial work as characterized by extractivism, as well as specific ideas about gender, and much more.

Our key tasks in Europe involve supporting these forms of transition and, above all, strengthening people's potential for self-organization. Whether they are women, migrants or (other) workers, people are struggling for better living and working conditions, for more gender justice, a more careful approach to the environment, and for a world in which social rights apply to everyone. In short, they are fighting for a world in which, as Marx put it, "the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." Therefore, their struggles can also be viewed as class struggles.



Duisburg Harbor: a European center of logistics.

THE EUROPEAN PORTS – MARKETPLACES OF GLOBALIZATION

The issues of working relations and social conflicts in the European port and shipping sector were at the center of an information and networking trip organized by the Foundation entitled "Auf umgekehrten Güterwegen. Von Berlin bis an die Küste" (Travelling in the opposite direction. From Berlin to the Coast). Between June 22 and 26, the journey took the participants, who were involved in trade unions, art, politics, science, non-governmental organizations, and foundations, from Berlin's Westhafen harbor to Duisburg, the largest inland port in Europe, and then on to Rotterdam, one of the ten biggest seaports in the world. The program included discussions with works councils, trade union activists, and dockworkers as well as debates and guided tours of the harbor.

The visits to the three ports clearly demonstrated just how rapidly the character and conditions of this work are being changed by the "logistification" of port work and the digitalization of logistics. Fully automated container terminals such as the brand-new Maasvlakte II in Rotterdam are good examples: if Rotterdam is the European hub for ore, coal, and oil, Duisburg is Europe's center of logistics. DuisPort is the city's public port company, and one of its most important sources of income is obtained through leasing space to around 300 private logistics companies. The majority of the 36,000 port workers in Duisburg, as well as the approximately 60,000 people employed at Rotterdam in transport, transshipment and transport services, are no more visible than seafarers on merchant ships. Similarly, trade union and worker organization is both difficult and weak in this sector, which means wage dumping and precarious working conditions are rife.

Nevertheless, the International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF), which is affiliated to ver.di, provides a glimmer of hope. The ITF began a campaign as early as 1948 against flags of convenience and social dumping through "flagging out" on the high seas. Its campaign has led to the conclusion of



Around 700 people came to the 3rd Strike Conference in Frankfurt am Main.

12,800 collective agreements for merchant vessels. These agreements guarantee that seafarers receive, among other things, a minimum wage of at least USD 1,600. The union's most important means of exerting pressure is during port handling when it either refuses to handle vessels without a contract or does so very slowly. However, the automation of port work reduces the union's strategic power and solidarity between seafarers and dockworkers. Nonetheless, the ITF's collective agreement is the result of a successful cross-border labor struggle and therefore can be seen as pioneering.

DEVELOPING STRATEGIES TO HELP UNIONS ASSERT THEIR INTERESTS

THE 3RD RENEWAL BY STRIKE CONFERENCE

In 2015, the equivalent of two million strike days occurred in Germany at places such as railway stations, post offices, child day-care centers, the Charité Hospital in Berlin, as well as during the warning strike conducted by the metal and electrical industry. However, this peak in strike statistics should not be taken as demonstrative of a trade union offensive. In each case, the context, trade union strategy and the results were very different, if not ambivalent. This was reason enough to conduct research into 2015 as "the year of the strike" and examine the issue of whether trade unions are currently able to assert their interests. Between September 30 and October 2, 2016, a three-day event took place in Frankfurt am Main entitled "Erneuerung durch Streik III" (Renewal by Strike III). This was the largest trade union conference that has taken place in Germany over the last few years (around 700 participants attended) and it was jointly organized by the Foundation alongside regional trade union organizations belonging to IG Metall, ver.di, the NGG (Food, Beverages and Catering Union) and the GEW (the German Education Union).

In order to develop proposals for trade union praxis, the (mostly young) trade union activists discussed their experiences of

Information about the strike conference is available in German at www.rosalux.de/dokumentation/id/14024

innovative and problem-focused work in trade unions. Important issues included making strikes more participative, increasing opportunities for participation in trade union disputes, developing strategies for the effective use of productive power aimed at enabling unions to assert their interests, and the role of public relations. People involved in strike solidarity alliances also expressed their views at the event.

In addition, the event particularly focused on trade-union organization in the context of precarious forms of employment and the splits that often occur over this issue, as well as the deployment of anti-union strategies by employers. The most prominent political issues at the conference were the questions of how to deal with the AfD and racism in trade unions and the workplace. As part of the opening podium discussion, the chair of the NGG, Michaela Rosenberger, spoke about the union's integration of migrant workers, and everyday struggles against racism. A highlight of the conference was a symbolic action at the final meeting during which banners were displayed decorated with anti-racist slogans that had been made at workshops during the conference and at information stalls.

THE ELECTORAL SUCCESS OF THE AfD IS NOT A CLASS ISSUE

THE FINDINGS OF THE LATEST MIDDLE STUDY

A few weeks after the regional elections held in spring 2016 and the gains made by the AfD, the publication of the latest *Leipzig Middle Study* under the title *Enthemmte Mitte* (The Uninhibited Middle) attracted a great deal of public attention. The Foundation co-financed the study for the first time together with the Otto Brenner Foundation and the Heinrich Böll Foundation. The study's most surprising findings include the following points:

- There has been no significant increase in the spread of xenophobic and right-wing extremist attitudes in Germany over the past few years.
- Individual indicators of right-wing and misanthropic attitudes, however, have become more common. These include Islamophobia, chauvinism, and hostility towards Sinti, Roma, and asylum seekers.
- People are now less cautious about speaking out in favor of and are more willing to accept violence as a means of achieving political goals and even to use violence themselves.

These points help explain the electoral success of the AfD in terms of socio-political polarization: up until 2014, people with right-wing and right-wing extremist attitudes did not usually



The Foundation supported the publication of the Leipzig Middle Study with a social media campaign.

vote for right-wing parties; instead, they supported the CDU and the SPD, and, in part, the Left Party and the Greens. However, in 2016 they began focusing their support on the AfD. The AfD has now become a political magnet for people who reject immigration and refuse to share their life with newcomers, perceive sociocultural diversity as a threat to their own way of life, and view the German government as no longer putting “Germans first.”

Importantly, the survey’s findings confirm that right-wing attitudes and worldviews are not simply linked to a person’s socioeconomic status. It is true that right-wing views are far less likely among university graduates and slightly less likely (36 percent) among people from households with a monthly net income of over EUR 2,500. However, the proportion of AfD supporters from households with an income of between EUR 1,250 and EUR 2,500 is 46 percent— the same percentage as those who support the SPD, the CDU or the Left Party. People from households with low income levels account for just

THE LEIPZIG MIDDLE STUDY—MEDIA COVERAGE

The *Leipzig Middle Study* publishes research into authoritarian and right-wing attitudes in Germany. Its results were presented to the public at the German Federal Press Conference building on June 15, 2016. As in previous years, the report had been expected to receive a great deal of media attention, but the media resonance it gained immediately after publication far exceeded expectations. Extensive reports about the study were published in all of the main forms of media (TV, print and radio), including *Die Tagesschau*, *Spiegel Online*, *Deutschlandfunk*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *die Welt*.

In addition, the Foundation set up its first social media campaign to support the study by publishing graphics containing selected results alongside explanatory notes on Facebook and

18 percent of AfD supporters; the same proportion that votes for the Green Party, and slightly lower than the proportion who support the Left Party (23 percent). Income levels, therefore, provide no reliable evidence of class-based support for the AfD. However, a very different picture occurs when it comes to where people live. The AfD is stronger in rural regions and those characterized by life in small towns than in expanding urban areas. When it comes to Berlin, the party is stronger on the outskirts of the metropolis than in the city’s center. It seems that the AfD resonates with people who view economic, social and cultural change as happening too fast, who are literally being pushed onto the (urban) periphery, and who live in regions that are shrinking in size and have worsening levels of public infrastructure.

There are also clear divisions between certain ideological camps that provide people with a feeling of belonging to a particular social milieu and that bring together various social (class) positions; these include the German workers’ movement, and the Catholic or social-democratic socialist milieu. Since the beginning of the 1990s, a working group at Hanover University associated with Peter von Oertzen and Michael Vester has demonstrated that parts of the upper, middle, and subordinate class are united by a characteristic ideology based on strong levels of support for ethnocentric, social Darwinist, and authoritarian attitudes as part of a political-ideological framework associated with a conservative, paternalistic welfare model, a protectionist social state, and views linked to ideas such as the survival of the fittest.

Clearly, the potential for a right-wing populist party has not arisen over the last few years, nor can support for the Right be tightly linked to specific class positions. Rather, these class positions have (once again) developed a form of political representation that (this time) is embodied by the AfD, a party that draws on the appeal of marginal and violent responses to social change and the problems facing the world.

Twitter. This led the report to gain an enormous reach, particularly compared to the Foundation’s previous campaigns, as some posts on Facebook reached nearly 70,000 users. Moreover, on the day the study was published, the hash tag #mittestudie was one of the most frequently used on Twitter in Germany and it emerged among the top hash tags in the daily ranking. During the campaign’s first two days, the study was spoken about more on Twitter than on Facebook, where it took more time to reach a broader audience. The wide resonance that the study received led to a further welcome result: the study and the materials, which focused on specific aspects of the report, were downloaded much more frequently from the Foundation’s website than has been the case with similar studies in the past.

PROJECT SPONSORSHIP AND PUBLICATIONS LINKED TO THE FOCUS

- The 8th Feminist Academy for Women: “Sozialismus oder Barbarei – Feministisch eingreifen, jetzt und allerorts” (Socialism or Barbarism—Feminist Intervention, Now and Everywhere), October 28–30, 2016, in Bielefeld.
- AG Graswurzel Frankfurt: “Alltag und Widerstand in Zeiten europäischer Austerität” (Everyday Life and Resistance during European Austerity), a series of events, April 18–22, 2016, Rhine-Main.
- Common Future e. V./Thomas Kopp: “Arbeitsgruppe Imperiale Lebensweisen – Ausbeutungsstrukturen im 21. Jahrhundert” (Working Group Imperial Lifestyles—Structures of Exploitation in the 21st Century), training program.
- BAG Precarious Lifestyles e. V.: “Land in Sicht! Alternativen jenseits des Kapitalismus” (Land Ho! Alternatives beyond Capitalism), conference, April 1–3, 2016, in Hannover.
- Ensemble-Netzwerk: “Erste bundesweite Ensemble-Versammlung” (First Nationwide Ensemble Meeting), conference, May 26–29, 2016 in Bonn.
- Erwerbsloseninitiative BASTA!/Robert Maruschke: “A college for the unemployed—BASTA! Time to learn,” January–March 2016 in Berlin.
- Forum Arbeitswelten e. V.: Coordination workshop and first meeting of activists from China and Germany/project stage: “Aufbau von ArbeiterInnensolidarität zwischen China und Deutschland durch Aktionsforschung über Investitionen deutscher Unternehmen in China” (Establishing Solidarity between Workers in China and Germany through Action Research on Investments by German Companies in China), January 2016 in Frankfurt.
- Kampnagel Internationale Kulturfabrik GmbH: “The Struggle of Refugees—How to go on?” Conference, February 26–28, 2016, in Hamburg.
- Netzwerk kritische Migrations- und Grenzregimeforschung (kritnet): “Migration//Criminalization//Resistance,” conference, May 26–29, 2016 in Vienna.
- Netzwerk Mieten & Wohnen: 2nd Conference “Netzwerk Mieten & Wohnen: Wege zum bezahlbaren Wohnen” (Renting and Living Network: Paths to Affordable Housing), September 16–17, 2016, in Berlin.
- Malin Kuht/Jacob Birken: “Liebe und arbeite!” (Love and Work!), mini-conference on (self-)exploitation and collective counter-strategies, October 21, 2016, in Kassel.
- SEELAND Medienkooperative e. V.: collective apartment blocks “Das ist unser Haus” (This is Our house), documentary.
- Verein zur Förderung geschichts- und kulturpolitischer Bildung e. V.: Lectures “Auf dem Weg zur Care-Revolution?” (Is a Care Revolution in Sight?), May 6, 2016, in Leipzig, and “Warum die Gesellschaft Sorgearbeit

abwertet” (Why Society Depreciates the Value of Care Work) as part of the series of events entitled “Yes we care! Zur Kritik der geschlechtlichen Arbeitsteilung” (Criticism of the Gender-based Division of Labor) between June 18 and 19, 2016, in Leipzig.

- Bundeskoordination Internationalismus (BUKO): “Big data. Leben ist kein Algorithmus. Solidarische Perspektiven gegen den technologischen Zugriff” (Life is not an Algorithm. Solidarity-based Approaches to Stop Technological Access), September 30 to October 2, 2016, in Cologne.

PUBLICATIONS

- Michael Brie/Rolf Reißig/Thomas Michael: *Transformation. Suchprozesse in Zeiten des Umbruchs* (Transformation. Processes of Searching in Changing Times), LIT-Verlag.
- Nikolai Huke: *Krisenproteste in Spanien. Zwischen Selbstorganisation und Überfall auf die Institutionen* (Crisis Protests in Spain. From Self-Organization to Attacks against Institutions), Edition Assemblage, Edition Assemblage.
- Ulrich Arno Pappenberger/Christine Bock: *Das Kotti-Prinzip – urbane Komplizenschaften zwischen Raum, Mensch, Zeit, Wissen und Dingen* (The Kotti Principle—Urban Complications between Space, Man, Time, Knowledge and Things).
- Redaktion Labour Net Germany/Mag Wompel: *Zwei Wochen, zwei Länder, zwei Demonstrationen: Bei linken Gewerkschaften in Asien. Ein Reisebericht aus Japan und Südkorea* (Two Weeks, Two Countries, Two demonstrations: Left-wing Trade Unions in Asia. A Travel Report from Japan and South Korea).
- Ulrich Schachtschneider/Frank Adler (eds.): *Postwachstumspolitik. Wege zur wachstumsunabhängigen Gesellschaft* (Post-Growth Politics. Pathways to a Society that is Independent of Growth), Oekom Verlag.

The Foundation supported the 65-minute documentary film *Das ist unser Haus!* about a tenants’ syndicate involved in 124 housing projects in Germany.



THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The lines of political conflict between left and right have been redrawn. The political field has become polarized between increasingly authoritarian governments and radicalizing right-wing movements. In this situation, the “third pole” comprising all those committed to defending and developing a way of life based on the values of democracy and solidarity has become almost invisible. One of the aims of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis (IfG) is therefore to form and strengthen the third pole’s efficacy through politico-strategic interventions. The issues it addresses range from establishing platforms that push for different refugee, urban, and rent policies, to exploring the possibilities of a red-red-green or left-wing government, the praxis of Rebel Cities, and specific organizational work.

The immediate scope of its work is defined by a set of priorities: to analyze authoritarian developments, right-wing populism, and the challenges arising from the influx of immigrants, and to develop counter strategies rooted in the “connecting party” that can move us towards a new class politics in a social and open immigrant society.

It is therefore decisive, especially in Europe, to strengthen the position of the third pole and enable it to confront both authoritarian approaches to crisis management and the radical right. Against this background, the Institute co-organized the third (out of four) of the Foundation’s focuses—its focus on Europe. One of most challenging projects in 2016 was the Foundation’s European strategy conference. It brought together over 100 members of left-wing parties and movements from all over Europe, who, from June 2–5, spent three days behind closed doors discussing and identifying new connecting perspectives. As many as 250 visitors attended each of the three public evening events. A strategy paper on the European question, which was previously drafted at the Foundation, continues to receive widespread attention and inspire discussions elsewhere, for example, at Transform Europe! or DiEM25. The aim is to dissolve dangerous and unproductive contradictions in European policy by building on objective facts, and to break the political deadlock in order to develop connecting strategies for a different Europe. Two newcomers have joined the Institute: Ingar Solty is our new Advisor on Peace, Foreign and Security Policies. He has replaced Erhard Crome, who, having retired, will now be able to spend even more time critically analyzing the sources of unrest and upheaval. Hannah Schurian, our Advisor on Social Infrastructures, will energize the Institute’s efforts to address socio-economic issues. She is responsible for managing the Network Care Revolution and coordinates activities on health and care, retirement, and housing.

FELLOWSHIPS

Beppe Caccia is a seasoned activist associated with the anti-globalization movement, a co-editor of *EuroNomade* and a former deputy mayor of Venice. His research as a fellow is focused on the practice and potentiality of new municipalism, a movement that primarily gained visibility following the election victories it secured in Spain’s Rebel Cities. He has presented initial findings at events and in publications by the Foundation; his full study is due to be published in 2017. Moreover, he is a critical observer of the Italian Left. These insights have also been published by the Foundation.

Elena Chatzimichali is an activist associated with the Solidarity Clinics in Greece. Facing the collapse of Greece’s health care as a consequence of the government’s austerity policies, the Clinics established a system that provides primary medical care and combines it with mutualistic support and political organization. The Solidarity Clinics advised the government on the drafting of its health-care reform. Her study, also due to be published in 2017, reveals where the reform achieved breakthroughs and where it was met with resistance. She, too, discussed her work at a number of events organized by the Foundation.

Christos Giovanopoulos was a co-founder of Solidarity-4-all, a network of solidarity movements in Greece with close ties to Syriza. Following the adoption of the second memorandum, he left the party and then his own organization—without any feelings of hostility. His study is also due to be published in 2017, and will assess the movement’s achievements, possible ways of broadening the conceptual scope of solidarity-based efforts, and building a state-independent social infrastructure.

Dieter Klein, a permanent fellow, this year addressed a question at the heart of transformation research: Is it possible that those sections of the power elite who are ready and willing to adapt could push for an inner transformation that can simultaneously provide alternative forces with enough leverage to overcome the system? His answers were published in 2016 by VSA: Verlag in a book entitled *Gespaltene Machteliten. Verlorene Transformationsfähigkeit oder Renaissance eines New Deal?* (Split Power Elites. Lost Transformation Capability or the Renaissance of a New Deal?).

Tasos Koronakis, former secretary general of Syriza, played a key role in developing the Greek political alliance into an organization that embodied a new type of relationship between party and movement—into a “connecting party.” Its rapid rise was followed by its election victory and tough negotiations with the Troika. He resigned following the adoption of the second memorandum with the European institutions, but did not turn against the party he had helped forge. His study on the achievements and errors of the “Syriza Experience,” which he analyzed during his fellowship, will be published in 2017.



Christos Giovanopoulos conducts research into solidarity structures in Greece.

Beate Littig is a researcher at the Institut für Höhere Studien (Institute for Advanced Studies) in Vienna. As part of her fellowship, she presented and critically discussed her research on updating the concept of “*Lebensführung*” (“conduct of everyday life”) in the context of socio-ecological transformation research. Her study *Lebensführung* revisited was published in January 2017.

As a permanent fellow of the Institute, **Rainer Rilling** is responsible for the conceptualization and organization of the annual conference jointly hosted by Stiftung Gegenstand and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, which this year focused on “Die reaktionäre Rebellion. Die Transformation des Staates durch die radikale Rechte” (The Reactionary Rebellion. The Transformation of the State and the Radical Right). Individually, his published work currently mainly focuses on Donald Trump and the return of authoritarian, right-wing nationalist leaders. His most recent article was published in the journal *LuXemburg*.

Bashkar Sunkara is the founder and editor in chief of *Jacobin*, a US-based left-wing magazine. As part of his fellowship, he explained the magazine’s political orientation, its publishing strategy, as well as its methods, and met up with the editors of *LuXemburg*. Together, they conceptualized and produced a joint issue of both journals exploring the possibilities of “connecting class.”

Fellowships have existed at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis since 2012, and enable political activists to reflect on their practices both at an academic and at a strategic level.

“UNBOXING—ALGORITHMS, DATA AND DEMOCRACY”

A vast number of different fields have come to rely on algorithms: from political opinion, consumer behavior, the granting of credit and predictive policing to life and death questions in the context of digital warfare. Yet these algorithms—and the probabilities they determine—also influence fundamental social decision-making processes. So how does digitalization affect democracy? This question marked the focus of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s international conference that took place on December 3, 2016, in Berlin. “Unboxing,” the term used in the conference title, refers to a category of video posted to YouTube in which individuals are filmed unpacking new products.

With this in mind, the conference aimed at opening the black box of algorithms in order to ask how they and the masses of data they generate can be brought under democratic control. After all, more and more areas of social regulation are being exposed to the computational power of algorithmic decision-making systems. But these increasingly dense and complex technical processes are diminishing society’s sovereignty, which in turn undermines the processes that open up space to negotiate conflicting interests.

Frank Pasquale of the University of Maryland, a leading researcher in the field of algorithmic accountability, joined the event via live stream. He argued that dominant discourse often conceives algorithms and their structuring power as a natural force, for the processing of which no one wants to be held accountable. “The market” is often viewed in a similar way. Subsequently, blaming “the market” or “the algorithms” for the dissemination of fake news in social media or reviews of drivers on Uber often serves as an excuse to justify and essentially cement unfair social conditions.

Focusing on the problems of democracy-based control over algorithms therefore renders visible fundamental deficiencies and general processes of democratic erosion: there is an emptying and an “expertification” of democracy spreading across all levels—a reconstruction aimed at establishing a “market-conforming democracy.” In her talk on “The data politics of the social graph,” Tiziana Terranova from the University of Naples traced how social networks affect fundamental functions of democracy and production in relation to the Commons.

The assumed neutrality of algorithms raises equally challenging issues. Claims are regularly made that they are an especially appropriate means to reach “fair” decisions in conditions otherwise tainted by power. But these decisions, while they may seem apolitical and unbiased because they appear to be based on calculations alone, in fact not only perpetuate, and in some contexts even aggravate, all kinds of existing forms of social division and discrimination, they also create new forms, some of which are already taking shape today.

Felix Stalder of the Zurich University of the Arts raised the question of which algorithms we might actually want. Many



Berlin, 3. 12. 2016
UNBOXING
Algorithmen, Daten
und Demokratie

Veranstaltungsort
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung
Franz-Mehring-Platz 1
10243 Berlin

The conference at the end of 2016 shed light on black box algorithms.

algorithms, he said, were necessary; some, however, were not only poorly crafted, but also problematic in terms of their political implications. He went on to argue that this calls on us to outline new forms of cooperation and collectivity, and reflect on the democratic legitimization of algorithms and their social transparency.

Technology, however, will not solve these issues; rather, they are closely linked to questions of ownership and disposition—and to the question of who has access to society’s resources. In this context, Francesca Bria, Commissioner for Technology and Digital Innovation with the Barcelona City Council, talked about the new municipal government’s plans, and Richard Barbrook from the University of Westminster outlined Jeremy Corbyn’s “Digital Democracy Manifesto.”

For the final panel, Francesca Bria and Richard Barbrook were joined by Guardian columnist Evgeny Morozov to discuss left responses to the smart attacks launched by neoliberalism.



Zones of uncertainty—a “ring of fire” has been laid around the EU: a scene at Misrata during the Libyan Civil War.

48 HOURS OF PEACE

WORKSHOPS ON PEACE, FOREIGN, AND SECURITY POLICIES

The world is coming apart at the seams, with conflicts threatening once again to reshape the global order. Reason enough for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to organize an extensive program of events accompanying the Peace Conference of the Left Party, which took place from March 17–19, 2016. Some 500 participants attended 48 hours of discussions and workshops to establish sound perspectives and flesh out new interpretational approaches.

After all, the situation is dramatic. The European Union is surrounded by a “ring of fire,” by zones of insecurity. Direct (military) interventions to install peace and forge economic, liberal-democratic states have failed—in Somalia and Bosnia as much as in Afghanistan, Libya and Iraq. The market cannot and will not establish order, and occupying the regions in question with ground troops is an option that has disappeared from military-strategic agendas. Still, limited operations and air strikes, especially the use of unmanned and soon autonomous drones, will help external forces to maintain a relative degree of control. They can be seen as instruments in sustaining a kind of “gated capitalism” that guarantees free trade and the continued exploitation of resources—without a need for functioning polities in those zones of insecurity. And should

the worst come to the worst, there are still early, “preventive” measures that can be launched—warranted by the “responsibility to protect.” In a connected world, the information relevant for such campaigns is collected by surveillance technologies that are no longer subject to control. In the age of counterterrorism, they range from surveillance from space to the monitoring of the memories of our personal computers and smartphones. The institutions of collective security are being sidelined, including the UN and the OSCE.

But these new strategies are actually born of necessity after the conflicts in Syria and Iraq triggered the collapse of these states, and made them increasingly difficult to control. But these dissolutions are by no means limited to the zones of insecurity immediately bordering on the centers. The European Union is caught up in a process of gradual disintegration, and is having to face the deepest crisis since its foundation. A series of terms have entered or returned to our vocabulary: Summer of Migration, radicalizing right-wing movements and parties, the reintroduction of border controls, terrorist attacks from Paris to Istanbul and Berlin, state-of-emergency-based politics, and Brexit.

What are we to make of these geopolitical and geo-economic transformations inside and outside the EU? Which conflict zones are becoming increasingly significant? How can the Left respond, especially if we want those responses to be nu-

anced? The conference included presentations of three studies conducted on behalf of the Foundation. Ingar Solty highlighted the geopolitical and geo-economic transformations taking place inside and outside the EU, while Malte Daniljuk sketched the new World Energy Order, and Thomas Mickan spoke on the politics of military empowerment and training. To facilitate these studies, the Foundation had specifically established a new Commission on Peace, Foreign and Security Policies.

Discussions welcomed well-known guests including Katja Kipping (the Left Party), Kate Hudson (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), Volker Lösch (theater director), Jan van Aken (member of the Bundestag, the Left Party), Firoze Manji (editor in chief of Daraja Press, Kenya), Volodomyr Ishenko (Center for Social and Labor Research, Kiev), Werner Ruf (peace researcher, University of Kassel), Anne Alexander (CRASSH Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Cambridge), and a number of peace activists from universities, the movement, and the party. Topics ranged from the European empire in a state of emergency to fracking and free trade, migration and Frontex, the *Schwarzbuch Bundeswehr* (Black Book Bundeswehr), Islamic State, and the fascization of Turkey, to the conflict in Ukraine and a new peace movement as a vehicle for social justice.

The evening's focus shifted to "Art in the State of Emergency," featuring the artist Olga Jitlina (St. Petersburg, Hans and Lea Grundig Award Winner 2015), the film-maker Alejandro Ramirez, and the refugee activists of "Lampedusa in Hamburg," Ali Ahmed Abitalib, Anas Bardan, and Patrick Owusu.

"CONNECTING CLASS"

A JOINT EDITION PRODUCED BY *JACOBIN* AND *LUXEMBURG*

The US-based magazine *Jacobin* discusses Marxist theory as well as left-wing strategies and practices. Founded by Bashkar Sunkara in 2010, the quarterly has a print run of 20,000 copies and has become a leading voice of the American Left. Not only is its design original: *Jacobin's* analytical and political perspectives are both exceptionally undogmatic and radical for a left-wing magazine in the US, and have allowed it to fill an evident gap in the post-Occupy era. The editorial team and its intellectual environment also played an important role in Bernie Sander's presidential campaign.

The magazine organizes and hosts numerous reading groups, most of them based in university cities. They especially focus on the generation whose fundamental discontent with the moribund US political system makes them receptive to critical analyses and strategic debate about possible alternatives. A reading group has recently also been established in Berlin; its meetings take place at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Like *Luxemburg*, *Jacobin* considers itself an "organizing medium" intent on making critical analyses accessible to a broad readership; it also supports a radical change of politics, a shift towards democratic socialism. While ties to the Foundation's New York office were close from the beginning, connections with the headquarters in Berlin were more sporadic at first. Yet common ground—a shared set of values guiding how both sides approached editing or the selection of topics, for example—led us to invite Bashkar Sunkara to join the Institute for Critical Social Analysis in 2015 as a fellow with the aim of producing a joint issue. *Jacobin's* response was positive, and so Sunkara took up his post at the Institute in January 2016.

There were challenges, of course—a bilingual editing process, differing approaches to the issues' design and layout, and occasional strategy-related differences that emerged as work intensified—but nothing that threatened to become insurmountable. The result was published in September 2016: a joint issue entitled *Klasse verbinden* (Connecting Class). Adopting a transnational perspective, it raises questions regarding a new class politics, and the role a "connecting party" might play in its context, while also tracing the opportunities and contradictions of municipalist movements and practices. Looking back, we all agree it was a great experience.

KLASSE VERBINDEN (Connecting Class)

LUXEMBURG 2/2016
144 pages, August 2016, coproduction with the US journal *Jacobin*



Luciana Castellina spoke about the current challenges facing the Left.



The literary historian Wang Hui focused on the issue of China and the boundaries of modernity.

LUXEMBURG LECTURES

The Foundation invites academics from all over the world to give talks as part of the Luxemburg Lectures. The main focus in 2016 was on class, left-wing politics, and the crisis in Europe.

APRIL 4, 2016

Harry Harootunian (historian, US): **MARX NACH MARX ODER DER IMPERATIV DER DEKOLONIALISIERUNG** (Marx after Marx, or the Imperative of Decolonization)
With Michael Brie

MAY 14, 2016

Luciana Castellina (lawyer and journalist, Italy): **DIE SCHNEIDERINNEN EUROPAS. ÜBER DIE KPI UND AKTUELLE HERAUSFORDERUNGEN DER LINKEN** (The Women Producing Clothes for Europe. The CPI and Current Challenges for the Left)

MAY 25, 2016

Paul Mason (journalist, UK): **POSTCAPITALISM**
With Barbara Fried

JUNE 24, 2016

Étienne Balibar (philosopher, France): **EUROPA UND EU: KRISE UND CRASH. NUR EIN ECHTER FÖDERALISMUS KANN EUROPA RETTEN** (Europe and the EU: Crisis and Crash. Only Real Federalism Can Save Europe)
With Frieder Otto Wolf

JULY 2, 2016

Wang Hui (literary scholar, China): **CHINA AND THE LIMITS OF MODERNITY. DAS ENDE DES 20. JAHRHUNDERTS UND NEUE HERAUSFORDERUNGEN** (The End of the 20th Century and New Challenges)
With Michael Brie

OCTOBER 7, 2016

Eduardo Garzon (economist, Spain): **REBELLISCHE STÄDTE. ERFAHRUNGEN AUS MADRID NACH 15 MONATEN REGIERUNG** (Rebellious cities. Experiences from Madrid after 15 Months in Government)
With Mario Candeias

OCTOBER 12, 2016

Erik Olin Wright (sociologist, US): **UNDERSTANDING CLASS**
With Michael Brie

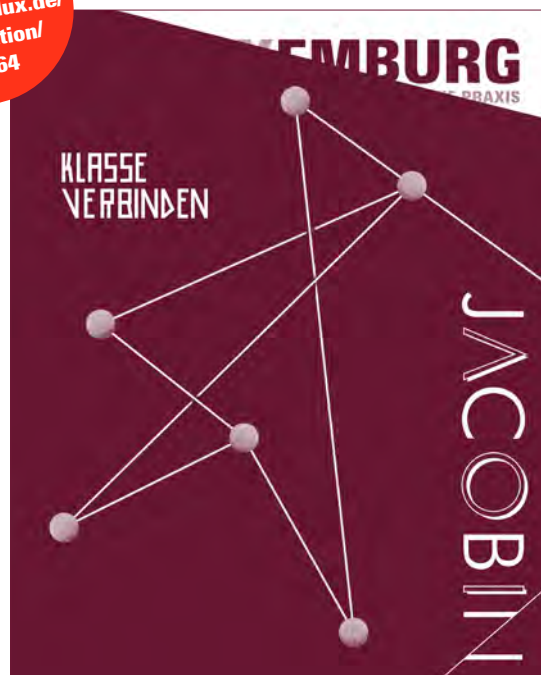
NOVEMBER 30, 2016

Didier Eribon (sociologist, France): **RÜCKKEHR DER RECHTEN. KLASSE, SCHAM UND DIE LINKEN** (The Return of the Right. Class, Shame and the Left)
With Christina Kaindl and Eva Völpel

A Luxemburg Lecture held by the French philosopher Étienne Balibar.



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THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

The Foundation's main task is to provide civic education and it does so via all of its departments, regional offices, and regional foundations. Essentially, the Academy for Political Education is the body mainly responsible for continually developing the Foundation's cross-sectorial understanding of education. A central goal of the Academy's work is ensuring that people are able to develop the necessary capacities to take action during socio-political disputes.

Our work ranges from providing evening events, daily workshops, weekend seminars, and modular training to developing training materials and handouts that are particularly aimed at people who then distribute them more widely. The Academy works in a target group-oriented manner and focuses on the issues and needs arising from daily political praxis. We always hold the participants at our events in high regard, but do not shy away from providing them with critique. We also stress the importance of developing awareness of hierarchical structures, and promoting emancipatory participation. Individuals who are committed to the Left Party or the trade unions are just as much a part of our target group as people who belong to social movements, initiatives, and NGOs. We aim to provide elementary information while identifying and providing access to new approaches to politics and political engagement. Furthermore, we seek to break with the rigid separation of educational content and teaching and use a diverse range of methods to make complex relationships more understandable. We apply this approach by intervening in public debates on civic education through our publications and educational policy events.

In 2016, the main focus of our work was strengthening our political program at the local level, realigning the education we provide to young people, and supporting the continuing education team in establishing new courses in political strategy formation and organization (see the report below on the new educational format "Campus für weltverändernde Praxis" — The Campus for Transformative Praxis). We have also further expanded the education we provide on migration policy.

Interdisciplinary and cross-sectorial cooperation is becoming increasingly important in this context. Essentially, this form of cooperation helps make more visible the barriers that exist between the fields in which the Academy works (political economy, contemporary history, gender relations, neo-Nazism and other ideologies and structures of inequality, migration, international politics and social movements, European politics and socioeconomic transformation). In turn, our educational programs can then be used to develop strategies for political action and to support the processes of social change that are taking place in these fields.

WELCOME2STAY!

ESTABLISHING NATIONWIDE WELCOMING CULTURE NETWORKS IN LEIPZIG

Hundreds of thousands of migrants forced open a corridor across Europe in 2015, temporarily suspending Europe's border regime. And that was not all: with their successful migration, they helped expand our democratic horizon, and reframed the question of social participation — a move that energized broad segments of the German population. Despite considerable racist propaganda, hundreds of thousands of people reacted by helping the newly arrived to get settled in Germany and ultimately to adapt to their new home. Communities organized measures, and along with new neighborhoods there also emerged a new sense of awareness for mechanisms of structural exclusion. Germany's "Willkommenskultur", its welcome culture, encouraged the emergence of solidarity networks throughout the country that form the basis of a post-migrant society. The beginnings of a new social movement seemed to hold out the prospect of a nascent transformation towards radical democracy that in times of increasing precarity and a shift to the Right brought hope to many people. It was this impulse that triggered the idea to organize a huge event bringing together these countless agents and actors. In partnership with the Left Party's parliamentary group in the Bundestag, Attac, the Interventionist Left (IL), the Committee for Basic Rights and Democracy, and the Association of Republican Lawyers (RAV), the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung drafted a concept to give the diffuse and unconnected activists a stage where they could share their stories and experiences of solidarity, assemble, establish their political aims, and be heard. A number of actors were approached and asked if they would be willing to support this initiative to help the vast field of people shaping Germany's welcome culture to share experiences and set up networks.

From June 10–12, 800 people convened at Leipzig's Alte Messe, with time to get to know each other, present their work, discuss, and develop joint perspectives and outlooks. Activists from refugee organizations met members of the Bundestag, trade unionists engaged in discussions with anti-racism researchers, and left-wing activists had the chance to speak with representatives of migrant associations.

Around 40 workshops gave participants an impression of the diversity of struggles for a just society of the many. They highlighted a wide range of issues from the causes of migration and migration routes, to transnational movements of solidarity and the autonomy of migration, the struggles of queer refugees, to good housing and the "right to the city," health care policies and communal social policies, to strategies against right-wing extremism and the politics of representation, intercultural knowledge, and current political campaigns.

Workshop phases were structured by three central panels that invited representatives of political initiatives, social organizations, and institutional providers to outline their assessments,



In June 2016, Leipzig was a meeting place for "welcoming culture."

analyses, and visions. Not only did their contributions avoid the well-known pitfalls of paternalism and instrumentalization, they also fostered discussions that respected and even embraced the diversity of perspectives that make up this vast political spectrum.

These discussions lasted well into the evening, when participants broke the fast together with refugees housed in a neighboring collective accommodation center. An oracle asked questions from the future, which participants were encouraged to answer by sharing their own hopes and visions. Since then, Welcome2Stay has established itself as a permanent platform to facilitate networking activities and foster political interventions. It did not take long for a second large meeting to take place in September 2016, at which nationwide campaigns were planned for March 18–23, 2017.

Current information on Welcome2Stay is available at www.welcome2stay.org and www.facebook.com/w2stay.

A NEW EDUCATIONAL FORMAT: THE “CAMPUS FOR TRANSFORMATIVE PRACTICE”

“WHAT’S TO BE DONE? AND WHO THE HELL IS GOING TO DO IT?” (DAVID HARVEY)

Left-wing political commitment faces tremendous challenges. The disruptions caused by globalized capitalism are vast. Right-wing populism, climate change, a deep social divide, and the crisis of political representation are only some of the issues that gained relevance. The upside is that the majority of left-wing activists are not entirely unprepared for what is in store. Many have developed an extensive, in-depth understanding of the fields they are involved in. Their insights into the fundamental ways in which capitalism, racism, and patriarchy exert their hegemony tend to be good to excellent. And they often have extensive campaigning, media, and mobilizing skills enabling them to intervene in political discussions and debates, and pursue specific aims.

Still, their commitment fails to live up to the often self-defined ideals of a truly transformative activism. Reaching for that would mean questioning those hegemonies not only at a symbolic level, but also both in their most fundamental forms and in their specific incarnations. These small steps of everyday political commitment would have to be linked, not only rationally but also in our everyday behavior, to a larger perspective of wholesale social transformation. This would require strategies of change that systematically and successively consolidate individual measures into an effective transformative movement.

The hectic nature of everyday political transactions, however, often cannot accommodate the development of such strategies. In most cases, we tend to rely on the assumption that our current behavioral patterns will prove to be sound and sustainable. All too often, though, there is a lack of exchange and mutual association between left-wing party members, trade unionists, and activists. This gap often foregrounds the lines that divide the Left instead of the common ground that it stands on, and leads the movement to pass up opportunities to learn from each other, and take action together.

In fall 2016, the Foundation’s “training” team launched a new educational program that will, from now on, be held once a year and provide space for self-reflection and precisely this kind of exchange. The concept emerged as part of a patchwork process centered on a one-day workshop that took place in March 2016. It was attended by representatives of both the Left Party and left-wing trade unionists, NGOs, and activists.

In its first round, the new format has given 50 participants from all main left-wing currents the opportunity to learn not only from one another, but also as a group. Participants can choose one of two thematic tracks comprising six weekend modules each, and join more than ten thematic excursions covering issues from critical media relations to transformative organizing, with the excursions being linked to project visits. The first thematic track teaches “Strategies to Change the World!” while the other is concerned with “Building structures and communication forms that fit the mosaic” to encourage left-wing activists from all currents to work together. Feedback from all sides will help us expand the format’s potential.

Joint action. A new type of educational event aimed at encouraging the party, trade unions, and the movement to share experiences.



A CENTURY IN 54 HOURS

NON-STOP READING OF THE AESTHETICS OF RESISTANCE TO CELEBRATE THE 100TH BIRTHDAY OF PETER WEISS

My cellphone’s alarm keeps ringing. I wake up with a start, and look around, still dazed. 3 a.m.? Slowly it begins to dawn on me: I’m in Rostock, the non-stop reading started 15 hours ago, and I decided to take a short rest before reading my own section at 4:17 a.m.

Up until now, everything has gone smoothly, including the opening. Following brief official addresses from Dagmar Enkelmann, chair of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and others, a small ensemble, a choir consisting of drama students from the Rostock University of Music and Theatre, and members of the ensemble of the Volkstheater Rostock gave a spectacular interpretation of the first ten pages of Peter Weiss’ novel of the century—the famous and magnificent description of the Pergamon Altar in Nazi-ruled Berlin. Inside a packed Peter-Weiss-Haus, actor Dirk Borchardt had the honor (and challenge) of reading the first section. He was followed by the Left Party’s Gregor Gysi, and then by 97 readers and pre-produced video sequences. All this involved over a year of preparation. The project recorded 50 thirty-minute video sequences, with the readers adding statements on their personal relationship to the novel and the author himself. Over the course of twelve months, a large video box traveled from festival to festival to publicize the relay. We integrated a 100-day countdown on Facebook and on the “peterweiss100” blog, and managed to have the complex logistics for this major event coordinated a few days after Peter Weiss’ actual 100th birthday on November 8, 2016. The artists Schroeter and Berger produced creative posters integrating elements of Peter Weiss’ collages; they also developed a series of postcards that were released in three phases, and designed a beautiful program.

The non-stop reading created precisely the atmosphere that the organizers—Theresa Klaue, Stefan Nadolny, Jörg Herrmann, and myself, Friedrich Burschel—hoped it would. During the three days that followed, people moved around the Peter-Weiss-Haus, visited exhibitions and talks that were part of the accompanying program, or sat down for a chat or a relaxing beer in the house’s own Café Marat. Others spent time at the book table, ventured out into the garden in front of the house to catch a breath of fresh air, or did the opposite and smoked. Some had come for the entire weekend, others to listen to specific readers or passages; night owls dropped by for brief visits. And again and again, they drifted back into the hall to return to the reading.

The flow of video and live sequences, the varying voices, and a sleepiness that inspired a relaxed, but nevertheless receptive mood: through to the very end, all these elements helped the audience approach this demanding masterpiece with sensitivity. What suspense I felt as I listened to Roger Behrens reading his section on the Temple of Angkor Wat, how I was moved



Reading for 54 hours without interruption: live and via recording.

by Thomas Ebermann’s subwoofer bass accompanying the “Red Orchestra,” followed by Sabine Kebir and Tanja Kinkel. How I was thrilled by Elisabeth Abendroth, Bini Adamczak, and Asta Nechajute! What delight I felt at seeing Karl Bruckmaier, the magnificent radio drama director, lend his voice to the live readers! And how I was captivated by the countless other voices, their interpretations, and intonations! 1,000 pages, 100 readers, 54 hours and around 350 visitors over the weekend, as well as 150 people who followed the reading from home via live stream. One year of passionate educational work devoted to the artist, playwright, and author Peter Weiss, who died in 1982, and a fitting tribute to commemorate his 100th birthday.

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 A recording of the 54-hour-long reading is available online at www.peterweiss100.de.

THE FOUNDATION'S NETWORK

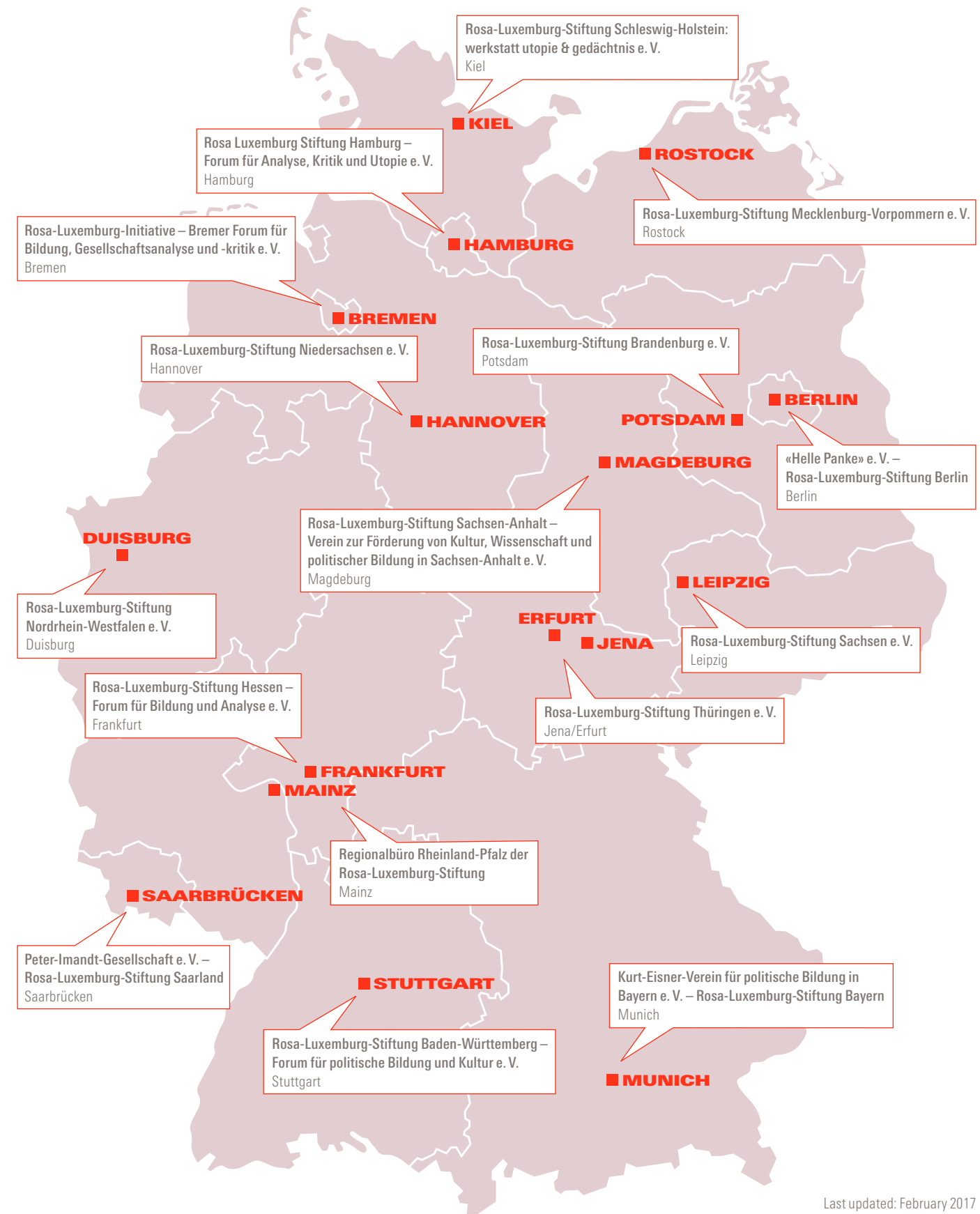
The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been active for many years in all 16 German states. An important part of the Foundation's political education takes place at this level, and the Foundation in Berlin closely cooperates with the regional foundations. In 2016, over 2,050 events, attended by more than 105,000 participants, were organized in the regions. The Foundation's events are not only aimed at supporters of the Left Party, but also at a wider public audience. The regional foundations work with initiatives and social movements, with trade unions, and other educational providers, and also cooperate with other regional foundations. At the local level, regional foundations in some of the larger German states organize Rosa Luxemburg Clubs.

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 2016, flight and migration to Germany and Europe constituted a particular focus, with almost 200 of our events addressing the social challenges raised by these issues. More than 300 events dealt with anti-fascism and anti-racism, issues closely linked to the first focus, and around 400 events were devoted to European and international politics. Other important issues included the critique of capitalism/developing alternatives, fostering democracy, and socio-ecological transformation. 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.

One of the year's highlights were three courses that were organized as part of the educational program "Einstiege in die Politik für junge Menschen" (First Steps in Politics for Young People) in Bavaria, Lower Saxony, and North Rhine-Westphalia. Scientific analyses were conducted assessing educational policy and mobility in North Rhine-Westphalia, structural policy in Bavaria, and the political opinions of young people in Baden-Württemberg. Together with our offices in New York and Belgrade, the department for Nationwide Work also organized two speaker tours through Germany addressing the US presidential campaign and the concept of "safe third countries" with respect to the west Balkan States.

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



Last updated: February 2017



Theodor Bergmann: unbroken and full of “historical optimism.”

BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

CELEBRATING THEODOR BERGMANN'S 100TH BIRTHDAY

On March 7, 2016, Theodor Bergmann celebrated his 100th birthday. It is a sign of his modesty that he was not expecting anyone to make a huge fuss of his birthday. Instead, he asked for a symposium to be organized on an issue he is very passionate about, and which both his past life and his political and academic commitment genuinely reflect: “Was bleibt: Bilanz und Ausblick der Arbeiterbewegung – Hoffnung und Niederlagen” (What’s Left? An Assessment of and Outlook on the Labor Movement—Hopes and Setbacks).

As an advisor, Theodor Bergmann was a key figure in establishing the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Baden-Württemberg, and as an honorary member he continues to support the foundation with help and advice. It was therefore a great pleasure for us to honor him by organizing this symposium on March 19, 2016, in cooperation with the Foundation’s headquarters. It took place at the Waldheim Clara Zetkin, an important location in the history of Stuttgart’s labor movement.

Both his life and his political and academic commitment are closely tied to the history of the labor movement and its upheavals, as well as those of German history. At the symposium, he was joined by old companions for discussions: together with Mario Kessler, Alexander Vatlin, Thomas Kuczynski, and Frank Deppe he reflected on the rise and fall of socialism in the Soviet Union, China’s prospects, and the opportunities missed by democratic socialism in the 20th century.

But the symposium’s focus was not on assessments alone; it also wanted to look ahead and find ways to deal with that heritage and draw lessons for the future. Notwithstanding his modesty and sophisticated, analytical intellect, Theodor Bergmann once again exuded an optimism that especially impressed and motivated the younger members of the audience at the event.



German paratroopers round up the elderly on the island of Crete on June 2, 1941.

BAVARIA

HEARING ON NAZI CRIMES ON CRETE

On May 20, 1941, the Wehrmacht, supported by a mountain division from Bad Reichenhall, invaded the Greek island of Crete. In the four years that followed, they committed countless war crimes, executing over 3,500 civilians and destroying over 30 villages.

In Bad Reichenhall, these crimes have never been addressed. To commemorate the 75th anniversary of the invasion, the “Kameradenkreis der Gebirgsjäger” (the Circle of Comrades of Mountain Troopers), the Bundeswehr, and local politicians organized celebrations, as they do every year, and, as usual, none of the Greek victims or their relatives were invited. Last year, though, the Kurt-Eisner-Verein encouraged witnesses from Greece to visit Bad Reichenhall and tell their stories. The association staged a public hearing on May 14, 2016 entitled “Euer Verdrängen kotzt uns an! NS-Verbrechen benennen. Opfer entschädigen. Rechte Traditionspflege angreifen” (Your ignorance pisses us off! Naming Nazi Crimes, Compensating Victims, Tackling Right-Wing Traditions).

Nikolaos Marinakis, a 92-year-old witness, recounted a massacre that took place in the village of Skines that cost the lives of 148 victims. The 100th mountain trooper division from Bad Reichenhall were proven responsible. Given destruction waged in Greece by the Wehrmacht, he criticized the austerity policies Germany was dictating, and asked: “Who actually owes whom, and what?” Martin Klingner explained that while there are Greek court decisions on individual compensation claims, they are currently not enforced against Germany. Aristomenis Syngelakis read out an address from Manolis Glezos, who during the war tore down the swastika that had been installed on the Acropolis. He gave an account of how Nazis exterminated the majority of his family in Vianos, and recalled the economic catastrophe that followed destruction wrought by the Wehrmacht. 130 visitors attended the hearing, among them a large number of young people from neighboring regions in Bavaria.



Owen Jones also spoke about a possible secession of Scotland.

BERLIN

WHAT'S UP IN BRITAIN?

On the second Sunday of Advent, an evening event hosted by Helle Panke e. V. transformed Berlin’s Monarch bar into a pub, attracting some 220 guests, most of them from the English-speaking world. Via Twitter, news spread quickly among the expats living in Berlin that the British activist and Guardian journalist Owen Jones was in town and would be sharing his insights on the current political situation in the UK. While the 32-year-old Jones is a left-wing superstar in the US, and above all in the UK, he and his book *Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class* are known here only to an academic audience. His success draws on a mixture of left-wing populism (although he does address anti-racism and LGBT issues), activism, and a passionate, social media-savvy journalism. He has 88,000 subscribers on YouTube, and around 540,000 followers on Twitter—the Labour Party, in contrast, has 36,000 followers.

At the event, Jones responded to questions on Brexit, the rise of Jeremy Corbyn, Thatcher’s neoliberal legacy, Scotland’s possible departure from the UK, as well as London’s housing market, and what to do in Berlin to prevent similar developments from claiming the city. Asked about his definition of working-class people, he stated: “Everyone, who works to make a living, so everyone who is forced to sell their labor.” He continued that this included everyone from street sweepers to teachers, the majority of society, irrespective of whether these women and men were born in our countries or elsewhere, whether they worked full- or part-time, and whether they were bringing home a low income or enjoying the benefits of a better wage. Adding to his words that these people do not constitute a homogeneous group may sound banal to some—but even banalities need examples to be understood.



The Colloquium on Foreign and Security Policy taking place for the 20th time in Potsdam

BRANDENBURG

THE MIDDLE EAST AND EUROPE

With its focus on “The Near East and Europe,” the 20th Potsdam Colloquium on Foreign and Security Policies took place on October 21, 2016, and addressed tangible problems: the war in Syria, the conflicts in Iraq and Yemen, and the stream of refugees from North Africa. Around 70 participants discussed the region’s issues and sought to find opportunities to resolve them.

During the first panel on “Europe and the Middle East—Troubled Neighbors,” the ambassador Arne Seifert (ret.) analyzed the failure of “the West’s” Middle East policies, and the Islamist Udo Steinbach presented his thoughts on a viable security policy for the conflict-laden region.

The second panel turned to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with talks from Tamar Amar-Dahl (historian) and Tsafrir Cohen (head of the Foundation’s Israel Office in Tel Aviv). Cohen laid out the challenges of a two-state solution, and outlined alternatives. Naoual Belakhdar (political scientist) traced social developments in the Maghreb. Karin Kulow (Islamicist) and Wolfgang Grabowski (ambassador ret.) spoke on the conflict in Syria.

The third panel invited Katja Hermann (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung), Azadeh Zamirad (German Institute for International and Security Affairs) and Wolfgang Gehrcke (member of the Left Party parliamentary group in the Bundestag) to discuss European-Arab relations in a multipolar world and the challenges facing Germany’s Foreign Policy.

In his concluding remarks, Raimund Krämer, editor in chief of WeltTrends, underlined that, on the one hand, the region’s problems could only be solved if they were politicized. This would mean ending violence. On the other hand, he stressed that in addition to realistic analyses we also needed a political idea, “a vision” of the directions that we want cooperation between both regions to take in the future.



The “Asamblea—Open Monday” project is more than just a meeting place for refugees.

BREMEN

POLITICAL SELF-ORGANIZATION OF REFUGEES

“‘Open Mondays’ have helped me to understand the rights I have. We’re all scared. If you speak out on the streets in Syria, Assad’s secret police will pick you up three days later, and you’ll disappear for 20 years. It’s programmed into us that you’re not allowed to say a thing. I think all refugees are scared to speak out. But ‘Open Mondays’ give us courage. You learn that you’re allowed to speak freely, and that you can organize events and demonstrations” (Mohammed Ammar, refugee from Syria).

Refugees are a hot topic at the moment. Everyone is concerned about the “refugee crisis” that needs to be solved. Refugees themselves, however, are rarely seen as politically actors capable of reflecting on their situation; instead they are depicted as an anonymous mass, the fate of which is left to others to decide. “Asamblea—Open Monday,” a project initiated by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Initiative (the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Bremen) together with the Bremen Refugee Council, the Caravan for the Rights of Refugees, and the Interventionist Left (IL), creates a space for refugees to take political action and articulate their interests. It has grown steadily since it was first launched in August 2016, and now between 30 and 60 people, the majority of them refugees, come together every week at the Paradox, a socio-cultural center, to cook and discuss migration-related issues. The project also provides legal advice.

In 2016, the refugees organized two well-attended information events on the political situation in Afghanistan and Syria, as well as two demonstrations against the war in Aleppo and the federal government’s decision to list Afghanistan as a safe country of origin. The “Open Mondays” are more than a regular get-together for refugees. They have the potential to evolve into a center that encourages a metamorphosis: from forced passivity to active social participation.



Salih Muslim (PYD) spoke in Hamburg about the autonomy project in Rojava.

HAMBURG

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE KURDISH MOVEMENT

On the night of November 3, 2016, the leaders of the Peoples’ Democratic Party (HDP), Figen Yükseskağ and Selahattin Demirtaş, and other members of parliament, were arrested in Turkey. With this shocking incident still heavy on their minds, more than 500 people joined an event the next evening hosted by the Foundation’s Hamburg Office. We wanted to report firsthand on the current situation faced by Kurds in Syria and Turkey, and the perspectives their movement has. As Sariyildiz, a member of the HDP parliamentary group, had to cancel in light of the wave of arrests, Salih Muslim, co-chairman of the Democratic Union Party (PYD), took the opportunity to talk extensively about Rojava, a democratic autonomy project in Syria, and the alternatives to nationalist, fundamentalist, and patriarchal conditions and ideals being developed in the region. He gave an honest assessment of the continuing intractable crises in the Middle East, and stressed the PYD would continue to fight for a united democratic Syria. While this meant he indirectly spoke out against plans to establish a united Kurdish state, he also sharply criticized the Turkish government’s domestic policy and its intervention in Syria.

As independent reports, such as from Amnesty International, have shown, the Erdoğan regime is waging a de facto war in southeast Turkey against its own people. Given the dramatic turn of events, the evening took up the question raised by Can Dündar, exiled editor in chief of *Cumhuriyet*, according to whom “Europe has to decide whether it is actually willing to accept an Islamo-fascist state in Turkey.” The event was a strong sign of protest and solidarity with the journalists, academics, the HDP, and other oppositional movements threatened with repression and arrests.



The lecture series held in Kassel also focused on the ways in which the EU’s external borders are being enhanced.

HESSE

LECTURES ON PEACE POLICY IN KASSEL

Over the past years, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Hesse and the University of Kassel have established a close cooperation, launching several series of lectures. 2016 saw the next installment of this partnership. The year’s lecture series was entitled “Welt aus den Fugen? Krisen, Konflikte, Widerstand” (Is the World Falling Apart? Crises, Conflicts, Resistances). It included nine events conceived by Andreas Eis, Professor of Didactics of Political Education and an academic tutor for the Foundation, and was organized by the Foundation in partnership with students and non-academics interested in peace policy. Themes included “The Outcome of Military Interventions: Why Are We Still Waiting for Peace?,” “European Crisis Management: Global Strategies, Brexit, and the European ‘Peace Project’,” as well as “Neoliberalism as a Cause of Migration: Global Structural Policies as a Means to Fight Causes of Migration.”

On November 2, Jürgen Wagner of the Tübingen-based Information Centre on Militarisation (IMI) spoke on Europe as a peace project. He outlined how the European Union—a project once considered progressive—was initially designed to overcome various forms of nationalism, but was then pressured by parts of the European Commission and individual states into becoming an independent international and military actor. Wagner also pointed out the close connection between the EU’s efforts to strengthen its external borders and the arms industry’s intense lobbying activities. The UK would have presumably blocked a further Europeanization of foreign and military policies, but with its departure from the EU, France and Germany could now be expected to renew their efforts.

The lectures attracted as many as 300 listeners and coverage in the local press, and were well received even in peace policy circles not immediately linked to the university. The lecture series was concluded in January 2017, and the students’ commitment and the success of the past series have encouraged us to continue this tradition.



Gadebusch: exhibition panels on the Eichmann Trial

MECKLENBURG-VORPOMMERN

HISTORY PROJECT ON THE EICHMANN TRIAL

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern supported an exceptional initiative in 2016: a history project based at the European School in Rostock investigated Germany’s Nazi past or, more precisely, the crimes committed by Adolf Eichmann, and the legal proceedings that followed. Israel’s intelligence, the Mossad, had captured Eichmann in Argentina and abducted him to Israel in 1960, and following an extensive trial in 1961, he was famously sentenced to death and hanged the following year. The court had found the former director of the Gestapo’s section for Jewish Affairs (“*Judenreferat*”) responsible for overseeing the industrial-scale extermination of hundreds of thousands of Jews.

Petra Klawitter, the teacher heading the project, and her students searched for trial witnesses in Germany and abroad, and conducted interviews both with the police officer who interrogated Eichmann in Israel, and the relatives of people who had hidden Jews from the Nazi regime. They also visited the House of the Wannsee Conference in Berlin, as well as the Yad Vashem Holocaust Remembrance Center in Jerusalem. The findings of their extensive research are documented in a film, a brochure, as well as an exhibition entitled “The Eichmann Trial.” Visual and audio materials, analytical texts, and statements from Jewish victims portray a man who was unscrupulous and denied all responsibility for his actions; who claimed only to be following orders and his oath of allegiance.

Together with the Left Party’s local parliamentary group, the foundation organized for the exhibition to be displayed at the oldest intact church in Mecklenburg, the church of St. Jacob and St. Dionys in Gadebusch. It paints a harrowing picture of shocking cruelty and irresponsibility, and serves as a reminder never to put our duty to obey above our conscience to act.



Poverty and exclusion have many faces: a street scene in Hanover.

LOWER SAXONY

POVERTY. POWER. FORCED DISPLACEMENT.

Global insecurity produces migration. As people also flee to Germany, their presence impacts our daily lives—daily lives that are already characterized by a deepening divide between rich and poor. Last year's symposium, initiated by the Lower Saxony Anti-Poverty Conference was supported by a broad alliance of social organizations, trade unions, and many other initiatives including the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The event, held on October 17, 2016, was entitled "Armut. Macht. Flucht" (Poverty. Power. Forced Displacement), and hosted talks, working groups, and discussions exploring how to enable a decent way of life for all people living in Germany. An impressive number of experts joined the event. Representatives of the state government had discussions with activists from grass-roots refugee organizations, academics met committed volunteers, and artists exchanged views with public authority staff.

The concluding remarks stressed that society had to be prevented from distinguishing between "natives" and "new arrivals." Everyone agreed that it was time for a socio-political offensive. Good work, decent housing, comprehensive health care, and cultural participation are fundamental prerequisites for a dignified life. The working groups collected and discussed a range of positive examples highlighting how social solidarity can be put into practice. This also allowed participants to take home a number of encouraging ideas.

With over 100 people attending the discussions and making use of the wide range of information available, we were delighted again to see that this symposium was as well received as last year's. Over the past years, the Lower Saxony Anti-Poverty Conference has thus evolved into the largest socially critical symposium in the state, an event that has managed repeatedly to sway the political agenda—not least thanks to the media's extensive coverage. And we intend to build on that success again in the future.



No other federal state in Germany has such a diverse school system.

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

"FIVE YEARS AFTER THE 'SCHOOL CONSENSUS'"

Comprehensive schools are booming, secondary schools are a flop: that is the conclusion formulated in "After the School Consensus," a study conducted on behalf of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in 2016. Its aim was to trace how North Rhine-Westphalia's school system and state-provided access to schooling have developed since 2011—not least because of the implications these developments might have for other German states. Back then, after decades of dispute, the political parties in North Rhine-Westphalia had agreed on a compromise, and, by changing the state constitution, introduced the *Sekundarschule*, a new form of secondary school. No other German state has since provided access to so many different types of school. The central questions guiding Marc Mulia and Peter Proff's research were: has the *Sekundarschule* gained acceptance as a new type of school? What role do comprehensive schools (*Gesamtschulen*) play in securing access to education? Is there a continuous trend towards a two-tiered structure in secondary schooling? How are municipal governments making use of their new administrative freedoms? How does all this affect equal opportunities and access to education for all social classes? And, do certain groups, such as the children of migrant workers or refugees, benefit from the reform?

In late August, around 60 educational activists and staff from the Ministry of Education, the Left Party, the GEW, as well as teachers, school principals, and parent representatives attended a symposium in Bochum to discuss the study with a panel of experts that included the study's authors, and Gabriele Bellenberg (Ruhr-Universität Bochum), Klaus Klemm (University of Duisburg-Essen), Andreas Meyer-Lauber (chair of the German Trade Union Confederation in North Rhine-Westphalia), as well as Martina Seifert (principal of the Sekundarschule Duisburg-Rheinhausen, and chair of the Green-Institut Rhein-Ruhr e. V.). The study was covered extensively by media outlets across North Rhine-Westphalia.



Laura (left), Eleanor (middle) and Jenny Marx (right) with the girls' father and Friedrich Engels, May 1864.

RHINELAND-PALATINATE

GENDER RELATIONS FROM MARX TO THE PRESENT

For a long time, the Left considered gender inequality to be one of the by-products of capitalist society. But what did Marx and Engels actually say on the matter? And how did they personally view women? Which women influenced and expanded Marx's theories? These and other questions were the focus of a conference entitled "Von Marx bis heute – Frauen und Geschlechterverhältnisse" (From Marx to the Present—Women and Gender Relations), which was organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Rhineland-Palatinate. It took place on May 21 and 22, 2016, in the Wolfgang-Capito-Saal in Mainz.

The first day of the conference centered on the women in Marx's and Engels' lives: Marx's wife, Jenny von Westphalen, Helene Demuth, Marx's daughter Eleanor (nicknamed Tussy), and Engels' partners Mary and Lizzie Burns. There was also a talk that retraced the fascinating life of Flora Tristan, a member of the early socialist movement barely known in the German-speaking world. The talks focused on these women's independent contributions, but also on their relationships with Marx and Engels respectively, whose behavior towards women was very much in line with contemporary views, and hardly up to date with their revolutionary insights. Day two explored theoretical approaches to women's rights, sex, and gender in the writings of Marx and Engels, as well as their subsequent development by the Marxist wings of the labor movement. Of course, there was only time to offer a few key examples: one contribution focused on Clara Zetkin and Alexandra Kollontai, another on the internal debates of the West-German women's movement since the 1970s. The question of women's rights in the GDR was reviewed critically as well. The regime, comparing itself with capitalist West Germany, tended to see itself ahead by "an entire epoch"—which was rather wishful thinking, as a closer look revealed.



International brigades in Spain from Saarland—a book presentation

SAARLAND

"FROM THE SAAR TO THE EBRO RIVER"

Very few people today are aware that in 1936 and 1937, 243 volunteers from Saarland made their way to Spain to support the Republic in its fight against General Franco. Proportionally, the group from Saarland was the largest in Germany to join the Republican forces. Miners, steelworkers, and artisans in particular shared a common vision for Spain: to defeat fascism. Their stories have now been brought back to life by Max Hewer, a historian and board member of the Peter Imandt Society. The outcome of his years of research is a book entitled *Von der Saar zum Ebro. Saarländer als Freiwillige im Spanischen Bürgerkrieg 1936–1939* (From the Saar to the Ebro River. Saarländers as Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War 1936–1939), which was published by Blattlaus Verlag and launched on June 3 at a ceremony at Saarbrücken's town hall. Media interest in the book was high, not least because of the food for thought it offers readers, and for the questions it raises: In how far are we as individuals prepared to take up arms to defend humanity if the need arises? And how can we generally prevent society from drifting to the Right?

On December 2, an event organized by the foundation at the Kulturbahnhof Saarbrücken raised the question of how to adequately commemorate the Civil War. Among the guests were veteran volunteers who had fought in Spain, but also politicians, including the French Consul General, Catherine Robinet, leader of the Left Party's parliamentary group in Saarland's parliament, Heinz Bierbaum, and chair of the Green Party's parliamentary group, Hubert Ulrich, himself the descendant of a German volunteer in Spain. Demands were voiced to establish a memorial site, and to intensify efforts to reach out to schools and create an awareness among pupils for historical events of this kind. And what, after all, could be better suited to spark young people's interest in and empathy for the past and present struggles of the Left than the stories of these volunteers?



The website www.bruno-apitz.de reflects on the life and work of Bruno Apitz.

SAXONY

REMEMBERING BRUNO APITZ

Bruno Apitz, the Leipzig-born writer and communist, received worldwide acclaim for his novel *Naked Among Wolves*, published in the German Democratic Republic in 1958 and set in 1945 in Buchenwald concentration camp. After the end of the GDR, however, his name faded from public memory, and it was only in 2015 that his work attracted wider interest again. Aufbau-Verlag published a new edition of his world-famous novel in 2012, which the Mitteldeutsche Rundfunk, a public broadcaster for central Germany, then adapted for television in 2015, making its release the third production based on the book (previous versions were released in 1960 and 1963). The same year, the Berlin-based bebra-Verlag published the first biography of Bruno Apitz, written by the historian Lars Förster. Furthermore, the plaque commemorating his life and work was renewed (in the past, it was at his birthplace in Leipzig). In partnership with the Leipzig City Council, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony organized a well-attended symposium entitled “Verfolgt – Bejubelt – Vergessen” (Persecuted—Celebrated—Forgotten) to acknowledge the life and work of Bruno Apitz (1900–1979). The proceedings were published afterwards, and simultaneously the foundation developed the idea to set up a website to foster the commemoration of an author whose impact on the literary landscape of East Germany was profound. Following lengthy preparations, the site was launched on December 21, 2016, and offers access not only to texts, but also to previously unpublished photographs and audio-visual materials. The website's primary focus is to provide the public, and especially younger audiences, with information on Bruno Apitz, his life, and the variety and multitude of his creative work. Upon learning about this online project, his widow Marlies Apitz wrote to us, saying: “May this website find a broad readership and inspire the public to fully discover the man behind *Naked Among Wolves*.”



The British: relaxed or mad? This issue was discussed extensively in Stendal.

SAXONY-ANHALT

UNDERSTANDING BREXIT

Aside from the US presidential elections, no other political event in 2016 sent out more shock waves across Europe than the UK's decision to leave the EU in June. Of the more than 46 million eligible voters in the United Kingdom, 51.8 percent voted in favor of leaving the European Union. The referendum raised a number of questions: Which parts of the population voted to leave the Union, and who voted in favor of remaining? Which social pressure groups were the driving forces backing the Leave campaign? What are the referendum's consequences for the UK, and what repercussions will the decision have for the EU?

These questions were discussed together with Johann-Günther König at an event hosted on October 12 by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Saxony-Anhalt at the “Roter Salon” in Stendal. König, who had published a book on Britain's vote to leave the EU in 2016 (*Die spinnen, die Briten. Das Buch zum Brexit/The Brits are Crazy. A Guide to Brexit*), underlined that the British were traditionally reluctant to share their political affections in public. This time, however, the situation had been different: the British had rarely been as divided over an issue as they had been in the run-up to the referendum. König pointed out that this division was impossible to understand without taking into account social disruptions and regional inequalities: despite being in work, around 13 million people were living below the poverty line; and neither England's north nor Wales were profiting from economic development. The Remain campaign had failed to address these issues and take these concerns seriously. As an alternative to nationalism, the EU had not proven attractive enough. Still, König insisted that a return to nationalism was no alternative to European cooperation. According to him, the solution to these challenges lies in democratizing the neoliberal EU—even if the prospects of such a project are very dim indeed.



A pedestrian zone in Hindenburgstraße, Bad Oldesloe.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

A WEEKEND OF POLITICS IN BAD OLDESLOE

As in previous years, the foundation's events in Schleswig-Holstein managed to draw in a relatively high number of young people. In 2016, the proportion of under-31s climbed to over 55 percent, and the proportion of women was also well above average, reaching over 50 percent. One of the foundation's regular events is the “Politiktage” in Bad Oldesloe, a political weekend event which it organizes in partnership with PolbiX, an educational provider, and Arandela—linke Initiative Oldesloe, a local left-wing initiative.

The three-day event in February gave over 200 young people the opportunity to debate a broad range of issues. It was kicked off by a discussion with a representative of CADUS/phoenix e. V., a Berlin-based NGO, on the situation in Rojava, which is caught between war, autonomy, and self-governance. On Saturday and Sunday, the program offered ten different workshops. Besides classical themes such as Marx's critique of capitalism, anti-racism, feminism, and Hartz IV (the German reform of unemployment and social welfare benefits), there were also role plays on “What to do if there's trouble in the air?” that practiced nonviolent approaches to conflict and anger management, as well as a seminar focused on flight and asylum issues. Saturday evening included a screening of Benjamin Kahlmeyer's film *The Invisibles*. Kahlmeyer portrayed three young men going through their asylum processes, and retraced their lives and journeys to Europe, above all exposing how deeply their hopes for a new beginning clash with the harsh reality of the bureaucratic decision-making processes. The 2016 participants mainly came from Oldesloe and the surrounding area, but also from Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, and Bremen. The event was co-organized by the equal opportunity commissioner in Stormarn, the city of Bad Oldesloe, and the Stormarn office of the German Education Union (GEW).



A working group at the event in Erfurt.

THURINGIA

ONE SCHOOL FOR ALL

As laid out in the red-red-green government's coalition agreement, Thuringia's Ministry for Education, Youth, and Sports presented the outline for a new act on inclusive education in early 2016. On August 29, an event organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the Heinrich Böll Foundation provided a forum to discuss questions that had been igniting controversial debates for some time: What do we want inclusive education to provide for children and young people with and without special needs? And what are the conditions that will make these settings successful?

In her opening remarks, state secretary for education Gabi Ohler explained why the state's left-wing government was committed to promoting inclusion. Many countries across Europe and many other federal states had given this issue much higher priority, she noted, and were now demonstrating that inclusion can work—even if its success depends on additional resources. Inclusive education placed high demands on all sides involved: “Not all schools are going to become inclusive within the next one or two years.” The important thing was that “we are taking these steps together.” Workshops were moderated by experts and covered issues ranging from ensuring qualified assessments of special needs in multi-professional teams, to basic and additional teacher training (and their necessary prerequisites), to questions of funding. The main takeaway from the conference was that there are still a lot of problems that need solving, but if institutions can succeed in condensing the numerous views and ideas, then solutions can be found to forge a way forward. For that alone, the conference was a milestone. Its results and input will certainly prove useful in refining Thuringia's education act. Subsequently, the state might be able to create a highly productive and progressive framework to make inclusion work.

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

In 2016, the work of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID) was characterized by both consolidation and radical change. Wilfried Telkämper, the ZID's director, retired and in June, Boris Kanzleiter took over the Centre's leadership. Wilfried Telkämper had managed the ZID for six years during a phase of strong growth both in terms of changes to funding and personnel.

In 2016, the reorganization of administrative structures that began in 2015 continued. In spring 2016, the ZID also began raising its profile. As part of this process, the ZID focused on global social rights. Initial approaches to this issue were discussed during the second half of the year at regional planning conferences organized by our newly created regional offices together with colleagues from our international offices.

In addition to organizational development, the ZID also successfully continued its global work with around 320 partner organizations in more than 60 countries through numerous activities. Delegations from the Foundation and our partners were present again at international civil society meetings, such as at the World Social Forum which took place in Montreal in August. We were also able to provide critique during UN processes and to participate in relevant conferences, such as the UN Climate Change Conference COP22 in Marrakech and the Habitat III—UN Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development in Quito.

A further focus in 2016 was on the mediation of international issues and the ways in which they have an impact on German society. In addition to a campaign in support of platinum miners in South Africa and promoting supply chain responsibility in German industry (the Foundation organized several events together with Bread for the World and AfricAvenir) a joint conference with the Left Party's parliamentary group in the Bundestag discussed human rights violations linked to resource extraction as well as opening up opportunities for social development by creating local value chains.

A visit by a delegation from Joint List, which was organized by the Foundation's Tel Aviv office in November, enabled one of the most important and forward-looking political projects in Israel to be showcased to the German public; the visit was also met with a great deal of resonance in the media and in political circles.

Our international offices also published numerous studies and analyses around the world that provided information about current political developments, established international connections, and opened up new perspectives.

STRENGTHEN STRUGGLES FOR SOCIAL AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS THROUGH AN INTERNATIONALIST PERSPECTIVE

A CONVERSATION WITH BORIS KANZLEITER, NEW DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION (ZID) SINCE JUNE 2016

The ZID is the Foundation's largest department. What will be your main priorities over the next few years?

Kanzleiter: We support diverse initiatives undertaken by left-wing non-governmental organizations, academic institutions, and political organizations throughout the world. This is work that we intend to continue. But we also want to strengthen the links between our regional offices and develop joint political and strategic approaches. We would like to see the ZID become a truly global organization that can take action throughout the world. We need to find global answers to the global problems of capitalism. This is what we are trying to do with the issue of global social rights. Our aim is to strengthen struggles for social and democratic rights by providing them with an internationalist perspective. I consider the provision of support to transnational trade union work as essential. Furthermore, due to the ultra-conservative backlash, the struggle for women's rights is becoming particularly important in many countries. The focus is once again on defending democratic and fundamental political rights, such as freedom of the press and assembly. However, we need to link our commitment to global social justice to a discussion on fundamental socio-ecological and economic alternatives. It is essential that we move away from the principle of profit, corporate dominance, and extractivism, and towards ecological sustainability and economic democracy.

You have been working for the ZID since 2009. What experience have you brought to the role?

Kanzleiter: I founded and established the Foundation's regional office for Southeastern Europe in Belgrade. In the first half of 2016, I was also interim director of the Brussels office. This enabled me to gain numerous insights into the Foundation's work, especially in terms of our work in Europe. I also understand the various administrative guidelines that we have to adhere to as recipients of public funding, which is a big advantage because these regulations are highly complex.

What can you tell us about your previous experience and political background?

Kanzleiter: I grew up in Stuttgart where my parents were involved in the trade union movement. I have also been active in various political initiatives since I was quite young. The first major action I took part in was in 1987: I helped organize a schoolchildren's strike against the then Minister of Cultural Affairs Gerhard Mayer-Vorfelder. In the 1990s, I studied history, German, and anthropology of the Americas in Berlin. During that period, I fell in love with Latin America. I studied in Mexico



Boris Kanzleiter has been director of the ZID since mid-2016.

City between 1994 and 1995 and was involved in the Zapatista movement. But I am also interested in Eastern Europe and I lived in Belgrade for 15 years. As a journalist, I was based in former Yugoslavia for quite some time. I also received a grant from the Hans Böckler Foundation to write a doctoral thesis on the 1968 protests in Yugoslavia. It was focused on the democratization of socialism, an issue that also concerns us particularly as a foundation.

What do you see as the biggest challenge in the coming years?

Kanzleiter: We will have to adapt to the fact that the scope for action is being restricted in a growing number of countries due to repressive NGO laws. Nevertheless, it is essential that we seek to counteract this trend, maintain our scope, and expand it wherever possible.

A LIVELY EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCES

6TH SINO-EUROPEAN FORUM ON SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES IN SUZHOU

Since 2011, the Foundation has been partnering with the Faculty of Law at the People's University of China, Beijing. The annual Sino-European Forum on Socio-Ecological and Legal Issues, which is also supported by experts from the University of Vienna, has developed into a very important forum for co-operation, and focuses on sharing experiences concerning the legal framework related to socio-ecological transformation.

In the past, the Forum has concentrated on topics such as comparisons of the "green" economy and socio-ecological movements in China and Germany, the question of responsibility for socio-ecological processes at the national and global levels, a comparison of "socio-ecological transformation" and "socialist eco-civilization," the issues of the legal basis for the sustainable development of urban spaces and transport systems, democratic participation in environmental questions, living a low-carbon life, climate change, and the protection of the maritime environment and maritime resources.

In October 2016, the Forum, which was held in Suzhou under the title "Food Security—Sustainable Agriculture," was attended by around 50 representatives of scientific institutions, political organizations, local and national authorities, and non-governmental organizations from the People's Republic of China, various EU countries, and Taiwan. The 2016 Forum resulted in a lively exchange of experiences.

Faced with a growing world population and the consequences of environmental damage and climate change, the creation of a secure foundation for food provision poses humanity with a crucial challenge. One study found that most Chinese interviewees stressed that they viewed insecurity about food quality as the most serious impact of environmental pollution. In order to guarantee the population a supply of healthy food, it is vital to put food security and the transparency of production conditions firmly on the agenda. As a result, the Forum's participants also discussed improvements to consumer protection and the regulatory framework for environmental issues in both China and the EU. Other key points included contributions to the relationship between food sovereignty, food safety, and security; the global commons, the environmental impact of climate change and the production of food, organic farming and control mechanisms, as well as international (trade) agreements that set standards for chemical use such as for pesticides and the detection of these chemicals in foods and other products.

The Foundation is looking forward to continuing the discussions on the interplay of social development, the environment, and law together with our Chinese partners and guests in this highly successful series of events.

UNDERMINING BARRIERS—OVERCOMING BORDERS

NEWS FROM OUR MOSCOW OFFICE

Although the Foundation has had an office in Moscow since 2003, 2016 was a very special year. With a new office director, a new program of events, and a new member of staff, the move from the south-west of Moscow to the city center led to a key improvement: the Moscow office now has its own space where it can hold events; the rooms are barrier-free, can be used flexibly and are publicly accessible.

This is essential because the scope for socio-political activities shrunk even further in 2016. Since 2012, the law in Russia classes anyone who is politically active and who receives funding from abroad to conduct their work as a "foreign agent." This has often led to political initiatives being stopped and organizations having to suspend their operations in Russia. In the spring of 2016, the Duma even defined "political activity" as any form of organized engagement. In other words, it involves publicly expressing opinions about practically anything related to the constitution, the state, political parties, the legal system, elections, domestic or foreign policy and socio-economic issues.

In order not to undermine or jeopardize our partner organizations, the Moscow office is now increasingly organizing conferences, seminars, round tables, and art projects by itself. However, our long-term commitments and the trust that has since developed are paying off: the Moscow office has not only been able to maintain its links with universities, institutes, and organizations from social movements, it has even been able to gain new partners.

In 2016, the office exhibited an anthology in Kazan, Yekaterinburg and Kiev entitled "Kunst. F-Feminism" (Art. F-Feminism), which documented a feminist art exhibition that had taken place the year before. The well-attended events—which were similar to small, three-day festivals with lectures, discussions, and performances—gave attendees the opportunity to meet and network, but also to draw strength and encouragement. The participants were able to experience feminist art not only as an effective platform, but also as a good starting point for political activism, a means of focusing on education and politics, and of countering the pressure and structural violence within hierarchical society. Moreover, the fact that an exhibition took place in Kiev—with partner organizations attending from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia—was also symbolically significant and once again demonstrates that the barriers imposed by systems of "grand politics" can and want to be undermined.



In May 2016, a delegation from the Foundation visited Ecuador. On the outskirts of the small town of Cayambe, Dagmar Enkelmann took part in a solidarity campaign.

THE PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF BUEN VIVIR

NEWS FROM OUR ANDEAN OFFICE IN QUITO

The Foundation's work in Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela is marked by the crises occurring among the continent's left-wing governments. Left-wing social policies, which have contributed greatly to political stability in recent years, have been in danger since mid-2015 when oil and commodity prices collapsed on the global market. At the same time, the new right-wing governments in Brazil and Argentina, as well as the economic crisis in Venezuela, have virtually halted regional integration aimed at establishing an independent Latin American economy. At the end of 2016, the Colombian peace process ended in an agreement between the right-wing government and the oldest guerilla group on the continent: the FARC. But the extreme right and right-wing paramilitaries have also gained in strength. As such, the repression and sometimes deadly violence being perpetrated against indigenous, environmental, and human rights activists have increased significantly. Members of our partner organizations have also been murdered.

It is therefore essential to investigate the resurgence of the Right and neo-conservative tendencies while also continually developing the plural Left. The fact that progressive governments in Latin America are no longer suitable for the projection of Left-wing ideas is actually quite convenient, because the contradictions between them and reality are simply too great. How have state social policies changed Latin American societies over the last ten years? What about the new middle class? Why have progressive governments been forced into the defensive, and why are social movements weaker and

more divided in Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela than they were ten years ago? Where has scope for action been used well and where has it been wasted? In addition to analyses of right-wing tendencies and left-wing learning processes, the Andean Office also supports the development of alternatives to the capitalist model of development.

Although the conditions for change have become more difficult at the national level, regional alternatives are still being tested. These include community land ownership in Bolivia, collective construction and ownership of housing in Caracas in Venezuela, indigenous practices of jurisprudence as conflict resolution strategies, and work on the "de-colonized state." The bottlenecks in supply that have occurred in Venezuela have led to collaboration between the Foundation's partner organizations and agricultural cooperatives. In Colombia, people are being mobilized and politicized by referendums on mega-mining projects, and the population is now searching for alternative economic opportunities. In the Ecuadorian town of Cayambe, the first indigenous mayor, Guillermo Churuchumbi, has been in power since 2014, and he is focused on change: instead of setting his sights on neoliberal public-private partnerships, he has introduced public-community partnerships so that the water supply can be guaranteed not just for the large flower growers in the city, but also for indigenous communities. "This is not about the people waiting passively for the state to do everything for them. The people need to participate through direct democracy, and directly shape the state," says Churuchumbi. The Regional Office in Quito, which has had a new director since May 2016, is working closely with the municipality, and this project is a good example of the practical implementation of Buen Vivir.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AMERICAS

NORTH AMERICA AND THE UNITED NATIONS



Location: New York, United States

Year founded: 2012

Project countries: US, Canada, Germany (and the United Nations)

Director: Stefanie Ehmsen and Albert Scharenberg

Staff: 6

www.rosalux-nyc.org/de

Focus: Dialogue between the Left in North America and Europe; Alternatives to austerity; Critical social analysis; Global power shifts; Socio-ecological transformation

ANDEAN STATES



Location: Quito, Ecuador

Year founded: 2010

Project countries: Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela

Director: Karin Gabbert

Staff: 10 (including one member of staff in Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela)

www.rosalux.org.ec

Focuses: Strengthening the participation of civil society groups in the implementation of left-wing constitutions and the exercising of their rights. Searching for alternatives to the prevailing economic model, which is based exclusively on the export of natural resources, as this is a contentious issue in these countries. Finally, the office takes up these issues and promotes cross-regional dialogue.

CONO SUR AND BRAZIL



Location: São Paulo, Brazil

Year founded: 2003

Project countries: Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay

Director: Gerhard Dilger

Staff: 9

www.rosaluxspba.org

LIAISON OFFICE BUENOS AIRES



Year founded: 2015

Project countries: Argentina, Chile

Program coordination: Elisangela Soldatelli

Staff: 5

www.rosaluxspba.org/es

Focus: Human rights, natural rights and democracy; The crisis and the future of the Left; Socio-ecological transformation and Buen Vivir

MEXICO, CENTRAL AMERICA AND CUBA



Location: Mexico City, Mexico

Year founded: 2007

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

Director: Torge Löding, Sandy El Berr (from May 2017)

Staff: 11

www.rosalux.org.mx

Focus: Participatory democracy and social inclusion; Political and economic alternatives to the dominant development model

AFRICAN DEPARTMENT

SOUTHERN AFRICA



Location: Johannesburg, South Africa

Year founded: 2003

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

Director: Jörn Jan Leidecker

Staff: 10

www.rosalux.co.za

Focus: Participatory democracy; Workers' organizations and social justice; Natural resources

WEST AFRICA



Location: Dakar, Senegal

Year founded: 2010

Project countries: Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Cape Verde, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal

Director: Armin Osmanovic

Staff: 8

www.rosalux.sn

Focus: Natural resources and conflicts; Young people and politics; Religion and society; Migration; The future of work; Peace and security; Africa and international politics

EAST AFRICA



Location: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Year founded: 2012

Project countries: Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda

Director: Dorothee Braun

Staff: 9

www.rosalux.co.tz

Focus: Ensuring natural resource use benefits the people; Shaping regional integration and international trade relations to reflect peoples' needs; Defending and expanding democratic rights

NORTH AFRICA



Location: Tunis, Tunisia

Year founded: 2014 (registration)

Project countries: Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia

Director: Peter Schäfer


Staff: 8

www.rosaluxna.org

Focus: Development of socio-economic alternatives; Strengthening political participation, especially for younger activists

EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT

EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE




Location: Warsaw, Poland
Year founded: 2003
Project countries: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary
Director: Joanna Gwiazdecka
Staff: 6
www.rls.pl

LOCAL OFFICE PRAGUE
(in preparation)

Year founded: 2016
Project countries: Czech Republic
Program coordination: Jiří Silný
Staff: 1

LOCAL OFFICE KIEV



LUXEMBURG STIFTUNG В УКРАЇНІ

Year founded: 2016
Project countries: Ukraine
Program coordination: Nelia Vakhovska
Staff: 3
Focus: Enforcement of social rights; Support for trade unions; Strengthening the rights of women and members of the LGBTI community; The development of left-wing political alternatives to the prevailing neoliberal model; Differentiated debate of the politics of memory and the socialist past

EUROPEAN UNION



Location: Brussels, Belgium
Year founded: 2008
Project countries: European Union member states
Director: Martin Schirdewan and Claus-Dieter König
Staff: 8
www.rosalux.eu

Focus: Cooperation with and support for left-wing actors and strategies in Europe and the world's regions; The EU as a global actor (including in trade, foreign, and energy policy); Socio-ecological transformation; Criticism of the European border regime; Left-wing migration policy

LIAISON OFFICE ATHENS

Year founded: 2012
Project countries: Greece
Program coordination: Ioanna Meitani and Eva Giannakaki
Staff: 3
rosalux.gr/de

Focus: The crisis and left-wing approaches; The emergence of neo-fascism in Greece and the fight against it; Studying the impact of privatization on democracy and participation; Strengthening and revitalizing the community; Improving the situation of refugees in Europe at a time of crisis


SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE



Location: Belgrade, Serbia
Year founded: 2010
Project countries: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Slovenia
Director: Wenke Christoph (acting director since July 2016); Krunoslav Stojaković (as of March 2017)
Staff: 6
www.rosalux.rs/en

Focus: Support for trade unions, feminist and LGBTI organizations; Roma self-organization; Development of left-wing political alternatives; Critical history

RUSSIA, CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS




Location: Moscow, Russia
Year founded: 2003
Project countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan
Director: Kerstin Kaiser
Staff: 8
www.rosalux.ru

Focus: Social justice and regional integration; Migration; Disability policies and gender equality; The welfare state; A differentiated understanding of history; Sustainable regional development; 100 years of the Russian revolutions (2017)

ASIA DEPARTMENT


PALESTINE



Location: Ramallah
Year founded: 2008
Project countries: Jordan and Palestine
Director: Florian Höllen (acting director since July 2016); Ute Beuck (as of March 2017)
Staff: 7
www.rosaluxemburg.ps

Focus: Emancipatory education; Questions of social justice and participation; Alternatives to economic dependency and neoliberal approaches to development; Strengthening pluralism and freedom of expression


ISRAEL



Location: Tel Aviv
Year founded: 2009
Project countries: Israel
Director: Tsafir Cohen
Staff: 7
www.rosalux.org.il/en

Focus: Promotion of left-wing alternatives in the face of the ongoing occupation and process of de-democratization in Israel; Strengthening Jewish–Arab cooperation (in particular with regard to the socio-economic rights of marginalized populations); German–Israeli and European–Israeli dialogue with a special focus on the fight against anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and racism; Israel in the Middle East/The Middle East in Israel: Promoting Israel's integration into the Middle East

SOUTH ASIA



Location: New Delhi, India
Year founded: 2010 (registered in 2012)
Project countries: Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka
Director: Stefan Mentschel
Staff: 12
www.rosalux.in

Focus: Concepts of Social transformation (left-wing theory and practice, regional cooperation); Agriculture (food security and sovereignty); Working environments and trade-union organization (labor migration, precarious employment, transnational production and supply chains)


EAST ASIA



Location: Beijing, China
Year founded: 2008
Project countries: China, Mongolia, and North Korea
Director: Lutz Pohle (since 2009), Jan Turowski (as of March 2017)
Staff: 7
www.rosalux.de

Focus: Social justice; Socio-ecological transformation; Participatory policy and the peaceful organization of international relations in countries in transition in East and Southeast Asia

SOUTHEAST ASIA



Location: Hanoi, Vietnam
Year founded: 2009
Project countries: Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam
Director: Liliane Danso-Dahmen
Staff: 11
www.rosalux.vn

Focus: Social justice; Socio-ecological transformation; Participatory policy

PROJECT FUNDING

Providing funding to third-party projects enables the Foundation to work with other institutions that offer political education. In 2016, we received about 800 inquiries and applications for funding. These applications provide the Foundation with an understanding of the diverse, multi-faceted educational activities that are currently on offer in Germany. They include events, conferences, publications, and research projects, all of which set priorities and involve important educational policy work at the grassroots level. Last year, we provided 116 projects with a total of EUR 381,300 to use for this purpose.

Six large projects received a total of EUR 173,000 (about 45 percent of the budget). They were:

- Linke Medienakademie e. V.: A central and regional program providing training in media design, EUR 59,000
- InkrIT e. V.: *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus* (Historic-critical dictionary of Marxism), editorial work on Volume 9.1 of the dictionary (from the terms *Maschinerie* to *Mitbestimmung*), EUR 38,000
- Leipzig University: Research project *Leipzig Middle Study 2016* entitled "Die enthemmte Mitte. Autoritäre und rechtsextreme Einstellung in Deutschland" (The Uninhibited Middle. Authoritarian and Right-wing Extremist Views in Germany), EUR 30,000
- Rolf Hecker: For the publication of Volume 44 of *Marx-Engels-Werke* (MEW), EUR 28,000
- Bewegungsakademie e. V.: For a training program run by Attacademie, EUR 10,000
- Migrationsrat Berlin Brandenburg e. V.: For the Network Inclusion Leaders workshop, held in Berlin, EUR 8,000

13 additional projects received funding ranging from between EUR 5,000 and EUR 9,999; 76 projects received between EUR 1,000 and EUR 4,999; 19 were provided with between EUR 500 and EUR 999 and two were supported with amounts under EUR 500.

EXAMPLES OF PROJECT FUNDING

KAMPNAGEL INTERNATIONALE KULTURFABRIK: THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF REFUGEES & MIGRANTS. THE STRUGGLE OF REFUGEES—HOW TO GO ON?

Funding received: EUR 5,000

In February 2016, the first international refugee conference took place at Kampnagel in Hamburg. Organized by a broad

alliance of refugee and supporter groups, the conference offered the participants opportunities for networking and to plan further activities. More than 2,000 participants attended from all over Europe. They discussed strategies that could be applied during the joint struggle for the rights and perspectives of refugees and migrants, and did so during large panel discussions and more than 30 workshops. During the conference it became clear that networking was crucial if political goals were to be achieved at the European level. This led to the discussion and formulation of political demands. Many women even took action during the conference by moving out of their "protected space" and onto the large stage to spontaneously take over a panel discussion to discuss their concerns.

AUTOFOCUS VIDEOWERKSTATT E. V.: MULTIMEDIA-BASED EDUCATIONAL WEBSITE: "HOYERSWERDA 1991"
Funding received: EUR 1,500

This website was established on the 25th anniversary of the attacks on contract workers and asylum seekers that occurred in Hoyerswerda in fall 1991, and highlights the events that took place from a variety of perspectives. In order to do so, the project team primarily relies on video interviews with witnesses, including people who were victims of the attack, but also with civil society activists, artists, and committed members of the local community. The website is especially aimed at the younger generation and therefore works with a narrative approach to mediation based on videos, illustrations and, storytelling. The media resonance has been consistently positive ever since the website was launched. The educational tool attracted attention in Hoyerswerda itself and was used to promote discussion about the subject at numerous events (See: www.hoyerswerda-1991.de).

ROBERT MARUSCHKE: "ERWERBSLOSLEHRSCHULE – BASTA MACHT SCHULE" (ROBERT MARUSCHKE: "CLASSES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED—BASTA GO[ES] TO SCHOOL)

Funding received: EUR 3,500

This project began with the intention of enabling people to participate in a process of political organization. It involved young people coming together for six weeks to participate in bilingual classes for the unemployed. Together, they discussed their situation as unemployed people in society and their experiences of poverty. Among other issues, the collective learning process was also aimed at restoring people's confidence in their ability to shape politics. Each session was well attended with an average of 25 participants. The project addressed participants from the lower income strata and those in precarious living conditions. It provided them with a consistent educational approach aimed at self-empowerment

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FUNDED 16 PROJECTS IN 2016





In February 2016, the International Conference of Refugees and Migrants took place at Kampnagel, in Hamburg, with the Foundation's support.

and constitutes a good example of the successful promotion of political participation.

ADELHEID SCHARF: 8TH FEMINIST FALL ACADEMY: "SOZIALISMUS ODER BARBAREI – FEMINISTISCH EINGREIFEN, JETZT UND ALLERORTS" (SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM – FEMINIST INTERVENTION, NOW AND EVERYWHERE)

Funding received: EUR 5,000

50 women participated in the 8th Feminist Fall Academy, which took place in Bielefeld between October 28 and October 30, 2016. They discussed current patterns of capitalist production and gender relations, analyzed labor disputes, and put forward proposals for future scenarios. The Institute for Critical Theory (InkriT) organized the conference, which was held at ver.di's educational center *Buntes Haus*, to discuss how women can promote fundamental social change in their local environment. All participants agreed that political involvement always requires utopian ideas, theories, and historical consciousness. As such, seven workshops addressed questions such as: How can we undertake Marxist-feminist intervention, now and everywhere? What is meant by "revo-

lutionary realpolitik" (Rosa Luxemburg)? And where can we start? One important point that emerged from the meeting was the understanding that a feminist-Marxist "Us" was urgently needed; its joint development remains a challenge.

The issue of migration was a major focus with 19 associated projects receiving funding, including:

- Hanna Al-Tajer: "Making Music to Feel at Home – Negotiations in Diaspora and Crossing (Language) Borders," podium discussion, spoken word performances and hip-hop concert, February 2016 in Berlin, EUR 750
- Flüchtlingsrat Berlin e. V./Medibüro Berlin: Event "'Es ist uns keine Ehre' – 20 Jahre Medibüro Berlin" (It's no honor for us – 20 years of Medical Care for Refugees in Berlin), controversies surrounding the role of voluntary work when German refugee policy fails, April 2016 in Berlin, EUR 1,000
- Kairos Europa e. V.: Anniversary 2016 "Die tatsächlichen Fluchtursachen bekämpfen" (Fight the Actual Causes of Displacement), October 2016 in Mannheim, EUR 4,000
- borderline europa – Menschenrechte ohne Grenzen e. V.: No stress tour 2016 – events in front of refugee housing in Berlin and Bielefeld, EUR 1,500

- Courage gegen Fremdenhass e. V.: Exhibition "Jenseits von Lampedusa – Willkommen in Kalabrien" (Beyond Lampedusa – Welcome to Calabria), EUR 1,000

Anti-fascism/anti-racism was a further funding focus with 17 projects receiving funding:

- Knut Mellenthin: Updating the website www.holocaust-chronologie.de, EUR 2,000
- VVN-BdA Region Dresden e. V.: Civil society conference in Dresden about PEGIDA, January 2016 in Dresden, EUR 1,500
- Antirassistische Initiative e. V.: Week of action "Gedenken und Widerstand – Fünf Jahre nach dem Bekanntwerden des NSU" (Remembrance and resistance – Five years after the outing of the NSU), October/November 2016 in Berlin, EUR 1,000
- Corax e. V. – Initiative für Freies Radio: Anti-fascist and anti-racist media conference, July 2016 in Halle/Saale, EUR 1,000
- Initiative Grenzen-los! e. V.: "NaRI – No to anti-Muslim racism and the hate against Islam," development of a website providing civic education against anti-Muslim racism, EUR 1,000

Funding was also provided to a wide range of publications, including:

- Patrick Spät: *Die Freiheit nehm ich dir. 11 Kehrseiten des Kapitalismus* (I'll take your liberty. 11 disadvantages of capitalism), Rotpunkt, Zurich, 2016, EUR 1,200
- Anja Banzhaf: *Saatgut – wer die Saat hat, hat das Sagen* (Seed – whoever has the seed has the power), Oekom Verlag, Munich 2016, EUR 1,000
- sub|urban – *zeitschrift für kritische stadtforschung*, 2016, Vol. 4 (1), special issue "riots" – EUR 1,000
- Juliane Karakayali/Çagri Kahveci/Doris Liebscher/Carl Melchers (ed.): *Den NSU-Komplex analysieren. Aktuelle Perspektiven aus der Wissenschaft* (Analyzing the NSU. Current research perspectives), transcript-verlag, Bielefeld 2017, EUR 1,000
- Anja Schmidt: *Pornografie. Im Blickwinkel der feministischen Bewegungen, der Porn Studies, der Medienforschung und des Rechts* (Pornography. The perspective of feminist movements on porn studies, media research, and the law), Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden 2016, EUR 750
- Simon Schaupp: *Digitale Selbstüberwachung. Self-Tracking im kybernetischen Kapitalismus* (Digital self-monitoring. Self-tracking in cybernetic capitalism), Verlag Graswurzelrevolution, Heidelberg 2016, EUR 600

During 2016, the Foundation continued its long-term cooperation, such as with Federal Coordination Internationalism, Association Music and Social Movements, the Federal Working Group on Precarious Living Conditions and KAIROS Europe. The Foundation also established new contacts with other organizations and provided support to young people involved in political education. Finally, funding was passed on to the regional foundations whenever an opportunity opened up for direct cooperation at the local level. 22 projects received a total of EUR 18,940, including:

- Entwicklungspolitisches Netzwerk Sachsen e. V.: Research on wage and working conditions in two locations in Saxony where global fashion brands are based. Part of the project: "Wage and Labor Conditions of Shoe and Garment Workers in the Global East," EUR 2,000
- Care Revolution e. V.: Werkstatt zum Thema "Care Revolution als Transformationsstrategie" (The Care Revolution as a Strategy for Transformation), October 2016 in Freiburg, EUR 1,000
- Tamer Düzyol: "Willkommen in Kanakistan – Eine poly-educative Kunst- und Kulturreihe" (Welcome to Kanakistan – a poly-educative art and culture series), a series of events held between September and December 2016 in Erfurt, EUR 1,000
- Netzwerk für Kultur- und Jugendarbeit e. V.: One-day conference "Unter Wert verkauft. Soziale Arbeit auf der Suche nach Anerkennung" (Sold under Value. Social work in Search of Recognition), March 2016 in Dresden, EUR 500
- Initiative "kritisch denken," part of Münchner Forum für Islam e. V.: Poetry slam – Gemeinsam Erleben, gemeinsam Bewegen (Experience together – make a change together), March 2016 in Munich, EUR 500
- Treibhaus Döbeln e. V.: Zukunftswerkstatt 2016, Development of new ideas for events against xenophobic and racist tendencies, April and May 2016 in Döbeln, EUR 500
- Augen Blicke Afrika e. V.: Film screening and discussion "Der Kampf afrikanischer Frauen gegen legalisierte Vergewaltigung" (African Women's Struggle against Legalized Rape), part of the "Sisters of the Screen – African Women in Cinema" film festival, November 2016 in Hamburg, EUR 500

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The Foundation uses project funding to ensure a broad spectrum of left-wing issues can be presented to the political public. The projects that receive funding complement the Foundation's own events and publications on political education in terms of their focus, the regions in which they are made available, and their target audiences.

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The pictures that can be seen on display here were taken by Yevgenia Belorusez in Donbass, a region in decline. It was once on the frontier of industrialization but after the collapse of the Soviet Union many mines and farms were privatized and run down. The war in eastern Ukraine is now being used as a pretext to close those that survived.

The Foundation provided funding to display the photographs. They were exhibited under the title *The Victories of the Vanquished* at the National Taras Shevchenko Museum in Kiev between August 14 and September 4, 2016.







THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

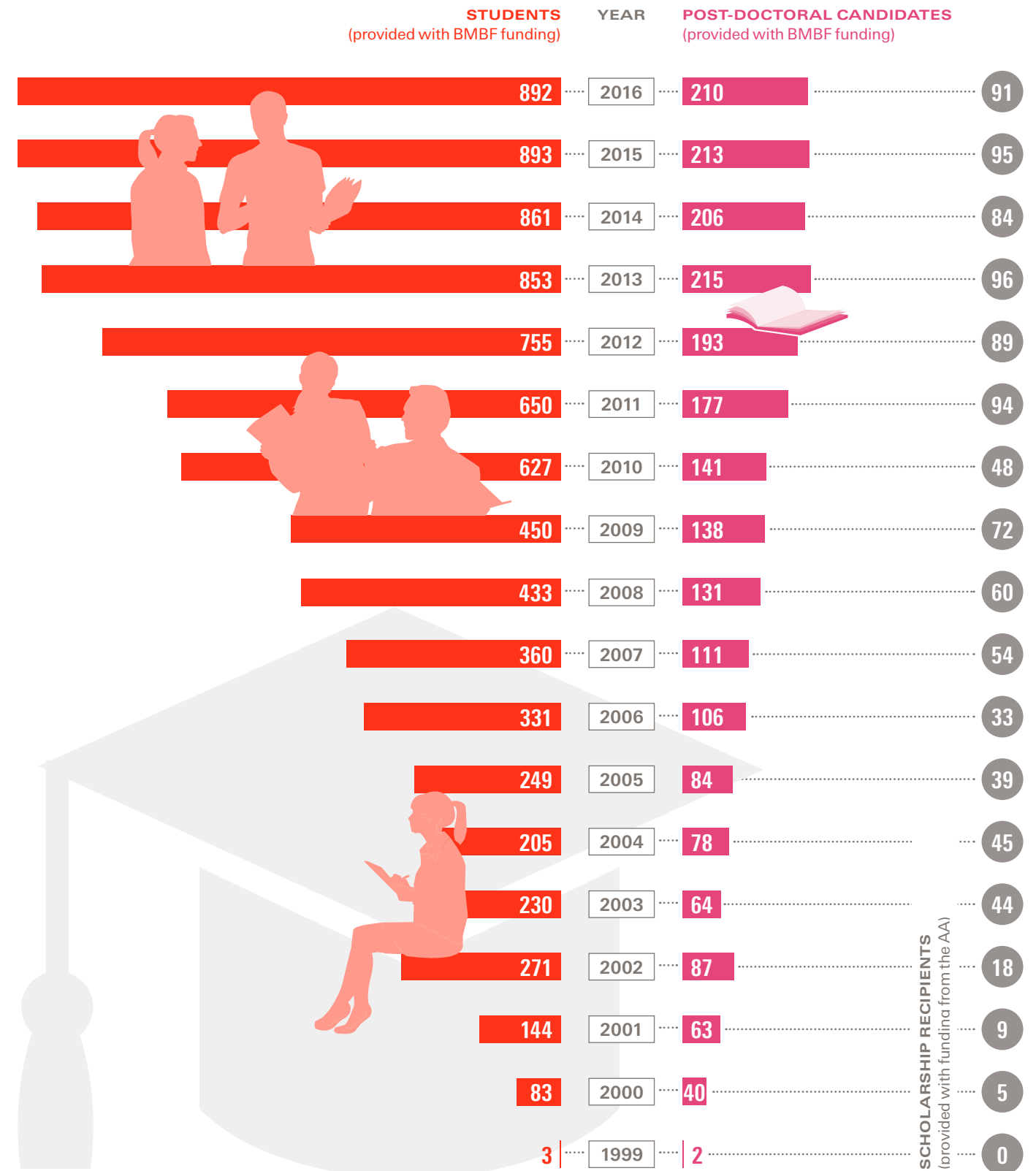
The Foundation's Scholarship Department provides funding as well as practical and theory-based support to students and doctoral students from Germany and abroad, and particularly to students from the left-wing political spectrum. In 2016, the department provided scholarships to more than 1,100 people to enable them to study, complete a doctorate or participate in our educational programs. In addition to providing funding to people from the left-wing political spectrum, the department's awards are aimed at helping to compensate for the structural inequalities that exist within the educational system. Currently, 42 percent of our scholarship holders come from a family with a recent history of migration and 53 percent have a non-academic background.

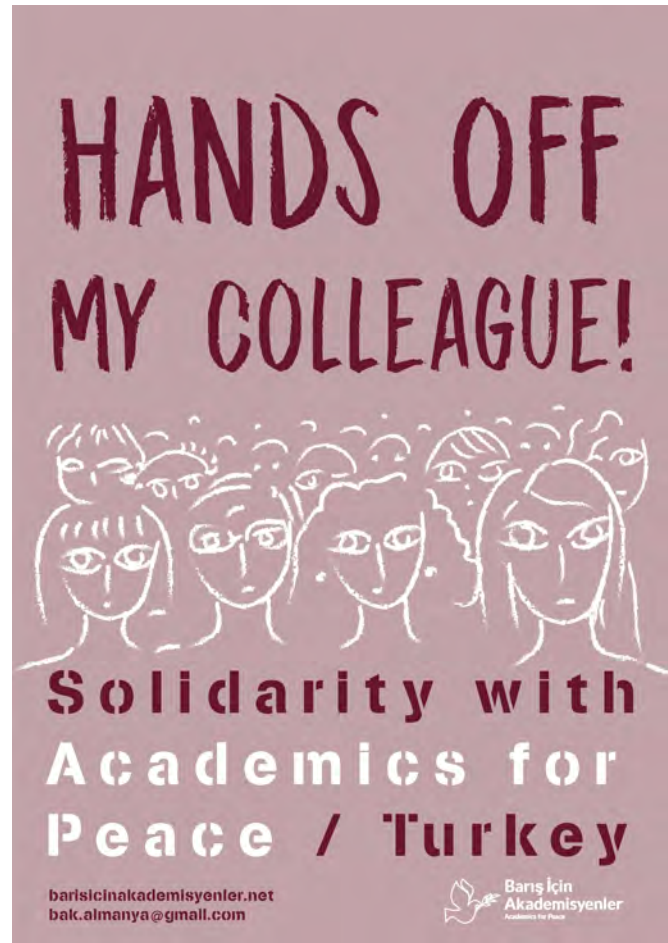
The year 2016 presented the department with several major challenges. Above all, the massive repression faced by members of Academics for Peace in Turkey as well as the growth in right-wing populism in Europe demanded a response. For this reason, since October 1, 2016, the department has been granting specific scholarships to persecuted Turkish researchers. This enables it to express solidarity with them and directly support their political work and research. In addition to the provision of direct support to these people, as an institution providing political education, the department attempts to create spaces where the political situation in Turkey can be openly discussed. At the same time, the strength of right-wing populism means that the issue of class cannot be left to racist and nationalist parties and their propaganda. Therefore, in 2016 the department decided to focus more on the issues of poverty and wealth, inequality of opportunity, exclusion, and the structural/societal causes of these issues.

Christian Baron, one of the Foundation's former doctoral fellows, has provided a number of useful proposals in both his dissertation *Die Kulturalisierung des Klassenkampfes* (The Culturalization of the Class Struggle) and in a book entitled *Proleten, Pöbel, Parasiten: Warum die Linken die Arbeiter verachten* (Plebs, Peasants, Parasites: Why the Left hates the Workers), which was published by Das Neue Berlin in October 2016. He calls on the Left to once again provide the workers with a political voice, and views this step as the only way to stop the triumph of right-wing populism.

The department's work—in terms of decisions about who to fund, and how to support scholarship recipients during their studies—would be impossible without the help of around 190 voluntary academic tutors. Their help has been crucial in enabling the Foundation to establish a left-wing academic network in Germany. We would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank the tutors for their commitment and hope that printing their names in this report goes some way to highlighting their indispensable commitment to the scholarship program.

DEVELOPMENTS IN FUNDING





Call for solidarity with persecuted university students in Turkey.

INTERVIEW ON THE CURRENT SITUATION OF CRITICAL RESEARCH IN TURKEY

Since October 1, 2016, the Scholarship Department has supported persecuted Turkish academics belonging to Academics for Peace. We spoke to Esra Erdem, one of our academic tutors who initiated this program, Tebessüm Yılmaz, and Muzaffer Kaya, the first to benefit from the new program, about the academic situation in Turkey.

What is your view of the current situation at Turkish universities?

Erdem: The authoritarian character of the Turkish political system means that complete academic freedom has never existed in the country. However, the events of 2016, which began with the criminalization of the 1,128 people who initially signed the petition raised by Academics for Peace, represent a major setback. The petition calls for an end to military operations in the majority-Kurdish parts of the country, an end to human rights violations, and a return to the peace process. However, the AKP government responded to the petition with

severity and a campaign of mudslinging. But there was also a lot of support from civil society, the women's movement, professional associations, students, soccer fans, trade unions, media that are critical of the government, and colleagues both from Germany and abroad.

Since then, universities have launched disciplinary proceedings against the people who signed the petition and the signatories also face charges of providing propaganda for a terrorist organization. This has also led to house searches and arrests. Four academics, including Muzaffer Kaya, were imprisoned for 40 days, and since the state of emergency was imposed in July 2016, hundreds of thousands of civil servants, including 312 members of Academics for Peace, have been dismissed without notice. Several people who signed the petition "We will not be a party to this crime" have even been forced into exile.

How can we express our solidarity with these people?

Yılmaz: We are very grateful to the Foundation for the pioneering role it has adopted in supporting Academics for Peace. The provision of scholarships for guest stays at German universities is unique because it is aimed just as much at students enrolled on masters or doctorate programs as it is established academics. Although students represent a third of the people who signed the petition, their precarious position is often forgotten. As many people who apply for a scholarship abroad fail because of the bureaucratic hurdles, language courses, a tandem system at the Foundation as well as the provision of advice about the German university system would certainly be helpful. We hope that further political foundations will follow the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's example. Academic tutors could invite the signatories to their universities to organize events, teach or to conduct research projects in order to open up long-term perspectives. At the same time, cooperation with universities in Turkey should be used to examine the extent to which academic freedom still exists at a particular university.

Kaya: It is also important that the German public is made aware of the diverse local forms of resistance that are continuing despite the enormous amounts of public pressure. Academics for Peace has established a number of Solidarity Academies in several Turkish cities that could act as a bridge. These academies are "open universities" in which academics who have lost their job can continue to hold their seminars and provide civic education. It would certainly be inspiring if the Foundation were to work together with these academies.

THE CULTURALIZATION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

In his dissertation *The Culturalization of the Class Struggle*, which was sponsored by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Christian Baron focused on a question that is currently gaining increasing traction: Why do economically and culturally impoverished people—assuming they still participate in elections—vote increasingly often for the right-wing ideologues whose policies are directed against working class interests? Baron now works as an editor for the daily newspaper *neues deutschland* and published his most important findings in the much-discussed book *Plebs, Peasants, Parasites*, which appeared in 2016. He argues that left-wing parties and movements are also responsible for the current situation and points out that after the collapse of the Soviet Union many people seriously claimed that social classes no longer existed. This led to a focus on identity-based issues and demands such as gender equality or the acceptance of homosexuality and transsexuality. While this resulted in important progress, as Baron certainly understands, it also led to a political blind spot: the issue of class.

Women's access to the labor market has certainly improved, but gender equality has only been reached in terms of equal access to the low-wage sector; a sector that neoliberal economic policy has steadily sought to expand. The struggle

against economic inequality in a society in which class was assumed to have been overcome, therefore, has fallen victim to a policy of tolerance that ignored the issue of class. To summarize Christian Baron's point: while fighting prejudice, the Left has forgotten to take action against its causes.

Baron also underscores the point that the Left has lost its most important political allies: the workers. Lost struggles have divided the working class into two groups. On the one hand, there is a semi-secure fraction that is attempting to save itself from reverse social mobility, but often sees its situation worsen nonetheless. This group is contrasted by an "underclass" that is decoupled from the rest of society. This latter group has to accept the (often dehumanizing) derision directed against it, and has long resigned itself to its situation. The rise of the Right, Baron concludes, is primarily a symptom of the deep crisis within the Left. Therefore, it will not be possible to stop the frightening triumphs of the nationalists and racists until the Left once again provides the workers with a political voice. Nevertheless, Baron still sees cause for hope: trade union renewal is taking place, the Left Party has put the social question back on the agenda, and promising new movements are emerging from the extra-parliamentary Left. Still, if we are to ensure that these developments do not merely dissipate, the Left needs to get over its fear of making radical demands and adopt the class-political offensive.

A demonstration in front of the press building in Cologne during the print workers' strike in 1973. Have the workers lost their most important political allies?



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THE POLITICAL COMMUNICATION DEPARTMENT

The staff at Political Communication aim to make the Foundation's educational events, publications and contributions to research accessible to a broad public in a way that intervenes in debate while remaining clear and understandable. In order to better achieve this aim and to optimize internal processes, the restructuring that took place at the Foundation in 2016 resulted in an expansion of the department. The colleagues involved in event management perfectly fit the department's aims: they are directly involved in developing ideas for, organizing, and running all of the congresses, round trips, and major events that the Foundation conducts.

Clearly, there is a great deal of overlap between both fields of activity, and this becomes particularly evident during the preparation of the Foundation's core projects where the department takes on a leading role. This includes work conducted on net policy issues, developing themes for and organizing the Festival of the Left, which annually attracts several thousand guests to Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz in the center of Berlin, and supporting visitor groups from the constituencies of Left Party delegates in the Bundestag.

Moreover, the department is also involved in the Foundation's planning processes and developing internal and external communication strategies. Communication "with the outside" also needs to be based on intensive communication "with the inside." In this respect, the department's staff work together with all of the Foundation's departments—domestically and internationally.

The department is also responsible for the Foundation's series of publications, supervising the online presence, compiling the annual report and the monthly online newsletter. It also provides the media, both at home and abroad, with information on the Foundation's activities, distributes and produces advertising, and supports the organization of exhibitions. In 2016, the Foundation issued 130 publications ranging from *Standpunkte* to brochures from the *luxemburg argumente series*, *Analysen* and *Materialien* to books released together with the Foundation's publishing partners.

Finally, the growing importance of the internet in public relations is reflected in a broad range of internet publications: in addition to the website available at www.rosalux.de and various blogs, the Foundation also uses social media to publicize its work. Moreover, documenting events in an audio or video format is becoming increasingly important at the Foundation as it also enables educational programs to be accessed anywhere and at any time.



For the first time, the Foundation had its own stand at the 2016 Frankfurt Book Fair.

ROSA AT THE BOOK FAIR

A REPORT FROM THE 68TH FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR

Ready! In the exhibition area for literature and non-fiction in Hall 3.1, the panels with Rosa Luxemburg's picture and the Foundation's logo have already been hung up on the light-gray walls of the stand. Various brochures have been laid out, including *Offenes Geheimnis – Mythen und Fakten zu Überwachung und digitaler Selbstverteidigung* (Open Secrets—Myths and Facts on Surveillance and Digital Self-Defense), *Gegenhalten – Flüchtlinge Willkommen, immer noch!* (Resist—Refugees Still Welcome!) and *Ist doch ein Kompliment ... Behauptungen und Fakten zu Sexismus* (It's Meant to be a Compliment—Claims and Facts about Sexism), which feature alongside the journal *RosaLux*, the magazine *LuXemburg* and the Foundation's Annual Report. In fact, every space on the stand's shelves is stocked with the Foundation's publications. A haulage company picked up 600 kilograms of goods in Berlin and unloaded them at the exhibition grounds in Frankfurt am Main. For five days—between October 19 and October 23, 2016—stand G3 was open from 10am for all those who were interested in the Foundation and our partners. Until the final gong was sounded at 6pm on the last day of the fair, the stand was constantly bustling with people talking, giving recommendations, discussing, receiving information and asking questions.

The Foundation was represented at the fair by Stefan Thimmel, Ulrike Hempel, and Kathrin Senger-Schäfer who con-

ducted frequent and productive discussions with visitors, other party-affiliated foundations such as the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, with representatives of the Federal Agency for Civic Education and *Kürschners Politiklexikon* and with publishers. Journalists inquired about information on specific topics such as digitization, climate change, the 2017 Bundestag elections, and the financing of party-affiliated foundations. Finally, international guests from Canada, Poland, and Italy were provided with publications and educational materials for German courses. The public response was positive: "At least the Left remain true to their values: you can still get material for free here," praised one visitor. Another noted: "'Printed on recycled offset on 100 percent waste paper.' At least you are consistent when it comes to sustainability."

The stand ensured that the Foundation reached the relevant specialist audience as well as interested lay people who flocked to the fair at the weekend. The exhibition team received excellent support from Alexandra Colligs, Niko Michael Henes, Jakob Migenda, and Nathalie Schäfer, some of the Foundation's Frankfurt-based scholarship holders.

Those at the stand were also delighted to receive visits from colleagues from the Left Party's parliamentary group in Hesse's parliament, and from the regional foundation. The director of the regional foundation, Murat Çakir, moderated a reading and discussion conducted with the Turkish-Kurdish writer Haydar Karataş at the Montez Art Association. The publisher read from a translation of Karataş's book *Nachtfalter*.



Cheerful and resolute: a drawing by the illustrator Marie Geissler.

Perperik-a Söe during an event organized by the Foundation together with *neues deutschland* and Dağyeli Verlag.

On the Saturday, the Publications Unit held two events at the stand. Stefan Thimmel moderated a discussion with Christian Russau about his book *Abstauben in Brazil. Deutsche Konzerne im Zwielficht* (Dusting off in Brazil. The Two Sides of German Companies) published in the *luxemburg-Bücher* series by VSA:Verlag. Afterwards, Ulrike Hempel interviewed Anna Schiff about a brochure published as part of the *luxemburg argumente* series entitled “Ist doch ein Kompliment ... Behauptungen und Fakten zu Sexismus” (It’s Meant to be a Compliment—Claims and Facts about Sexism).

Marie Geißler, who illustrated the brochure, was also present at the fair. She used a drawing machine—the Illumat—to interact with the audience and produce illustrations. Members of the public were encouraged to write down a wish on a piece of paper and drop it into the machine along with a coin. Shortly afterwards the “Illumat” produced an individual drawing that had been conceived and implemented in a matter of minutes. Marie Geißler ensured that Stefan Thimmel’s wish—that Rosa attend the book fair—became reality, at least in the form of a cloth bag stating “Racism is not an alternative.” This statement will remain true in 2017, when the Foundation will once again be present with a stand at the Frankfurt Book Fair.

SMART WORDS

A CRITICAL LEXICON OF DIGITIZATION

Algorithms determine whether people receive loans or insurance, whether wars are fought or health care is provided. They employ big data to control digital platforms that are presented as neutral yet remain sites of capitalist exploitation. These technological systems lack transparency and are hard to understand, but they influence or control more and more parts of our everyday lives. In fact, it is not always clear which societal processes have been left to “autonomous systems.” Moreover, because hardly anyone understands what actually happens within black box algorithms, it may not even be clear whether a situation has developed in which technology has supposed or even real power over people.

Algorithms can be defined “in a narrow sense, [as] computational methods used to solve mathematical questions. More broadly defined, an algorithm is a ‘systematic, logical rule or approach that leads to the solution of a given problem’ (Werner Stangl). Algorithms are not about finding single solutions, but solutions that always work: a navigation device should be able to find the best route from A to B in any city—because the principle behind the device has to work every time.”

Many of the new terms used in this field are bandied about in the worlds of science, advertising, and the media. The debate about digitization often involves vocabularies with unclear origins or meanings that trivialize, gloss over and obscure the facts. Numerous terms have been taken from the world of marketing but in some cases the increasing commercialization of the internet has led the meanings of these terms to change; as such, their social and political dimensions often remain blurred. Moreover, there is usually little interest in explaining what these terms actually involve. However, this is exactly the intention behind *Smarte Worte. Das Kritische Lexikons der Digitalisierung* (Smart Words. Critical Lexicon of Digitization), which the Foundation and *neues deutschland* have created together with a circle of well-informed authors to accompany the Unboxing Conference. The lexicon explains the origins of these terms, what they mean, and, above all, who uses them, why they do so, and the political impact that they have. The book also attempts to summarize the terms to make them easier to understand and deconstruct moments of dominance with a view to emancipation.

Given the current tendencies towards de-democratization, it is essential to critically appropriate the language of digitization, and conduct an analysis of the business models associated with the surveillance capitalism behind it.



SELECTED PUBLICATIONS BY THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

SERIES PUBLISHED BY THE FOUNDATION

Anna Schiff
Ist doch ein Kompliment ...
Behauptungen und Fakten zu Sexismus
luxemburg argumente No. 9, 40 pages,
ISSN 2193-5831

Stephan Kaufmann, Eva Roth
Gerechte Armut?
Mythen und Fakten zur Ungleichheit in Deutschland
luxemburg argumente No. 11, 48 pages,
ISSN 2193-5831

AG Kritischer Konsum
Guter Kunde, böser Kunde
Über das Für und Wider “ethischen” Konsums
luxemburg argumente No. 13, 44 pages,
ISSN 2193-5831

Frank Pasquale, Jathan Sadowski
Smart City
Überwachung und Kontrolle in der “intelligenten Stadt”
Analysen No. 23, 42 pages,
ISSN 2194-2951

Juliane Schumacher
Loss and Damage!
Was bedeutet gerechte Klimapolitik?
Analysen No. 24, 20 pages,
ISSN 2194-2951

Philipp Ratfisch, Helge Schwiertz
Antimigrantische Politik und der “Sommer der Migration”
Rassistische Mobilisierungen, das deutscheuropäische Grenzregime und die Perspektive eines Gegenhegemonalen Projekts
Analysen No. 25, 44 pages,
ISSN 2194-2951

Volkmar Wölk
Zur Renaissance der europäischen Konservativen Revolution
Analysen No. 31, 28 pages,
ISSN 2194-2951

Alexandre Froidevaux (ed.)
80 Jahre danach – Der Spanische Bürgerkrieg 1936–1939
Die spanische Gesellschaft und deutsche Interventionen
Materialien No. 14, 36 pages,
ISSN 2199-7713

Erhard Crome (ed.)
Friedensforschung in Deutschland
Anforderungen an eine “kritische Friedensforschung”
Materialien No. 18, 56 pages,
ISSN 2199-7713

Bernd Hüttner, Gregor Kritisidis (ed.)
Das KPD-Verbot 1956
Vorgeschichte und Folgen der Illegalisierung der KPD in Westdeutschland
Materialien No. 19, 44 pages,
ISSN 2199-7713

Max Lill
The Kids Are Alright?
Ausgewählte Befunde aktueller Jugendstudien
Studien 01/2016, 38 pages,
ISSN 2194-2242

Jörg Nowak
Grenzüberschreitende Solidarität unter ArbeiterInnen
Eine Bestandsaufnahme anhand von vier Fallstudien
Studien 10/2016, 28 pages,
ISSN 2194-2242

Friedrich Burschel (ed.)
Durchmarsch von Rechts
Völkischer Aufbruch: Rassismus, Rechtspopulismus, rechter Terror
Manuskripte Neue Folge, Vol. 17, 142 pages, ISSN 2194-864X

VSA: VERLAG

Michael Brie (ed.)
Lasst uns über Alternativen reden
Beiträge zur kritischen Transformationsforschung
VSA: Verlag, 264 pages,
ISBN 978-3-89965-677-0

Harald Wolf
Rot-Rot in Berlin
2002 bis 2011: eine (selbst-)kritische Bilanz
VSA: Verlag, 328 pages,
ISBN 978-3-89965-671-8

VERLAG WESTFÄLISCHES DAMPFBOOT

Alex Demirović (ed.)
Transformation der Demokratie – demokratische Transformation
Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot, 305 pages,
ISBN 978-3-89691-843-7

Andreas Fisahn
Die Saat des Kadmos
Staat, Demokratie und Kapitalismus
Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot, 422 pages,
ISBN 978-3-89691-853-6

KARL DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN

Paul Levi
Ohne einen Tropfen Lakaienblut
Gesammelte Schriften, Reden und Briefe, Vol. II/1 and II/2
Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, 663 or 715 pages,
ISBN 978-3-320-02316-4 or 978-3-320-02317-1

Clara Zetkin
Die Kriegsbriefe 1
Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, 560 pages,
ISBN 978-3-320-02323-2

All publications, with the exception of those published by Karl Dietz Verlag Berlin, can be downloaded free of charge.

THE ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY

The Foundation's Archive of Democratic Socialism (ADS) provides an extensive and rounded range of literature and archival material. Its aim is to collect, evaluate, and explore the documents it preserves and makes accessible to the public and the Foundation's staff. The archive concentrates on documents related to the Foundation and the political development of the Left Party, its milieu, and the political parties from which the Left Party emerged—the PDS and the WASG. Together with the library, the archive holds a unique collection that covers the past and the present of the emancipatory, left-wing politics that are linked to the ideas of democratic socialism, and covers the period ranging from 1989/90 to the present day. In 2016, the collection was further expanded. The archive and the library gained new material such as documents from the Left Party's regional association in Saxony-Anhalt and a "supplementary delivery" on the WASG from Thomas Händel's office. Large amounts of material also arrived from the Left Party's parliamentary group in the Bundestag and the Left Party's federal office.

The archive's staff are devoted to improving the level of respect in which this collection is held, especially now that it has grown significantly. Part of this work involves the digitization of about 1,200 analogue sound recordings from party conferences, parliamentary group meetings, and events organized by the Left Party, the PDS or the Foundation. These are held on magnetic tape (such as cassettes and microcassettes) and need to be gradually converted to a digital format. The recordings, which could otherwise be lost due to the aging process and the threat of technical obsolescence—in other words, the increasing disappearance of playback devices—date from between 1989 and 2007. Digitization began in the fall of 2016, and it has already been possible to evaluate some of the results. Given the increasing importance of digital formats, a long-term approach to digital archiving was drawn up last year that foresees growth from the current six terabytes to over eight terabytes during a five-year period. This undertaking, however, will pose a challenge in terms of staff and technology.

The Foundation's library (Library code: B 1599) is a specialized academic library that holds diverse collections. It distinguishes itself through its collection of literature on the history of the Left and left-wing theory development, especially concerning the Left Party, its milieu, the Foundation, and Rosa Luxemburg—the Foundation's namesake.

The library currently holds more than 20,000 items and the collection is supplemented by more than 1,500 different magazine titles. As a public library, it has been open to the public for the past 17 years and also provides research, information, and literature to the Foundation's staff at all locations.

In 2016, one of the library's main focuses was strengthening the reputation of its unique collection. On the one hand, this involved enabling people to conduct online research: in order to make the library catalog available online, a new library system was introduced using a proven, widely-used open source system called KOHA. After data migration and a test phase had been completed, the catalog was opened to researchers at the beginning of 2017 and made available on the Foundation's website at <https://library.rosalux.de>. In addition, the library's magazine collection is also available in the "Zeitungsdatenbank" (magazine database or ZDB) of the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, one of the world's largest databases with around 4,300 participating libraries from throughout Germany and Austria (see www.zeitschriftendatenbank.de).

In terms of literature provision, the library took a further important step and introduced a new type of event. The desire to ensure that new releases become more well-known and to give authors the opportunity to present their books to a critical public was a decisive factor. The library held a number of book presentations in the Foundation's Salon under the title "Linke Literatur im Gespräch" (Discussing Left-wing Literature). In 2016, this included a presentation of the book *Gespaltene Machteliten: Verlorene Transformationsfähigkeit oder Renaissance eines New Deal?* (Split Power Elites: Lost Transformation Capability or Renaissance of a New Deal?) in which Dieter Klein investigates the opportunities that exist to treat the current power elites in separation from the dominant form of neoliberalism. This led to a fascinating discussion with the audience, which was moderated by Tom Strohschneider, chief editor of *neues deutschland*.

In an event that marked the publication of *Das Kommunistische* (The Communistic), Uwe Michel, who initiated the publication, spoke with Bini Adamczak, Friederike Habermann, and Lutz Brangsch, together with Michael Brie—its editor—about the timeliness, fault lines, and praxis of "the Communistic," and about a specter that has never been able to find rest. During the presentation of their book *Polens Rolle rückwärts* (Poland's Role Backwards), Holger Politt (the director of the Foundation's office in Warsaw) and the Polish journalist Krzysztof Pilawski discussed current developments within the Right in Poland with Florian Weis, the Foundation's Executive Director.

During a presentation of the publication *Wahlalternative Arbeit und soziale Gerechtigkeit* (WASG) (Election Alternative for Work and Social Justice), a publication that relied on support from the archive, Jochen Weichold, the book's co-author and



The Archive of Democratic Socialism mainly collects documents on the founding and political developments connected to the Left Party.

former head of the archive, explained to the audience how archival collections enter into historiography, and encouraged everyone who had experienced this period to provide the ADS with documents about the history of the party after the event. These events were so successful that the new format has established itself as an important part of the historical work conducted by the Foundation, and the library intends to continue using it in the coming year.

NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION

A QUESTION OF PATIENCE

NEW BUILDING PROJECTS ENTER A CRITICAL PHASE

When it comes to publicly-funded construction projects, there is something that is always needed: patience. Either the project takes longer to complete because planning problems arose during construction, or the path to construction is rockier than expected. Patience is also currently being demonstrated by those responsible for the Foundation's new building: Although construction was due to begin in 2016, the tight budget means that meticulous planning is essential, and this takes time.

After the general planning team was put together in May 2016 together with the architect-trio Kim, Nalleweg and Trujillo—the winners of the Foundation's two-phase open planning contest—the work on room planning began alongside close coordination with the Federal Office for Building and Regional Planning, which is supervising the entire process. However, it was not until November 2016 that the Foundation's preliminary design was confirmed. Above all, the costs and the results required at this stage led the company acting on behalf of the Foundation (Straße der Pariser Kommune 8) to call for improvements to be made to the plans. Properly estimating the costs of a project is particularly difficult due to the fact that high demand is leading to increased construction costs. Consequently, the design could not be approved until a decision had been taken as to where the Foundation's staff should be located during the process. The staff are to be distributed between two locations: Franz-Mehring-Platz 1 and Straße der Pariser Kommune 8. In February 2017, the architects completed the draft plans. These are required in order to apply for a construction permit and grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The planning process is also being followed by the Steering Committee consisting of the Foundation's Executive Director, Florian Weis, the Head of the Department of Finance—IT—Central Tasks, Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan, Staff Director Annegret Rohwedder, Head of Administration Katrin Oefelein as well as the Head of Construction Staff, Axel Krumrey. In addition, a regular internal exchange of information is organized via a working group consisting of staff members from the various departments. At the end of September 2017, the planning phase is to be finalized and all permits are to be submitted so that construction can begin. In 2019, the Foundation should be able to move into its new home. Until then, patience will still be required.

NOT SAFE AT ALL

A CRITIQUE OF THE IDEA OF SAFE COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

In 2014 and 2015, with the country still dealing with the impact of the “summer of migration,” the Bundestag and the Bundesrat declared the countries of the West Balkans to be “safe countries of origin.” During her speaking tour, Tamara Baković-Jadžić described what the situation in these countries was really like, particularly for Romnija and Roma. Her tour took her through seven cities in southern and western Germany between November 14 and November 26, 2016.

Tamara Baković-Jadžić is an activist from the Serbian Roma Forum, an organization focused on networking, educating, and organizing the Romnija and Roma community within Serbia. The Serbian Roma Forum is part of Levi Samit Srbije, an alliance of left-wing organizations in Serbia that includes various activist groups, media projects, non-governmental organizations and trade unionists active in autonomous labor struggles.

During her tour, Baković-Jadžić focused on two so-called safe countries of origin: Serbia and Kosovo—so-called, because Romnija and Roma who live in these countries are subjected to attacks on a daily basis. They are not only systematically discriminated against in public, but also by the authorities, and they face severe levels of marginalization in all areas of life. Of the estimated 500,000 Romnija and Roma living in Serbia, almost 99 percent lack regular employment, and around 120,000 live in “informal settlements” without access to adequate infrastructure such as electricity and water supplies or sanitation. Fewer than 1 percent have a university degree. Discrimination and socio-economic marginalization are linked and mutually reinforce one another.

Although international and EU law describes the persecution of Romnija and Roma in these countries as structural and cumulative discrimination, the German government has effectively further entrenched its restrictive asylum policy and associated practices by declaring the Balkan States to be secure countries of origin. Moreover, the list of alleged safe countries is getting longer. Thus, the Maghreb states are also to be classified as safe, as are parts of Afghanistan. During the tour, Baković-Jadžić stressed the importance of not merely criticizing asylum legislation in isolation, but of viewing it as a result of the EU's socially unjust economic, accession, and austerity policies, which are particularly affecting the countries on the European periphery.

This has serious consequences for migrants in Germany. Now that asylum law has been restricted, asylum applications from people from these countries are now rejected as “blatantly unfounded,” although the majority of applications are filed by Romnija and Roma. Instead, these people are classed as “economic refugees,” placed in special camps, or are subject to stricter residence obligations, and a ban on employment. Their asylum applications have an almost 100 percent rejection rate, and this is reflected in the rapidly rising number



Tamara Baković-Jadžić spoke about the situation facing Roma in Serbia

of deportations. At the same time, the new regulations are also dramatically worsening the situation of several thousand Romnija and Roma who fled to Germany as a result of the Yugoslavian War and the Kosovo conflict of the 1990s: these people were once “tolerated” by the authorities and have been living in Germany ever since, however, they too are now facing deportation.

The events conducted as part of the speaking tour were held together with other organizations such as the Bavarian Refugee Council, the Baden-Württemberg Refugee Council, the Regional Association of German Sinti and Roma Baden-Württemberg, e. V., and the ROM e. V. Cologne. This made it possible to highlight both the situation for refugees on the ground and specific measures of action and support—for example, the initiative “alle bleiben!” (No-one is leaving!), which, like so many others, is campaigning for asylum seekers' right to free movement and against “Fortress Europe.”



NOT SAFE AT ALL.
THE SAFE COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN LEGISLATION AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR ROMA MIGRANTS
The brochure produced by the Foundation in Southeast Europe focuses on the effects the new asylum laws have on immigrants from the Balkan countries.



Kurt Pätzold died at the age of 86—he was a famous researcher focused on work on fascism.

LIFE AS A MARXIST HISTORIAN

ON THE PASSING OF KURT PÄTZOLD (1930–2016)

On August 18, 2016, Professor Kurt Pätzold passed away at the age of 86 in Berlin. He was a long-standing member of the Foundation and an active speaker. Pätzold was one of the most prominent Marxist historians in the GDR and later in the Federal Republic. He belonged to the generation of those who—together with the historians who resisted the National Socialist dictatorship and who partly lived in exile—continued to teach at universities and kept up their work.

Kurt Pätzold was born on May 3, 1930, in Wrocław. In 1945, he and his family moved to Thuringia, where he set about supporting the creation of an anti-fascist democratic Germany. In Jena, he studied history, philosophy, and political economy. In 1963, he completed his doctorate with a study of the Zeiss Group during the depression. Ten years later, at the Humboldt University in Berlin, he presented his highly acclaimed post-doctoral thesis entitled *Antisemitismus und Judenverfolgung (Januar 1933 bis August 1935)* (Antisemitism and Jewish persecution—January 1933 to August 1935). As an academic, he focused heavily on this subject, as well as the history of the NSDAP, and did so until the end of his life.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Pätzold held the position of chair of German history at the Humboldt University, where for many years he was director of the history department and vice-dean of the faculty, influencing several generations of students. In the course of the closure of the Humboldt University's history department, he lost his post in 1992. The action he filed against his discharge was dismissed due to the special contractual termination rights set out in the Treaty of German Unification. However, this did not prevent him from tirelessly continuing his research, as is clear from the numerous publications he later produced. The passing of Kurt Pätzold marks the loss of one of our most productive academics; a critical, restless, but above all analytical Marxist historian.

THE LAST JOURNEY

HANS-JÜRGEN KRYSMANSKI (1935–2016)

In the fall of 1990, just a few days after the GDR's "accession" to the constitution of the Federal Republic, discussions took place that led to the establishment of a Foundation affiliated to the PDs. One of its founding members was Hans-Jürgen Krysmanski. "Krys" hoped that the new left-wing foundation would be able to oppose the think-tank culture that dominated in the US and the Federal Republic and, instead, provide a radical space for theory and action. Krysmanski joined the new foundation and was a member of its association, wrote for the journals *UtopieKreativ* and *LuXemburg*, initiated and organized events, participated in countless numbers of the Foundation's seminars and congresses, and was a long-standing member of the peace and security policy network as well as the privatization network. He also belonged to Attac's scientific advisory council, the Federation of Democratic Scientists, the presidium of the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Academics.

In 1961, Krysmanski gained his doctorate under Helmut Schelsky on "Die utopische Methode" (The Utopian Method). This was a study based on the sociology of literature and knowledge of German utopian novels from the 20th century. He closed by stating: "A form of social thought focused on the status quo—the 'most illusionary of all goals'—provides the foundation for utopian speculation. It teaches utopian thought to walk in a world that has already begun to run." He understood sociology as a "revolutionary science"; his thought was colorful, wild and sometimes even angry. He focused on an analysis of class and power, and he tirelessly published material on these issues in the context of the military-industrial, and money-making complex. His book, published in 2012, *0.1 % Das Imperium der Milliardäre* (0.1%. The Empire of the Billionaires) provides an overview of this work. Hans-Jürgen Krysmanski passed away on June 9, 2016, at the age of 80.

Hans-Jürgen Krysmanski: a founding member of the Foundation.



A PASSIONATE ARCHITECT

IN MEMORIAM OF PETER CONRADI (1932–2016)

Born in Schwedt on December 10, 1932, Peter Conradi followed in the footsteps of his father to become an architect. He passionately supported the construction of spectacular architectural projects such as the covering of the Reichstag, which was undertaken together with Christo and Jeanne-Claude (June 24 to July 7, 1995), or the modernization of the Reichstag by Sir Norman Foster (completed in 1999). But he fought just as passionately against the reconstruction of the Berlin Palace or the new Stuttgart 21 railway and urban development project. When protesting against the latter, he also felt the full wrath of the water cannons.

Conradi was a provocative member of the SPD and he represented the party in the Bundestag between 1972 and 1998. He then became president of the Federal Chamber of Architects, remaining in the post between 1999 and 2004. In 2005, in protest against the SPD and the Green Party's joint social policy, Conradi temporarily suspended his party membership.

Conradi was always a strong advocate of providing space for the contestation of ideas, and this also became clear during the tender for the Foundation's new building. He offered guidance on the project from the beginning and was greatly committed to the success of a transparent and open competition. His commitment went beyond the customary responsibility of a judge, and he remained a constant point of contact between the Foundation and the other judges. He added to the constructive and vivid debate that took place among the panel and during the first phase of the competition in Berlin. The jury was highly impressed by the 83-year-old's youthful enthusiasm. He was determined to bring his dedication to the project and tremendous technical knowledge to bear on the final decision. Unfortunately, this will no longer be possible. Peter Conradi passed away on March 11, 2016, in Stuttgart.

A familiar face that we will certainly miss: Michael Glass in the Foundation's courtyard.



Peter Conradi was a specialist judge during planning for the Foundation's new building

RATIONAL, SELF-REFLECTIVE, CRITICAL

IN MEMORY OF MICHAEL GLASS (1961–2016)

He was always there. Almost every day. He never took leave. Almost every member of staff recognized his face, even if they did not all know his name: Michael Glass, the friendly man with the short, gray hair, passed away during the night of December 30, 2016.

Michael Glass worked for eight years as a project manager at the Center for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID). He began by coordinating the Foundation's office in Warsaw and later took on the responsibility for other international offices.

Michael Glass took part in language training in preparation for his diplomatic service in the GDR. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, he moved to Bonn to work for Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel until the PDS lost its seats in the Bundestag in 2002. A colleague recounted that the event hit Michael hard. It was not until seven years later that he took up a post at the Foundation. However, despite all the years that had passed, he had lost none of his political convictions: the struggle for something better, and the belief in democratic socialism as part of the new order. His keen analyses and commentaries, particularly about the events that were taking place in Eastern Europe, provide tremendous insight into his thinking and his knowledge. His text, *Lieber rot als schwul?* (Rather be Red than Gay?), is a good example: it appeared in the Foundation's 2013 *Standpunkte* series, and denounces the persecution of homosexuals in Russia. Moreover, he pointed out that this situation was "unfortunately due, not least, to the action of political forces in these countries who like to call themselves 'left-wing'." Glass went on to appeal to the Left in Germany: "Why is there no public outcry from the emancipatory Left in this country against the homophobic zeal of our so-called comrades in Russia, Ukraine, and Moldova? See nothing? Hear nothing? And, no matter what happens, say nothing!"

Michael Glass was a man with a big heart. He will be greatly missed.

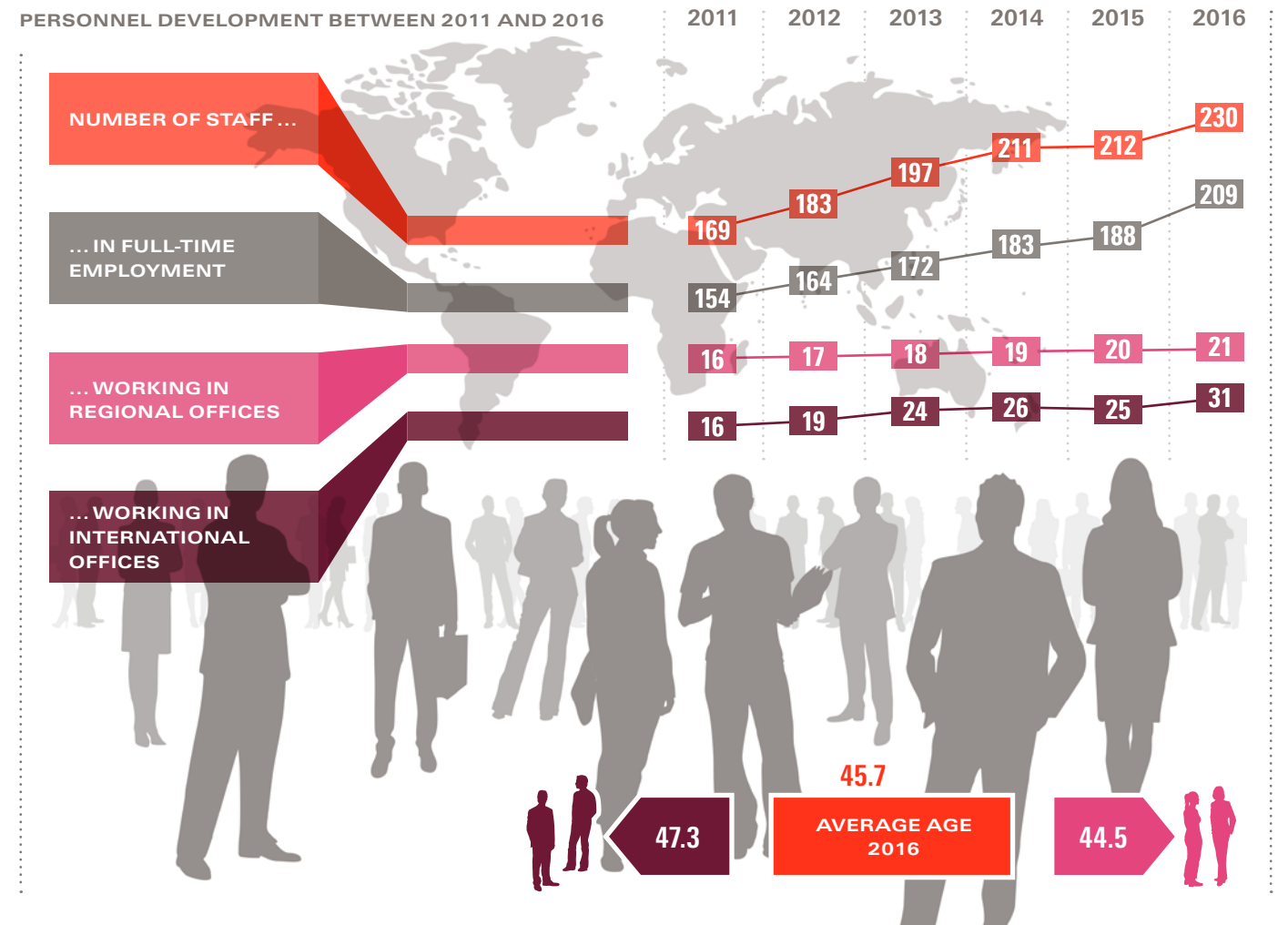
PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

The collective agreement on extended codetermination was formally signed in January 2014, and evaluated in 2016 after a three-year term. The agreement makes the Foundation a very special employer. It provides for a level of staff involvement that is rarely found in German companies. In this respect, the collective agreement fits well with the Foundation's aims and should be regarded as a valuable asset that needs to be refined and maintained. The following aspects have proven particularly effective:

- In four recruitment procedures for managerial positions involving internal positions, the staff working in the respective division were asked whether they approved or rejected the Board's decision. The procedures were conducted smoothly and the vast majority of decisions were approved.
- The operating agreement on conflict management was jointly negotiated. The negotiations were collegial and creative. However, the agreement still needs to be proven effective in practice.
- The managers organized the development of the common principles of *Good Leadership: Responsibility. Making decisions. Acting Fairly* through a continuous exchange of experiences. This process was generally rated as both highly stimulating and productive.
- The process of establishing the guidelines on *Good Division Management* was also highly productive and collegial. The partners involved believe that the feedback procedure established for area managers constitutes an improvement. However, these guidelines also need to be proven in practice.
- Negotiations were also conducted by representatives of the works council and the Foundation on shortening the length of time needed before moving on to the next pay grade; these were uncomplicated and highly professional talks. However, a common position has been found on all but one position.
- The regular participation by staff in personnel decisions has led staff to feel more respected and they also take their new responsibilities very seriously.

Some regulations have proven impractical, however. In particular, staff participation in selection procedures in areas with multi-level hierarchies is still insufficiently regulated and leads to conflicts or significantly delays the selection process. Therefore, these aspects of the agreement will need to be renegotiated.

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 2011 AND 2016



Percentage of total staff:

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Female staff	51%	56%	55%	56%	55%	56%
Male staff	49%	44%	45%	44%	45%	44%
Staff from a migrant family	11%	15%	14%	15%	15%	16%
Staff with permanent contracts	81%	80%	77%	76%	78%	73%
Part-time staff	17%	20%	23%	24%	29%	30%
Staff on parental leave	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%	1%
Trainees	2%	3%	4%	3%	0%	0%
Passive phase of semi-retirement				1%	1%	2%

Other forms of employment:

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Staff in limited part-time employment ¹	12	7	7	7	8	5
Internships ²	34	35	37	36	34	39

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 STRUCTURE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

This year's General Assembly took place on November 26, 2016. It was dominated by the election of the Executive Board, the sharing of information about the growing strength of the populist Right, and the challenges that this presents to the Foundation.

With 90 voting members present (nearly 74 percent of the membership), participation was particularly high this year. The Chair of the Executive Board, Dagmar Enkelmann, described the Foundation as broadly structured, more determined in refining its focus and as increasingly recognized as a nationwide educational institution. She stressed that the Foundation's members and staff were responsible for these successes and thanked them sincerely for their commitment. Florian Weis, Executive Director of the Executive Board, was delighted that it had been possible to involve the membership in numerous projects such as the new building, the Frankfurt Book Fair, as well as expert discussions on migration policy, trade union policy, and peace and security policy. Nevertheless, he emphasized that there were still numerous sites where work still needed to be conducted. He stressed that the issues of the economy and education were underrepresented in the Foundation.

These and other points were discussed together with many other individuals, including Gabi Zimmer (MEP), Werner Ruf, Christa Luft, Hans Modrow, Jan Korte (MdB), and Rainer Rilling. The members underscored the numerous successful projects that have been conducted during recent years. At the same time, however, they also pointed to the need to develop the Foundation's focus. With regard to the growth in right-wing populism, the members highlighted approaches to encourage people to become involved in politics that were neither instructive nor prejudicial. During the debate, the members stressed the importance of ensuring that the issue of class was not viewed as contradictory to anti-racist positions. In addition to the stimulating discussions, the General Assembly elected a new Executive Board. The membership confirmed Dagmar Enkelmann as Chair and Florian Weis as Executive Director. Sabine Reiner and Thomas Händel were also re-elected as deputy chairs. The other members of the Board are Ulrike Detjen, Heinz Hillebrand, Barbara Höll, Jan Korte, Detlef Nakath, Dörte Putensen, Peeter Raane and Rainer Rilling, Sybille Stamm, and Gabriele Gün Tank. The following were accepted as new members of the Foundation: Steffen Bockhahn, Kate Cahoon, Evelyn Edler, Wulf Gallert, Wolfgang Gehrcke, Sofia Hamaz, Katharine Kolmans, Katrin Lompscher, Onur Ocak, Reyhan Şahin, and David Salomon. On the request of the Executive Board, Manfred Neuhaus and Kurt Krumbach were appointed honorary members.



Florian Weis was reelected Executive Director at the Foundation's General Assembly.

MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

ORDINARY MEMBERS

Jan van Aken
Dr. Dietmar Bartsch
Dr. Peter Bathke
Prof. Dr. Günter Benser
Dr. Joachim Bischoff
Steffen Bockhahn
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
Kate Cahoon
Gerda Daenecke
Sevim Dağdelen
Daniela Dahn
Prof. Dr. Frank Deppe
Richard Detje
Ulrike Detjen
Sophie Dieckmann
Evelyn Edler
Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann

Klaus Ernst
Ilsegrit Fink
Dr. Thomas Flierl
Wulf Gallert
Wolfgang Gehrcke
Claudia Gohde
Dr. Stefanie Graefe
Dr. Bärbel Grygier
Dr. Gregor Gysi
Sofia Hamaz
Thomas Händel
Karl-Heinz Heinemann
Heiko Hilker
Heinz Hillebrand
Prof. Dr. Benjamin-Immanuel Hoff
Dr. Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann
Dr. Barbara Höll
Klaus Höpcke
Dr. Steffen Hultsch
Dr. Gerda Jasper
Dr. Lukrezia Jochimsen
Kadriye Karci
Katja Kipping
Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein
Dr. Thomas Klein
Katharine Kolmans
Jan Korte
Marian Krüger
Prof. Dr. Ingrid Kurz

Caren Lay
Dr. Klaus Lederer
Dr. Steffen Lehndorff
Sabine Leidig
Monika Lent-Öztürk
Katrin Lompscher
Dr. Gesine Lötzsich
Prof. Dr. Christa Luft
Dr. Helmuth Markov
Ulrich Maurer
Prof. Dr. Margit Mayer
Sahra Mirow
Dr. Hans Modrow
Cornelia Möhring
Margret Mönig-Raane
Stefan Nadolny
Dr. Detlef Nakath
Helga Nowak
Onur Ocak
Gabi Ohler
Dr. Harald Pätzolt
Petra Pau
Prof. Dr. Dörte Putensen
Peeter Raane
Bodo Ramelow
Jürgen Reents
Dr. Sabine Reiner
Prof. Dr. Rolf Reißig
Bernd Riexinger
Prof. Dr. Rainer Rilling
Prof. Dr. Jörg Roesler

Prof. Dr. Werner Ruf
Dr. Bernd Rump
Dr. Monika Runge
Dr. Reyhan Şahin
Prof. Dr. David Salomon
Bosiljka Schedlich
Dr. Birgit Schliwenz
Fritz Schmalzbauer
Horst Schmitthener
Christiane Schneider
Dr. Ursula Schröter
Siri Schultze
Dr. Karin Schüttpehl
Dr. Reinhard Semmelmann
Kathrin Senger-Schäfer
Dr. Petra Sitte
Prof. Dr. Susanne Spindler
Sybille Stamm
Regina Stosch
Gabriele Gün Tank
Heinz Vietze
Eva Völpel
Vera Vordenbäumen
Dr. Sahra Wagenknecht
Dr. Jochen Weichold
Dr. Florian Weis
Janine Wissler
Dr. Dietmar Wittich
Dr. Evelin Wittich
Dr. Ulrich Wolf

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

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

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

HONORARY MEMBERS

Dr. Kurt Hövelmans
Prof. Dr. Kurt Krumbach
Prof. Dr. Reinhard Mocek
Prof. Dr. Manfred Neuhaus
Dr. Wolfgang Spickermann

RESTING MEMBERSHIP

Marwa Al-Radwany
Dr. Lutz Brangsch
Prof. Dr. Michael Brie
Dr. Mario Candeias
Wenke Christoph
Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović
Dr. Cornelia Domaschke
Dr. Stefanie Ehmsen
Florian Höllen
Kerstin Kaiser
Prof. Dr. Mario Keßler
Norbert Schepers
Dr. Jörn Schütrumpf
Dr. Marion Schütrumpf
Fanny Zeise

Last updated: February 2017

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN

DR. FLORIAN WEIS

Last updated: February 2017

JAN KORTE

HEINZ HILLEBRAND

SYBILLE STAMM

ULRIKE DETJEN

THOMAS HÄNDEL

GABRIELE GÜN TANK

PROF. DR. DÖRTE PUTENSEN

DR. SABINE REINER

DR. BARBARA HÖLL

PROF. DR. RAINER RILLING

DR. DETLEF NAKATH

PEETER RAANE

POLITICAL DEBATES AND DECISIONS ON DIRECTION
THE FOUNDATION'S EXECUTIVE BOARD

Every year, the voluntary members of the Foundation's Executive Board have to get through an extensive and exhaustive workload. In 2016, the 13 members met eight times, including for two multi-day meetings.

The Executive Board is the Foundation's highest-level body—apart from the General Assembly—and is responsible for all of the activities undertaken by the Foundation. It is particularly concerned with budgetary and personnel planning. However, the Executive Board also views itself as a political institution that provides the Foundation's work with direction. Therefore, the members of the Board often discuss current political developments in Germany and Europe together with senior staff and guests from politics and academia, as well as the effects that these developments have on the focus and the options available to the Foundation.

In 2016, the current state of Europe was at the heart of these debates, alongside the ongoing worsening of social issues and the rise of right-wing populism. The Board's stimulating discussions provided a basis with which to plan the focus of the Foundation's activity. For example, its work on the issues of migration and right-wing populism was expanded, the significance of European and trade union policy activities was raised further and social issues were once again given greater priority within the Foundation's educational work.

The members of the Executive Board enriched the Foundation's work in other areas through their voluntary commitment. For example, they contributed to the work on history and were particularly involved during cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. They contributed to the Foundation's publications, promoted communication with new partners and milieus, and used their expertise to establish specific project lines and topics. Finally, the Executive Board's commitment also benefitted networking and communication efforts, as well as work involving the Foundation's members.

THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Ulrike Detjen: Born in 1952, an industrial book binder; associate and managing director of a prepress department since 1999; has volunteered with the municipal policy forum of North Rhine Westphalia and the regional foundation in North Rhine Westphalia since 2008, and been a member of the Foundation since 2013.

Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann (chair): Born in 1956, a historian; was a member of the German Bundestag from 1990 to 1998 and 2005 to 2013. A member of Bernau's town council since 1998. Chair of the Foundation since 2012.

Thomas Händel (deputy chair): Born in 1953, an electrical engineer; studied at the Academy of Labor at the University of Frankfurt; chief executive of IG-Metall in Fürth between 1987

and 2012. Founding member of WASG. Has been a member of the European Parliament since 2009 and deputy chair of the Foundation since 2007.

Heinz Hillebrand: Born in 1954, an industrial clerk; studied history, German philology and philosophy; a founding member of WASG; head of civic education at the federal office of the Left Party; a member of the Foundation's Executive Board since 2012.

Dr. Barbara Höll: Born in 1957, studied philosophy; a member of the Bundestag from 1990 to 2002 and 2005 to 2013; a member of the Foundation since 2014, and of the Executive Board since 2016.

Jan Korte: Born in 1977, studied history, sociology, and political science; a member of the Bundestag since 2005; deputy chair of the Left Party's parliamentary group since 2013; a member of the Foundation since 2014.

Dr. Detlef Nakath: Born in 1949, a historian; academic advisor for Hellepanke e. V. from 2003 to 2006; director of the regional foundation in Brandenburg between 2006 and 2013; a member of the Foundation since 2014.

Prof. Dr. Dörte Putensen: Born in 1949, a historian; apl. professor of general history of the New Era at the University of Rostock; a member of the Board of the regional foundation in Brandenburg between 2010 and 2014 and a member of the Foundation since 2014.

Peeter Raane: Born in 1941, studied business administration; secretary of the council and member of the Board of the Trade Union of Wood and Plastics since 1967 (since 2000 IG-Metall); chair of the Board of the regional foundation in North Rhine-Westphalia between 2007 and 2012, and a member of the Foundation's Executive Board since 2008.

Dr. Sabine Reiner (deputy chair of the Board): born in 1962, a political scientist and economist; trade union secretary at ver.di since 2002; a member of the Foundation's Executive Board since 2004 and its deputy chair since 2012.

Prof. Dr. Rainer Rilling: Born in 1945, studied political science, sociology, and modern history; from 1983 to 1998 executive director of the Federation of Democratic Scientists; apl. professor of sociology at the University of Marburg since 2002; a member of the Foundation's Executive Board since 2014.

Sybille Stamm: Born in 1945, a political scientist; trade union secretary since 1973; between 2001 and 2007, district secretary of ver.di in Baden-Württemberg, co-editor of the journal *Sozialismus*; a member of the Foundation since 2014.

Gabriele Gün Tank: Born in 1975, a journalist; integration officer in the Tempelhof-Schöneberg district of Berlin since 2007 and a member of the Foundation since 2014.

Dr. Florian Weis (executive director): Born in 1967, a historian; has been with the Foundation since 1999 and executive director since 2008.

THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

The main task of the Academic Advisory Board is to use its academic competencies to accompany the work undertaken by the Foundation at the junctures of science, education, and politics. Irene Dölling chaired the Advisory Board until the end of 2015, when Alex Demirović, a member since November 2015, took over in January 2016. The Advisory Board only met once in 2016 (on May 13 at the Foundation in Berlin).

Irene Dölling, Frigga Haug, Rainer Land, Birgit Mahnkopf, Ingo Matuschek, Silka Scholz, Michael Thomas, and Susanne Völker had stated before or soon after the 2015 meeting that they would no longer be able to work with the Advisory Board. The new Board was elected at the General Assembly on November 26, 2016. The following members of the previous Board also stood as candidates: Alex Demirović, Jörg Hafkemeyer, Stefanie Hürtgen, Michael Krätke, Margit Mayer, Birgit Sauer, Thomas Seibert, and Axel Troost.

As the old statutes, which were still in place until the 2016 General Assembly, stated that the Council could have up to 16 members, the Council admitted the following new members: Andreas Fisahn, Wolfgang Methling, Wolfram Schaffar, Steffi Richter, Sarah Schilliger, Susanne Schultz, Alexandra Wagner, and Markus Wissen.

The Advisory Board met in May 2016 and continued the highly stimulating discussion about socialism that had begun in the previous year. The book *Die Idee des Sozialismus* (The Idea of Socialism) by Axel Honneth, *Das Kommunistische* (The Communistic) by Lutz Brangsch and Michael Brie, as well as *Tendenzen des Sozialismus im 21. Jahrhundert* (Socialist Tendencies in the 21st Century), written by Mimmo Porcaro and published by Michael Brie, provided the debate with a solid foundation.

THE MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

Apl. Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović: Chair of the Academic Advisory Board; senior fellow at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis; focus: questions of social theory, democracy, and socialism.

Prof. Dr. Andreas Fisahn: Professor of public law, environmental, and technology law as well as legal studies at the University of Bielefeld; an academic tutor at the Foundation.

Prof. Jörg Hafkemeyer: Lecturer at the University of the Arts and the German School of Journalism in Munich; member of the German Film and Television Academy.

Dr. Stefanie Hürtgen: Political scientist and sociologist of work; assistant professor at the University of Salzburg.

Prof. Dr. Michael Krätke: Professor of political economy at the University of Lancaster and director of the Institute for Advanced Studies; co-editor of various magazines (including SPW) and book series (Historical Materialism); focus: political economy, Marxism, and anti-capitalism.

Prof. Dr. Margit Mayer: Professor Emeritus of political science at the John F. Kennedy Institute, Freie Universität Berlin; focus: US-American and comparative politics, urban policy, and social movements.

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Methling: Professor Emeritus of animal health at the University of Rostock; Mecklenburg-Vorpommern's Minister for the Environment (1998–2006) and the state's Deputy Minister President (2002–2006).

Prof. Dr. Steffi Richter: Professor of Japanese studies at the University of Leipzig; academic tutor at the Foundation.

Prof. Dr. Birgit Sauer: Professor of political science at the University of Vienna; focus: state and democracy theory, governance, and gender, comparative gender policy research, multiculturalism.

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Wolfram Schaffar: Professor of political science and development research at the Institute for International Development, University of Vienna.

Sarah Schilliger: Research project "Migrant mobility, 'illegality' and racialization in European agricultural labor," 2016/17 visiting researcher at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) at the University of Osnabrück.

Dr. Susanne Schultz: DFG project on "Demografisierung des Politischen. Eine intersektionale Analyse deutscher Familien- und Migrationspolitik seit Mitte der 1990er Jahre" (Demographics of the Political. An intersectional analysis of German family and immigration policies since the mid-1990s) at Goethe University, Frankfurt; a former member of the Foundation's staff with the Foundation's Latin American Unit.

Dr. Thomas Seibert: Philosopher and ethnologist; works with medico international; activist with attac and the interventionist left (IL); focus: political philosophy (Marxism, existentialism, deconstruction).

Dr. Axel Troost: Economist and politician; director of the Alternative Economic Policy Working Group (Memorandum Group) and member of Solidarische Moderne's board; member of the federal executive committee of the Left Party; member of the German Bundestag; spokesperson for the Left Party in the Bundestag on financial issues.

Dr. Alexandra Wagner: Labor market research at the Economic and Social Science Institute (WSI), Institute of Applied Training Science (IAT) and the International Labor Market Research Team in Berlin; a founding member of the Foundation.

Prof. Dr. Markus Wissen: Professor of social sciences with a focus on socio-ecological transformation processes (Berlin School of Economics and Law).

IN TRANSITION

THE FOUNDATION'S DISCUSSION GROUPS

Compared to 2016, the number of meetings held by the Foundation's discussion groups remained constant at 21. Nevertheless, since their establishment in 2007, they have become permanent forums for communication, in which experts and other interested parties are able to discuss topics of historical and contemporary importance. Their often semi-public character creates protected spaces for the exchange of diverging views. The discussion groups are based on the work of "full-time" and "volunteer" staff from the Foundation's political and intellectual milieu, but they differ quite strongly in terms of their structures and degree of activity. Whereas some discussion groups were unable to meet in 2016 or were reestablished, others have developed into highly productive working relationships. For example, the discussion group Social

LABOR LAW/LABOR CODE

Steffen Hultsch, Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

EDUCATION POLICY

Karl-Heinz Heinemann (heinemann@rls-nrw.de)

EUROPEAN POLICY

Johanna Bussemer (johanna.bussemer@rosalux.org),
Franziska Albrecht (franziska.albrecht@rosalux.org)

FEMINISM

Barbara Fried (barbara.fried@rosalux.org),
Katharina Pühl (katharina.puehl@rosalux.org)

PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

Ingar Solty (ingar.solty@rosalux.org)

HISTORY

Bernd Hüttner (bernd.huettner@rosalux.org)

HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

Cornelia Domaschke (cornelia.domaschke@rosalux.org)

TRADE UNIONS

Fanny Zeise (fanny.zeise@rosalux.org)

COLLEGE OF SCIENCE/PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATION

Wolfgang Girnus, Klaus Meier, Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan (gerd-ruediger.stephan@rosalux.org)

CULTURE

Michaela Klingberg (michaela.klingberg@rosalux.org)

Structure and Class has set itself the task of dealing with current social developments such as the tendencies that promote precariousness or the "crisis of political representation" by means of modern social scientific methods. Furthermore, in the discussion group with the challenging title "Right-wing extremism," which last met in Bremen in May 2017, people of different ages meet twice a year to discuss what the Left can do to counter the rise of right-wing political parties and movements at both the national and international level.

In 2017, some groups underwent productive changes that promise a renewed focus in the future. In May 2017, the Urban Policy and Education Policy groups were relaunched, and the Peace and Security Policy, and Migration groups set themselves new priorities due to the changing responsibilities of staff. This will also include encouraging more young people, more women, and more people with a recent family history of migration to participate in the discussion groups.

RURAL AREAS (not currently active)

LIVING TIME–WORKING TIME

Rosalind Honig, Effi Boehlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

MIGRATION

Massimo Perinelli (massimo.perinelli@rosalux.org)

SUSTAINABILITY (in preparation)

Steffen Kühne (steffen.kuehne@rosalux.org)

POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Harald Pätzolt, Cornelia Hildebrandt (cornelia.hildebrandt@rosalux.org)

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Stefan Kalmring (stefan.kalmring@rosalux.org)

RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

Friedrich Burschel (fritz.burschel@rosalux.org)

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CLASS

Horst Kahrs (horst.kahrs@rosalux.org)

METROPOLITAN POLICY

Stefan Thimmel (stefan.thimmel@rosalux.org)

LEFT-WING INTER-PHILOSOPHICAL DIALOG

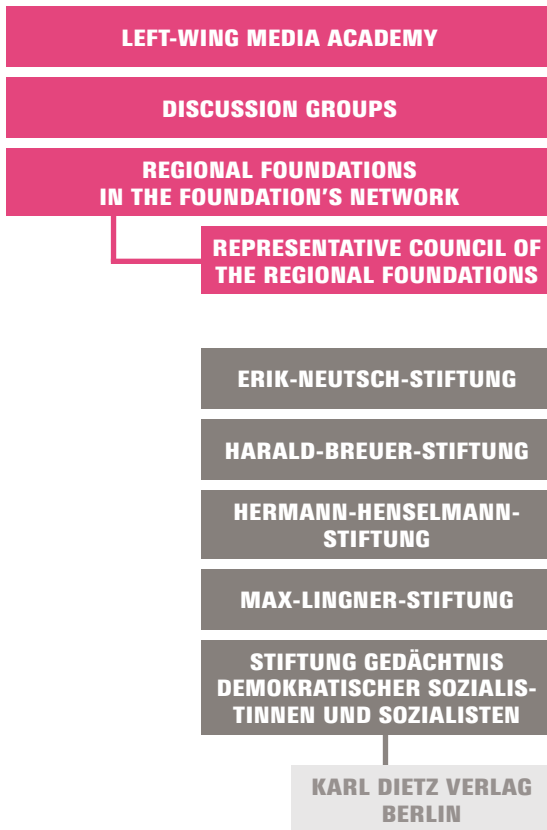
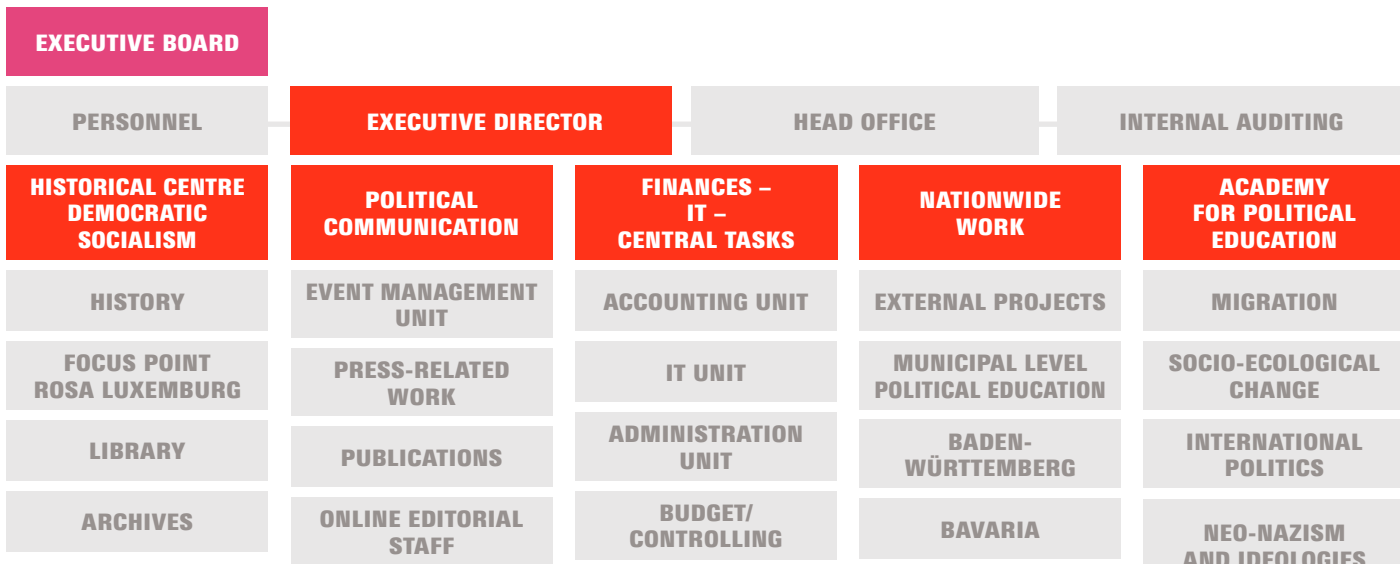
Jürgen Klute, Cornelia Hildebrandt (cornelia.hildebrandt@rosalux.org)

ECONOMIC POLICY

(Not currently active)

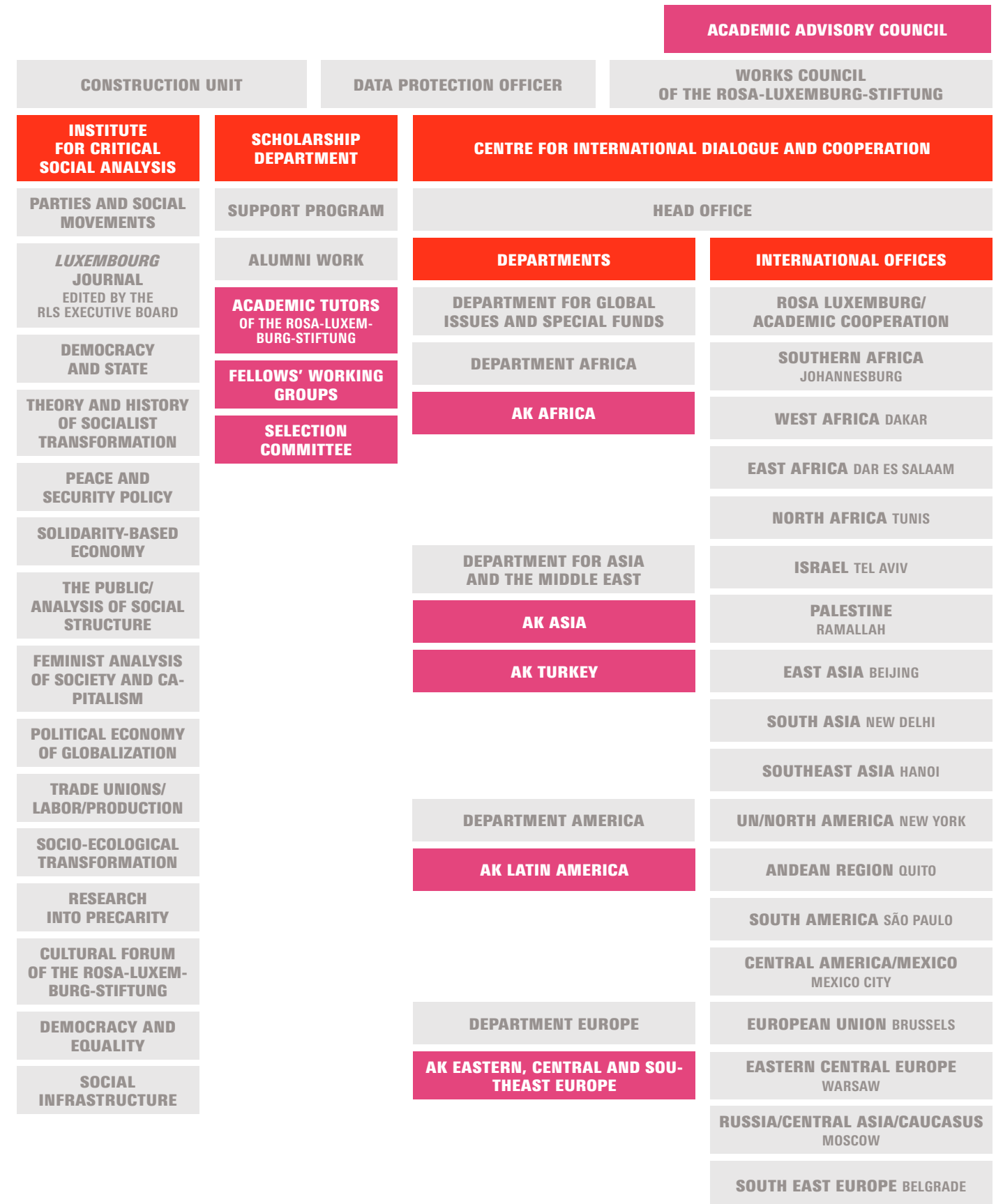
Last updated: May 2017

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



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

GENERAL ASSEMBLY



THE FOUNDATION'S BUDGET

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a political foundation affiliated with the Left Party. As is the case with other party-affiliated foundations, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung receives most of its financing from the German federal budget. This includes funding from the Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF), the Federal Foreign Office (AA), and from the Bundestag administration. Foundations only receive funding if they represent a significant and sustained intellectual and political current in German society. The Bundestag decides what this means in practice.

If the political party linked to the foundation in question has repeatedly gained seats in the Bundestag—and at least once in the form of a parliamentary group—this is usually taken as evidence that the Foundation represents a sustained political current. The rate of funding that a foundation receives, however, depends on the strength of support provided to the party to which the foundation is affiliated at the last four federal elections.

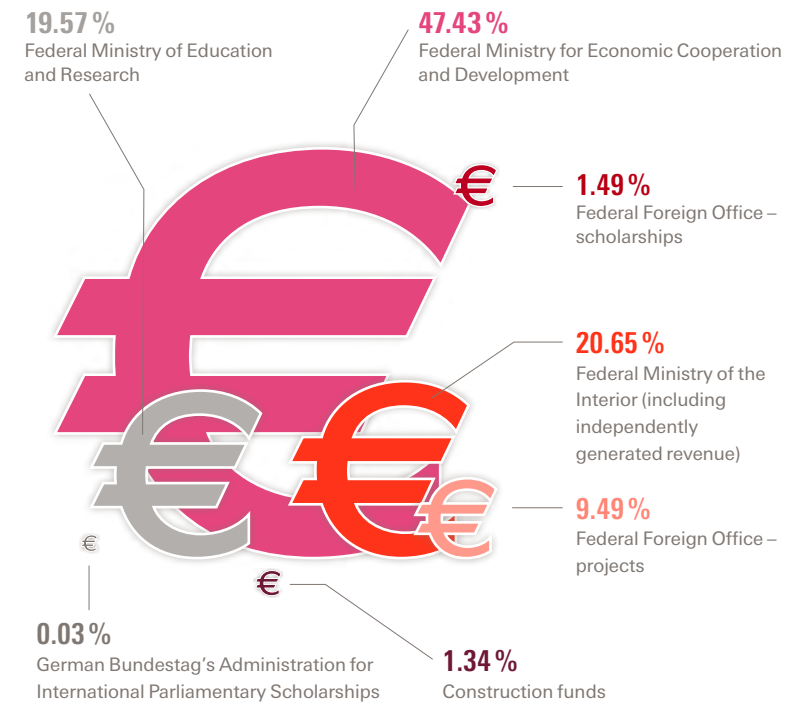
Due to the fact that the Left Party won enough seats in the 2005 election to form a parliamentary group in the Bundestag, and increased its share of the vote at the 2009 federal elections, the annual grants provided by the German ministries were adjusted accordingly with the aim of ensuring funding was equal to the level provided to the foundations affiliated with other parties. This process was completed in 2011.

The grants received by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung have increased from EUR 30.6 million in 2010 to EUR 57.2 million in 2016. By publishing figures that demonstrate the Foundation's income and expenditure, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is meeting the voluntary commitments made by all German political foundations on transparency of funding. These commitments were set out in a joint statement made by party-affiliated foundations in 1998 and have been put in place ever since by all of the foundations.

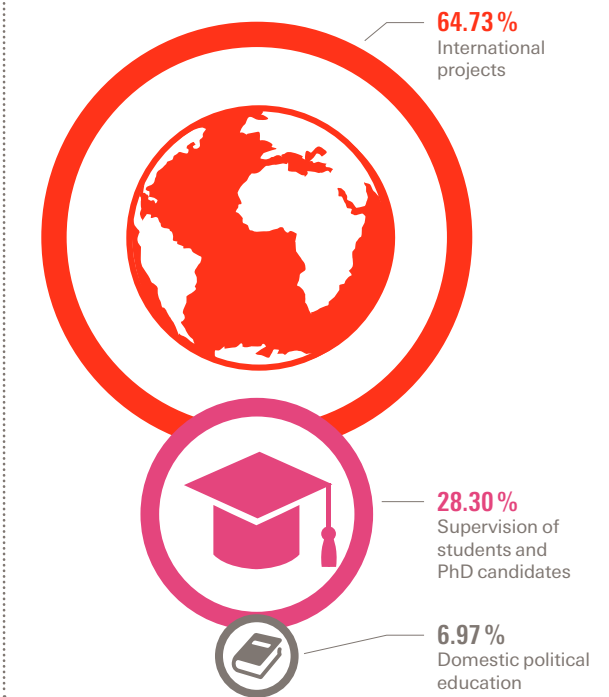
The Foundation's largest grants come from the BMI (known as general funds), the BMZ, the BMBF, and the AA. General funds constitute the backbone of the Foundation's educational budget in Germany and are also used to fund our offices. General funds are also used to hold seminars, conferences, and colloquiums, 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 provide scholarships to highly gifted undergraduates and doctoral students. In addition to federal funds, party-affiliated foundations can also be provided with funding from regional budgets. These funds are used by ten

REVENUES 2016



SPECIALIST EXPENDITURE 2016

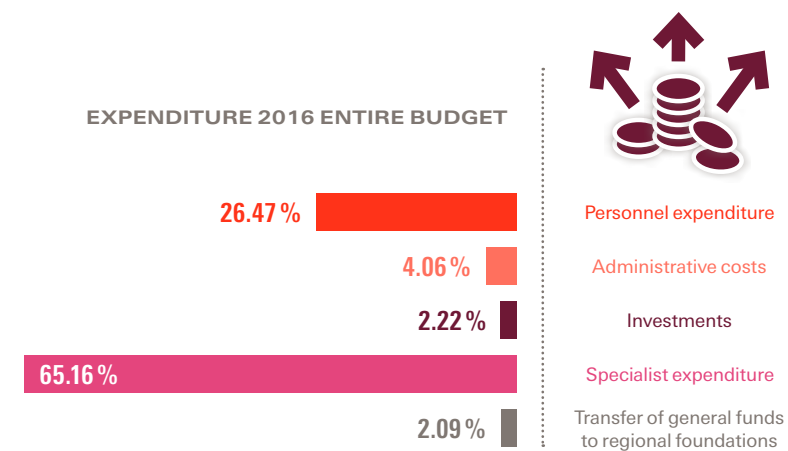


of the regional associations that constitute the Foundation's network at the regional level.

Party-affiliated foundations are required to fulfill their responsibilities as set out in their statute without recourse to organizational resources or personnel from the party with which they are affiliated; they are also prohibited from providing the party in question with funds or money-equivalent services. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung receives the annual grants set out in its grant notification; the accompanying supplementary provisions ensure that funding is properly monitored and used for the stated purposes. Moreover, as a political founda-

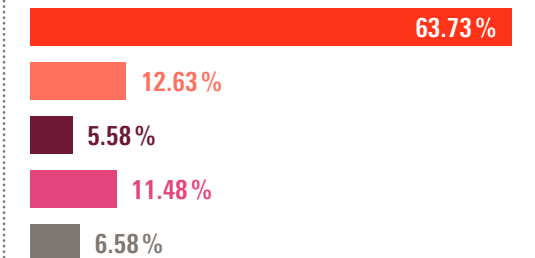
tion, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to ensure that its annual accounts are independently audited. For the 2016 fiscal year, the auditor confirmed that the general funds provided by the Federal Ministry of the Interior and administrative grants provided by other ministries were used sparingly and in accordance with legal guidelines, and that all other requirements were met. Finally, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung uses a controlling procedure that is suitably equipped and staffed to ensure that the relevant funding guidelines are promptly and correctly adhered to.

EXPENDITURE 2016 ENTIRE BUDGET



DOMESTIC EXPENDITURE 2016

BMI funds and administrative funds from the BMZ, AA and the BMBF



PROFIT AND LOSS STATEMENT AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2015

Assets	December 31, 2015 in EUR	December 31, 2014 in EUR
A Fixed assets		
I Intangible assets		
Trademark rights	5,000.00	5,000.00
Computer software	356,778.25	38,811.11
II Property		
Furniture and fixtures	732,102.71	629,184.77
Payments for RLS building project	4,080,452.48	4,080,452.48
III Financial assets	50,000.00	25,000.00
Total assets	5,224,333.44	4,778,448.36
B Accounts receivable and other fixed assets		
I Further receivables	1,931,713.00	3,181,713.00
II Receivables from grants	0.00	0.00
III Other assets	160,383.64	183,123.68
Total liabilities	2,092,096.64	3,364,836.68
C Liquid assets		
Total liquid assets	2,055,363.42	2,236,376.13
D Accrued income	38,317.15	42,722.78
Total	9,410,110.65	10,422,383.95

Liabilities	December 31, 2015 in EUR	December 31, 2014 in EUR
A Net assets		
I Previous year	285,325.49	311,756.71
II Surplus/deficit	48,215.63	-26,431.22
III Reserve	15,819.71	15,819.71
IV Reserve	45,000.00	45,000.00
Total net assets	394,360.83	346,145.20
B Advances and contributions from donations	5,224,333.44	4,778,448.36
C Accrued liabilities		
Other accruals	539,091.86	349,626.82
D Liabilities		
I Accounts payable to credit institutions	2,471.71	5,153.72
II Accounts payable	1,407,680.37	554,620.73
III Other liabilities	25,007.97	24,387.97
Total liabilities	1,435,160.05	584,162.42
E Deferred income	1,817,164.47	4,364,001.15
Total	9,410,110.65	10,422,383.95

INCOME STATEMENT AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2015

	2015 in EUR	2014 in EUR
I Income	53,574,756.57	52,196,979.19
1 Federal grants	53,452,060.87	52,032,269.98
2 Donations	9,241.00	8,892.63
3 Membership fees	14,897.50	15,090.00
4 Other revenue	98,557.20	140,726.58
II Expenditure	-53,526,540.94	-52,223,410.41
1 Expenditure for activities according to the statutes	-36,062,033.50	-33,418,783.44
Conferences and seminars	-1,430,363.82	-809,325.73
Publications	-565,436.93	-493,997.29
Research projects	-427,600.83	-316,521.47
Transfer of general funds	-1,266,995.06	-1,064,554.60
Support of students and postgraduates	-10,459,351.14	-10,285,853.76
International cooperation	-21,277,175.18	-19,963,530.47
Other expenses	-635,110.54	-485,000.12
2 Staff costs	-13,971,835.16	-12,401,135.85
Wages and salaries	-11,530,664.64	-10,342,946.98
Social security contributions	-2,441,170.52	-2,058,188.87
3 Administrative costs	-2,687,744.99	-2,161,579.37
Operating expenses	-491,702.15	-347,512.78
Other administrative costs	-2,196,042.84	1,814,066.59
4 Investments	-804,927.29	-4,241,911.75
III Annual surplus/deficit	48,215.64	-26,431.22

REVENUE IN 2016 (PROVISIONAL)

I Einnahmen in Euro	57.356.552,80
1 Contributions	57.197.714,40
Federal Ministry of the Interior (incl. independently generated revenues)	11.812.931,086
Federal Ministry of Education and Research	11.193.169,16
German Bundestag administration for international parliamentary internships	16.146,47
Foreign Office scholarships	851.683,00
Foreign Office projects	5.429.200,00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	27.127.939,58
Construction funds	766.645,11
2 Tax neutral income/Donations	64.928,15
3 Membership fees	14.675,00
4 Other revenue	99.932,10
5 Reductions	-20.696,85

EXPENDITURE IN 2016 (PROVISIONAL)

II	Expenditure in EUR	-57.303.684,62
1	Staff costs	-15.168.493,33
	Of which for staff expenditure in Germany	-11.593.313,99
	a) Wages and salaries	-12.719.832,85
	b) Social security contributions and other	-2.448.660,48
2	Administrative costs	-3.598.234,51
2.1	Operating expenses, devices, equipment and furniture, consumables	-1.594.364,01
	Network, software, and system support	-157.304,95
	Maintenance fees and repairs	-29.651,25
	Tools and small appliances	-40.088,23
	Office and consumable supplies	-30.249,92
	Rented equipment	-66.185,99
	Allocation to the special reserve for investments	-1.270.883,67
2.2	Management and maintenance of properties and construction works	0,00
2.3	Other administrative costs	-2.003.870,50
	Other expenses for staff	-161.575,91
	Rent and costs for premises	-871.835,52
	Insurance	-5.206,69
	Beiträge und sonstige Abgaben	-57.601,44
	Work conducted by third party contractors in administration	-339.561,22
	Advertising/announcements	-34.826,90
	Representation costs	-28.655,92
	Entertainment costs	-1.692,75
	Travel expenses (administrative costs)	-176.474,94
	Postage, telephone, internet costs	-144.205,63
	Journals, books, media	-41.001,58
	Legal consultancy, auditing, accounting	-67.612,76
	Incidental costs of monetary transactions	-15.334,16
	Other expenses, Fees, Donations	-7.484,38
	Vehicle costs	-11.892,99
	Other administrative costs	-18.432,83
	Other expenditure	-20.474,88
3	Specialist expenses	-38.536.956,78
	Specialist expenses BMI (total)	-2.326.462,94
	BMI general funds to third parties	-1.196.846,16
	International projects	-24.168.803,09
	Support of students and postgraduates	-10.569.026,34
	Of which for students in Germany	-9.818.569,44
	Of which for students in other countries	-735.876,45
	Of which for international parliamentary internships	-14.580,45
	Intellectual support of scholarship recipients	-237.895,88
	Other specialist expenses	-37.922,37

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 2017 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)	12,000,000.00
Grants from the administration of the German Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	23,660.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	28,932,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for projects	5,916,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for scholarships	964,000.00

* not including independently generated revenues

Expenditure in EUR (extract)

Staff costs	-15,500,000.00
Administrative costs	-2,770,000.00
Of which for investments	-350,000.00
Specialist expenses (not including permanent employees)	-39,700,000.00
education program	-3,700,000.00
scholarships	-10,000,000.00
Projects of international cooperation	-26,000,000.00

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All data and figures are current as of January 2017 unless otherwise stated.

“In a class society, the class struggle is a natural and unavoidable phenomenon.”

ROSA LUXEMBURG