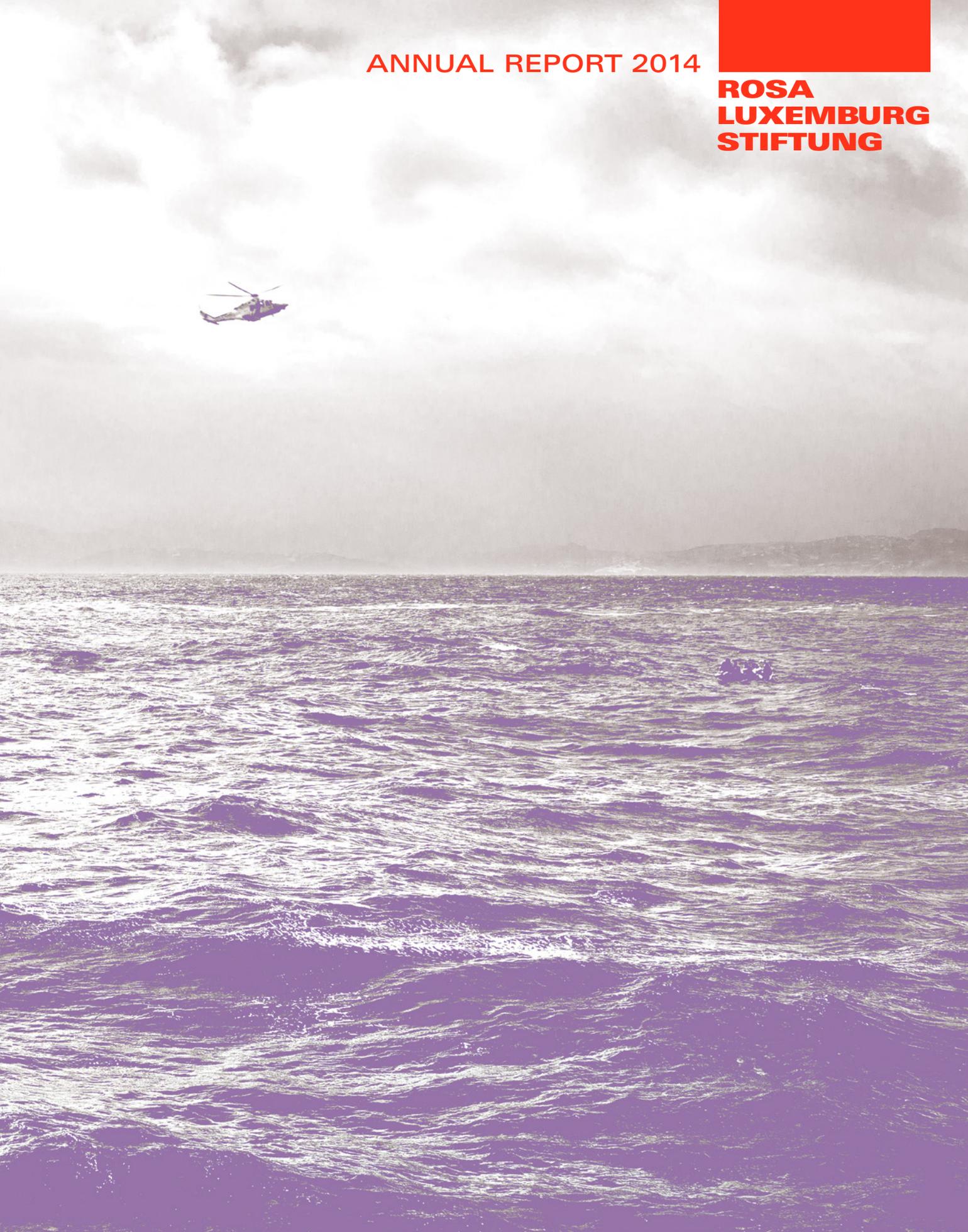


ANNUAL REPORT 2014

**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**



ANNUAL REPORT 2014
OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

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EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

Ban Ki Moon, the UN Secretary-General, has described 2014 as one of the worst years in international politics since World War II. The reasons behind this sad judgment are illustrated by the on-going civil war in Syria, which has led to more than 200,000 casualties, and the rise of "Islamic State" (IS) in Syria and Iraq, as well as continued violence and instability in Libya, Somalia, and other African countries. Moreover, the return of war to Gaza, in which more than 2,000 people were killed, and, from a European perspective at least, war in Ukraine, do little but strengthen Ban Ki Moon's view. The escalation of international conflicts such as these poses diverse challenges to the Foundation in terms of our analytical, policy-accompanying and educational roles.

The Foundation's analytical challenges stem from the fact that we regularly have to highlight the significant role played by failed German, European, and NATO policies in many of these conflicts. The current approach to Russia is an example of this, and it could hardly be described as reflecting the same spirit that led to the Soviet acceptance of German reunification in 1990. Similarly, military intervention against the dictatorial Gaddafi regime in 2011, which was mainly driven by Britain and France, has flooded Libya with weapons, and the country is now increasingly governed by the rule of violence. Moreover, jihadist groups are widening their reach and Libya is now acting as a starting point for refugees attempting to cross the Mediterranean. Importantly, highlighting Western responsibility for many of these conflicts need not mean – in the case of Russia, for example – supporting the Putin government, a government that makes it very difficult for the Foundation's Moscow office and its partners to conduct emancipatory work.

Not all of these conflicts need new explanations or interpretations, but some certainly do. The rise of IS, which has been stopped for the time being, has upset the friend-foe schema in the Middle East, at least in its most rudimentary form. This is particularly evident from current relations between the US and Iran. Furthermore, over the last year, the German understanding of the role played by the Kurds, and especially the PKK in Turkey and the PYD in Syria, has started to change. After all, it was primarily Kurdish forces – with US support – that stopped the spread of IS in Kobane and came to the aid of the Yazidi.

China has long been a strong economic actor, but it is increasing its political and military might; the ways in which this will affect various world regions remain to be seen. The effects that climate change will have on conflicts and the current balance of global power are even less clear. Although drought, struggles over energy resources, climate-induced flows of refugees, and other consequences of ecological crises certainly



Dagmar Enkelmann and Florian Weis

endanger peace, significant conceptual analysis is needed if we are to understand the demands that these issues will place on new forms of peace and security policy. Research is also needed into current developments in which wars between states are being replaced by asymmetric conflicts involving non-state actors, a situation that has been gathering momentum for many years.

In 2014, the Foundation's educational work particularly concentrated on solidarity with the Kurds, and informing the public about the rise of IS. The Foundation also focused intensively on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) as part of our educational work in Germany, but also in our offices in Brussels and New York. When it comes to the TTIP, the Foundation is obviously less interested in the typical media focus on chlorinated chicken than in the fact that the agreement promises serious consequences for public services at the local, state, and national levels. Moreover, the TTIP will seriously weaken state legislative procedures through its arbitrational courts that lack democratic legitimacy. These and other possible restrictions on the democratic role of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government in Germany and the EU will exacerbate the creeping erosion of parliamentary democracy. Whatever happens with regards to the TTIP, this situation, which has been referred to as "post-democracy," is continuing unabated. Limitations are increasingly being placed on the decision-making capacities of parliaments, political parties, and the people who put themselves forward as candidates, and this will surely strengthen the trend toward declining voter turnout and worsen growing social divides within the electorate.

The Foundation marked the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the First World War with a remembrance of the war as a paradigm shift, and by focusing on its aftermath. The academic debate that centers on the Australian historian Christopher Clark needs to be taken seriously, as do his empirical findings on the outbreak of war in 1914. However, his conclusions, which question Germany's responsibility for the First World War, a fact that was made clear more than half a cen-

tury ago by Fritz Fischer, were not shared by the majority of speakers at the events organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The First World War was a global war, and this aspect was reflected in the numerous events held by our international offices, such as in South Africa, where the war is highly visible within the country's culture of remembrance. Similarly, the Foundation conducted a large amount of historical work related to other anniversaries in 2014. This included events to mark the anniversary of the first democratic elections held in South Africa in 1994, which resulted in Nelson Mandela becoming South Africa's first black president. The Foundation also commemorated the 25th anniversary of the upheaval in the GDR and other real-socialist countries, as well as the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been recognized as an equal partner among the six party-affiliated political foundations in Germany for many years. Now, for the first time, the Foundation has received approval for funding for a new construction project: in June and November 2014, the Foundation was granted funds from the 2014 and 2015 federal budgets. These funds, together with additional commitments to be provided between 2016 and 2018, will enable the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to have its own building. The new offices will be located in the street named after the Paris Commune (Straße der Pariser Kommune 8) in Berlin's Friedrichshain neighborhood, which is quite close to our present site at Franz-Mehring-Platz 1. From the Paris Commune in 1871, it is only a small academic step to Karl Marx, whose 200th birthday on May 5, 2018 is sure to be celebrated in numerous ways: we hope to do so—alongside many other events—by opening our new building.

On December 5, 2014 Bodo Ramelow was elected minister-president of Thuringia; the first minister-president to be elected from the ranks of the Left Party. His "red-red-green" coalition government, consisting of the Left Party, the SPD, and the Green Party, has set itself numerous tasks, including a more positive and open approach to refugees and immigrants, as well as consistency in tackling racism and the questionable amalgamations related to the murderous NSU. As the focus of this annual report clearly demonstrates, during his four-year membership of the Foundation's board, which ended in November 2014, Bodo Ramelow actively pursued these aims alongside other members and employees of the Foundation. We would like to take this opportunity to thank Bodo Ramelow for his exhaustive work and support of the Foundation; he will of course continue to be a member. We wish him every success in his work as minister-president of Thuringia.

DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN
Vorsitzende des Vorstandes

DR. FLORIAN WEIS
Geschäftsführendes Vorstandsmitglied

FOCUS: REFUGEES AND ASYLUM

In 2014, the issues of refugees and asylum were particularly strong on the political agenda, so much so that it would be fair to argue that 2014 represented a second “asylum compromise.” This was the first time since 1993 (when the right to asylum established in Article 16 of the Basic Law was de facto abolished) that people seeking protection in Germany had been faced with so many changes to the ways in which their lives were regulated. Although some positive changes were implemented – a situation mirroring that of the early 1990s – these generally came at the cost of stricter guidelines, increasing repression, and an expansion of the grounds used to justify deportation.

At the same time, questions continued about who was “worthy of protection,” and which people were in need of special treatment. In the Bundestag, Chancellor Angela Merkel justified the classification of Serbia, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina as “safe countries of origin” as well as the consequent rapid rejection of “clearly unfounded” asylum applications from the Balkans, with recourse to the preferential treatment that could then be provided to war refugees from Syria and Iraq. Many people, including members of the opposition parties, pointed out that just because a German law declared a particular country to be ‘safe,’ this did not result in increased security for people in that country. In the case of the Balkans, this particularly applies to Roma, Albanian minorities, and gays and lesbians. Ulla Jelpke, domestic policy spokesperson for the Left Party, summarized criticism of the government’s policy by stating that it pitted different groups of people against each another in the name of “halfhearted, but long-overdue improvements,” such as providing refugees with income and accommodation.

It is important to understand the context behind these changes. In July 2012, the Federal Constitutional Court ruled that the benefits provided under the Asylum Seekers’ Benefits Act (AsylbLG) were “evidently inadequate” and therefore unconstitutional. The levels of provision had not been increased since 1993. The court also stipulated that the Basic Law guaranteed the human right to decent subsistence, and that this applied not only to Germans, but to people from other countries living in Germany. Moreover, the court argued that everyone had the right to develop personal relationships and at least a minimum level of social, cultural, and political participation. The court concluded by stipulating that residency status could not be used as a justification to provide lower levels of subsistence to certain groups of people. For the first time, the court’s ruling seemed to imply that policies demanded by the Left, including the Left Party, had finally entered the realms of possibility. Perhaps the AsylbLG could be abolished and replaced with complete equality in service provision for asylum seekers

and people granted limited leave to remain? Nevertheless, in the fall of 2014, a vote by Baden-Württemberg in the Bundsrat enabled the Western Balkans to be categorized as safe, and the basic structure of the AsylbLG remained untouched. However, the burden that had been placed on local government was eased with a two-year financial package aimed at expanding accommodation facilities for refugees. In addition, the rate of social assistance provided to asylum seekers was raised, as called for by the Federal Constitutional Court. Nevertheless, these changes did not even meet the basic needs of refugees, as restrictions on where they are allowed to live and travel to (“residency restrictions”) and bans on working as well as the provision of “non-cash services” instead of cash payments remained in place. Refugees continue to be provided with a miserable level of health care almost everywhere and it is non-medical administrative staff in government offices who still decide whether refugees really are faced with medical emergencies and are thus granted or denied medical and therapeutic treatment. These policies of deterrence, as well as the attempt to block residency rights to a large group of migrants from southeastern Europe “under all circumstances,” does nothing to improve the situation of the people who should be used to provide legitimacy to these policies. Many refugees from Syria, assuming they ever manage to arrive in Germany, are sent back

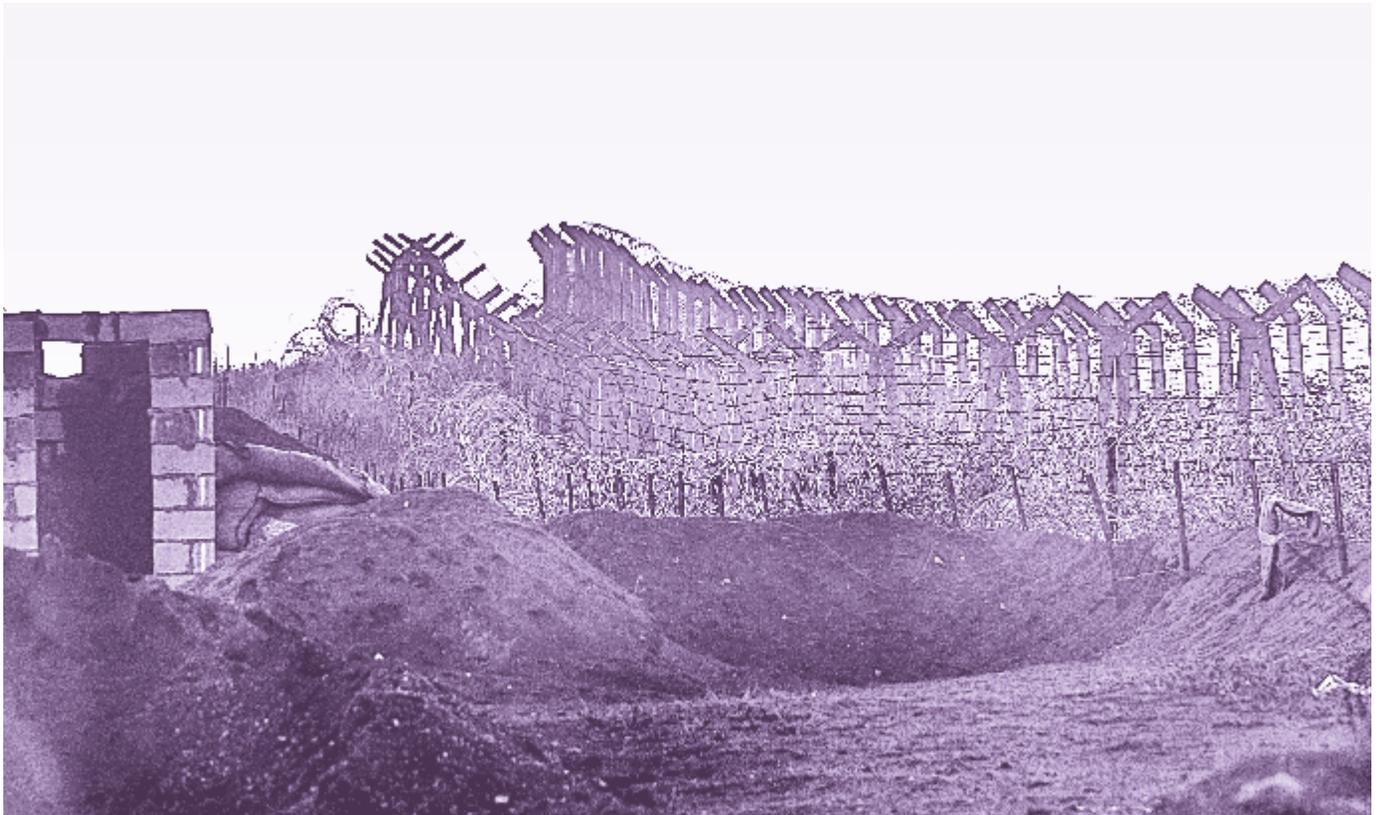
to the first EU country they entered. The vast majority of the estimated three million Syrian refugees have found refuge in Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, and Iraq.

.....
70,000 refugees from Syria have sought protection in Germany since the Syrian conflict broke out in 2011. The humanitarian program run by the federal and state governments that would have enabled these refugees to travel safely to Germany only took on a quarter of this number.
.....

LAMPEDUSA IN GERMANY

In summer 2013, after almost 15 years of negotiations, the EU adopted a new “asylum package.” National legislation within the EU is currently being brought into accordance with these new regulations that make it much easier to detain and deport refugees. Such policies do nothing to defuse the tense situation found particularly in the Mediterranean countries. The majority of refugees heading for Europe enter Greece, Cyprus, or Italy (the “state of first arrival”) and these countries currently suffer from a lack of solidarity when it comes to the distribution of refugees throughout the EU. Northern and Central Europe benefits from being surrounded by states designa-

Impossible to cross the border: a closed border checkpoint between the Kurdish Rojava and Turkey in December 2014.





On March 1, 2014, several thousand people demonstrated in Hamburg together with refugees who had reached Lampedusa for a more humane asylum policy and permanent residency rights.

ted as “safe third countries.” This problem has its roots in the so-called Dublin agreement, but it was not until thousands of refugees died in the Mediterranean and asylum applications began to rise again in Germany that these comfort zones were at least temporarily shaken. This situation resulted in the suspension of deportations to Greece and Italy, as asylum in these countries barely provided minimum humanitarian standards; a point that also illustrates the bankruptcy of German policy. In many places in Germany, this has meant that collective housing for asylum seekers has had to be refurbished or expanded, a situation that has often been accompanied by neo-Nazi or populist campaigns and violence against refugees living in these centers. Moreover, initiatives aimed at providing a welcoming culture have had to be (re)established in most regions (see the interview with Inva Kuhn from the Foundation’s migration discussion group for more details). This has often been undertaken in conjunction with asylum seekers, people on limited leave to remain, and illegalized residents, all of whom have become more confident in expressing their demands in public. These people have now begun fighting for an end to residency restrictions and deportations, and they reject on principle the provision of collective housing in camps. The debates in Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, and other cities have spawned a host of new and unexpected forms of protest, dynamics, and organizational experiments. “Lampedusa in Hamburg,” and the broad mobilizations against the evictions in the squatted Gehart Hauptmann School in Berlin’s Kreuzberg neighborhood, as well as protest camps and marches, have not only involved refugees breaking their residency regulations, but have also crossed national borders. Such actions

by refugees have helped contest the official view of refugees as “economic migrants,” and this has shifted the discourse at least partly in an emancipatory direction. In April 2014, a second conference entitled “Beyond Aid—From Charity to Solidarity” took place in Frankfurt am Main; it was organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Medico International, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and Goethe University. Among other issues, the conference focused on the forms of cooperation and assistance that are needed in a globalized world. This issue is not only linked to relations between the Global North and the Global South; it also applies to relations between the countries constituting the Global North. The conference also developed the so-called “right to go” into a “right to stay” and adopted the arguments of the refugees’ protests in accepting their claim that, “We are here because you destroy our countries.” In 2014, the Foundation’s federal and regional level, local political forums and structures organized by asylum seekers, and people on limited leave to remain organized a series of seminars entitled “Refugees Welcome!” The seminars focused on the global division of labor, the destruction of the natural environment, the support being provided to authoritarian regimes, and not least the active role played by Germany in these issues. Seminars were held in almost every federal state to provide information about the basics of asylum law, the responsibilities of the federal, state, and local authorities, and the reasons why people become refugees. Moreover, the seminars concentrated on local possibilities of taking action against right-wing “civil protests,” Alternative for Germany (AfD), and other racist protests. The seminars particularly focused on the situation of women, who often suffer far more from isolation in re-

fugee camps, especially if they have been forced to leave their homes by themselves or just with their children.

**“STROM & WASSER” –
RAFTING TOUR IN SUMMER 2014**

In 2014, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung continued working with a number of organizations set up by (former) asylum seekers, Roma, immigrants, and people of color. A highlight of these joint activities was a tour that took place on the Main, Neckar and Rhine rivers in July towards Berlin on two rafts representing boats used by refugees. Numerous supporters were also on board, as was musician Heinz Ratz. During the last two years, Ratz, together with his band “Strom & Wasser,” has organized concerts together with musicians from refugee camps, asylum seeker initiatives, and women on leave to remain. This action, which was funded by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, highlighted the difficult situation experienced by refugees and particularly the special vulnerability of women and children. The supporting program, which was organized in conjunction with various national and local initiatives, provided numerous opportunities for discussion and making new contacts. Performances by clowns, as well as puppet shows and concerts, took place in refugee centers along the way, and everyone was invited to participate.



Available at:
www.rosalux.de/publication/40847
(in German)

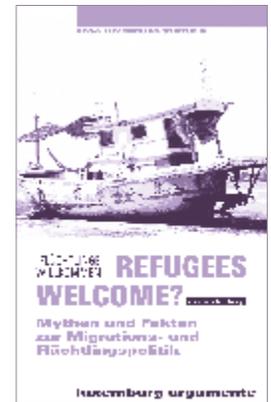
Koray Yilmaz-Günay,
Freya-Maria Klinger
**REALITÄT
EINWANDERUNG**
KOMMUNALE MÖGLICHKEITEN DER TEILHABE,
GEGEN DISKRIMINIERUNG
Crashkurs Kommune Bd. 9,
120 Seiten, VSA-Verlag,
Hamburg 2014

The issue of immigration was also cause for much debate in the regions. This was often sparked by the establishment of temporary housing for asylum seekers, changing the name of a street to honor a victim of a racist murder, or the construction of a mosque. Whatever led to the debate in each case, questions of asylum, the accessibility of government departments, planning participatory measures, urban and rural planning, and socio-cultural activities are issues that can be actively shaped at the local level.

FURTHER PUBLICATIONS ON THIS ISSUE

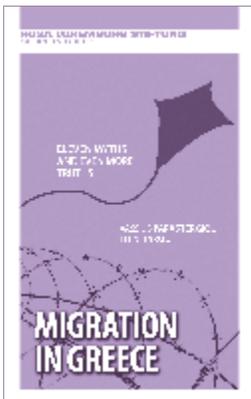
Vassilis Papastergiou,
Eleni Takou
MIGRATION IN GREECE
ELEVEN MYTHS AND EVEN
MORE TRUTHS
Published by the RLS Office
in Greece
www.rosalux.de/publication/40646

Liz Fekete
**RECHTE GEWALT
IN EUROPA**
DAS KONZEPT DES ANTI-
EXTREMISMUS SCHWÄCHT
DEN ANTIFASCHISTISCHEN
WIDERSTAND
Standpunkte 17/2014
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Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung
(eds)
**MUCH UND VERTREIBUNG
IM SYRIEN-KONFLIKT**
EINE ANALYSE ZUR SITUATION
VON FLÜCHTLINGEN IN
SYRIEN UND IM LIBANON
www.rosalux.de/publication/40677

Christian Jakob
FLÜCHTLINGE WILLKOMMEN - REFUGEES WELCOME?
MYTHEN UND FAKTEN
ZUR MIGRATIONSPOLITIK
Luxemburg Argumente Nr. 8
2., überarbeitete Auflage
www.rosalux.de/publication/40329





In March 2014, the NPD attempted to hold demonstrations in four different locations in Berlin against refugees. This was met with loud protests from counter-demonstrators.

REFUGEES WELCOME - WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY "WELCOME"?

A CONVERSATION WITH INVA KUHN FROM THE FOUNDATION'S DISCUSSION GROUP ON MIGRATION ABOUT THE SEMINAR "REFUGEES, ASYLUM AND WELCOMING CULTURE AT THE LOCAL LEVEL," WHICH WAS RUN TWELVE TIMES IN 2014.

Inva, you developed the "Refugees Welcome" seminar series together with other members of the migration discussion group. What are the seminars about and what was behind the series?

Kuhn: We began discussing the violent protests against refugees and the increase in racist and neo-Nazi attacks against collective housing for asylum seekers throughout Germany. The idea for the seminar came about during discussions with the Foundation's speakers on migration and local politics. These discussions led to the development of a training program aimed at people in decision-making positions relating to asylum, migration, and "welcoming culture." The program was set up in time for the 2014 local elections that took place in eleven federal states. The seminar provides an introduction for people who are active in local politics, those responsible for local immigration policy, and

people who want to shape policy in town halls, alliances, and networks. The seminar introduces the participants to the fundamentals of German asylum law and informs them about the reasons why refugees leave their country of origin, and the number of people applying in Germany. Moreover, the seminar also provides an opportunity to develop local and preventative strategies that can help prevent racially charged conflicts from occurring at the local, district, or neighborhood level. Our aim is to show people what can be done to stop these conflicts from occurring. In addition, the seminar focuses on local political responsibilities, such as the provision of medical and psychosocial care, as well as housing for asylum seekers. These are classic local-level responsibilities that involve the provision of specific social services, the development of participatory measures, and socio-cultural activities at the community level.

A further important aim of the seminar is to provide initiatives run by asylum seekers with a platform for networking. We ensure that representatives from administration, politics, self-help organizations, and supporters are able to share their experiences and that these groups all have contact people available. This enables specific offers of support to be developed and coordinated so that local struggles can be addressed together on an equal footing.

Your flyer refers to a “welcoming culture.” What do you mean exactly?

Kuhn: The term “welcoming culture” needs to be used with caution, particularly in the context of migration policy. The conservative camp uses the term to refer to people it views as “useful immigrants.” In the logic of neoliberal exploitation, people are welcome if they can help avert the growing pressures caused by demographic change in this country. But what about everybody else? What about people who have had to seek refuge because of natural disasters, authoritarian regimes, civil war, the denial of their human rights, or exploitation? Who welcomes them? The states stopping refugees, letting them drown, and murdering them on the EU’s external borders certainly don’t; nor do those that leave the protection of migrants to other countries.

Up until the beginning of the financial crises, the Dublin II regulations enabled Germany to reject people seeking protection. This also led to a systematic reduction of related accommodation facilities. However, in 2013, the civil wars in Syria and Iraq resulted in more than 100,000 initial applications for asylum being made in Germany. This situation posed major challenges to local government, and generally resulted in unacceptable housing and living conditions for refugees and migrants. The practical problems faced by refugees are made worse by two further difficulties: on the one hand, the legal situation and the relevant state institutions do not make people’s lives any easier—especially not in the case of traumatized refugees; second, refugees are constantly threatened by racists and neo-Nazis.

Many places were quick to recognize the problems faced by refugees. Initiatives and alliances formed, who developed and implemented their own welcoming culture. For example, joint welcome dinners have been organized, and assistance with administrative formalities is being provided to asylum seekers, including translation and various forms of consultation. In my opinion, however, although charitable help is important, we also have to support refugees’ political struggles for their right to stay in Germany, for decent housing and appropriate medical care. When we developed our concept of a welcoming culture, we looked to these civil society actors and refugees’ initiatives, as they undertake the vast majority of political and humanitarian support provided to refugees.

Why are the issues of refugees and asylum relevant to the Left?

Kuhn: These issues are of fundamental importance to the parliamentary and the extra-parliamentary Left: we need to fight for the rights of refugees and immigrants and this has to be done in parliaments, district assemblies, and town halls, as well as on the streets. This might sound empty, but the issues of asylum and migration and other issues that are directly related to the fields of urban and regional planning, such as housing, are all linked at the local and civil society level. We shouldn’t view the issue of refugees in isolation; it needs to be addressed at all levels and as part of diverse approaches.

What differences are there between the various places where the seminars take place? How do you respond to the specifics of the local situation?

Kuhn: It was not always possible to involve groups and initiatives run by refugees in some places, because they didn’t always exist. This complicates matters considerably, as a welcoming culture has to be organized jointly with the people it is aimed at. Furthermore, we realized that we were offering too many topics, and that there was not enough time to cover everything. Before the seminars took place, we discussed the issues with the people responsible for the local area and attempted to integrate the specific local situation and the interests of local participants into each seminar.

Why is there currently so much interest in the seminars?

Kuhn: It’s impossible to ignore the issue of migration: the issue is everywhere. Arson attacks against housing for asylum seekers are not uncommon. In many German cities, racist protests have been raging for some time: in December 2014, around 17,000 Pegida supporters took to the streets in Dresden alone. However, similar worrying trends are occurring in places like Dortmund, Düsseldorf, Leipzig, and East Friesland. Large numbers of people are demonstrating against what they view as the “Islamization” of society and the “flood of migrants.” However, the numbers of migrants we are talking about can in no way be said to be responsible for these people’s diffuse anxieties, and certainly do not justify their völkisch and racist attitudes.

It’s time to tell it like it is: this society has a problem of racism. After all, the fact that issues such as “protecting your home country” can act as a common denominator for these people illustrates how easily a position from within the middle of society can become an issue of the extreme right. This is particularly the case when these people stand side by side in their fight against what they view as “the destruction of German identity.” I see this as a restaging of the clash of civilizations, which has been regularly invoked over the last 30 years. Happily, however, there is a great deal of interest in developing local strategies in many areas to oppose racism, and it seems our seminars are the right place to do this.

What is planned for 2015?

Kuhn: We were in Brandenburg, Thuringia, and North Rhine-Westphalia until March 2015. For a while at least, we’re taking a break from the seminars. If necessary, we’ll continue providing people with educational contacts and speakers. We’re also putting together a handout providing information about the content and the methods we use in these seminars for anyone who is interested, and we are considering conducting a training course for team leaders.

PROJECT FUNDING LINKED TO OUR KEY ISSUE

- Dominik Berg: Documentary film production “Hart an der Grenze. Die Mauern der Festung Europa – eine Reise mit Elias Bierdel” (On the Edge. The Walls of Fortress Europe – A Trip with Elias Bierdel) – € 5,000
- Bundesfachverband Unbegleitete minderjährige Flüchtlinge e.V.: 12th Jugendliche ohne Grenzen Konferenz (Youth Without Borders conference), June 11–14, 2014, Bonn – € 1,000
- sub/urban e.V.: Publishing of an online publication Stadt und Migration. Neue Forschungsansätze zu Citizenship, Macht und Agency, (New Research Approaches to Citizenship, Power and Agency), special issue of sub/urban, zeitschrift für kritische stadtforschung, vol. 2–3/2014 – € 1,000
- Bruno Watara Aourfah: Interviews, informational events and the online publication Im Dunkeln. Die Situation von langjährig Geduldeten. (In the Dark. The Situation of Long-term Tolerated People) – € 1,000
- Migrationsrat Berlin-Brandenburg e.V.: Help with the publication Rassismus und Justiz (Racism and Justice) – € 1,000
- Julia Friese: Development and production of “Welt ohne Grenzen *3” – an audio play on social justice and global freedom of movement – € 1,000
- Marc-Holland Cunz: Translations for the website “With WINGS and ROOTS” on the history of migration and immigrant life in Germany and the US – € 1,000
- Ljupcho Temelkovski: Post-production of the documentary “Safety First” about the life and work of Roma in Macedonia – € 1,000
- Netzwerk für Zusammenarbeit iranischer Frauen e.V.: Seminar “Frauen, Bürgerpflichten und Bürgerrechte in der Zivilgesellschaft. Konsequenzen der Exilerfahrung” (Wo-

men, Civil Responsibilities and Civil Rights in Civil Society), January 24–26, 2014, Frankfurt am Main – € 750

- Johannes Frick: “Draußen” (Outside) – a multimedia theater production on the treatment of refugees – € 300

RACISM IN HEALTHCARE

MEDICAL CARE FOR REFUGEES AND MIGRANTS

Over the last two years, Péguy and Juliette have been active alongside 15 other individuals in the Berlin group “Corasol – Initiative gegen Rassismus und für Solidarität mit Geflüchteten” (Corasol – Initiative Against Racism and for Solidarity with Refugees). With her colleague Juliette interpreting, Péguy states, “The activists who participate in our initiative are often French-speakers from Cameroon, Benin, and France; but there are also participants from Germany, Kenya, and more recently from Switzerland.” The group, which is primarily aimed at teenagers and young adults, uses public events and targeted action to publicize the difficult situation faced by refugees and migrants in Germany. Corasol aims to shed light on underlying structures, develop criticism of structural racism, and also provide individual help to refugees.

LINKS WITH MORE INFORMATION:

<http://corasol.blogspot.de/>

<https://de-de.facebook.com/pages/Corasol/367393760047474>

Support from the Foundation’s Youth Education Network enabled Corasol to invite representatives from MediBüro to a regular Küfa (a food-for-all event) at the end of June 2014. MediBüro provides a point of liaison for refugees and contact with doctors who are willing to provide treatment for people without checking their identity or demanding health insurance. Wherever possible, these doctors even speak their patient’s language. The language aspect presents a particular challenge in health care because misunderstandings can cause misdiagnoses; despite this, the state does not provide refugees with interpreters.

The relaxation of residency restrictions between Brandenburg and Berlin has at least led to some improvements in refugee healthcare. The abolition of food vouchers, which refugees were given instead of money, is a further step forward, because refugees can at least theoretically pay privately towards health care. However, as Péguy points out, “whenever things get serious, when someone needs an operation, MediBüro still lacks the funds.”

Corasol is clear that its work in the health care sector is a political struggle. Life in refugee camps makes people sick. Therefore, this issue is not just about a lack of supplies, which could be fixed with a technical solution; it is about ending the racist exclusion of refugees and migrants.

Filming on Lesbos for “Hart an der Grenze,” which has received funding from the Foundation.





In 2006, this sign marked the EU's external border between Germany and Poland. Germany's eastern neighbor had yet to become a member of the Schengen Accord.

PROVIDING SUPPORT ACROSS NATIONAL BORDERS THE "BALTIC SEA CONFERENCE ON REFUGEES AND MIGRATION"

The EU's asylum policy means that refugees are sometimes forced to travel the length and breadth of Europe. Unfortunately, civil society support often stops at national borders. This issue was the focus of the "Baltic Sea Conference on Refugees and Migration" organized by the Baltic Sea Network on Migration Issues, which took place in Kiel from March 6–9, 2014.

Twenty-four organizations from the Baltic Sea countries, ranging from refugees' initiatives to groups linked to the church, shared experiences about the situations faced by refugees in Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Scandinavia, and Germany.

Workshops took place on topics such as "unaccompanied minors", "religious persecution, and conversion in the asylum procedure," "labor-related migration" and "undocumented migrants." This enabled the 100 participants from 12 countries to discuss the difficulties associated with the Dublin procedure, people-trafficking, and the trafficking of women in

particular, as well as the trauma faced by refugees and migrants. Moreover, the workshops were aimed at developing specific demands. The participants focused on the implementation of EU law in their respective countries, the resulting situation of refugees and migrants, and the forms of assistance and support that are provided locally. The debates were strongly linked to praxis, and this led the participants to discuss the possibility of supporting people who are deported as "Dublin cases" within the EU, as well as the implementation of initiatives by the church aimed at providing practical solidarity with refugees. The concerns expressed by refugee organizations were supported by a number of politicians, and Anke Spoorendonk (Minister of Justice, Cultural, and European Affairs, Schleswig-Holstein) and Stefan Schmidt (Commissioner for Refugees, Asylum, and Migration, Schleswig-Holstein) gave welcome speeches at the beginning of the conference.

The conference concluded by adopting a joint resolution and calling for the continuation of informal and formal future cooperation. The conference represented an important move toward building a sustainable network of groups supporting refugees in the Baltic region.

It enabled the people involved to meet in person and explore their needs and opportunities for cooperation, as well as to arrange to meet again in the future. Networking is to be continued via a number of different projects.

THE INSTITUTE FOR CRITICAL SOCIAL ANALYSIS

The US Marxist and geographer David Harvey insisted on answering the questions of who can and will be the subjects of transformation in the following manner: "What is to be done? And who the hell is going to do it?" This issue is based on Hans-Jürgen Urban's idea of the "mosaic Left," and the Institute for Critical Social Analysis (IfG) helped start the debate on this topic quite a few years ago. Since then, new experiences have been gained that could broaden the debate and be used to help overcome the current fragmentation of the Left. Research and strategic debates about the re-organization of the Left in Spain and Greece, in particular, led the IfG to develop the concept of the "connective party." This concept also serves as a basis for reflection on the development of the Left Party as a political party. The concept is not just about relations between the party and the movement, but also about ensuring that a more firm basis develops in the population by organizing around specific local, everyday problems. This approach strengthens the new structures of solidarity developing within civil society that are linked to new forms of parties such as those in Greece and Spain.

The IfG attempts to bring the mosaic together, and develop shared perspectives with (organic) intellectuals, social movements, civil society initiatives, trade unions, and the party. This work is undertaken not only within formats oriented towards academics, but increasingly within participative and organizing practices such as strategic dialogues, participative councils, and action conferences. The "Care Revolution Conference" was an action conference that took place with more than 500 participants from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. The conference involved more than 60 initiatives – from union groups to self-help organizations of family carers and migrant domestic workers to left-wing academic activists. The aim of the conference was to strengthen networking between actors from different regions and parts of the left-wing spectrum and establish a comprehensive political platform. In 2015, the project will be continued with a large-scale participative council on care and health.

In 2014, the IfG organized its third transformation conference, this time entitled "How can you Live a 'Right' Life, in the 'Wrong' one?" It also published on transformation theory in the extensive volume entitled *Futuring*, which was edited by Michael Brie. In addition, the IfG concentrated on trade union renewal, the laws broken as part of the authoritarian regimes of austerity, the development of right-wing populist and fascist forces in Europe, and the "world crisis policy" which is being implemented in countries ranging from Syria to Venezuela, and Ukraine to Mali.

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Fellowships have existed at the Institute for Critical Social Analysis since 2012. They are aimed at intensifying cooperation between the Foundation and research.
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FELLOWSHIPS

Corinna Genschel has been the Left Party's contact point for social movements in the Bundestag since it was founded. The contact point is an attempt to secure continued cooperation between movements and the party without recourse to a fixed institution. However, institutionalization does sometimes occur, at least if it is understood in terms of safeguards and binding rules for cooperation. As a fellow, Corinna Genschel aims to reflect on and evaluate the experiences and the strategic lessons learned from this experiment, including at workshops with representatives from movements and the party.

Dieter Klein, a long-term fellow at the IfG, completed a fundamental contribution in 2014 entitled *Doppelte Transformation (Double Transformation)*, which was published in *Futuring. Perspektiven der Transformation*. Together with Achim Wahl, Dieter Klein analyzed the applicability of the concept of double transformation to the processes of transformation occurring in Latin America. The aim was to provide a more objective understanding of the conflicts within the Left about left-wing governmental praxis in Latin America. Their work is due to be published in 2015. In 2013, Klein published a book as part of his fellowship entitled *Das Morgen tanzt im Heute. Transformation im Kapitalismus über ihn hinaus (Tomorrow Dances in Today. Transformation in Capitalism and Beyond)*. During 2014, he presented the book at numerous events.

Isabell Lorey works at the European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies (eipcp) in Berlin and is co-editor of *transversal texts*. Her research into governing the precarious (2012) is interwoven with social movements and the question of the new democratic practices that have been developing in protest movements since 2011. Lorey came into contact with the IfG through debates about the theory and praxis of new concepts of democracy. She has discussed her approach at various events, such as those held by the regional foundations, and the development of her position can be found in the magazine *LuXemburg*.

Rainer Rilling, also a long-term fellow at the IfG, and editor of *LuXemburg*, has influenced the Left's reception of Thomas



Fellow Raul Zelik at an event in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Salon.

Pikettys *Capital in the 21st Century* more than anyone else, particularly through his publications in *LuXemburg*, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* and *Telepolis*. His article *Transformation as Futuring* (in *Futuring*) has opened up a new school of thought. His message is that those in power have developed what is now perhaps the most important technique for the exercise of power: futuring. Moreover, he calls on the Left to use futuring as part of its policies to change the order of time, and thus promote solidarity-based transformation.

Steve Williams, former managing director of People Organizing to Win Employment Rights (POWER), has worked with the Foundation since 2011 and is currently one of the most prominent representatives of transformative organizing. Based on his experience as an organizer and texts previously published in association with the Foundation, he participated in several workshops including "Because the Cook Should Govern the State! – Experiences with "Transformative Organizing" and the conference "#Cross_Solidarity. The (Re)organization of the Plural Left in Crisis," which took place on November 7, 2014 in Bochum. This approach to organizing is to be experimented with in socially deprived areas.

Raul Zelik, well-known writer and social scientist, is working as a fellow at the IfG on a pamphlet concerned with eight central problems of left-wing transformation. He aims to produce a number of introductory pamphlets that will relate new forms of critical social theory to political praxis. To date, he has published on social democracy under radical auspices using the example of South America's "21st century socialism," as well as providing reflections on possibilities for left-wing foreign policy, and eleven theses on Podemos and the 'democratic' revolution in Spain as an attempt to clarify the phenomenon of the new form of political party.



Protest on March 17, 2014: employees of Charité University Hospital demand a collective agreement that guarantees a minimum number of personnel on the wards.

WE DO CARE! CARING (INSTEAD OF WORRYING) ABOUT TOMORROW

Even in Germany, years of austerity and privatization have negatively affected public services in the care sector. Moreover, the debt ceiling is intensifying this situation and has transferred the results of government-imposed austerity onto local authorities. These are faced with different financial situations, and this is reflected in the emergence of large differences in the quality of local service provision. Quality health care, a good education, mobility, and decent care and housing have become questions related to a person’s status as rich or poor. Given the inadequate levels of service provision, care work is returning to the home, and this is placing people under excessive demands as well as stabilizing traditional gender roles, as it is still predominantly women who perform unpaid care work.

However, people are faced with very different situations. Educated women in dual-income households may be able to outsource part of their reproductive work, which is generally impossible for single parents and workers whose incomes provide barely enough to make ends meet. People who conduct socially undervalued and poorly paid work are being pushed further down the social ladder, and this is linked to regimes of migration. It is migrant women who often undertake cleaning jobs and care for the elderly in semi-legal, if not com-

pletely undocumented, contexts. Put simply, people who do not earn high incomes and who do not have large assets, and those who cannot afford additional private health insurance, high rents, au pairs, private training or tuition, have lower-quality lives. Risk has now become individualized.

SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE AS THE SOLUTION

The development of democratic social infrastructure opens up perspectives for left-wing politics. Free social services not only provide equal access to social commons, they reduce the pressure caused by overstretched working conditions and thus provide a chance to completely restructure reproductive labor and fairly allocate it between the sexes. Expanding social services also offers the opportunity to create good jobs and ensure that certain essential social sectors are protected from the influence of the logic of the market and profit.

In terms of the social services and infrastructure needed for mobility, energy, and housing, investment programs can be developed to provide for qualitative “growth” in areas where the use of natural resources and the environmental impact is low, but that produce huge gains in quality of life. “Fair transitions” can be implemented to take the first steps towards fundamentally restructuring the current model of production. These issues could act as strategic points of intervention for

a new left-wing project. “Transformation” would no longer be the business of large-scale social actors, as it would develop out of the perspectives of lifestyle and people’s everyday lives. A potentially broad coalition could be built to implement such specific policy-based perspectives for action that would include unions, left-wing parties, feminists, social movements, and even parts of the post-growth spectrum. These coalitions could consist of “middle-bottom alliances” (Michael Brie) that would enable moves to be made towards a “double transformation” (Dieter Klein).

However, these alliances will not arise from the mere assertion that these groups have common concerns and options. Alliances need to be forged through specific issues if they are to develop into organizing projects. A variety of conflicts over social reproduction during recent years have shown that struggles can result in the development of connecting practices. These have ranged from successful industrial action in areas such as feminized care work to alliances on issues such as the privatization of hospitals, and self-organization by family carers. At the same time, coalitions are developing in the field of housing, energy, and mobility throughout Europe. These need to develop practical links to one another if they are to combine their powers.

ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG GOES CARE

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has provided existing issues with an original touch through its slogan “socially, environmentally and gender-just transformations”. One focus of work in the past year (and of future projects) is the entanglement of feminist-inspired social policies directed at the construction of social infrastructure and the implementation of socio-ecological transformation. Criticism of the exhaustive manner in which the current neoliberal model of production deals with the two sources of value – nature and human labor – comes together to form an analytical basis that simultaneously determines the most desirable direction for transformation. The concept of the “reproductive economy” (Mario Candeias) provides a model of production focused on the careful handling of natural and human resources as well as the satisfaction of human needs.

In 2015, a large strategy conference will take place on care and health, and it will be particularly linked to and help to develop the experiences of the “organizing format” applied at the Care Revolution action conference in 2014. The 2015 conference is being organized with the Left Party in the Bundestag and Network Care Revolution, in close cooperation with the trade union ver.di as well as active secretaries, volunteers, and representatives from charities and other civil society groups. Care is being used as an example to analyze a highly contested political field of social reproduction. Major trade union struggles have been taking place in this sector for many years, and this has led to the development of innovative forms of strike.

At the same time, the issue of care at home and the dilemmas faced by caring relatives are high on the political agenda. The totally inadequate funding of care insurance individualizes the problem of care provision for the elderly and the sick and transfers it to the voluntary sector, often to undocumented workers. This also leads to questions about the provision and democratic control of social infrastructure.

This broad field is particularly suitable for exploring perspectives aimed at organizing and developing alliances between workers, patients, and their families so as to help answer professional and strategic questions about the development of common public services.

2ND STRIKE CONFERENCE IN HANNOVER

Around 700 people attended the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s 2nd Strike Conference between October 2 and 4, 2014 in Hanover’s Pavilion Cultural Center. The conference took place under the motto, “Develop strategies together – undertake struggles – organize participation.” The conference was run by the Foundation together with ver.di Hannover/Leine-Weser and ver.di’s training center in Hanover; it was supported by the Hannover branches of the unions IG Metall, IG BAU, NGG, and GEW. The conference also helped develop the issue of “trade union renewal” that was taken up by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in 2012, with its focus on “political strikes in the Europe of crisis,” and followed up with the first Strike Conference entitled “Renewal Through Strike” that took place in Stuttgart in 2013. This year’s conference was attended by 200 more participants than in 2013. In addition, the program was expanded to include 22 working groups, 6 practical seminars, 6 meetings for the exchange of experiences between people in the same industrial sectors, an international launch event, and opening and closing events. Around 110 speakers participated in the program, most of whom were full-time or volunteer trade unionists with their roots in praxis and theory. Speakers at the conference included Hans-Jürgen Urban (executive board member of IG Metall), Bernd Riexinger (co-chair of the Left Party), Ingrid Arthur (professor of sociology, University of Erlangen) and Harald Memenga (regional secretary of ver.di Hannover/Leine-Weser). Moreover, colleagues from on-going struggles at Amazon and Enercon also had their say.

The conference was characterized by strong trade union participation and activists of all age groups from diverse industrial sectors, including many young people, which was a very pleasing development. The focus of the conference was the exchange of experiences, and the participants discussed past strikes and how they had been prepared and implemented. The debates particularly concentrated on democratic, participatory, and – at the same time – effective strikes. Struggles that went beyond the strike were also discussed, such as issues of collective strategy development, the politicization of sectoral disputes, and solidarity.



Panel discussion during the 2nd strike conference in Hannover in early October 2014.

The conference emphasized the problems faced by union organization in precarious sectors. This focus had been clear right from the start, as trade unionists from the Netherlands, Britain, and Turkey used the opening panel to discuss struggles that had taken place in precarious conditions. Working groups were set up to debate the effects of part-time work, low wages, and short-term contracts on the ability to strike, as well as to discuss forms of resistance that can be implemented under difficult conditions and joint strategies that can be developed between the core and peripheral workforce.

Trade union solidarity with refugees was another issue covered by the conference. Peter Bremme from ver.di Hamburg reported about the collective approval of 180 refugees as union members. Two of the refugees spoke at the conference, as did a representative of a group of refugees that had erected a protest camp in front of the conference center.

There was also space to debate current union issues such as the planned law to standardize wage levels. A separate forum was available to discuss this issue and a resolution was adopted at the end of the conference.

The strike conference was productive, and held within an atmosphere of solidarity; feedback was excellent. Many participants stated that they hoped a follow-up conference would be organized, and a decision will be made on this with the conference's organizing committee after a thorough evaluation has been conducted.

ATTACKS ON DEMOCRACY AS A FORM OF LIFE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEW FORMS OF RIGHT-WING POPULISM IN GERMANY

In 2014, a new German right-wing party – Alternative for Germany (AfD) – took up seats in the European Parliament and in three German states. The party's electoral success did not come as a surprise, as the AfD had only narrowly failed to pass the threshold at the 2013 Bundestag election. Moreo-

ver, the journal of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis (IfG), *Analyse*, had indicated quite early on that the parties to the left of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) were becoming weaker and that a right-wing extra-parliamentary movement was developing. In the German parliament, the AfD acts as a melting pot for right-wing populist, nationalist, and value-conservative forces; it also provides a home to the New Right. This movement, which includes the Pegida marches, represents the strongest attack against democracy as a form of life and against everyday democratic coexistence that has ever developed out of "civil society."

In 2014, the IfG, the Academy for Political Education and the Foundation's political communications department used the various options open to them to focus on the increasing problem of right-wing populism. The discussion group on parties and social movements conducted debates about academic studies on the AfD and right-wing populism; this also led to different perspectives on the AfD being published online. In addition, a brochure was published that analyzed the AfD's central ideological discursive patterns and set out counter-arguments to them. The brochure highlighted the on-going cooperation between the AfD and right-wing extremists. At the same time, the large number of requests for speakers made it very clear that there was still a great need to understand more about the emerging forms of right-wing populism and to address them with democratic counter-strategies. During 2014, a working group entitled AG Surveys and Everyday Consciousness was founded, and it began by focusing on empirical studies conducted on resentment and ideologies of inequality that exist within the population. These studies demonstrate that existing views about group-based enmities and inequalities have become solidified, more polarized, and even radicalized, rather than becoming more widespread as such. Although it went unnoticed by the public for a long time, the AfD, and the extra-parliamentary mobilization that came in the wake of its success, has finally stepped out onto the public political stage. Unfortunately, it is unlikely that anything will be done to change the socio-political situation that right-wing populists use to strengthen their successes.

Studying right-wing populism and social nationalism will remain a focus of our work in the future, as dealing with the actors and ideologies of right-wing populism while strengthening its diverse opposing forces are two sides of the same coin.

LUXEMBURG LECTURES

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung regularly invites intellectuals from around the world to hold lectures as part of its "Luxemburg lectures" series. The 2014 lectures focused on the crisis in Greece and the alternative provided by Syriza, as well as free trade agreements, new concepts of democracy, the political economy of social media, and the struggle against inequality.

LUXEMBURG LECTURES 2014

FEBRUARY 10, 2014

Euclid Tsakalotos (economist, Greece)

**DIE FEUERPROBE DES WIDERSTANDS
(THE ACID TEST OF RESISTANCE)**

DISCUSSION ON THE EURO CRISIS

With Sahra Wagenknecht

FEBRUARY 19, 2014

John Hilary (War on Want, UK)

**DIE ARMUT DES KAPITALISMUS
(THE POVERTY OF CAPITALISM)**

CONFLICTS OVER NATURAL RESOURCES, LABOR RIGHTS,
AND FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

APRIL 1, 2014

Andreas Xanthos (health researcher, Syriza, Greece)

**DIE KATASTROPHE IST LÄNGST DA
(THE DISASTER ARRIVED LONG AGO)**

THE CRISIS IN PUBLIC HEALTH CARE; RESISTANCE AND SOLI-
DARITY IN GREECE

With Harald Weinberg, member of the Bundestag, Left Party

MAY 6, 2014

Giorgos Chondros (Syriza, Greece)

**SYRIZA ANTE PORTAS - WIE WEITER IN GRIECHEN-
LAND? (WHAT NOW FOR GREECE?)**

With Eva Völpel, taz

MAY 7, 2104

Isabell Lorey (political scientist, Basel/Berlin)

**DIE ERFINDUNG PRÄSENTISCHER DEMOKRATIE
(THE INVENTION OF PRESENTIST DEMOCRACY)**

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND NEW FORMS OF ORGANIZATION

With Alex DemiroviĐ and Mario Candeias

MAY 8, 2014

Kari Polanyi-Levitt (economist, US)

**VON DER GROSSEN TRANSFORMATION ZUR
GROSSEN FINANZIALISIERUNG
(FROM THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION TO THE
GREAT FINANCIALIZATION)**

ALTERNATIVES TO LEFT AND RIGHT-WING ECONOMISM

In cooperation with the John F. Kennedy Institute of Freie
Universität Berlin

JUNE 24, 2014

James Cypher (military economist, US)

**DIE POLITISCHE ÖKONOMIE DER MILITÄR-
INTERVENTIONEN DER USA (THE POLITICAL
ECONOMY OF US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS)**



The Luxemburg Lectures are also available on the Foundation's YouTube channel.

JUNE 26, 2014

Silvia Federici (feminist, Italy)

**AUFSTAND AUS DER KÜCHE
(THE UPRISING IN THE KITCHEN)**

CRISIS, SOCIAL REPRODUCTION, AND LIFESTYLE

OCTOBER 27, 2014

Oliver Marchart (political philosopher, Austria)

THE CRACK

THE POLITICAL, THE POLITY AND THE CRACKS
IN THE SOCIAL

In cooperation with the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

DECEMBER 1, 2014

Friedrich Schorlemmer (theologian and publicist,
Lutherstadt Wittenberg)

**GIER ODER GLÜCK, HABEN ODER SEIN,
KONKURRENZ ODER SOLIDARITÄT (GREED OR
LUCK; HAVING OR BEING; COMPETITION OR
SOLIDARITY)**

DECEMBER 6, 2014

Frederic Jameson (Marxist literary theorist, US)

REPRESENTING GLOBALIZATION

HOW CAN GLOBALIZATION BE REPRESENTED?

DECEMBER 12, 2014

Christian Fuchs (economist, UK)

**KRISE, KOMMUNIKATION, KAPITALISMUS
(CRISIS, COMMUNICATION, CAPITALISM)**

FOR A CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MEDIA AND
THE INTERNET IN THE ERA OF APPLE, FACEBOOK, GOOGLE,
AND TWITTER

THE ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

Political education forms the basis of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work and is provided by all of its departments, regional offices, and regional foundations. The Academy for Political Education holds the main responsibility for the continuous development, evaluation, and establishment of a cross-sectoral understanding of education within the Foundation. A central goal of our work is ensuring that people are able to develop the capacities they need to take action within socio-political disputes. Our work ranges from providing evening events and daily workshops, weekend seminars, modular training, and working aids to developing training materials for use in external seminars.

Our work is guided by the views of the people who participate in our events, with an awareness of the problems caused by hierarchy and the desire to promote emancipatory participation. Individuals who are committed to the Left Party and the trade unions are just as much part of our target group as people belonging to social movements. In addition, we aim to provide basic information and identify and develop new approaches to politics and political commitment. At the same time, we seek to break with the rigid separation of educational content and teaching and to use a range of methods to make complex relationships far more understandable.

The Academy for Political Education consists of a number of essential pillars including the local academy, the working group "Training for Politics" and the youth educational network, each with their different priorities and target groups. However, we are also increasingly working together in an interdisciplinary and cross-sectoral manner with the aim of demonstrating that the fields in which we work are interwoven, and supporting processes of social change within them. This includes areas such as economic literacy, contemporary history, gender relations, neo-Nazism and other ideologies and structures of inequality, migration and social movements, European politics, internationalism and socio-ecological transformation.

In 2014, we continued to focus on the central question faced by left-wing political foundations: how can we expand our audiences and remove spatial, linguistic, and other barriers and structures of exclusion? The aim of course is to achieve the most wide-ranging level of inclusion possible. From 2015, a new leadership team based around Silke Veth as director and Koray Yilmaz-Günay as deputy director will take up the Academy for Political Education's new and old tasks. Dr. Evelin Wittich, a co-founder of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and long-term director of the Academy for Political Education, has now become director of Focus Point Rosa Luxemburg.



Protests in Berlin in October 2014: more than 250 organizations from all over Europe joined forces to collect signatures against TTIP and CETA

TTIP AND TISA

The fact that more people in Germany now know what TTIP and TISA stand for is due to the tireless educational work conducted by critical journalists and NGOs over the past year. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung can also take its share of the credit thanks to its early and decisive contributions to the debate in the form of funding publications and organizing events.

As early as May 2014, the Brussels office published the brochure *The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership* by John Hilary (executive director of the NGO War on Want). This study has since been translated into seven languages. Hilary is one of the most important independent experts on the potential impact of TTIP on states that are not present at the negotiating table. He was also a speaker at one of the larger public events on the geopolitical consequences of TTIP and TISA (the Trade in Services Agreement), which took place in Berlin on September 18, 2014 in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's salon. Representatives of the party were also present, including Ulrike Herrmann; other participants included Andreas Zumach from *tageszeitung*, Sven Hilbig from Bread for the World, Sanya Reid Smith from the Third World Network, Martin Beckmann from ver.di, and Jürgen Buxbaum as a representative of Public Services International. This global alliance of trade unions produced the first ever study about the consequences of TISA for public services.

However, it is not just that TISA would lead to dramatic reductions in public services. The experts invited to discuss the TTIP agreement argued that products made in the Global South would become more expensive and therefore less competitive due to the planned reduction of tariffs between the EU and the US. This would result in a loss of trade volume in, for example, the Global South's textile sector. Accordingly, countries that are not party to the agreement (so-called third countries) will be forced to produce at even lower costs, and this usually occurs at the expense of wages. In addition, the reduction of non-tariff barriers will increase pressure on these countries to

conform to the agreement, meaning that the standards negotiated in TTIP will have an effect beyond the scope of the EU and the United States. Moreover, TTIP is fundamentally disadvantageous to third countries because their positions are not even represented at the negotiations.

Similar problems apply to TISA, an agreement that includes 50 countries and covers almost all of world trade in services. The TISA negotiations are being carried out amid even more secrecy than the TTIP negotiations, and with good reason: it is not only national governments that are to be bound by its provisions, but also local governments, and this means they will be held liable for violations of the agreement. Moreover, decisions made in the framework of these agreements are to be irreversible. This would mean, for example, that once electricity or waterworks have been privatized, it would be impossible to renationalize these utilities. In principle, the same would apply to health, education, and the entire cultural sector, such as theaters and museums. State enterprises are only exempted from TISA if they are domestic institutions in the strictest sense: in other words, as long as they do not provide cross-border services.

The event in Berlin also covered regulatory cooperation. This instrument will mean that governments that ratify TTIP and TISA face curbs on their legislative powers. After ratification, all trade-related legislative initiatives will have to go before an expert panel (which would include lobbyists) prior to being adopted by national parliaments. This demonstrates the core of the problem: TTIP, TISA, and other agreements such as CETA represent nothing less than the gradual abolition of democracy. They openly and shamelessly subdue the state to the requirements of world trade by making it impossible for governments to implement new regulatory measures. Given the aims of this scandalous project, the Foundation will continue to focus on these agreements and organize events on other aspects of the unjust global economic system.



Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss with her husband Peter Weiss.

THE SWEDISH ARTIST GUNILLA PALMSTIERNA-WEISS IN GERMANY

Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss, the internationally renowned sculptor, ceramicist, scenographer, curator, author, and partner of the writer Peter Weiss, who died in 1982, visited Germany in early November 2014. She started her visit with a trip to the Peter-Weiss-Haus in Rostock, before coming to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's salon in Berlin. She was accompanied by her son, the artist and designer Mikael Sylwan.

Palmstierna-Weiss, a gifted narrator, provided entertaining insights into her childhood and youth in Austria, France, and the Netherlands. She explained that she had begun acting as a young woman in Weiss's early experimental films in Stockholm and had started out as a freelance set and costume designer. She described her husband as "a good-looking, charming man. But that wasn't his most important side. [...] We spoke about things that weren't otherwise being spoken about at the time in Sweden; topics such as surrealism and psychoanalysis. We began an intellectual debate right from the beginning." Her relationship with Peter Weiss, with whom she was romantically involved from 1952 onwards, could be described as symbiotic: she influenced his artistic work, as he did hers. They experienced the stormy years of 1968 in Paris, Amsterdam, and Berlin, and developed radical positions on global political developments.

Palmstierna-Weiss used her appearances in Rostock and Berlin to reject the one-sided view of Peter Weiss, who she argued was so often viewed as nothing but a politically committed author. Instead, she pointed out, whoever read aloud his novel *The Aesthetics of Resistance* could clearly hear that his sentences sounded like musical compositions. For Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss, her husband was "an artist, filmmaker and writer—a poet in the best possible sense." This, of course, is what continues to make his work so exciting today.

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"We began working together in the theater. That's where our dialogue began; it lasted for thirty years. We didn't just work together because we happened to live together. We were united by a professional understanding of work, art, and society. This had a long history of development. [...] The path of my life happens to be quite similar to Peter's, and perhaps that is why I can see different structures and references in his work than people who are looking from the outside." Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss

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POLITICS AS A PROJECT OF CHANGE

In 2014, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung ran the training course "Politics as a Project of Change" for the first time. This course was based on long-standing cooperation with other left-wing educational institutions and organizations such as attac, Bewegungsstiftung, ver.di, the Left Party, and the Interventionist Left. These organizations developed the vision for this training project aimed at the mosaic Left. The course addresses people who clearly understand left-wing politics as alliance work, and who want to establish a culture of collective action in their own sphere of influence, but who also aim to develop networked structures.

This course took the Foundation into new territory. A working group was established that built on experiences from the attacademie, the Foundation's policy management courses, and ver.di's U35 program, and used them to develop a concept. Work began on spinning the thread that would run through the entire project. It was clear that these courses would need participants, a team, places for learning, and a culture of learning that could represent the mosaic Left. The people involved felt encouraged to work together through the prospect of overcoming the limited nature of training in their own organizational environments.

The course began in October 2014 with 18 participants who were involved in the Left Party, trade unions, NGOs, the radical Left, and local political initiatives. They met for the first time in the Waldhotel in Elgersburg; the second meeting took place in the Niederkaufungen region. In 2015, the course is to be implemented at left-wing educational institutions throughout Germany. The heterogeneity of the participants, which was reflected by a diverse range of theoretical approaches, forms of action, cultures of communication, and political strategies, required a learning process focused on these differences instead of acting as if they had brought the participants together. The course began with the participants speaking openly about their own cultures of communication and deci-

sion-making and their views on transformation. The first module (on cooperation) quickly led to a clash of quite different theory and praxis: sophisticated majority principles and elective offices met cultures of consensus and an understanding of leadership focused on collective bargaining. In the second module, divisions within the Left became particularly noticeable, as questions arose as to whether there would still be a place for the state, market, or money in the respective utopias; differences were also expressed about who would be responsible for reproductive work. During the next step, a range of theories, models, and tools for social change were presented and reviewed in terms of their suitability for different contexts. This enabled the participants to develop their own strategies within the field of tension stretching from the popular ideas of change represented by the “melting iceberg” (Kotter) to the “movement action plan” (Moyer). A third part of the project will involve the participants applying the strategies they developed during the course within specific projects.

In addition to the training provided, the benefits of this approach are particularly clear from the way in which it emphasizes the heterogeneity of the mosaic Left. Nevertheless, this approach is quite demanding of the participants, particularly as no attempt is made to moderate away existing differences. On the contrary, the aim of the course is to experiment and demonstrate that tensions can be withstood, and that they can even be turned into productive fields for cooperation. Colleagues in the union, for example, come to recognize that they can benefit from the criticism and views of anarchist neighborhood activists, and vice versa. If left-wing alliances, be it Dresden Nazi-free or Blockupy, are to continue to be active, it is not enough to assume that everyone will just get along fine and remain united. The subject, claim, and strategic (new) value of this course, therefore, is that it shows how cooperation can still work despite difference.

NEW FORMAT: EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has developed a new standard format for its educational materials. The new booklets are aimed primarily at people involved in political education who need to prepare accessible seminars and workshops on a particular issue and need recommendations about useful methods and structures for organizing events.

The booklets are divided into three parts:

- The main part introduces an issue and places it in its historical and political-theoretical context. Basic concepts are explained and background information is provided on the topic. This part also provides an initial critical analysis of the ways in which the methods that are presented in the second part of the booklet can be applied and describes their potential pitfalls.
- The second part presents at least three methods that can be implemented without external help. In order to make

it easier to prepare and run a seminar, suggestions are provided about how to structure the seminars and about space, time, and material requirements.

- In the last section, literature, media, and links are listed as part of an overview of further publications and materials. The aim is to enable team leaders to prepare themselves properly and provide participants with information that can be used to deepen their understanding of the issue. This part also contains a list of institutions focused on the issue at hand, as well as useful local contacts where people can find further advice.

The booklets are available as PDFs on the website www.rosalux.de/bildungsmaterialien/, which complements the educational brochures and also provides related worksheets, links to audio and video materials and, where appropriate, updates or additions that have been made to the brochures.

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The first issue of the new series is dedicated to networks. Three further booklets are currently being prepared on intersectional educational work, precarity, and communism.

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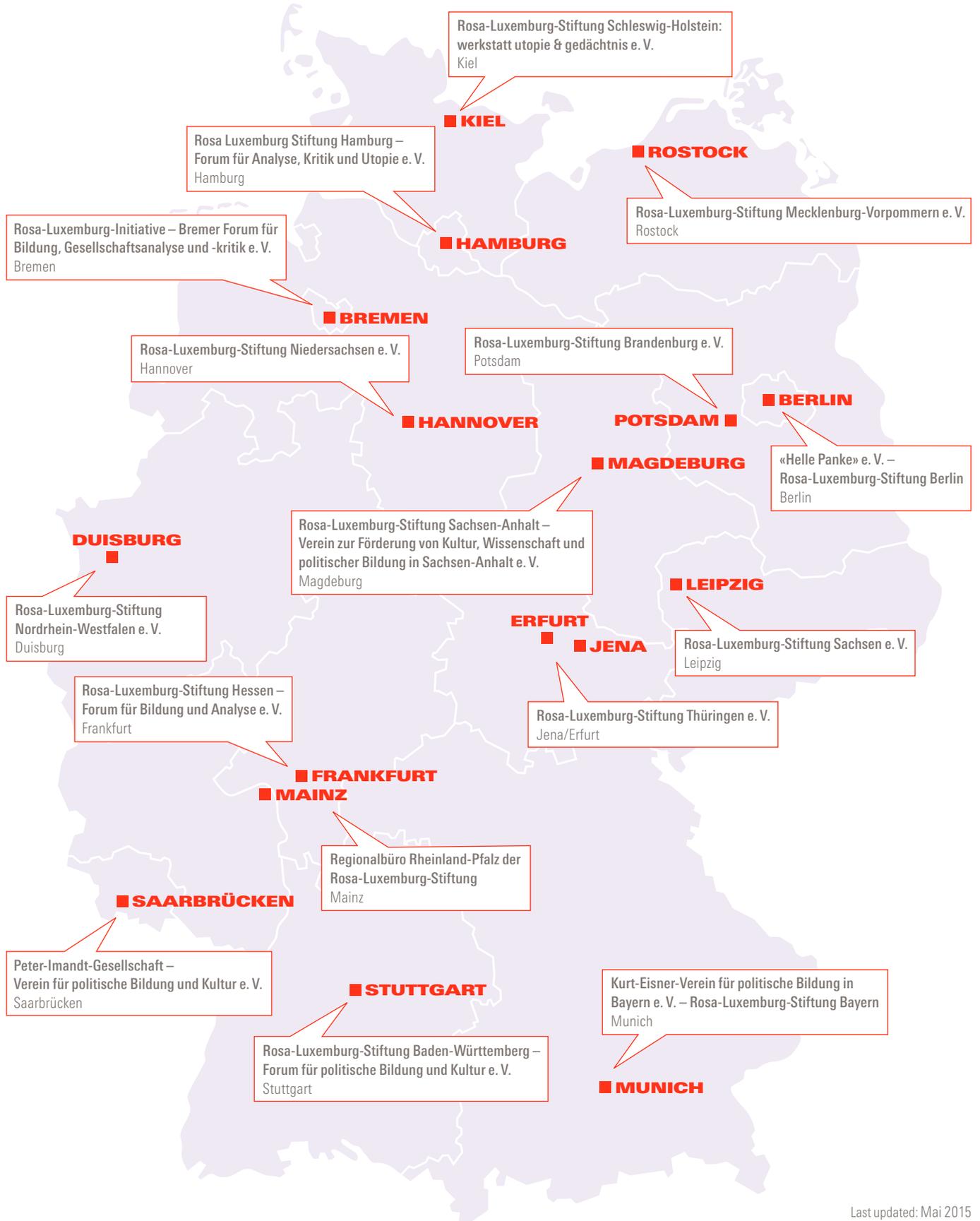


THE FOUNDATION'S NETWORK

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE REGIONS

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been working actively for many years in all 16 German states. The state level represents an important part of the political education conducted by the Foundation, which is why the Foundation works in close cooperation with the regions. In 2014, the regional foundations organized nearly 2,200 events attended by around 104,000 participants. These events were aimed not only at supporters of the Left Party, but also at a broad public audience. The regional foundations cooperate with initiatives and social movements, trade unions, other educational providers, and local politicians; in some cases their work even stretches across regional borders. At the local level, Rosa Luxemburg Clubs organize the diverse educational events undertaken by the regional foundations in some of the larger German states such as Bavaria, Lower Saxony, and North Rhine-Westphalia. At the same time, working groups, groups of friends, contact points, and educational circles have developed into important partners for cooperation in numerous areas. Increasingly, the regional foundations are organizing sustainable educational programs such as workshops, day and weekend seminars, conferences, exhibitions, excursions, and educational trips. The majority of the extensive work that they carry out is undertaken by volunteers. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Nationwide Work Department coordinates the Foundation's cooperation with the regional offices and regional foundations, as well as the work between these institutions. The regional foundations are partly financed through grants from federal funds provided by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and partly through the donations and membership fees they receive. In many states, funding is also available from local government funds in varying amounts.

In 2014, more than 500 events were organized with a clear focus on contemporary and historical-political issues. In particular, the events covered the First World War, anti-fascist resistance, the history of the German Democratic Republic, and the path to German reunification. Current international political issues were covered by approximately 400 events, and the increasing levels of armed conflict in the world saw 184 events focus on questions of war and peace. Other important topics included criticism of capitalism, alternatives to capitalism, democratic development, and confronting racism and neo-Nazism. This focus was accompanied by a diverse range of events on economic, social and gender-political issues relating to philosophical, social-theoretical and cultural-creative topics. The proportion of women among the participants accounted for about 40 percent, with the under-30s accounting for nearly 30 percent of the audience.





Arno Münster, Bloch's biographer, during the series of events held in honor of the philosopher.

BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

IN HONOR OF ERNST AND KAROLA BLOCH

In winter 2014, the Baden-Württemberg Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized a series of events in Tübingen to commemorate the lives of Ernst and Karola Bloch. The Blochs' entire lives were based on the principle of "thinking means venturing beyond." They were forced into exile, and attempted to build a life under real socialism after the Second World War. Their paths, and their eventual break with the GDR, led them to Tübingen in 1961. Both, however, continued to work on "concrete utopias" – Ernst Bloch through his writing as a philosopher, and Karola Bloch as an architect and through her political engagement; these aspects of their lives gave expression to "the desire of the human to be a real human."

On November 21, 2014, around 80 participants took up the invitation to attend a cultural evening in which Welf Schröter from Talheimer Verlag read texts by Ernst Bloch and from the autobiography of Karola Bloch, who lost her family during the Holocaust. The reading was accompanied by the Ernst Bloch Choir, which sang songs related to the readings. At a workshop on November 28, the philosopher Matthias Mayer introduced Ernst Bloch's philosophy and the publication *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (Bequest of this Time) (1935), in which Bloch describes social developments in the late Weimar Republic and analyzes why German fascism was able to develop into a mass movement. On December 3, the well-known Bloch biographer Arno Münster spoke at the University of Tübingen on "Human Dignity, Natural Law, Walking Upright and Concrete Utopia in Ernst Bloch's Thinking." Based on the book *Naturrecht und menschliche Würde* (Natural Law and Human Dignity) (1961), Münster described Bloch's theories, including the one stating that the idea of freedom belonging to the bourgeois revolution would have to be reconciled with Karl Marx's theory of social emancipation. The events were very successful and will be continued in 2015.



Participants at the Women's Suffrage Congress held in Munich in 1912.

BAVARIA

LAY DOWN YOUR ARMS!

On the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the First World War, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), in cooperation with Kurt-Eisner-Verein, organized an event aimed at analyzing the work of the most prominent women peace activists who spoke out against the First World War. This was the only series of events held in Germany on this anniversary that focused solely on women's positions at the time and which remembered the courageous women who decidedly rejected war, regardless of where and by whom it was being waged. At the same time, the event was a clear reminder that these women's demands—that military conflicts be banned, and arms production and exports prohibited—are still absolutely relevant.

Ten events were organized throughout Munich. The series focused on the first woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize, Bertha von Suttner; the founding members of WILPF, Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann; the activists from Munich's women's movement, Ellen Ammann and Luise Kiesselbach; the anti-war activist and feminist, Clara Zetkin; the artist Käthe Kollwitz; the chemists, Gertrud Woker and Clara Immerwahr, who argued against the use of weapons of mass destruction; and not least the "Cassandra of World War I": Rosa Luxemburg. Of the 19 speakers, only 2 were men; a total of 365 people attended the lectures. The participation lists showed that 70 percent of the attendees were women, and that their average age was 53. These data demonstrate that women from the post-war generation were particularly interested in this series, which is important, as they are one of the peace movement's main target groups. The events ensured there was enough space for discussion about historical political events, such as the role of the SPD during the First World War, but also to discuss current wars and in particular the situation of women within them.



Large crowds in front of Culture House Astra in Berlin's Friedrichshain neighborhood.

BERLIN

EDWARD SNOWDEN – WHO CAN PROTECT US FROM THE NSA?

In summer 2013, a series of revelations began to surface about state monitoring and the helping hands the state had gained among the internet industry. Since then, the capabilities of digital spying technologies have become increasingly clear. We owe these revelations to Edward Snowden. The former US intelligence employee began publishing his knowledge with the help of journalists. Unfortunately, he has paid a high price for doing so: Snowden was forced to flee half way around the world and is now stranded in Moscow.

Helle Panke e.V. organized a panel discussion that took place on May 8, 2014 entitled "Captain Snowden Against the NSA and the BND, and for a World Without Secret Services?" The discussion took place in the Astra Kulturhaus in Berlin's Friedrichshain neighborhood, a location usually used for parties. It proved an interesting alternative to a closing party for the internet conference "re:publica," and more than 500 people from very different age groups and backgrounds attended the event. The event was presented by the spokesperson of the Chaos Computer Club (CCC), Constanze Kurz, and focused on the political and practical questions of how individuals can be protected from large-scale monitoring and continued data collection by intelligence agencies and corporations. Hans-Christian Ströbele (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen) and Gregor Gysi (Left Party) were podium speakers. Ströbele is the only German parliamentarian to have visited Edward Snowden in exile in Moscow; Gysi demanded political asylum for Snowden in Germany from very early on. The evening was dominated by the question of whether Snowden could come to Berlin to testify before the NSA inquiry. However, the federal government continues to deny Snowden entry to Germany. The issues surrounding Snowden, and the difficult-to-control world of the secret service, will continue to remain a focus of the federal Foundation and the regions for the near future.



Lively discussions at the Potsdam Conference on German Unification

BRANDENBURG

THE PATH TO GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Neither Germany's European neighbors nor the US were prepared for the end of the GDR and the path to German reunification. This view was endorsed by researchers from six European countries during the conference entitled "The End of the Cold War and the Road to German Reunification: The Views of Germany's European Neighbors." The conference was organized by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Brandenburg and took place on June 18, 2014 in Potsdam.

In an introductory lecture, Hans Misselwitz, who was state secretary in the GDR's Foreign Ministry in 1990, discussed his ministry's contacts with partners involved in the Two-plus-Four negotiations. This was followed by Mark Allinson (University of Bristol), Bogdan Koszel (Poznan University), and Gilbert Merlio (Université Paris IV), who put forward their perspectives on the role of the governments of their respective countries in the negotiations that led to German reunification. It became clear that concerns had been particularly expressed by France and the UK about a unified Germany gaining excessive influence within the European Union. Poland had linked the process of German unification to its demands for international recognition of the Oder-Neisse line. In addition, Seppo Hentilä (University of Helsinki), Hannes Hofbauer (Promedia Verlag, Vienna), and Thomas Wegener Friis (University of Odense) spoke about the political and media debates that had taken place in their respective countries. Austria had benefited economically from the situation before unification, but it had still played a crucial role in enabling many East Germans to cross the border to Hungary in 1989. Denmark's historical experiences with Germany had led it to express skepticism about unification, whereas Finland was said to have taken advantage of the unification process to provide a new basis for relations with the Soviet Union. The lectures are to be published in an expanded format as part of a conference volume due out by the end of the year.



A Bundeswehr reconnaissance drone during a mission in Afghanistan.



The statue of Nelson Mandela in front of the South African embassy in Washington.

BREMEN
DRONE WARS

Drone wars are an expression of a rapid new development: we are moving from the “war on terror” that began after 9/11 to the wars of the future. This is a future that could resemble science fiction, in which robots fight people’s dirty wars until they finally turn against their creators. Although this is far from possible at the current time, the construction of autonomous combat robots has already begun.

The issue of drone wars was the focus of nationwide events that took place last year with Norbert Schepers, a political scientist and director of the Bremen office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, at various locations. A small campaign website was set up, and it provides a summary of the main lecture, texts on various aspects of the issue, an event calendar, a one-hour video, and links to further information. The lecture program developed out of an experimental event that took place during “Jour fixe” in Bremen, which was launched in 2013 and met with an enthusiastic response. This was followed by two dozen lecture dates in 2014, which demonstrated that social issues often assumed to be “boring” due to their links to technology and security policy can actually be captivating and explained clearly.

At the same time, these events were also important for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung because they filled a gap around an important security policy issue. The lectures were aimed at demonstrating the links between technology and war, and particularly the role of digital informational technology in the global secret service affair, as well as an analysis of the global war on terror. These debates and issues provided space to help develop policy for our party-related actors that otherwise find themselves in a field (security policy) that has been paralyzed by internal divisions within the Left.

HAMBURG
SOUTH AFRICA IN 2014 – TWENTY YEARS SINCE APARTHEID

The news received from South Africa is generally dominated by shocking reports. However, these reports provide a one-sided picture of one of the youngest democracies in the world. Twenty years after the end of the reign of a racist-legitimizing regime, the Hamburg office aimed to help counter the distorted image being portrayed of South Africa. This resulted in a seven-part series with experts such as Denis Goldberg, Armin Osmanovic, Carmen Ludwig, and Ingrid Laurien. The anniversary of the first free and fair elections in South Africa provided a good opportunity to organize these debates; however, the massacre in Marikana in August 2012, in which 34 striking miners were shot dead by police, demonstrates that social conflict in the “new South Africa” has taken on alarming forms. Marikana currently constitutes a stress test for the ruling ANC as well as its alliance with the Communist Party and the COSATU trade union confederation.

Given the increased interest in South Africa, the anniversary of the last major upheaval in the 20th century provided an opportunity not only to counter the prevailing image of fascinating wildlife and good wine alongside escalating crime, but also to analyze the country’s social achievements and disappointments. Moreover, the aim was to find out what left-wing political initiatives in Germany could learn from the strong and robust civil society that characterizes South Africa. Community-building and a focus on material interests, the close relations between class, education and health struggles, and an insistence on the right to a dignified life in safety are just some of the important issues that were raised during the debates. Intensive discussions took place at the 7 events, each of which was attended on average by 45 people; this made us hope that we were on the right track with our intentions.



In 2014, thousands of people demonstrated in support of the Kurds in Rojava.



Justice Minister Hilde Benjamin at the GDR's Women's Congress held on June 26, 1964

HESSE

ROJAVA AND THE "TERROR CALIPHATE"

In 2014, Hesse focused on international politics, and peace and security policy; 21 of the 77 events organized in the region fell into these categories. The main topics included the latest developments in Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Ukraine. Rojava, the Kurdish region of Syria, as well as the "the IS terror caliphate" were particular focuses. The journal *Infobrief Türkei*, which is funded by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Hessen, devoted two of its issues to these topics. Two articles were translated into English and were published on internet sites in the US. In particular, the publications by Kassel's Rosa Luxemburg Club on international politics appealed to a young audience. It was striking that the events on Rojava were mainly attended by women.

The highlight of the year was the annual "Peace Council," which is supported by the foundation in Hesse and held in Kassel. All of the workshops were well attended, especially the presentation by the political scientist, Sinan Birdal, a lecturer at Isik University, Istanbul. Birdal spoke about Turkish foreign policy and especially about the struggle of the Kurds against terrorism, repression, and state failure. He provided a comprehensive overview of the various great powers and their policies in the Middle East and underscored the problems in Turkey with democratic reform and the peace process with the Kurds. The Peace Council was attended by over 350 participants and the great interest in the issue of international politics has particularly encouraged the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Hesse to further develop this focus in 2015, and particularly in the north of the region.

MECKLENBURG-WESTERN POMERANIA

THE BENJAMINS – A GERMAN FAMILY

Contemporary history occupies a large space within the kaleidoscope of events provided by the Foundation on political education. Quite often, tempers become raised at these events due to links between personal experiences and certain contemporary historical individuals. This is certainly true of Hilde Benjamin, former GDR Minister of Justice (1953-1967). However, by studying her biography in the context of German history, her life gains a new perspective that can change the view of her as the "bloodthirsty Red Hilde." Uwe-Karsten Heye, journalist, diplomat and former government spokesperson, does just this in his book published last year *Die Benjamins – eine deutsche Familie* (The Benjamins – a German Family). On July 14, 2014, the Wismar library and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized a lively reading with the author in the town's former armory.

The book focuses on five people: the famous philosopher Walter Benjamin, his sister-in-law Hilde, his brother Georg (a Jewish doctor and communist who was murdered in Mauthausen Concentration Camp), his sister Dora, who died in exile in Switzerland, and finally his nephew (Hilde and Georg's son), Michael. The evening straightened out some of the distorted portrayals from the Cold War, in particular of Hilde Benjamin, who was a thorn in the side of the post-war West German judiciary, which was dominated by Nazis. The more than 100 guests were very impressed with the event, despite their reluctant acceptance. The *Ostsee-Zeitung* summarized the event in the following manner: "Uwe-Karsten Heye provided people with the courage [...] to finally develop an open dialogue between East and West. 'We finally need to start a dialog and deal with the psychological level of unification [...] Doing so also implies putting each other's prejudices into perspective.'"



Political commitment: bands in Karl-Liebknecht-Stadium in Babelsberg in 2014.



#cross_solidarity II: meetings, discussions, exchange.

LOWER SAXONY

THE EVENT SERIES "SOCCER AND SOCIETY"

Hardly any other events attract as many people as men's soccer. In 2014, the World Cup in Brazil led to mass experiences of euphoria, hysteria, and commerce. This provided the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Lower Saxony with a good opportunity to bring up the issues of the social and political contexts of the FIFA World Cup, as well as the enormous importance that soccer occupies in our society.

Last May, the foundation in Lower Saxony kicked off a series of events with a focus on the nationalistic aspects of the sport. The renowned fan researcher Gerd Dembowski analyzed "party patriotism" and campaigns such as "Schwarz-Rot-Geil" from a critical ideological perspective. Tanja Walther-Ahrens, a former professional player, and a member of the Berlin Football Association's board, spoke with the participants about male dominance, the gender images that are transported through the professional sport, and how this encourages sexism and homophobia. The series also dealt with the growing contradictions between the interests of fans and marketing attempts by clubs and asked whether it would be correct to speak of a gentrification of the sport. The FIFA World Cup also provided an important focus of the events. The journalist Christian Russau highlighted the negative effects of the World Cup for large sections of Brazilian society, including the increasing living costs and the eviction of slum-dwellers to construct new stadiums and access roads. The above-average numbers of participants testified to the high level of interest in critical analysis related to the sport. The large number of young people who attended, and who rarely come to events in classical formats, was particularly welcome. As such, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Lower Saxony will continue to critically analyze the social dimension of this sport.

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

(RE)ORGANIZE THE LEFT IN CRISIS

The relationship between parties, trade unions, and initiatives that have developed out of social movements is often fraught with conflict. These actors have different focuses and ways of working and this quickly results in limits being reached on what is viewed as acceptable. National boundaries further complicate cooperation. How then can the specifics of the local be linked to the generalities of the cross-border level? Moreover, how can mutual solidarity be successful?

The three-day conference "#Cross_Solidarity. The (Re)organization of the Plural Left in Crisis," which took place at the beginning of November 2014 in Bochum, attempted to answer these questions. The conference was a follow-up to "#Cross_Solidarity – International Solidarity in (the) Crisis?!" The November 2014 conference was organized by female employees and their colleagues from the Foundation in Berlin, the regional foundation in North Rhine-Westphalia, and the team from the Cultural Centre Bahnhof Langendreer.

The conference was aimed at demonstrating the synergies that can develop out of solidarity-based cooperation in relation to the care sector and the "right to city." Despite this, during the conference, cooperation with other political actors was continually met with skepticism. In particular, this was due to previous disappointments, the fear of being swallowed up, or having to give up far-reaching, radical demands to Realpolitik. Intense debates took place on politics from below – politics that takes place beyond representative democracy. The conference also provided a space for discussion of strategic issues and analyses, such as the perspectives of Blockupy or forms of organizing and struggle used by groups confronted by precarity.



Jenny Marx: a sensitive, politically engaged intellectual.



Lentils: a traditional source of protein, when meat was still a luxury.

RHINELAND-PALATINATE

JENNY MARX'S 200TH BIRTHDAY

Around 70 people took up the invitation of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Volkshochschule Trier, and the Jenny Marx Society for Political Education to attend a “birthday party for the courageous woman at the side of the famous son of the town of Trier, Karl Marx.” The event took place in the middle of February 2014 at the adult education center on Cathedral Square. The event began with a presentation by Rolf Hecker from Berlin, co-editor of *Briefe von und an Jenny Marx* (Letters to and from Jenny Marx; Dietz Verlag, 2013), who spoke on the issue of Jenny Marx and her friendship with the 1848 generation. The audience also enjoyed an outstanding performance by the Kalliope team from Berlin based around Gisela M. Gulu. The team performed a fictitious conversation between mother and daughter entitled “Two women in the Shadows of a Genius.” Hecker concluded that Jenny Marx was not only the wife of a famous man, and the mother of his children, but a politically active woman who sought lively discussion with her contemporaries. He pointed out that contact had been particularly intensive with the following individuals, all of whom were involved in the German Revolution: Johann Philipp Becker (Geneva), Adolf Cluß (Washington), Ferdinand Lassalle (Düsseldorf, Berlin), Victor Schily (Paris), and Joseph Weydemeyer (New York). The performance by Kalliope, which was based on an analysis of sources and literature about the protagonists and their time, provided the audience with deep insights into Jenny Marx’s life, work, and influence. The convincing picture portrayed by Kalliope was directly related to Rolf Hecker’s analysis. Jenny Marx was far more than her husband’s secretary and “business manager.” She was an intellectual, and a sensitive, politically committed woman with a strong personality who had worked towards emancipation. Furthermore, she had made a significant contribution to Karl Marx’s academic work.

SAARLAND

LENTILS FROM SAINT PETERSBURG

“Man is what he eats.” This quotation by philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872) is definitely receiving new attention and being revisited in the slow food movement, and not only among vegetarians. Whereas in Feuerbach’s times the question was whether there would be enough food, today it seems the problem is the inverse. Rising meat consumption in the so-called highly developed nations contributes to many lifestyle diseases, whereas meat production in poorer nations is a root cause of land grabbing, hunger, and soil degradation, because, obviously, the “meat-producing” animals themselves need food. To produce one kilogram of meat, farmers require four kilograms of grain, which is then no longer available to feed humans.

Based on this insight, the Saarland regional office started a lentil project in cooperation with Slowfood-Saar and other initiatives to strengthen the principle of greater regional self-reliance and reduce livestock keeping. Generally, the pulses we buy come from overseas and are produced by large seed companies. Our project received the support of the Wawilow Institute in Saint Petersburg, Russia. Very un-bureaucratically, the world’s third largest seedbank provided six different types of lentils for propagation, some of them over 100 years old. Grown in greenhouses and outside in the fields, it will be up to five years before these roughly 150 individual seeds produce a harvest of around 70 kilograms of seed per hectare. Before we reach the stage where they can be marketed, the project plans to sell normal green and black lentils. Currently referred to as K 42 or K 1060, we are trying to come up with more appetizing names for the lentils, and subsequently plan to register them with the Federal Plant Variety Office. We certainly can’t complain about a lack of interest in our lentil project: Already, many restaurant chefs and farmers have shown an interest in buying them in the future.



The end of the car society has yet to occur...



Improved flood protection needed: flooded streets in Halle (Saale) in June 2013.

SAXONY

SUSTAINABILITY VERSUS THE GROWTH PARADIGM

On September 10, 2014, the regional Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Saxony, in cooperation with the Haus der Kongresse für Umwelt-Bau-Verkehr Dresden e.V. association (HdK), the Sachsen im Klimawandel initiative and the office of Germany's Left Party MEP Cornelia Ernst, organized an event in Dresden entitled "Wie gelingt gesellschaftlicher Wandel? Die große Transformation hin zu Nachhaltigkeit und Klimaschutz" (The How of Social Change – The Great Transformation Toward Sustainability and Climate Protection).

At the center of the event was a concept of sustainability as an alternative to today's growth paradigm that is capable of generating happiness and securing a peaceful world. The speaker, Felix Ekardt, is a jurist, sociologist, and philosopher. He is the director of the Sustainability and Climate Policy research unit in Leipzig and professor at the University of Rostock. For many years, he has advised institutions on how to achieve change at both the individual and the collective level. In his talk, he made it clear that it is not only industry and agriculture that need to commit to sustainability, but that each individual through his or her actions bears responsibility for climate change. Ekardt's holistic approach greatly stimulated the debate.

Nearly 80 people attended the event, among them a number of researchers from the Leibniz Institute. It was most likely the speaker's popularity combined with the importance of the issues addressed which served to attract this relatively high number of people, although intensive PR and the choice of venue probably also played a role.

For many Dresdeners, the Altes Wettbüro is a space to discuss alternative social models. The venue's established network made it possible to reach many activists in the ecology and sustainability movements and to win them over to the event concept. These people actively promoted the event.

SAXONY-ANHALT

SECOND FLOOD CONFERENCE IN MAGDEBURG

In 2013, only eleven years after its flood of the century, the Elbe River again rose to threatening levels. This made it self-evident that a stronger focus on preventive flood protection measures was required and that such an approach would have to be coordinated internationally. The second flood conference on November 21, 2014 in Magdeburg, organized by the regional Saxony-Anhalt and Brandenburg offices with the Left Party faction in the Saxony-Anhalt parliament, addressed precisely these questions. Around 80 flood victims, environmental activists, and municipal employees, discussed effective and ecological flood protection measures.

Andreas Marx, head of the Climate Office for Central Germany highlighted many facts surrounding climate change and explained that the number of extreme weather events such as droughts, heat waves, forest fires, intense rainstorms, and floods is bound to rise dramatically in the future. He emphasized the importance of flood retention plains as a means of flood protection and criticized soil sealing. Annett Schumacher from the Middle Elbe Biosphere Reserve analyzed the role of beavers in levees and presented various approaches to reconciling flood control and beaver protection measures. Frank Friedrich from Saxony-Anhalt's flood protection office presented a project being carried out in Halle. His conclusion: There is a high potential for conflict between flood protection, nature conservation, and the interests of residents, and there is an urgent need for solutions.

The closing panel discussion focused on transnational flood protection measures. Participants evaluated the approach set out in the national flood protection program decided at the conference of environment ministers in October 2014 as positive overall, and stated that they believed this approach should be further developed.



Historical exploration together with the Foundation in Kiel Harbor.



Opening of the exhibition in Erfurt's Michaelis Church

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

ANTI-MILITARISTIC HARBOR TOUR IN KIEL

To commemorate the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War, The Schleswig-Holstein office, Attac, and the region's local peace movement organized a tour to the 'un-peaceful places' in the Reich's former military harbor in Kiel. On June 14, aboard an old sailing boat, the tour visited parts of the harbor's former and current military infrastructure and provided information on each of these places. The starting point was today's parliament, formerly a school for naval officers, with subsequent stops at the Thyssen-Krupp submarine shipyard, the Marinearsenal, and the fascist submarine monument in Möltenort. A memorial in Laboe, set up by the German mariners' association, Deutscher Marinebund, keeps the spirit of the Kaiserreich alive. Here the tour took a left turn to return to the Kieler Förde.

On the way back, along the western shore, lies the Christi-anpris, the former Kaiser-Wilhelm channel and the base of the German navy. The trip also passed the Naval Aviation Base 5. Only recently, and due to Germany's renewed focus on foreign missions, Germany moved this base to Nordholz in Lower Saxony. The four-hour roundtrip ended in front of the Schleswig-Holstein parliament. Formerly known as Hindenburg Ufer, the street was renamed Kiellinie on the initiative of the Left Party and lies close to the monument erected in the name of Germany's First World War navy soldiers. Between the snippets of information about Kiel's warfaring past, there was enough time to simply enjoy being together on a boat and discussing Kiel's military and un-peaceful past in a relaxed atmosphere. With nearly 30 participants aged between 3 and 83, the harbor tour was fully booked. Peace activists and other interested parties took the opportunity to gain new insights, exchange ideas, and make plans for the future.

THURINGIA

COMMEMORATION OF 1989 AND OFFENE ARBEIT ERFURT

At the end of October last year, the Thuringia office dedicated several events to the 25th anniversary of the fall of the German wall. It cooperated with the grassroots democratic church group Offene Arbeit Erfurt, one of the few remaining active GDR opposition groups. Funded by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, the book entitled *Alles verändert sich, wenn wir es verändern* (Everything Changes When we Change it; published by Verlag Graswurzelrevolution), retells the organization's history (1979-2014) with a special focus on the years 1989 and 1990. Moreover, the book highlights the background of youth resistance in the context of the protestant church in the GDR. Chapters in the book portray both former activists and current leaders, and they describe their view of the role played by Offene Arbeit Erfurt before and after the fall of the wall. The texts offer insights into the group's working procedures, internal debates, and socio-political praxis. The book concludes with prospects for the group's future. Over 70 people attended the book launch on October 30, which was held at the offices of the Offene Arbeit Erfurt.

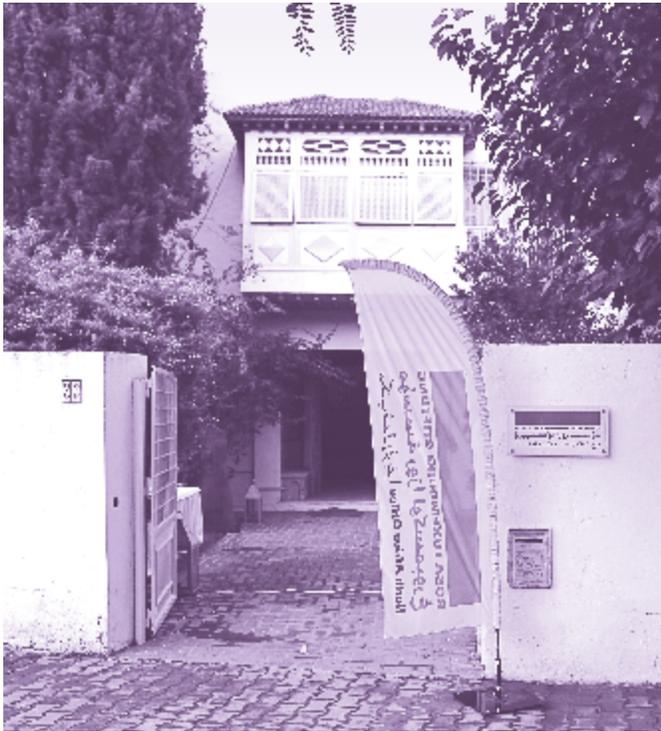
On October 31, an exhibition entitled "1989 – Frei Sein! Und heute?" (1989 – Freedom! And Today?) opened its doors in the Michaelis church in Erfurt, an event that attracted around 70 guests. The exhibition consisted of 10 information panels that documented the work of former and current Offene Arbeit Erfurt activists and their position on the question of freedom before 1989 and today. Over the course of the four weeks, 6,300 people visited the exhibition. Two DEFA films from 1989/90 and 1995/96 framed the series of events. The goal was to counter the one-sided reports and official ceremonies surrounding the fall of the wall and provide an alternative critical assessment. The events definitely achieved this goal, with both of the main Erfurt newspapers publishing a detailed account.

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung provides political education in Germany and is also active abroad. The German Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) fund this work. Since 2010, this budget has doubled. It now stands at € 26.36 million. Since 2011, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has also been in receipt of funding from BMZ special funds and initiatives. These sources of funding are thematically strictly limited and aim, for example, to promote an eco-social transformation in the so-called developing nations, respond to current crises, tackle the conditions that force people to migrate, or end hunger in the world. This means that the Foundation is active in nearly 60 countries and has a presence on all five continents. Currently 17 foreign offices locally coordinate this work. In October 2014, The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung opened its most recent office in Tunis.

With a great number of conferences, seminars and events in the different countries, the work of our foreign offices aims to bring people together to discuss and jointly find answers to pressing social questions. For example, in March 2014, experts at an international conference in Athens discussed the importance of having left-wing governments in Greece, in Europe, and globally, as well as the forms that the manifestos, concepts, and visions for left-wing government policies could take. Alternative perspectives, positions, and peace policy praxes were also at the center of the first international Peace Event. Over 50 organizations promoted the event, which took place in Sarajevo in June 2014.

Alongside support for local initiatives in foreign countries, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also actively brings a Global South perspective to the debates in Germany and Europe. In this vein, our office in Quito (Ecuador) and the Latin America department of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung arranged for eight partners from Latin America to participate in the 2014 "De-growth" conference in Leipzig. The conference discussed political and economic alternatives that could provide a way out of today's multiple crises, and asked who the subjects of such a transformation could be. These issues play an important role in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work throughout the world; be it at the third large conference on West African social movements in Dakar or during a seminar on multiple forms of resistance against neoliberal developments in India. By promoting exchange and international networking, the work of the Foundation can make an important contribution to locally strengthening social movements.



The entrance to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's office in Tunis.

LINKING NORTH AFRICA AND EUROPE

OUR RECENTLY OPENED TUNIS OFFICE

On October 8, 2014, after a registration process that took over a year to complete, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung officially opened its North Africa office in Tunis. The upheavals since 2011 characterize the working environment in this region. In Tunisia, democracy has taken hold at the level of freedom of speech and assembly. In Egypt, however, the government represses the opposition and the situation resembles that under the Mubarak dictatorship. Finally, in Morocco, the office's third cooperation country as of 2015, the limited opening up of the country following the protest movement in 2011 was only short-lived.

In spite of their different political conditions, the individual countries in the region do face similar challenges. Their economies are weak and unemployment and poverty rates therefore high. Due to the pressure to ensure a rapid improvement in the economic situation, governments in the region resort to means that in many countries are at least partly responsible for the bleak conditions: free trade, foreign direct investments, and credit finance. The privatization of public enterprises and goods and the cuts in subsidies for basic goods and services are clearly linked to rising poverty rates. Servicing debts comes at the cost of education and health. It should therefore come as no surprise that the number of people attempting to leave their countries and reach Europe by non-regular means is on the rise. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung supports local

The North Africa office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Tunis cooperates with progressive forces in the region to develop new independent development concepts. Therefore, the Foundation mainly supports initiatives of social movements, political parties, and unions by offering consultation on organizing and training.

partner organizations in Tunisia and Morocco in the struggle for migrants' rights that these countries by no means guarantee.

A guiding theme of the work of the Tunis office concerns the effects of political and economic ties between the European Union and North Africa on the region's societies and states. In Egypt, for example, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung works with a group of Cairo residents faced with the prospect of expulsion and resettlement as part of a World Bank-financed "urban development plan." It also works with an organization that brings together progressive experts from the countries in the region to develop concepts for greater social justice. Whereas a core focus in Tunisia lies in strengthening the work of unions and offering support to the Popular Front left-wing political alliance, projects in Morocco deal with a broad range of issues, ranging from the effects of microcredit to the consequences of Europe's so-called neighborhood policy.

The uprising of the peoples of North Africa and the end of despotism – at least in Tunisia – created new, positive conditions for academic research cooperation and opened up new horizons. This forms the basis of the pilot project "Unabhängige Hochschulen und Förderung kritischer Forschung und Lehre als Beitrag zur Demokratisierung in Tunesien" (Independent Universities and the Promotion of Critical Research and Teaching as a Contribution Toward Democratization in Tunisia), which our Tunis office coordinates. Besides organizing events with a focus on socio-economic and political questions, the project helps critical local academics build networks with like-minded colleagues from German-speaking countries. Moreover, the project aims to strengthen the actors behind transformation processes at Tunisian universities and support them in their efforts to promote and protect the universal values of freedom of teaching and research.

Currently, Tunisia is one of the few countries in the region that allows for cross-national exchange. Initial meetings on issues such as debt policies or for left-wing activists to share experiences have already taken place. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung supports this exchange through publications that document and analyze the work of left-wing actors and movements in the region and build links with movements in Europe. The office sees functioning as this link as its central task.

BETWEEN THE FOOTBALL WORLD CUP AND ECO-SOCIALISM

THE SÃO PAULO OFFICE

Two days before the kick-off of the World Cup, in June 2014, we are in Brazil's mega-metropolis of São Paulo. In the auditorium of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's packed office in the city, one young student has a question: "I am against the World Cup, I protest on the streets. How can I justify watching the matches on TV?" Hilarity in the predominantly young audience ensues.

"Our aim is not to prevent the World Cup," says Raquel Rolnik, the most prominent guest that evening. "Our goal is far more complex: we want to change Brazil!" A city planner who worked for six years as the UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, Raquel is one of the protagonists featured in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung book entitled *Fußball in Brasilien: Widerstand und Utopie* (Football in Brazil: Resistance and Utopia). During these eventful weeks, the Foundation launched a book that is sure to provoke discussion from Porto Alegre to Rio de Janeiro, as well as in Germany. Raquel Rolnik is an expert on the subject, because she was one of the most influential voices against resettlement. Often enough, the work of the twelve grassroots committees managed to prevent the worst from happening.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has had its office in São Paulo for nearly twelve years now. The office opened at the peak of World Social Forum activism and soon began putting out feelers to neighboring countries, creating a network of partner organizations in Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile and, five years ago, also to groups in Paraguay. The office thus covers around two thirds of Latin America. At the end of 2015, a liaison office will open in Buenos Aires.

In August 2014, the yearly meeting of partners took place in Paraguay. Since the coup against the left-wing President Fernando Lugo in 2012, the landlocked country has been out of the headlines, but more than ever it remains the site of an unequal competition between a billion-dollar agribusiness on the one side and small farmers struggling for food sovereignty on the other.

Many of Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's partners in the region, such as small farmers' organizations and education and human rights movements, as well as indigenous peoples' associations, unions, and intellectuals, focus on this issue and confront the extractivist economic model with both local resistance and concrete alternatives such as organic agriculture. Every year, the Florestan Fernandes National School near São Paulo, run by the Brazilian landless movement MST, provides a three-month course for young activists from all over America. Three days of the course are reserved for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. This year, the focus was on the heritage of the military dictatorships that ruled southern South America from 1964 (civil-military coup in Brazil) to 1989 (end of the Pinochet

dictatorship in Chile). Highlights included vivid reports by witnesses of the dictatorships, but the course was also an opportunity to discuss long-term effects. As in Chile, the Brazilian dictatorship was a so-called national project which received international support and was, as the philosopher Paulo Arantes described it, never really defeated. Today, he said, Brazil was a "low-intensity democracy."

Strengthening democracy through education work and criticizing the extractivist economic model were and are the two main axes of political work in São Paulo. Even after the narrow re-election of President Dilma Rousseff, these questions remain highly relevant. The heroic, forward-leaping spirit of left-wing governments in South America has definitely waned. And, as the last years have clearly shown, without broad civil-society pressure from the grassroots, it will be impossible to stop the conservative rollback.

An eco-socialist vision for Latin America's Left, as presented by the sociologist Michael Löwy at the São Paulo office, still only exists as a concept. Yet, the boring of hard boards continues.

PEACE POLICY PERSPECTIVES

PEACE EVENT IN SARAJEVO

Overcoming militarism and searching for peaceful strategies to resolve conflicts is how Noble Peace Prize winner Mairead Maguire defined the message of the Peace Event in Sarajevo in early June 2014. Around 2,500 participants from 32 countries responded to the call from numerous organizations to come to Bosnia. Against the background of the outbreak of the First World War nearly one hundred years ago, the event discussed positions, praxes, and perspectives for peace activism in nearly 200 workshops, conferences, and a youth camp.

Entitled "Frieden und linke Perspektiven" (Peace and Left-wing Perspectives), the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized its own contribution to the Peace Event. Together with the Institute for Social Analysis in Berlin, as well as the Transform! Network and the No to War – No to NATO coalition, the office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung for southeast Europe in Belgrade organized five workshops on historic and current issues.

Two panel discussions kicked things off: "Rosa Luxemburg und die Europäische Linke am Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs" (Rosa Luxemburg and the European Left at the Beginning of the First World War) and "100 Jahre Erster Weltkrieg – Die sozialistische Anti-Kriegsbewegung und die Idee der Balkanföderation" (100 years of the First World War – The Socialist Anti-war movement and the Idea of the Balkan Federation). To begin with, the international experts covered a range of topics, from historically reconstructing the positions of the Zimmerwald Left to the relevance of Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital* for today's debates. Following this, the speakers highlighted the heritage of the either largely forgot-



Boris Kanzleiter (3rd from left), head of the Foundation's Belgrade office, moderated a panel at the "Peace Event" in Sarajevo in June 2014.

ten or suppressed Balkan socialists, mainly in Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece. In these countries, large parts of the socialist movement opposed war loans and the nationalistic mobilization for war. As an alternative, the network of Balkan socialists developed the idea of a Balkan Federation.

This was followed by two workshops on current issues with guests from Syria and Egypt. The program concluded with a discussion with activists from Bosnia that focused on the February 2014 social protests and the development of councils as a form of direct democracy.

The fact that a broad social movement against the devastating effects of neoliberal policies, the corrupt elite, and EU neo-colonialism has developed in Bosnia is a novelty. There has not been such a movement since the end of the civil war in 1995.

THE LEFT IN GOVERNMENT

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN ATHENS

Alexis Tsipras and his left-wing alliance, Syriza, in Greece have become beacons of hope for the European Left – at least since the 2015 elections, but actually even since the 2014 communal and EU elections. But with high hopes come high expectations – the expectations of those in Europe whose lives are directly hit by austerity measures, as well as the expectations of the international Left, which is hoping that these elections will be a wakeup call for Europe.

What, however, should this project embody? Why is it at all necessary? Moreover, how can it succeed in the face of a Europe that is tightly in the grip of the neoliberal elite?

These three questions were at the center of the conference entitled "Left in Government – What, Why and How?" organized

by the Brussels office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in cooperation with the Nicos Poulantzas Institute in Greece and the Transform! Network, and held in March 2014 in Athens.

At the conference, politicians and academics from Germany, France, Greece, and Slovenia met with activists from Iceland, Argentina, Canada, and Uruguay to exchange, analyze, and discuss their experiences of left-wing governments. The aim was not only to draw conclusions from the participation of left-wing parties in government but also to look to the future challenges and opportunities for the Left in Europe.

In six public panels, Leo Panitch (York University, Canada) and Anej Korsika (Initiative for Democratic Socialism, Slovenia) discussed who the potential allies for left-wing governments could be. Kerstin Kaiser (member of the executive board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung) and Rena Dourou (governor of the Attika region) also discussed questions of decentralization and regional-level politics.

The conference culminated in a discussion between Alexis Tsipras, Liêm Hoang-Ngoc (MEP from France), and Steingrímur J. Sigfússon (Iceland's finance minister between 2009 and 2013) on the perspectives for a left-wing government in Europe today. How much scope is there to implement left-wing policies? Is it possible to shift 'project Europe' to the left, and make it become more democratic and social? Sigfússon strongly encouraged Syriza to take on government responsibility, even – and particularly – at a time when such a government needs to face the debris left behind by the neoliberal policies of previous governments. Syriza, now, has boldly taken on the challenge.

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PROJECT FUNDING

Funding projects is a key form of cooperation with other providers of political education. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, within the framework of its financial capabilities, supports events, publications, and research projects and provides assistance with regard to the content. In 2014, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung received around 900 applications and went on to fund 143 projects. This cost € 393,200.

Five large projects received a total of € 152,000 (39% of the budget):

- Linke Medienakademie e. V.: Institution-wide and local media-creation training sessions; € 49,000
- INKRIT e. V.: *Historisch-kritischen Wörterbuchs des Marxismus* (Historical-critical dictionary of Marxism) – completion of volume 8/2 (from “links/rechts” to “Maschinerie”), and work on volume 9 (“Massen” to “naturwüchsig”); € 35,000
- Sozialwissenschaftliches Forschungszentrum Berlin-Brandenburg e. V.: *Sozialreport 2014. Die deutsche Vereinigung von 1990 bis 2014. Positionen der Bürgerinnen und Bürger* (Social report 2014. German Reunification from 1990 to 2014. Positions of Citizens); € 30,000
- Rolf Hecker: New edition of the works of Marx and Engels, volume 13; € 28,000
- Attac Trägerverein e. V.: Education program Attacademie; € 10,000

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung funded 19 projects with sums of between € 5,000 and € 9,999, 74 projects with sums of € 1,000 to € 4,999, 29 projects with sums of € 500 to € 999, and 16 with under € 500.

EXAMPLES OF PROJECT FUNDING

SOZIALWISSENSCHAFTLICHES FORSCHUNGSZENTRUM BERLIN-BRANDENBURG E. V. (SFZ): SOCIAL REPORT 2014: GERMAN REUNIFICATION FROM 1990 TO 2014. POSITIONS OF CITIZENS.

Funding provided: € 30,000

How do East and West Germans judge the changes in Germany since 1990? How happy are they with their lives, and what do they expect from the future? What sets of values dominate? By means of standardized tests, the social science research institute SFZ empirically surveyed and quantitatively analyzed the opinions of citizens 25 years since the wall came down, in the fall of 1989. Its social report 2014 offers a broad

set of findings, compares these with earlier results, and discusses the connection between individual opinions and social conditions. The results are ambivalent: Whereas a greater proportion of people assess German unification positively and happiness is increasing overall, a proportion of society – roughly 20 to 25 percent – sees itself excluded from these developments and has no reason to believe that this situation could change in the future. Indicators show a general trend toward basic values in East and West Germany converging. Of concern is the low sense of value attached to the notion of solidarity. The low degree of satisfaction with the current democracy and political institutions is also noteworthy.

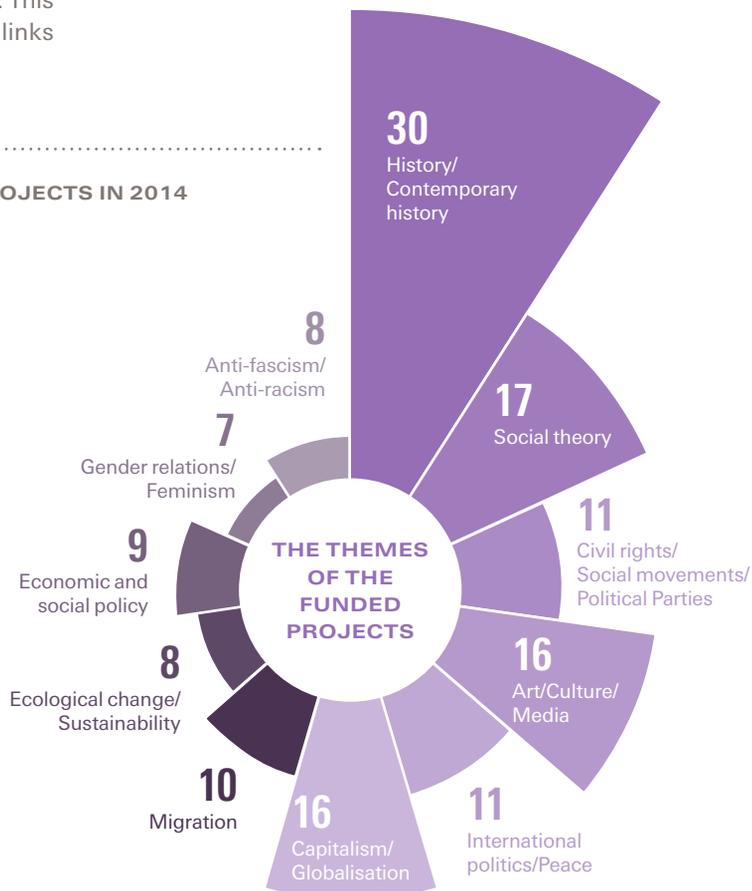
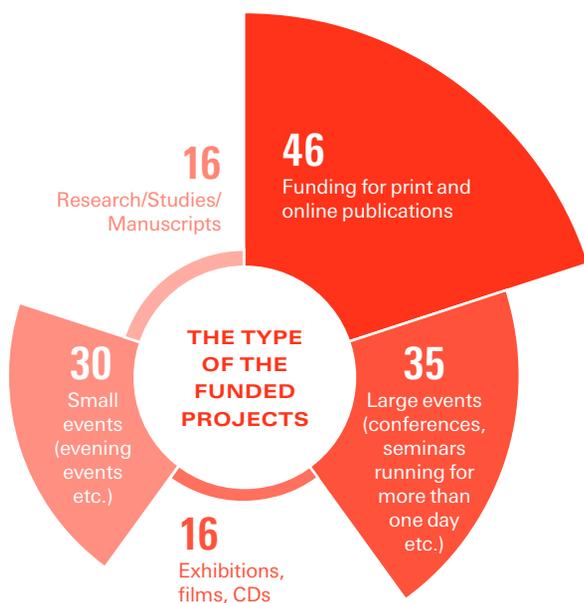
BUND DEMOKRATISCHER WISSENSCHAFTLERINNEN UND WISSENSCHAFTLER (BDWI): “REORGANIZE THE LEFT-PRECARISATION, SOCIAL BATTLES, AND SEARCH PROCESSES FOR A RENEWAL OF THE LEFT” – AUTUMN ACADEMY, SEPTEMBER 11-14, 2014 IN WERFTPFUHL
Funding provided: € 4,000

In Europe, the Indignants have launched a new cycle of social movements. They seek to answer the question as to how forms of self-organization in everyday life, marked as it is by precarity, could lead to processes of social organization that effectively enlarge ruptures within neoliberal capitalism. This gives rise to mutual processes of learning and creates links

to movements and the organized Left. Necessarily, this also leads to the question of how a constituting power from below could organize itself and what role such a form of political party could play in radical social transformation.

Around 50 participants made contributions to “Reorganize the Left” in introductory speeches, talks, workshops, and panel discussions. The program concentrated on the complex of issues surrounding a new emancipatory politics of class and organization, the relationship between party and social movement, and the further development of critical social theory. The focus was as much on the discrepancy between hierarchically organized left-wing parties and the everyday reality of the people whose interests these parties allegedly represent, as on the reasons behind the structural discrimination of migrants within the Left. Kotti & Co, a Berlin tenant’s initiative, served as a positive example of constructive interaction between migrant self-organization and the left-wing movement. To pool the experiences gained in regional protests, movements, and organizations, participants proposed a transnational exchange between left-wing forces.

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG FUNDED 143 PROJECTS IN 2014





Marion Brasch and Jürgen Kuttner at the three-day festival to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the GDR's youth radio station; both were involved in DT64.

DRESDNER INSTITUT FÜR MEDIEN, BILDUNG UND BERATUNG: "DT64 – THE FESTIVAL," MAY 8–10, 2014, CINEMA BABYLON, BERLIN
Funding provided: € 1,500

This three-day festival commemorated the history of the legendary GDR youth broadcaster DT64, 50 years after it was founded. Movies, features, concerts, and discussions narrated the radio's history from its beginnings as a broadcaster aligned with the state on its journey toward opposition and resistance. During the 1990s, tens of thousands of young people took to the streets to secure the radio's future. The organizers developed an attractive program with prominent participants. Several bands such as the Rainbirds, Sandow, and the Bolschewistische Kurkapelle Schwarz-Rot provided a fitting soundtrack. Christoph Dieckmann from the German weekly *Die Zeit*, DT64's first director Sigmar Krause, Olaf Leitner, who used to work for the broadcaster RIAS, and Christian Flake Loren (Sandow, Rammstein) took part in the discussion panels. The organizers counted over 1,100 visitors, and the press and media gave broad coverage to the event. For many radio journalists, the festival was an interesting place to make new contacts and to network. Through the example of the youth radio station, the festival opened a door to a differentiated perspective on the GDR and German unification, whilst also posing the question as to what radio for young people is and could be today.

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 Movies, features, concerts, and discussions narrated the radio station's history on its journey from a broadcaster aligned with the state toward opposition.

DOMINIK BERG, DOCUMENTARY: "ON THE BORDER. THE WALLS OF FORTRESS EUROPE – A JOURNEY WITH ELIAS BIERDEL"
Funding Provided: € 5,000

Before 1989, West Germany held in high esteem those who helped GDR citizens to escape to the West. Today, however, the same state criminalizes those that help shipwrecked refugees in the Mediterranean Sea, and calls them traffickers. Elias Bierdel, formerly the director and chair of the aid organization Cap Anamur/Deutsche Notärzte, experienced this in a six-year trial.

Together with a film crew, Bierdel visited the most grueling outposts of Fortress Europe. He went to Lesbos in Greece, Almería in Spain, Ceuta in North Africa, and Catania on Sicily, and finally visited Lampedusa. In the film, only refugees and their helpers speak: Precisely those people whose voices are least heard in the mainstream media. Any European who is convinced that their continent is the cradle of freedom and human rights must feel ashamed by these accounts. "As soon as you apply for asylum you are put in prison," one refugee says. "They yell at you, they call you like a dog, they don't respect you as a fellow human being," says another, who has just been released from jail. "Many Africans die. When you die, they simply dump you in the rubbish."

The rough cut is now ready and cinemas are expected to show the film at the end of 2015, with either English, French, German, or Italian subtitles. This will enable Europeans to experience at home what is really happening at their union's distant borders. "They know it," says one refugee. "They don't care. They don't care about us."

With 30 projects, history/contemporary history was most strongly represented. Among other projects, The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung provided funding to:

- Altmarkkreis Salzwedel: Exhibition “Jenny Marx 1814–1881. Eine couragierte Frau zwischen Salzwedel und London” (A Courageous Woman Between Salzwedel and London); € 5,800
- Susanne Götze: Website “Lothar Bisky – Archiv, Debatte und (Ge)Denken,” (Lothar Bisky – Archive, Debate and Memory) www.lotharbisky.de; € 5,200
- Olaf Brühl: Research and online publication „*Männliche Homosexualität in der DDR. Chronik der Daten, Quellen und Diskurse*” (Male Homosexuality in the GDR. Chronicle of Data, Sources and Discourses); € 3,000
- Historikerlabor e. V.: documentary theatre project “Die Hungerplan-Konferenz. Die Neuordnung Europas und der Vernichtungskrieg. 2. Mai 1941” (The Hunger Plan Conference. The reshaping of Europe and the War of Extermination. 2 May 1941); € 1,500
- Florence Hervé: publication of the book *Oradour. Geschichte eines Massakers. Histoire d'un massacre* (Oradour. History of a Massacre), PapyRossa, Cologne 2014; € 1,500

With 17 projects, social theory was also a core funding focus:

- Ines Koburger: Teaser for the film adaptation of Bini Adamczak’s book *Kommunismus. Kleine Geschichte, wie endlich alles anders wird* (Communism. A Short History, How Everything will Finally be Different); € 1,500
- Sascha Frank: “Den Gegenstrom schwimmen” (Swimming against the Current) – 9th summer school of critical psychology, September 2014 in Berlin; € 1,000
- Stefanie Albicker: Workshop “Einstieg in die Kapitalismuskritik” (Fundamentals for Criticizing Capitalism), October 2014 in Halle/Saale; € 420
- Theresa Kauder: Talk by Oliver Marchard as part of the lecture series “Subversion und politische Differenz” (Subversion and Political Difference), October 2014 at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; € 285

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung funded different publications covering a broad range of issues:

- Andreas Heyer (ed.): *Schriften aus dem Nachlass Wolfgang Harichs* (Writings by Wolfgang Harich) vol. 2: “Logik, Dialektik und Erkenntnistheorie” (Logic, Dialectics and Epistemology), vol. 4: “Herder und das Ende der Aufklärung” (Herder and the End of Enlightenment), vol. 7: “Schriften zur Anarchie” (Writings on Anarchism), Tectum Verlag, Marburg 2014; € 3,000
- Waltraud Seidel-Höppner: *Wilhelm Weitling (1808–1871). Eine politische Biographie* (A political Biography), Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main 2014; € 1,500
- Alexander Fischer, Katja Zimmermann (eds.): “Strategie einer Mosaik-Linken. Von WASG und PDS zu DIE LINKE

und neuen Herausforderungen” (Strategies for a Mosaic Left. From the WASG and PDS to the Left Party and New Challengers). Supplement to the journal *Sozialismus* 7–8/2014, VSA-Verlag, Hamburg 2014; € 2,000

- Hubert Thielicke (ed.): *Am Ende nichts? Krieg in Afghanistan – Bilanz und Ausblick* (The War in Afghanistan – Taking Stock and Outlook), WeltTrends, Potsdam 2014; € 1,000
- Alke Jenss, Stefan Pimmer: *Der Staat in Lateinamerika. Kolonialität, Gewalt, Transformation* (The State in Latin America. Colonialism, Violence, Transformation), Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot, Münster 2014; € 1,000

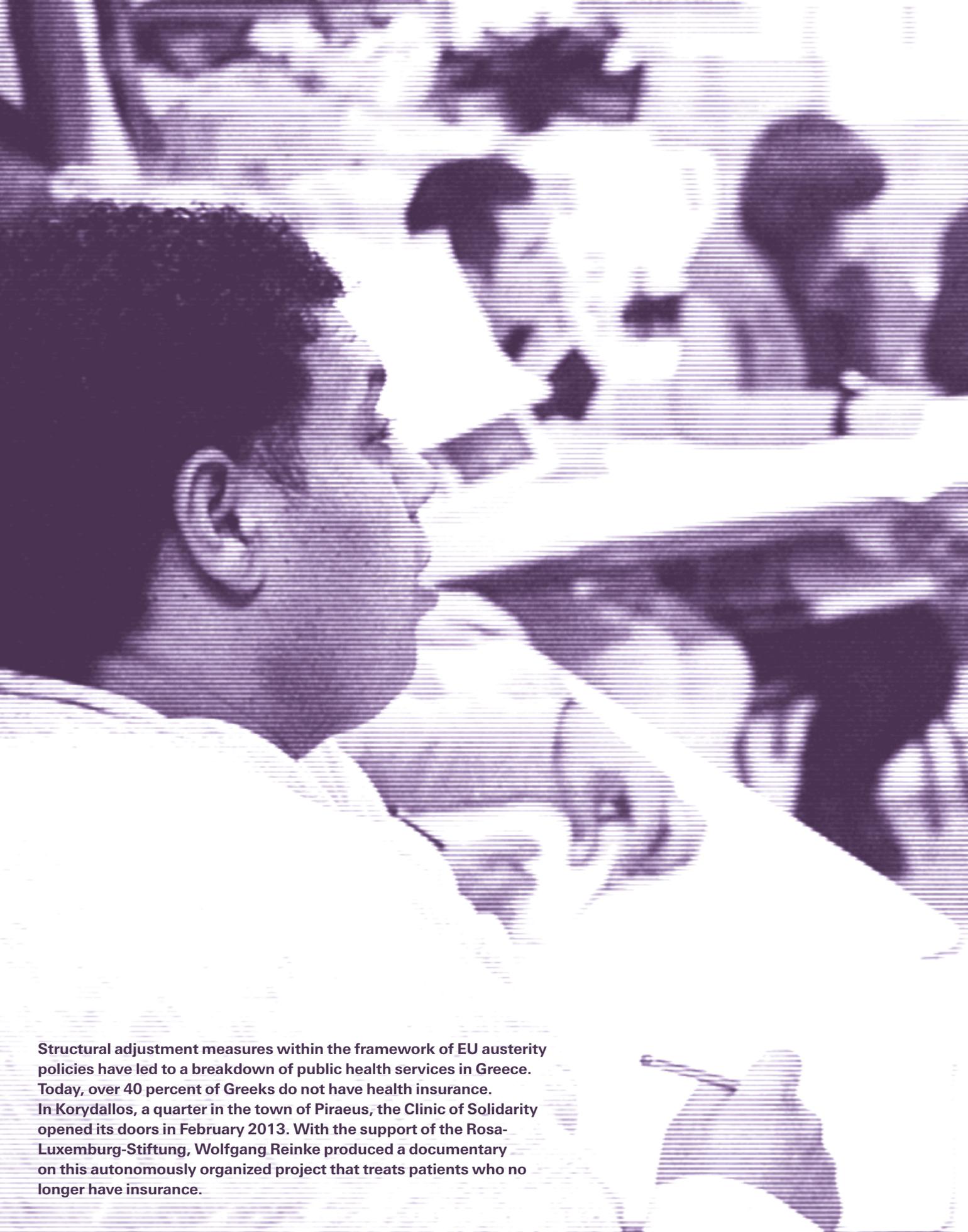
The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung maintained long-term cooperative relationships, such as with the Federal Coordination of Internationalism BUKO (Bundeskoordination Internationalismus), the association Musik und Soziale Bewegungen (Music and social movements), the Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Prekäre Lebenslagen (Federal working group on precarity) group, and VVN-BdA and KAIROS Europe. Moreover, new and fruitful contacts for the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung were established and the Foundation also provided support to young political education actors. Wherever opportunities for direct cooperation developed at the local level, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung forwarded the funding it received to its regional branches. The 37 projects, for which The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung provided a total of € 29,500, included:

- Heinz Ratz: “Project Refugee Ship.” Concerts and information workshops with female refugees in Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony, and Rhineland-Palatinate; € 6,500
- Grüne Liga e. V.: Conference “‘Kopf machen’ in der Bahnpolitik. 20 Jahre Bahnreform – 20 Jahre Stuttgart 21” (Rethinking Railway Policies. 20 Years of Rail Reform – 20 Years Stuttgart 21), April 2014 in Stuttgart; € 2,500
- Netzwerk Kritische Migrations- und Grenzforschung (Network for critical migration and border research): Meeting “Krisen der europäischen Migrations- und Grenzregime” (Crisis of European Migration and Border Regimes), March 2014 in Munich; € 1,500
- Medizinische Flüchtlingshilfe Bochum e. V. (Health care for Refugees Bochum): Photo exhibition and presentation “Die Lage der Menschenrechte in Burma” (The Situation of Human Rights in Burma); € 1,000
- Hamburger Energietisch e. V. (Hamburg energy roundtable): Information workshops on the re-municipalization of energy grids; € 500

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In funding projects, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung presents the broad spectrum of issues discussed by the Left in the public political sphere. The projects we funded round off the political education provided by the Foundation in terms of themes, regions, and specific target groups.

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Structural adjustment measures within the framework of EU austerity policies have led to a breakdown of public health services in Greece. Today, over 40 percent of Greeks do not have health insurance. In Korydallos, a quarter in the town of Piraeus, the Clinic of Solidarity opened its doors in February 2013. With the support of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Wolfgang Reinke produced a documentary on this autonomously organized project that treats patients who no longer have insurance.







Ανέλα σπίτι
για χέλια
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THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

For the past 15 years, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been providing study and PhD scholarships to committed young people. The numbers speak for themselves: The group of scholarship alumni has grown to 1,700 people and there are currently over 1,000 scholarship students.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung specifically targets students with a background in left-wing social activism with emancipatory convictions; correcting imbalances in society is a particularly important selection criterion. Over half of the recipients are women. Moreover, The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is increasingly successful in attracting people with migrant backgrounds, with 35 percent of scholarships awarded to this group in 2014, a figure that rose to 46.6 percent this year (compared with a 20 percent share in society).

A scholarship from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung means more than just financial support, it also comes with additional academic support. The Foundation offers a broad events program: seminars for PhD students to discuss the findings of their doctoral theses, meetings at the federal state level to strengthen regional cooperation; soft-skills workshops and more.

Great emphasis is placed on the self-organization of scholarship students and democratic participation. Recipients elect a council to represent their interests vis-à-vis the Scholarship Department and the Foundation. The council schedules regular meetings with the Scholarship Department to discuss any issues that may have arisen; the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung invites the members of the council to its general and executive board meetings.

Another aspect of democratic participation is the involvement of scholarship recipients in the organization and implementation of events. Nearly 20 self-organized workgroups offer opportunities for exchange, to give presentations, or take on the role of moderator at an event. Scholarship students get to organize the yearly semester break course almost entirely on their own.

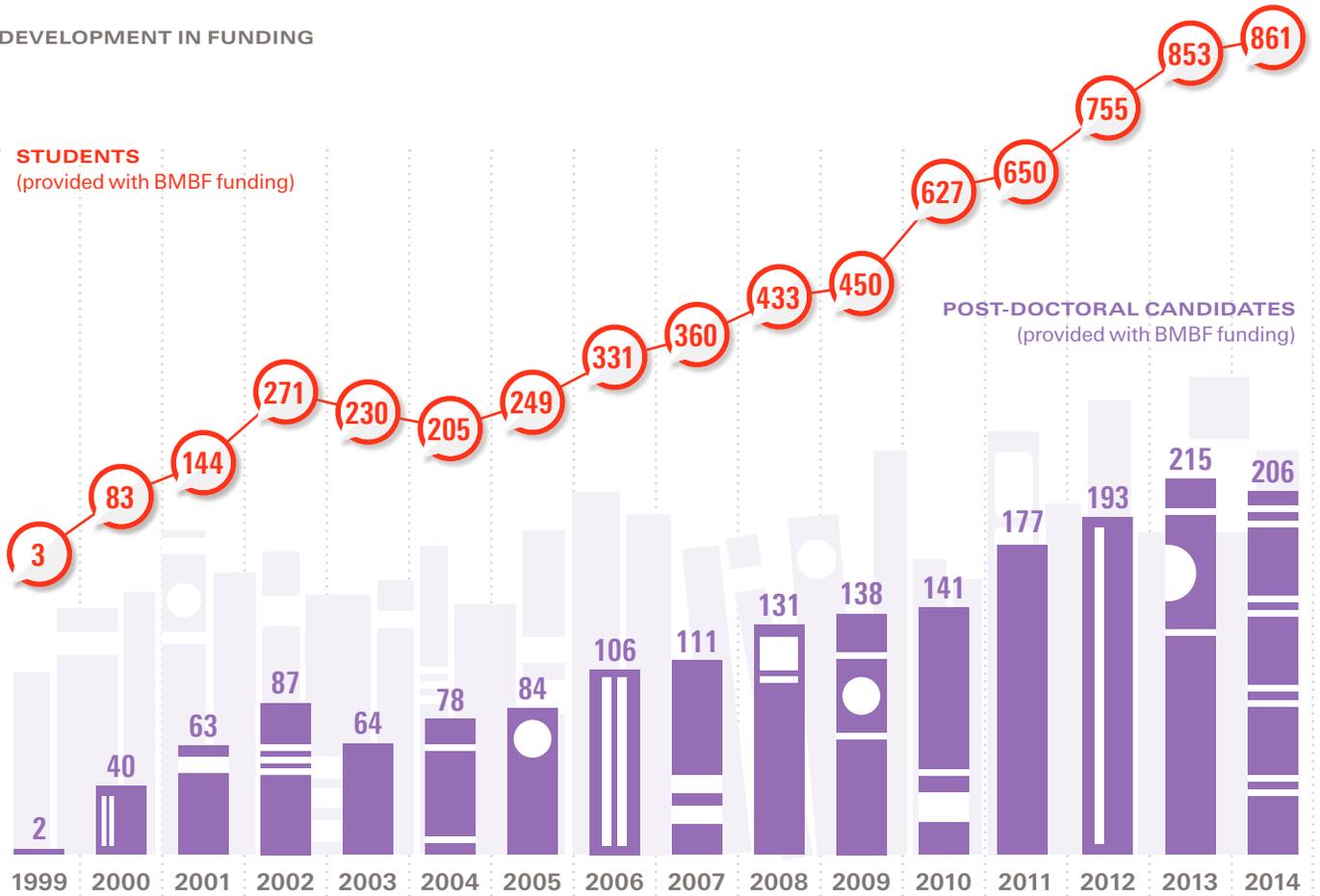
Moreover, scholarship recipients also contribute to the regional work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, take part in the Foundation's committees, and play an active role locally in political education, for example in the Rosa Luxemburg Clubs.

Last but not least, after 15 years, former scholars now work for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung: they lead the foreign offices, work in the German offices, and hold many other honorary positions, for example as tutors.

DEVELOPMENT IN FUNDING

STUDENTS

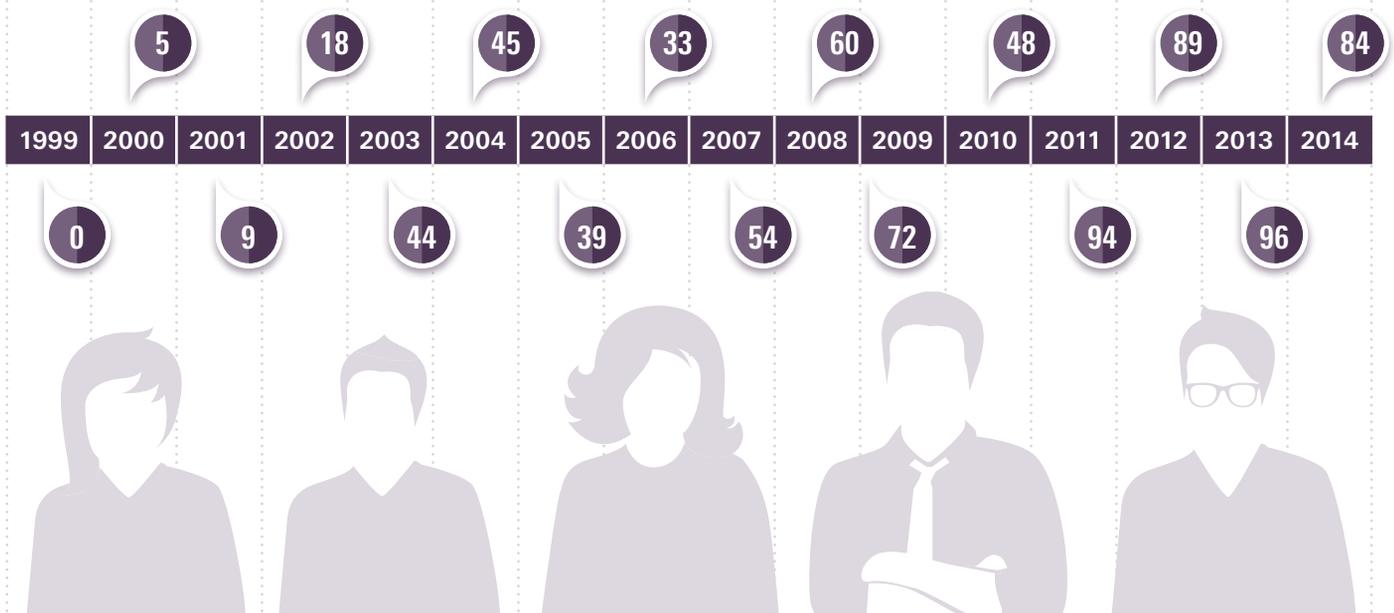
(provided with BMBF funding)



POST-DOCTORAL CANDIDATES
(provided with BMBF funding)

SCHOLARSHIP RECIPIENTS

(provided with funding from the AA)





Equal access to education is vital.

EDUCATION WITHOUT FRONTIERS

INTERVIEW WITH KATRIN HUNSICKER, CO-FOUNDER OF THE “EDUCATION NO LIMITATION” INITIATIVE AND FORMER ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PHD SCHOLARSHIP STUDENT

What goals does “Education No Limitation” pursue?

Hunsicker: Our aim is for refugees to have the same access to the education system as everybody else; currently, our work focusses on the right to study. Not least, this is because most refugees in our group have already studied in their countries of origin. Frequently, their political activism forced them to leave university, and they now hope to continue studying here.

What are the most frequent problems?

Hunsicker: In particular, people with only a temporary right to stay in Germany or a residence title for special purposes face numerous problems. Frequently, conditions attached to their right to reside in Germany explicitly prohibit them from studying. Once refugees enroll at a university, the German government immediately cancels their entitlement to benefits according to the Asylum Seekers’ Benefit Act (AsylbLG). In the majority of cases, refugees have no access to financial support according to the Federal Law for the Promotion of Training (Bafög) and they are not permitted to work either. Usually, universities do not accept students with only short-term residence permits and demand that students present

their passports to enroll in courses. Germany often does not recognize many non-European school and university certificates as equal – and this is even assuming that politically active students actually receive such certificates and are able to take them with them. Finally, students must prove they have a very high level of German before universities will allow them to enroll in most courses. However, there are often not sufficient German language courses for refugees. These problems obviously also apply to an even greater extent to people who live without any status, i.e. “illegally,” in Germany.

In the long term, it is our goal for refugees to have full and equal rights to access the education system. We also, however, work to provide individual solutions, so that refugees can, in spite of the limitations described, begin to study as early as possible. We are in discussions about both of these questions with representatives from politics, foundations, universities, and other institutions. Furthermore, our goal is not limited to ensuring refugees can study at German universities; we want them to be able to become teachers and professors. A first step in this direction was a seminar on the self-organized protests of refugees in Germany and Europe, which members of our group organized during the previous semester at the Alice Salomon Hochschule in Berlin.

How did you decide to found the group?

Hunsicker: Andrea Plöger, a former Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung scholarship student, founded the group together with the refugee activists Mai Shutta, Muhammad Mahmud Abdulkarim, and Omar Khan from the Oranienplatz refugee camp in Berlin. After refugees broke their imposed spatial and social isolation by occupying public spaces in various cities and immediately made their protest both visible and audible, the demand for access to the education system and other institutions in society evolved naturally for many as one of the next steps.

What still needs to be done?

Hunsicker: Faced with this highly complex set of issues, clearly a lot remains to be done. There are the pragmatic issues, such as founding an association, investing in more PR, and ensuring that the people in our group who live as refugees in Germany can start to study as soon as possible. Beyond that, we think that academic and practical support from further actors in society, such as universities, foundations and people from politics, is also key.



In November 2014, the Magdeburg barracks in Klosterneuburg, Lower Austria provided accommodation to refugees for six months.

THE SITUATION OF REFUGEES IN AUSTRIAN ACCOMMODATION CENTERS

Studies from the last 30 years show that accommodating refugees and asylum seekers in centers and camps negatively affects both their psychological and bodily health. Camp and center living conditions also motivate manifold protests by migrants with precarious residence status. Conversely, the parties Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) and Bündnis Zukunft Österreich (BZÖ) also instrumentalize the asylum question for their right-wing populist ends.

Austria organizes the basic services provided to refugees and asylum seekers at both the federal and federal state levels. Most of the so-called organized accommodation centers are concentrated in densely populated urban areas, yet quite a few are also in former restaurants and hotels in structurally weak rural tourism regions. The law states that basic services should include care, advice, and information, as well as medical care. Accommodation should be appropriate, respect human dignity and the unity of the family, and must include adequate food plus a fixed monthly cash payment as pocket money. NGOs or church organizations, private individuals (for example, innkeepers), and the federal state directly organize accommodation. The accommodation is often criticized for its lack of opportunities for work, education, and recreational activities, as well as the social and material exclusion it implies. Maximiliane Brandmaier, a Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung PhD

scholarship student, is currently working on her PhD thesis at the University of Klagenfurt. She is looking at the question of asylum seekers and refugees in Austria and their capacity and opportunities for agency in the context of the social and legal exclusion associated with accommodation centers. She is basing her socio-psychological study on the assumption that the social environment and professional support are decisive in dealing with trauma and other psychological issues, and that agency plays a central role in being able to cope with life and everyday struggles, and in health in general. Greater agency, she argues, could also enhance people's capacity to solve their everyday problems, manage their lives, and cope with sickness.

In her study, Brandmaier compares the situation of people in different accommodation centers in the federal states of Kärnten, Tirol, and Wien, which each have their own refugee accommodation policies. She aims to broaden the scope for refugee and asylum seekers to act and to strengthen their agency. To develop perspectives for (psycho-) social support, she uses qualitative interviews with refugees and experts.

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Development studies

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

The main aim of the political communications department is to provide the wider public with comprehensive and easily understood information on the Foundation's services, statements, and contributions. This forms the basis of the department's mission: to act as a link between the Foundation – as a left-wing educational institution – and the public.

Good communication with the outside world relies on intensive internal communication. This leads the department's staff to work with all other departments at the Foundation, at both the national and international level. Accordingly, the department's staff is responsible for a wide range of tasks, both at the Foundation and externally, and this often means making public appearances as presenters or speakers. Clearly, the department is far more than just a behind-the-scenes service provider. The 'PolKomm' department is responsible for the Foundation's various publications. It also manages the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's online presence, oversees the *RosaLux* journal, prepares the annual report, and provides a monthly online newsletter. The department ensures that the media at home and abroad are fully informed; it organizes advertising and giveaways; and provides support to exhibitions. In 2014, the Foundation issued more than 100 publications – from the *Standpunkte* and *luxemburg argumente* series to the *Manuskripte* volumes and books in cooperation with publishing houses. *Materialien* was introduced as a new series that is directed at activists and intervenes in current debates.

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

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



Karin Malingriaux: reliability in person.

“ORDERS HAVE INCREASED CONSIDERABLY”

INTERVIEW WITH KARIN MALINGRIAUX

In the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s organization chart, Karin Malingriaux’s position in the political communications department is listed as “secretary/administrator.” However, this does not adequately describe everything that she does.

Karin, how long have you been working at the Foundation?

Malingriaux: Since September 2001 and in this same department, only it was called the public relations department back then. Including me, there were five people in the department. Now, there are twice as many of us.

This increase mirrors the overall growth of the Foundation ...

Malingriaux: Yes, in 2001 the Foundation only occupied the fourth floor of this building. Today our offices are distributed over all seven floors. Back in 2001, everybody knew everybody else. When an order came in, I immediately knew who it had come from. Now, with the many new colleagues, this is no longer the case. At the same time, my tasks here have greatly changed. When I started, my work focused on administration and secretarial work.

And nowadays?

Malingriaux: Organizing the logistics from the order of a publication to its dispatch is now a main focus of my work. I also organize information booths for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung at large, but also many small events. This might be during the national congresses of unions or the annual party congresses of the Left Party, on May Day in Kreuzberg in Berlin, at the “Festival of the Left” on Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz in Berlin Mitte, or during the march in honor of Luxemburg and Liebknecht to the Memorial to the Socialists in Friedrichsfelde in Berlin. I keep a constant eye on all publications and select

the right ones for each event; I have to know which content fits with a particular event, ensure the delivery of publications and propose the number of copies to print depending on the expected demand.

The greatest change from when I started, however, is that I am now in charge of managing the entire PolKomm budget, from receiving invoices, to controlling and analyzing the efficiency with which we use our resources. These are the most important aspects of my work. Naturally, secretarial tasks are also a part of my job, so I also make many calls and respond to requests by email or letter. Although that is also part of my everyday work, it is not really that important.

Anybody in the Foundation who wants to order a publication ends up asking you. Can one person manage this amount of orders on her own?

Malingriaux: Take November 2014 as an example. There were 53 shipping orders. These concerned 6,700 individual publications and were sent out to 105 addresses. For some years now, an external provider has been helping us with our shipments. We could not manage otherwise, considering that these figures do not include the orders that I process quickly, on the side, so to say, and send out by post. Occasionally, I also print out an individual publication that is only available online – in particular for elderly people who either do not have access to the internet or find it difficult to use.

Has the type of publication that people order changed?

Malingriaux: Not really. What has changed, though, is what the Foundation publishes. In particular, the new series – *luxemburg argumente*, *Analysen*, and *Materialien* – have meant that the publications we provide have become broader and more appealing. People like these publications and demand is high; the number of orders has therefore increased. This is true not only for individual orders, but also for the overall scale of orders.

Are there annoying things that happen over and over again?

Malingriaux: Actually, yes. For example, when speakers do not let me know ahead of time that they need resources and publications for events they are speaking at. It is really a pity when there are not enough copies of a certain publication to take to a particular event. If I had been told about the event in good time, we could have simply printed more.

What do you enjoy most?

Malingriaux: That has to be our team. We support each other and there is always a lot of fun and humor involved. It makes me happy when people take an interest in our publications at information booths and online, and of course, when others recognize our work and do not take it for granted.



FIFA demanded that twelve stadiums be renovated or constructed for the World Cup in Brazil: the Maracanã stadium in Rio during renewed renovation works in 2013.

BEHIND THE SCENES OF A BEAUTIFUL ILLUSION A BOOK ON THE FOOTBALL WORLD CUP IN BRAZIL

Whether the German national team would win the World Cup for the fourth time was yet to be seen. What was clear, though, was that it was not only football fans who would be closely watching Brazil. There had been mass demonstrations during the Confederations Cup, only one year earlier, and powerful social protests had rocked the country. These protests targeted inadequate public services and criticized the emerging regional power's persistent social gap. People protested against what they viewed as the over-commercialization of football, the country's national sport.

This motivated an ambitious book project to highlight the mega-event's backdrop. The book, entitled *Fußball in Brasilien: Widerstand und Utopie. Von Mythen und Helden, von Massenkultur und Protest* (Football in Brazil: Resistance and Utopia) was published in time for the opening of the World Cup. An illustrious team wrote the book. It consisted of the office manager of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's office in São Paulo, Gerhard Dilger, Stefan Thimmel from the political communications department, Thomas Fatheuer, who was the director of the office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Brazil between 2003 and 2010, and the journalist Christian Russau from the German NGO FDCL (Forschungs- und Dokumentationszentrum Chile-Lateinamerika). They all share both a passion for football and an intimate knowledge of the region.

The Hamburg-based publishing house VSA published the book. Since 2012, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been expanding its collaboration with left-wing publishing houses. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung develops the ideas for books and supervises their writing, and the participating publishing houses then publish them. All of the books produced in this manner are later available online for free download under a Creative Commons license. People showed great interest in the book. It was by far the most-accessed publication online and was one of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's most successful book projects, not only in terms of the number of copies sold and distribution. The *taz* daily newspaper gave away the book as a bonus for a six-week World Cup subscription. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* broadsheet paper printed a glowing review, and the book made it onto the nominees list of the German Academy for Football & Culture in the category "football book of the year."

Even after the championship in Brazil, it is still well worth a read, as the Academy argued when explaining why it had nominated the book:

.....
 "The book makes it very clear that in the future, when we speak about the organized football of commercialized capitalism, there will be one question we will always need to ask. Football is played in thousands of stadiums, but at whose cost does this all happen?"

ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG'S JOURNALS: LUXEMBURG AND ROSALUX

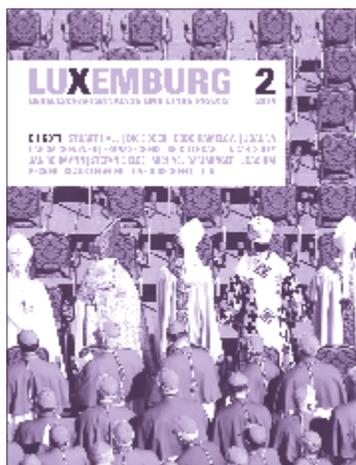
In 2013, under the motto "Transform RosaLuXemburg," the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung discussed the future of its journals *LuXemburg* and *RosaLux* in particular with regard to increasing their reach and impact. Following this discussion, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung sharpened the profile of both formats and improved collaboration between the editorial teams.

From the outset, *LuXemburg* was designed as a socialist journal that would deal with socialist topics in general, unifying elements, and pathways towards socialism. First published in 2009, by the end of 2013, 17 issues had followed, with a respectable total of 2,800 pages, all of which are now available online.

Available at: www.rosa-lux.de/publication/40361 (in German)

Since early 2014 *LuXemburg* has been part of the *commons* and subscriptions are free – an unusual step for such a high-quality journal. This follows in the footsteps of the other print publications of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

We switched to certified but thinner paper and process-color printing and limited the number of pages to 120. We now self-publish *LuXemburg* three times a year. In this way, we have been able to reduce costs by nearly a third. The website was re-designed, too, and the online presence now features around 400 contributions that also provide up-to-date political information. We have thus managed to triple orders to over 3,000 copies per issue, plus 750 online subscriptions.



OH MY GOD!

Globally, violence is escalating and conflicts are nearly always generated along religious divides

LuXemburg 2/2014 on political religion
Download: www.rosa-lux.de/publication/40795
(in German)

As part of this restructuring, we also changed the circulation and publication frequency of our *RosaLux* journal. Since 2014, instead of quarterly, the journal now appears only three times a year, with a circulation of 4,000 printed copies.

Thematically, *RosaLux* is much more oriented along the thematic focusses of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung than before and is generally less concerned with current issues and the ups and down of the mediatized public. The three editions published in 2014 focused on European politics of history, socio-ecological transformation, and the question of labor and unions. In particular, the first issue, which critically reviewed attempts to relativize Germany's key responsibility for the outbreak of the First World War, was met with great interest and was completely sold out within a few weeks.

Moreover, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has also expanded its means of digital distribution. A PDF version of the journal can be downloaded from the website and there is an option to subscribe to the electronic version. In this way, around 2,000 further copies of each issue reached readers.



ECHO OF HISTORY

100 years ago the First World War began, how it should be interpreted continues to be a subject of fierce debate

RosaLux 1-2014
Download: www.rosalux.de/publication/40361

Subscriptions to *RosaLux*, the journal on the work of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, as well as the Foundation's political journal, *LuXemburg*, are free of charge.

THE ARCHIVE AND THE LIBRARY

In 1999, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, Gesellschaftsanalyse und Politische Bildung e. V. began creating its own library and archive. The Archiv Demokratischer Sozialismus (Archive of Democratic Socialism) aims to function as a central institution looking after the records of the Left Party and its predecessor organizations, PDS and WASG. Moreover, the archive collects materials on the history of the political current of democratic socialism. Currently, there are over 1,300 meters of documents and 830 GB of electronic information, as well as a broad collection of analog and audio-visual documents (posters, flyers and leaflets, photographs, tapes, and films). Six archivists work for the ADS; one media and information services trainee with a particular focus on archives finished his three-year traineeship in 2014 with very good results. The archive's central goals are facilitating access for academic research and the interested public. So far, researchers can refer to 13 finding aids both in print and online.

SHARPENING THE ARCHIVE'S PROFILE

Over the last year, the overall number of documents archived at the ADS has steadily increased. The archive secures materials considered worth keeping and makes them available according to the usual archival criteria. Documents from the offices of the members of parliament of the Left Party in the German parliament, such as Gregor Gysi, Dagmar Enkelmann, and Annette Groth, complete the archive of individuals (called Personenbestände). The documents on the Bundestagsfraktion and/or -Bundestagsgruppe have been expanded by the addition of documentation from the different working groups of the Left Party faction in the German Bundestag. The documents on the Landesverbände have grown thanks to new documents from the central party offices in the federal states of Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein. During the course of the 2014 EU parliamentary elections, the archive received documents in electronic format and other items from the numerous offices of the Left Party delegation in the GUE/NGL faction in the EU parliament. This also included 1.2 GB of electronic data from the office of Thomas Händel (MEP since 2009).

In 2014, the archive acquired documents and materials related to cultural policy from the executive board of the Left Party and the corresponding working groups of the party's Bundestag faction (1999-2009). As part of the process of sharpening the archive's profile, materials on the KulturInitiative'89, which had been temporarily deposited at the ADS, were relocated to the corresponding federal archive.

Within this context, it is worth mentioning the archive of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. This comprises a continuously

growing interim and final archive of the numerous departments and the national and foreign offices of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Together, these now house around 350 meters of documents, items, and electronic data on the history of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the Gesellschaftsanalyse und Politische Bildung e.V.

EXHIBITION ON ARCHIVE DAY

As a contribution to Archive Day 2014, which, on the occasion of International Women’s Day, adopted the motto “Women, Men, Power,” the ADS organized an exhibition entitled “Politics, (Em)power, Women”, showcasing selected documents in a public exhibition at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s office in Berlin.

The exhibition featured posters, photographs, flyers, and leaflets on women, gender relations and family, and in particular focused on the work of MPs Petra Bläss, Dagmar Enkelmann, Heidi Knake-Werner, Gesine Löttsch, Christa Luft, Rosel Neuhäuser, and their colleagues, spanning the period from the early days of the PDS party up to the end of the 14th legislative period of the Bundestag in 2002. Five further text panels chronologically described the party’s political approaches and initiatives in the German Bundestag, with references to selected ADS materials and the corresponding published finding aids on the executive of the PDS, the PDS faction in the GDR parliament, and the PDS in the Bundestag (12th to 14th legislative period). Under the spotlight were the socio-political debates at the time surrounding the abortion paragraph 218 of the German Criminal Code, equality between men and women, family law reform, and the question of bringing pensions in the East in line with West German levels.

The presentation was well received by colleagues and external visitors alike, and it is currently on show at the central office of the Left Party. The plan is for the women’s affairs spokesperson of the Left Party faction to take it to the Bundestag. From there, it might go to some of the regional foundations of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The exhibition can also be viewed online, via the website of the archive and the library.

THE FOUNDATION’S LIBRARY

For 15 years, the large collection of the library of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (ISIL number: B 1599) has functioned as a specialist academic library. It is a traditional reference library that can be used during opening hours by Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung staff as well as the public. Thematically, the library’s collection focusses on three main areas:

- The Left Party and its predecessor organizations (PDS, WASG)
- Rosa Luxemburg and her work
- The history of the concept of democratic socialism



The panels from the exhibition can be found at: www.rosalux.de/stiftung/archiv/archiv/ausstellung-politik-macht-frauen.html/.

Furthermore, the library offers a collection of materials on the theory and history of left-wing movements, political education, and the social sciences. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung library also owns the Johannes-Agnoli library and has a unique collection of theses that can be used for academic research. All in all, the library contains 18,000 individual titles, with an additional 1,300 journals, of which around 600 can be searched via the ZDB German journal database. Library staff are in the process of setting up an online search facility.

NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION

1914 – 1939 – 1989.

TURNING POINTS IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG DURING THE HISTORIC
YEAR OF 2014

Last year saw anniversaries of several turning points in the much-quoted “century of extremes”: the starts of two world wars and, with the fall of the GDR in 1989, the end of the real socialist experiment. At the same time, however, these historic events deeply scarred the thinking and action of the political Left, which underwent a split due to opposing positions vis-à-vis the First World War.

A left-wing and critical political history cannot limit itself to a simple re-narration. Rather, the focus needs to shift to an interpretation of the past, considering the consequences of past events for today. More concretely, during last year’s debates, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung analyzed the rekindled discussion surrounding Germany’s responsibility for triggering the war in 1914, as well as the long-term consequences of killing on an industrial scale, war enthusiasm and resistance, and how these themes are connected to the present. After all, Germany is once again today striving for greater global power. Remembering the consequences of past ambitions to become a major power and anti-militaristic activism hamper such a project. The fall of the Berlin “all and the special congress of the SED-PDS in December 1989 put questions surrounding the significance of democracy and socialism’s capacity for renewal back on the agenda.

Today, educational events on historical questions are particularly popular and make up the largest part of what the Foundation has to offer. On the occasion of these three historic anniversaries, in 2014 the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung offered a range of additional events in different formats: evening events, conferences, readings, theatre performances, exhibitions, and workshops both in Germany and abroad, as well as entire series of events in various cities. The Berlin exhibition on the dissident communist Werner Scholem caused quite a stir. The exhibition, “Ich kam als Gast” (I Came as a Guest) on German victims of Stalinism toured several federal states and regional foundations and will continue to do so in 2015. Saxony-Anhalt and Rhineland-Palatinate commemorated the 200th birthday of Jenny Marx with a number of events (and the publication of a book).

There were talks, films, readings, and theatre performances during the Rosa Luxemburg Days from May 28 to 31 in Berlin and events to remember the special congress of the former SED in the fall. The journal, *RosaLux*, dedicated an entire special issue to the interpretations and consequences of the First World War.



When the killing seemed endless: British troops prepare for the defense of an embankment in Merville (France) in 1918.

The opinions of experts and speakers from the whole of Europe continuously enriched the discussions, for example during several seminars that each lasted a couple of days in Wuppertal, Potsdam, and Berlin on the First and Second World Wars. A large number of actors took part, from the regional foundations, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's foreign offices (for example from Johannesburg and Belgrade), the history discussion group, and the Left Party faction in the Bundestag, alongside people from other associations and initiatives working on similar issues. The primary goals of these activities were and are to raise the visibility of minority and dissident currents in the Left and the worker's movement, integrate a European perspective on German history and all in all draw conclusions from history to create a model for a modern, democratic form of socialism.

AFTER THE DIN OF WAR: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

After Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914, the First World War began. Remembering this overture to the "primal catastrophe of the 20th century" meant that an important part of the specialized and general output of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in 2014 concentrated on the developments leading up to the war. In mid-November, 75 visitors took up the invitation of the regional foundations in Saarland and Rhineland-Palatinate and the Marx-Engels-Stiftung to the "Nach dem Schlachtenlärm" (After the Din of War) conference and a Sunday matinee.

The events in Saarbrücken put a special focus on the numerous consequences of the war for the large frontier region of Saar, Lorraine, Luxemburg, and Wallonia, where four countries meet. It is an ideal region in which to study exam-

ples of different aspects of imperialist post-war policies and the socio-economic struggles within revolutionary processes of transformation since 1918. The consequences of the war for the workers' movement, which was the central actor for social renewal at the time, lay at the heart of the conference. Herwig Lerouge, Ali Ruckert, Jean-François Lassagne, and Laurent Erbs addressed different aspects of revolution and counter-revolution in the post-war societies. Anni Lacroix-Riz and Hubert Kesternich sketched out the political and economic conditions that represented the framework for the workers' movement in light of German-French relations and with regard in particular to the so-called Saar question. Joachim Schröder rounded off Saturday's event with a talk on the structures and subjects of the workers' movement and internationalism after the First World War. Overall, the conference touched on a broad number of issues, which we are also planning to make available in a reader.

On the following day, 30 people attended a matinee at Ratskeller Saarbrücken to discuss the choices taken by the major European powers that subsequently led to the outbreak of the First World War. Among them were Salvador Oberhaus (on the July Crisis and its historico-political implications for the current German debate on war responsibility), Jörn Wegner (on the German social democratic party's role in the July Crisis), Daniel Bratanovic (on the history of European imperialism from a historico-diplomatic perspective), and Oliver Schulz (on Bulgaria's road into the First World War). These speakers introduced the debate that was launched so successfully in the media last year on the question of war responsibility. The media's central goal had been to take the blame off Germany. Speakers and the other participants unexpectedly agreed that, based on the available sources, Germany was not solely responsible. Nevertheless, it remains clear that the Central Powers do bear the main responsibility.

Bodo Ramelow has worked closely with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung for many years. In November 2010, he was elected onto the executive board, and re-elected to the same position in 2012. After the federal state elections in Thuringia, which saw Bodo Ramelow elected minister-president of Thuringia, he resigned from the executive board on November 22, 2014. During his time as a board member, he was particularly involved in the plans for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's new central office building and therefore indirectly with seeing the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung treated as equal to the other political party-affiliated foundations.



Ex-board member Bodo Ramelow is now minister-president of Thuringia.



The Foundation's new building will be built here at Straße der Pariser Kommune 8.

BUNDESTAG AUTHORIZES FUNDS FOR NEW ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG OFFICE BUILDING

Fifteen years after the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung began receiving funds for its work from the relevant German ministries, on June 5, 2014, the German Bundestag for the first time awarded the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung funding for a building project from its 2014 budget for foundations affiliated with a political party, so-called political foundations.

Many years of struggle preceded this decision, over the course of which the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung gradually achieved equal treatment in the allocation formula applied to political foundations. The process more or less ended in 2010, which meant that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was barred from accessing a share of the € 134 million made available since 1990 for building projects and related investments. The Bundestag decided on its last 10-year investment program, amounting to a total of € 60 million, in 2003/2004. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung was not part of this program, however, because, as is known, the Foundation at the time could not count on the support of any of the Bundestag factions.

After the general elections of 2005, 2009, and 2013, however, this situation changed completely, when the Left Party permanently established and stabilized itself as the fifth power in the Bundestag. The Left Party has since twice been the fourth strongest power and, in the last elections, even came third, a result that made it the leading opposition force. Even the other political foundations were open to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's desire for its own building within this decade. In addition, the 2013 Finance Act included a note that, as of 2014, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung should be included in the building funds allocation scheme. In June 2014, the Bundestag's Budget Committee decided in favor of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and granted € 20.4 million as an investment sum for the period up until 2018, € 4 million of which it will pay out in 2014.

After the Bundesrat confirmed the budget in July, a coordinating committee on construction was convened on October 2 with all the pertinent ministries and agencies. The donors included the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Office of Administration, with construction expertise coming from the Federal Construction and Planning Agency and the Federal Ministry for the Environment and Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety. After the audit and assessment, the process passed to the Federal Ministry of Finance, which releases the funds. After weeks of intensive work by the applicants and the relevant authorities, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung received its first approval letter for € 4,000,000 just before the new year, on December 19, 2014. This was sufficient to enable it to become part of the real estate company Straße der Pariser Kommune 8 and secure the plot for the planned new office building at this same address in front of the former post station at Ostbahnhof. The real estate company had reserved the plot, to which the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung had after many years narrowed down its search, for the construction of the new building.

In 2015, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is planning an architecture competition, the results of which it will present du-

ring a special general meeting. Construction is set to begin in 2016, and the plan is to move into the new building in 2017. If possible, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung would like to inaugurate its new office building officially on May 5, 2018, the 200th birthday of Karl Marx.

IN MEMORIAM DIETER SCHLÖNVOIGT

On December 22, 2014, our long-time colleague, friend, and comrade Dieter Schlönvoigt passed away at the age of 67. Schlönvoigt was an activist back in our very early days and a driving force among the volunteers who struggled for the social and political recognition of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, a battle that lasted nearly a decade and began with the general assemblies on October 20, 1990 and November 16, 1990, which led to the creation of the association *Gesellschaftsanalyse und politische Bildung e. V.* During the 1990s, he worked in a creative and very unorthodox manner to secure the content, personnel, physical space, and financial bases for the work of the foundation *Gesellschaftsanalyse und politische Bildung*, which, although close to the PDS, was not yet in receipt of state funding. He was part of the group of people who created a national network of regional foundations and developed educational formats that fitted with a modern understanding of left-wing education and that the Foundation could also implement under the given circumstances.

His work on the first education program and its implementation by the still young and unexperienced association between August and December 1991 has not been forgotten. A particular highlight was the first large conference between October 3 and 5, 1991. This conference, entitled “Hinterm Horizont geht’s weiter” (Beyond the Horizon it Continues), took place in the Haus am Köllnischen Park in Berlin, the SED’s former Party Academy. Dieter Schlönvoigt found it particularly satisfying to be able to present and discuss his ideas for critical and emancipatory left-wing political education work here.

Three office moves and five hard-won rounds of project funding from the Federal Employment Agency during the association’s first years did not discourage Dieter Schlönvoigt, nor did the Bundestag’s refusal to provide funding to the *Gesellschaftsanalyse und politische Bildung e. V.* association (in the same way as funding is provided for political education to foundations associated with other parties in the Bundestag), even though it was recognized by the PDS party in 1996. On the contrary: The more difficult the working conditions for the young Foundation and the more hostile the social and political climate became, the greater were Schlönvoigt’s and his colleagues’ efforts to anchor the PDS-affiliated foundation in German society.

Dieter Schlönvoigt played a key role in shaping the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s understanding of left-wing and critical political education as a process of emancipation. Indoctrination was alien to him. Political learning, he believed, required a



Dieter Schlönvoigt: involved since the beginning

space for exchange, where “teachers” and participants could work together on an equal footing, because both sides always have something to give and something to learn.

Dieter Schlönvoigt believed that left-wing education needed to distinguish itself in its objectives and be part of a political project guided by the notions of enlightenment, autonomy, and social justice. The contribution of political education, he was convinced, should lie in passing on experience and knowledge and thereby enhancing people’s critical capacity and empowering them to take part in political struggles. Technically, too, he had high standards. Left-wing education had to be good—ideally better than its political competition. Because left-wing politics, and in particular left-wing political education, fundamentally seeks to enhance solidarity and self-determination, it cannot simply imitate the models of conservative forces. Both the content and form of left-wing political approaches need to differentiate themselves from those that they criticize. In a way, this is obvious, if we are to overcome exploitation, social injustice, racism, and sexism.

.....

Dieter Schlönvoigt was uncompromising whenever people tried to change the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s concept of education. This concept had developed out of the experiences of political education in the different left-wing currents, in the GDR, and at the time the Wall came down. We will dearly miss the innovative and polemical thinker that was Dieter Schlönvoigt.

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Flyer from the "Insight into the NSU" series.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE NSU TRIAL

Last year saw 101 days of hearings. The journalists who finally received approval to cover the trial when it got underway in May 2013 thought they had hit the jackpot. Soon, however, they were not so sure whether this had in fact been a curse. When, at the end of 2014, the presiding judge Manfred Götzl announced his decision for the hearings to continue until January 2016, many were dismayed at the prospect.

In 2014, the NSU trial was largely characterized by the futile questionings of impudent, neo-Nazi background witnesses and by the appearance of stubborn secret service and police agents, who basically attested the testimonies of witnesses who appealed to their right to refuse to give evidence. If it had not been for the testimony in the spring of a survivor of the bomb attack on a supermarket in Cologne's Probststeigasse street in January 2001 and other witnesses of the so-called Christmas fruit-loaf box attack (Stollendosenanschlag), it could easily have been forgotten what this trial of the century was actually about. Namely, to investigate the nine racist murders carried out by the right-wing terrorist group National Socialist Underground (NSU), the assassination in Heilbronn of a police officer and her colleague, who survived a shot to the head with serious injuries, at least three bomb and nail-bomb attacks, and numerous bank and other robberies. One thing, however, has definitely changed over the course of this tedious trial. Nobody believes any longer in the hypothesis put forward by the Federal Prosecutor's Office in the indictment that the NSU was an isolated cell consisting only of Uwe Mundlos, Uwe Böhnhardt, and the current main suspect Beate Zschäpe, who, supported by a limited group of helpers, toured the country to commit their brutal crimes. Today, talk is almost unanimously of a 'core trio,' which implies a surrounding network of possibly hundreds of others who were also involved in the NSU's crimes.

This insight owes itself mainly to the relentless work of groups such as NSU-Watch (an alliance of around a dozen anti-fascist and anti-racist groups and individuals from the whole of Germany), independent research, and political interventions outside of the courtroom. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, too,

helped to clarify a number of questions related to the NSU. Fritz Burschel, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's expert on right-wing extremism, was approved as a freelance journalist for the trial in Munich. In 2014, he organized dozens of information events and, together with his numerous publications, contributed to a shift in the discourse. In a widely read article in the journal *Kritische Justiz* (issue 4/2014) he pointed to a disturbing rift between the trial developing in the courtroom and events outside of the concrete bunker courthouse in Munich. For example, the final report by the parliamentary board of inquiry of the Thuringia parliament detailed the research results of independent journalists, dedicated lawyers of the plaintiffs, and anti-fascist groups. This report dealt with events such as the mysterious death of Thomas Richter (codename Corelli), a potential witness and important informer for Germany's Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Although it excited the public, it had no impact on the trial.

Last year, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung participated in a series of events entitled "Insights into the NSU," which the Foundation's legal discussion group organized in collaboration with NSU-Watch and the lawyers' association Republikanischer Anwältinnen- und Anwälteverein. It received the support of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Holtfort Foundation, and Türkischer Bund Berlin, and aimed to promote a public debate on the NSU and to enforce such debate whenever it is blocked. Moreover, "Insights into the NSU" brought a European perspective to the question of right-wing terrorism and state involvement. In November 2014, Liz Fekete from the London Institute of Race Relations kicked it off, speaking in Berlin. Further guests from Turkey, Greece, and Hungary are expected, each of whom will present their own national perspective on the events and debates in Germany.

It remains to be seen whether, with the parliamentary boards of inquiry in Hessen, Baden-Württemberg, and North Rhine Palatinate, and the second such boards in Thuringia and Saxony and possibly even in Bavaria and in the Bundestag, the dragging discussions about the implications of the NSU in society will finally gain impetus. Going forward, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, too, will pressure those responsible to comply with the so far basically unfulfilled demands to draw wholehearted consequences out of the quite evident failure of the public authorities and take action against institutional racism and secret service collusion.

TRUST FOUNDATIONS

In 2014, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung administered five dependent foundations with total assets of more than 2 million euros, consisting of real estate, works of art, and financial investments. The income from these assets is used in cooperation with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to fund a variety of projects that combine to create positive effects.

“We are breaking irrevocably with Stalinism as a system” was the motto of the conference that took place in the Berlin Jerusalem church on November 27 and 28, 2014 to mark the 25th anniversary of the special party congress of the SED/PDS in December 1989. Invitations were sent out, amongst others, by the Michael Schumann Foundation, which was founded in 2006 to commemorate Michael Schumann, one of the most prominent and respected PDS politicians, who lost his life in a tragic car accident toward the end of the year 2000.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is heir to Max Lingner’s estate. This includes the listed former home and studio of the painter and graphic artist in Berlin-Pankow, a building that was built in the 1950s. The Max Lingner Foundation was founded in 2007 and seeks to maintain, critically incorporate, and disseminate Max Lingner’s works and to remember the artists of the 20th century who experienced emigration, war, and prison camps. Hermann Henselmann’s architecture shaped urban development in the GDR. The Haus des Lehrers (Teacher’s House) at Berlin’s Alexanderplatz, for example, was constructed according to his plans. The foundation in his name aims to examine architecture, urban planning, and issues of community-focused urban development.

The Harald Breuer Foundation was established in 2006. Its purpose is to promote political education, science, and research, as well as international understanding and cooperation, so as to contribute to the development of free thought and solidarity in a humanistic, democratic, and internationalist spirit.

The Erik Neutsch Foundation was established in May 2006 and named after the East German writer who passed away in 2013 at the age of 82. The foundation promotes science and research, art and culture, as well as international understanding and cooperation. The artistic legacy of the founder is preserved and cared for under the trusteeship of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The unconventional intellectual and writer Erik Neutsch continued to write tirelessly until his death to finish the fifth volume of the series of novels *Der Friede im Osten* (Peace in the East). On February 19, 2014, this last volume of his series of novels was presented to the public for the first time in the salon of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The Erik Neutsch Foundation also supports scientific events, awards research contracts, and assists talented literary scientists and authors.



Invitation to the 10th Hermann Henselmann Colloquium.

10TH HERMANN HENSELMANN COLLOQUIUM: URBAN AUSTERITY

The Hermann Henselmann colloquium took place at the famous Bauhaus university in Weimar last year. The two-day conference (December 4 and 5, 2014) “Urban Austerity. Impacts of the Global Financial Crisis on Cities in Europe” was organized by the Institute for European Urban Studies and the Hermann Henselmann Foundation, and sponsored by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. The focus was on the situation in Greece, which during recent years has become a symbol of the crisis of the European Union’s economic and political architecture. The conference attracted more than 200 visitors from Europe, North America, and Africa. It offered the opportunity to exchange knowledge about recent research on the urban impact of current processes of crisis. Based on the various case studies that were presented on local protests against new trends in precarious conditions and exclusion in European metropolises, the key issue remained as to whether there is a common vision connecting the social struggles in, for example, Athens, Rome, Budapest, and Berlin. The two panels on the “housing crisis” offered a good basis for this kind of comparison, since the housing issue has become a central social conflict in many places, as is generally known. The best example is Spain, where civil disobedience against forced evictions has become a mass movement. The moving documentary “Seven Days at PAH” (2014) shows how the Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH) has recently become of the most important organizational structures for left-wing mobilization against the crisis in Spain. In addition, the final keynote speech on “Urban Social Movements in Times of Austerity Politics” by Margit Mayer, who is a professor of political science and member of the scientific advisory board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, referred particularly to the events and movements in southern Europe and described the left-wing parties and alliances that have emerged there, such as Podemos, as promising new political forms of organization.

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

The year 2014 was strongly characterized by work on the implementation of the collective agreement on extended co-determination. New procedures were applied and had to be proven to be workable.

Employees of each respective department were involved in all selection procedures in that:

- the respective job profile was jointly discussed and adopted,
- one or two employees nominated or elected by the departments helped to select the candidates and participated in job interviews, and
- the decision on the filling of the respective position was made on a tripartite basis – between management, division management, and staff.

In most cases, consensus was reached.

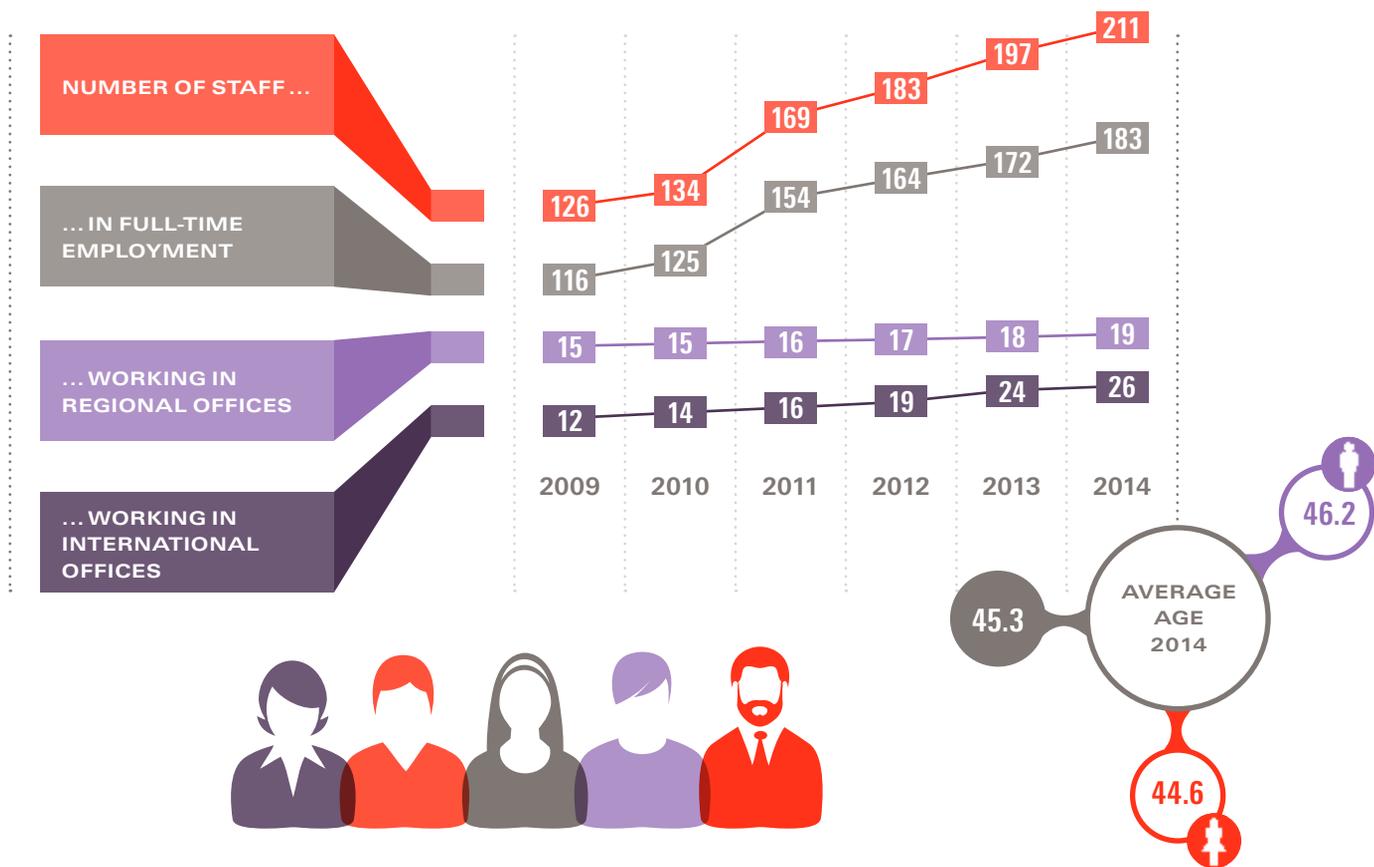
The collective agreement was also applied to fill three vacant management positions. The requirements for these positions were discussed and supplemented by the respective departments and the works council. The jointly accepted requirements were taken into account when establishing the tender criteria and the selection interviews. The departmental meeting nominated up to two employees, who were delegated to the selection panel. Following the executive board's decision on the appointment of the new executive staff, the staff of the respective department was finally asked to approve the result. In all three cases they were clearly in favor of the decisions made; approval was between 90 and 100 percent.

In addition, the heads of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung jointly agreed on a guiding principle, which reads: "The executive staff feels committed to the values and tasks laid down in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's statutes. Our governance aims to promote these values and tasks in Germany, Europe, and the rest of the world in cooperation with the affiliated Left Party (DIE LINKE), (while observing the required distance), trade unions, social movements, and civil society." The guiding principle sets out five tasks that characterize good governance:

- ensuring that everyone is able to work.
- ensuring a productive working environment and enhancing motivation.
- ensuring good communication.
- promoting peaceful conflict resolution and solving conflicts.
- jointly learning governance.

The first major steps in implementing the collective agreement on extended co-determination have been taken; however, there is still much work to do.

PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN 2009 AND 2014



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

Other forms of employment:	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Staff in limited part-time employment ¹	6	8	12	7	7	7
Internships ²	11	22	34	35	37	36

1 In accordance with the employment agreement and the Collective Agreement for Public Service Employees (TvöD)
 2 The total number over the entire year. In accordance with the DGB's guidelines and those of the Left Party

THE FOUNDATION'S BODIES

THE FOUNDATION'S GROWING IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY

SATISFACTION AT THE GENERAL MEETING

As a general rule, the members of the board of trustees of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung meet once a year to discuss the framework conditions for political education in their institution. They jointly form the principal body that decides in the last instance on content priorities and thus the overall profile. This is why, on November 22, 2014, the chair of the executive board, Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann, emphasized in her report to the general assembly that the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is probably the largest institution of Left political education in Europe.

And that is not all: Dagmar Enkelmann emphasized that “the importance of the Foundation is growing” and referred to the opening of the 17th foreign office of the Foundation in Tunis. The importance of the results of other countries’ work for domestic work can be seen in issues of energy democracy, resources policy, and climate justice, which should not be limited to Germany. The Foundation’s active role in the networking of left-wing publishing houses also demonstrates its growing importance.

The by-election of five new members to the executive board and the admission of new members to the board of trustees was on the agenda of the general meeting (see the Members’ page). The following new members were unanimously accepted: Dr. Carolin Butterwegge (University of Cologne), Dr. Stefanie Graefe (comparative social analysis at the University of Jena), Dr. Barbara Höll (speaker of the Queer working committee of the Left Party), Dr. Steffen Lehndorff (research fellow in the research department of working time and work organization at the Institute for Work, Skills and Training of the University of Duisburg-Essen), Monika Lent-Öztürk (staff member of the International Office of the Heinrich-Heine University Düsseldorf), Stefan Nadolny (staff member at the Peter-Weiss-Haus in Rostock), Dr. Detlef Nakath (director of the Landesstiftung Brandenburg), and Jan van Aken (Member of the Bundestag, Left Party).

The debate on the Foundation’s planned restructuring was more controversial — with members to be better included in its planning in future. For example, it was decided to establish a feedback group, which should act as a politico-cultural advisory board, and a special general meeting to assess the results of the architectural competition.

In principle, the general meeting considered the obtaining of construction funds and the permission to construct on the Postbahnhof site as major political successes.



Ballot: numerous matters were voted on at the general meeting of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's board of trustees on November 22, 2014.

MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

Jan van Aken
 Ali Al Dailami
 Dr. Dietmar Bartsch
 Dr. Peter Bathke
 Prof. Dr. Günter Benser
 Dr. Joachim Bischoff
 Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brand
 Dr. André Brie
 Prof. Dr. Ulrich Brinkmann
 Sandra Brunner
 Christine Buchholz
 Prof. Dr. Michael Buckmiller
 Dr. Carolin Butterwegge
 Gerda Daenecke
 Sevim Dagdelen
 Daniela Dahn
 Birgit Daiber
 Prof. Dr. Frank Deppe
 Richard Detje
 Ulrike Detjen
 Dr. Dagmar Enkelmann
 Klaus Ernst
 Ilsegrit Fink
 Dr. Thomas Flierl
 Claudia Gohde

Dr. Stefanie Graefe
 Dr. Bärbel Grygiel
 Dr. Gregor Gysi
 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
 Kerstin Kaiser
 Prof. Dr. Mario Keßler
 Katja Kipping
 Prof. Dr. Dieter Klein
 Dr. Thomas Klein
 Jan Korte
 Prof. Dr. Kurt Krumbach
 Marian Krüger
 Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen Krysmanski
 Prof. Ingrid Kurz
 Oskar Lafontaine
 Caren Lay
 Dr. Klaus Lederer

Dr. Steffen Lehndorff
 Sabine Leidig
 Monika Lent-Öztürk
 Dr. Gesine Lötzsich
 Prof. Dr. Christa Luft
 Heidemarie Lüth
 Dr. Helmuth Markov
 Ulrich Maurer
 Prof. Dr. Margit Mayer
 Dr. Hans Modrow
 Cornelia Möhring
 Margret Mönig-Raane
 Dr. Edgar Most
 Stefan Nadolny
 Dr. Detlef Nakath
 Prof. Dr. Manfred Neuhaus
 Helga Nowak
 Gabi Ohler
 Petra Pau
 Prof. Dr. Kurt Pätzold
 Dr. Harald Pätzold
 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
 Bosiljka Schedlich
 Dr. Birgit Schliwenz
 Fritz Schmalzbauer
 Horst Schmitthenner
 Christiane Schneider
 Dr. Ursula Schröter
 Dr. Karin Schüttpelz
 Dr. Reinhard Semmelmann
 Kathrin Senger-Schäfer
 Dr. Petra Sitte
 Dr. Wolfgang Spickermann
 Prof. Dr. Susanne Spindler
 Sybille Stamm
 Regina Stosch
 Gabriele Gün Tank
 Heinz Vietze
 Vera Vordenbäumen
 Dr. Sahra Wagenknecht
 Dr. Jochen Weichold
 Dr. Florian Weis
 Dr. Dietmar Wittich
 Janine Wissler
 Dr. Ulrich Wolf
 Ulrike Zerhau
 Gabi Zimmer

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bayern – Kurt-Eisner-Verein
 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
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Niedersachsen e. V.
 Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Nordrhein-Westfalen e. V.
 Peter-Imandt-Gesellschaft, 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. Reinhard Mocek

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
 Kadriye Karci
 Dirk Rumpf
 Norbert Schepers
 Dr. Jörn Schütrumpf
 Dr. Marion Schütrumpf
 Dr. Evelin Wittich
 Fanny Zeise

Last updated: May 2015

**MEMBERS OF THE
EXECUTIVE BOARD**

DR. DAGMAR ENKELMANN

HEINZ HILLEBRAND

Stand: März 2015

JAN KORTE

DR. FLORIAN WEIS

SYBILLE STAMM

ULRIKE DETJEN

THOMAS HÄNDEL

GABRIELE GÜN TANK

PROF. DR. DÖRTE PUTENSEN

DR. SABINE REINER

KERSTIN KAISER

PROF. DR. RAINER RILLING

DR. DETLEF NAKATH

PEETER RAANE

NEW MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

The workload of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's executive board is very intensive, considering the volunteer-driven nature of the board. The twelve or fourteen board members met nine times last year. Three of the meetings were held over several days and resembled a closed meeting. In view of the Foundation's statutes, the effort seems to be justified, since the voluntary body is responsible for all tasks associated with the Foundation's and association's work, if they are not explicitly assigned to other structures. The executive board members are well aware of this responsibility.

Following the preparation of new articles of association in 2013, which aimed to sharply define the division of tasks between the different levels of the Foundation, further additions were to be implemented in the reporting year 2014. The executive board, which has been led by Dagmar Enkelmann since 2012, functions as a management body, which at the same time is also expected to give new impulses. Therefore, it is constantly consulted with regard to content planning and prioritization.

The executive board also played an important role in decision-making with regard to the Foundation's international work, which not only included defining topics to be dealt with in in-

dividual foreign offices, but also selecting the executive staff. The office management and its work represent the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in the regions of the world. Therefore, the executive board members have also strengthened their participation in project and working groups, which is to remain a central approach of the executive board's work in 2015.

The composition of the executive board was changed at the general meeting at the end of November 2014. After two members of the executive board, Marwa Al-Radwany and Prof. Dr. Alex Demirović, left in the first half of 2014 when they became members of the Foundation, Dr. Petra Sitte, parliamentary chair of the Left Party in the Bundestag, Bodo Ramelow, minister-president of Thuringia since December 5, 2014, and Prof. Dr. Frank Deppe also resigned due to lack of time. However, they still remain active in the Foundation. The Foundation's members elected Prof. Dr. Dörte Putensen, Gabriele Gün Tank, Dr. Detlef Nakath, Jan Korte, and Prof. Dr. Rainer Rilling to the executive board.

THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

Also in 2014, the academic advisory council showed its commitment to its self-concept, i.e. to contribute actively to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's work with its expertise and specific projects. It met twice in Berlin and had a two-day closed meeting in Wittenberg. Its work focused on:

- Continuing the discussion on Cooperative Work Projects (KAV) and Topics Axes (TA),
- Participating in the Foundation's scientific projects,
- (Re-)agreeing on tasks and the operation of the Foundation's academic advisory council.

The board and the respective responsible staff members discussed the status of the "Re-organization of the Plural Left" KAV, the "Europe" KAV and the "Democracy and Equality" TA. The topics and general concepts of all three projects were positively assessed, although there were critical suggestions to further specify the planned projects. Three members of the advisory council participate in the "Europe" KAV and in the parties/social movements discussion group (GK).

With its scientific expertise, the advisory board has also contributed to discussions on the concept of transformation in preparation for the 3rd transformation conference, and was also actively engaged in the conference by giving an opening lecture and organizing a workshop. The advisory board mem-

bers are also on the scholarship department's selection board as well as the selection committees for the Jörg-Huffs Schmid award and the Hans-und-Lea-Grundig award. Along with the IfG, the council develops proposals for the granting of fellowships.

As a result of its self-concept debate at the closed meeting and a discussion with the executive board, the council prepared a paper on (future) tasks and operations, which was approved by the executive board at a meeting in October and adopted in a slightly revised form at the advisory council meeting on November 14. In accordance with its central task of supporting the Foundation's work at the interface of science, education, and politics with its scientific competence, the council decided to actively participate in the research colloquium on critical transformation research in September 2015, as well in the further qualification of the TAs and KAVs. Following his election to the Foundation's executive board, Rainer Rilling, in accordance with the statutes, resigned from the advisory council.

MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

Last updated: March 15, 2015

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

Professor Jörg Hafkemeyer: born in 1947, journalist and filmmaker, honorary professor of cultural journalism at the Berlin University of the Arts, and guest lecturer for TV documentaries and reports at the Berlin School of Journalism. He also trains reporters and moderators for Schweizer Rundfunk and for Deutschlandradio Kultur, works for ARD, Deutschlandradio Kultur, and various newspapers, including *Cicero*.

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

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

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

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

Professor Dr. Birgit Mahnkopf: born in 1950, professor of European social policy at the University of Economics and Law in Berlin; member of Attac's academic advisory board, the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF), and the Labor Research and Advisory Center in Vienna. Main research interests: globalization, European integration, the informal economy, industrial relations.

Dr. Ingo Matuschek: born in 1961, researcher on the 'External Flexibility and Internal Stability in the Value system of the Automobile' (EFIS) project at the University of Jena, and a member of the Institute for Work and Society (INAG) in Chemnitz. Main research interests: flexibility and the subjectification of work, qualitative methods, political action in everyday environments.

Professor Dr. Margit Mayer: born in 1949, professor of political science at the John F. Kennedy Institute of the Free University of Berlin. Main research interests: American and comparative politics, urban policy, social movements.

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

Dr. Sylka Scholz: born in 1964, research associate at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Dresden, a member of the academic advisory council of the journal *Frauenforschung und Geschlechterstudien*. Main research interests: gender relations in East Germany and Eastern Europe, masculinity research, media and politics, qualitative methods.

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

Dr. Michael Thomas: born in 1951, research associate at the Center for Technology and Society, and the Berlin Institute of Social Studies (BISS), member of the board of trustees of the BMBF program for research into continuing education in employment, coordinator of the East Germany research network. Main research interests: comparative regional development, regional employment and cultures of learning.

Dr. Axel Troost: born in 1954, economist and politician, honorary president of the Working Group Alternative Economic Policy (Memorandum Group) and board member of the Institut Solidarische Moderne e. V., member of the national executive board of the Left Party, member of the Bundestag, the Left Party's parliamentary spokesperson for finance, and member of the finance committee in the Bundestag.

Professor Dr. Susanne Völker: born in 1964, professor at the University of Cologne for methods in education research and social research methods with a special emphasis on gender studies. Main research interests: qualitative research methods, processes of social transformation and social inequalities, changes to (paid) work and gender arrangements.

MODERN FORUMS FOR DIALOGUE

DISCUSSION GROUPS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

The associations evoked by the term “discussion group” are multifaceted, which certainly holds true for this institution that is closely linked to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. In 2007, voluntary staff working under the umbrella of the Foundation and dealing with a primary topic began to be referred to as “discussion groups.” This was also linked to a certain principle of classification and thus a systematization of the work content. This process was successively developed and contributed to the discussion groups becoming something of a “brand name” within the Foundation.

Although their work procedures and methods are very different, the discussion groups share three common aims: supporting the Foundation’s work; facilitating protected exchange on political issues due to its predominantly semi-pu-

blic character; and helping to include experts with very different backgrounds in the Foundation’s work. The work of the migration discussion group was particularly relevant in 2014. Not only did it discuss—as the name suggests—migration and political issues, but it also brought the issue of racism into focus. In this context, by including a speaker from the Sinti and Roma women’s initiative “Ini Rromnja,” it was possible to present the joint exhibition “Roma and Sinti are not OUT” and to plan further projects on this basis. Previously, the members of the discussion group had discussed human trafficking and forced prostitution, topics which often directly address migration policy issues.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

Last updated: January 2015

LABOR LAW/LABOR CODE

Steffen Hultsch, Fanny Zeise (zeise@rosalux.de)

EDUCATION POLICY

Marcus Hawel (hawel@rosalux.de)

EUROPEAN POLITICS

Johanna Bussemer (bussemer@rosalux.de)

WOMEN AND POLITICS

Eva Schäfer (schaefer@rosalux.de)

PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

Erhard Crome (crome@rosalux.de)

HISTORY

Bernd Hüttner (huettner@rosalux.de)

HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

Cornelia Domaschke (domaschke@rosalux.de)

TRADE UNIONS

Florian Wilde (wilde@rosalux.de),

Fanny Zeise (zeise@rosalux.de)

COLLEGE OF SCIENCE/PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATION

Wolfgang Girnus, Klaus Meier (meier@rosalux.de)

CULTURE

Michaela Klingberg (klingberg@rosalux.de)

RURAL AREAS

Steffen Kühne (kuehne@rosalux.de)

LIVING TIME - WORKING TIME

Rosalind Honig, Axel Krumrey (krumrey@rosalux.de)

THE LEFT AND RELIGION (PLANNED)

N.N.

MIGRATION

Koray Yilmaz-Günay (yilmaz-guenay@rosalux.de)

SUSTAINABILITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Steffen Kühne (kuehne@rosalux.de)

POLITICAL PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Cornelia Hildebrandt (hildebrandt@rosalux.de), Harald Pätzolt

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Stefan Kalmring (kalmring@rosalux.de)

RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

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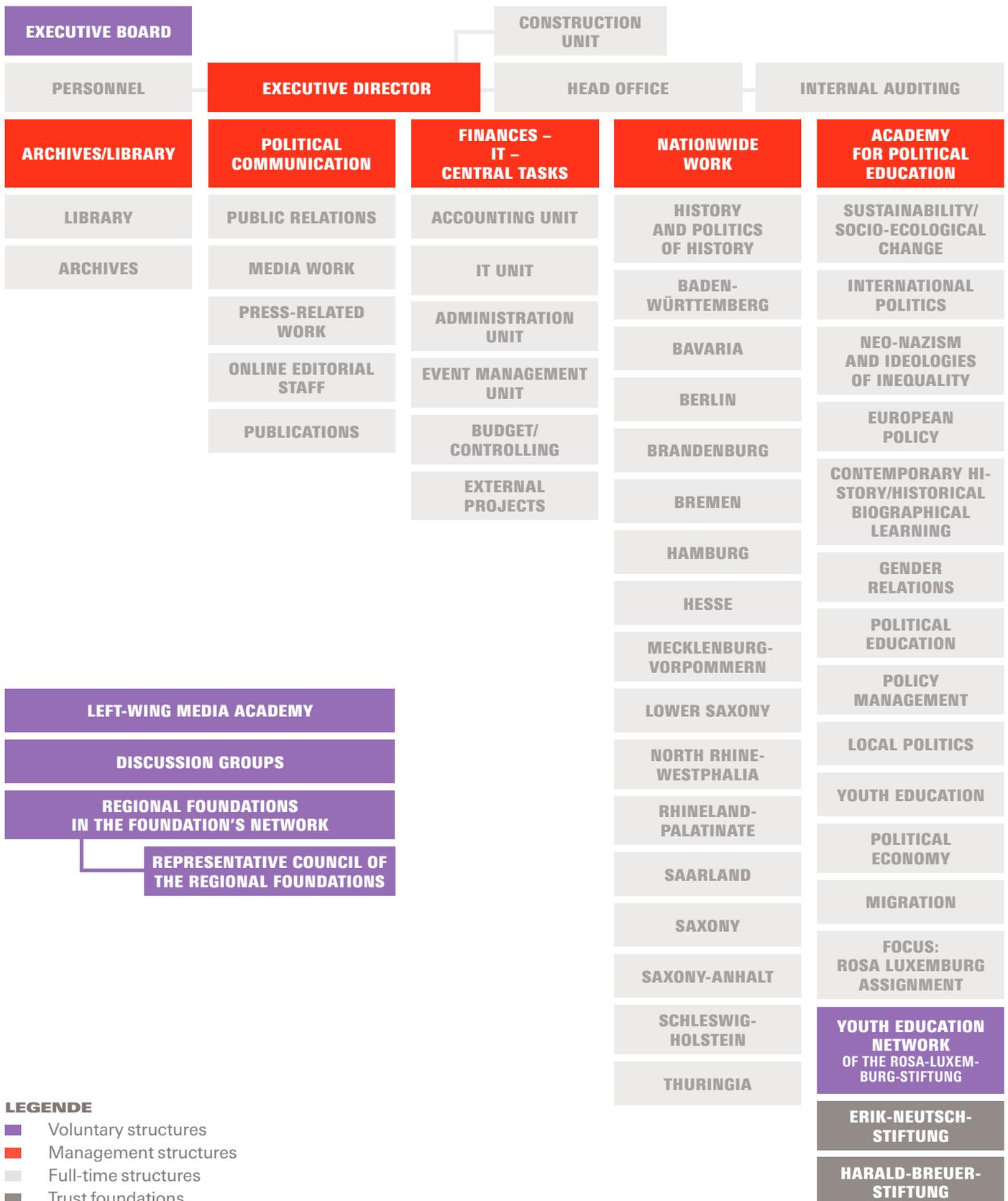
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GENERAL ASSEMBLY



LEGENDE

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

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

ACADEMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL

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OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

**INSTITUTE
FOR CRITICAL
SOCIAL ANALYSIS**

**SCHOLARSHIP
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CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

PARTIES AND SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS

SUPPORT PROGRAM

HEAD OFFICE

DEMOCRACY
AND STATE

ALUMNI WORK

DEPARTMENTS

INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

THEORY AND HISTORY
OF SOCIALIST
TRANSFORMATION

EDUCATION POLICY

CIDC ADMINISTRATION
DEPARTMENT

SOUTHERN AFRICA
JOHANNESBURG

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SECURITY POLICY

SCHOLARSHIP
PROGRAM "LUX LIKE
STUDYING"

NATIONWIDE AFFAIRS

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SOLIDARITY-BASED
ECONOMY

**ACADEMIC TUTORS
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REGIONAL OFFICE AFRICA

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EAST ASIA BEIJING

FEMINIST SOCIAL
ANALYSIS

**FELLOWS' WORKING
GROUPS**

REGIONAL OFFICE ASIA

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SOUTHEAST ASIA HANOI

POLITICAL ECONOMY
OF GLOBALIZATION

**SELECTION
COMMITTEE**

AK ASIA

ANDEAN REGION QUITO

TRADE UNIONS/
LABOR/PRODUCTION

POST-DOCTORAL
FELLOWS

REGIONAL OFFICE
LATIN AMERICA

SOUTH AMERICA SÃO PAULO

CULTURAL FORUM
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AK LATIN AMERICA

CENTRAL AMERICA/MEXICO
MEXICO CITY

ISRAEL TEL AVIV

*LUXEMBOURG
JOURNAL*

EDITED BY THE
RLS EXECUTIVE BOARD

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NORTH AFRICA TUNIS

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BERLIN

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 Foundation receives most of its financing from the federal budget. This includes funding from the Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Ministry 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 society. What this means in practice is decided by the Bundestag

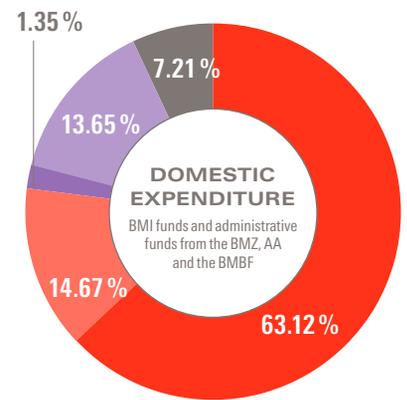
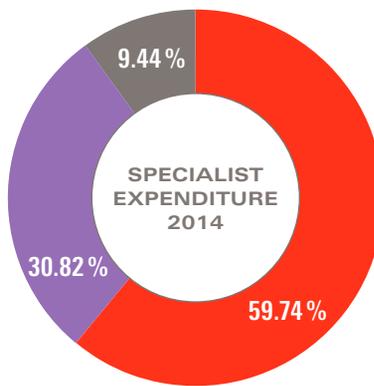
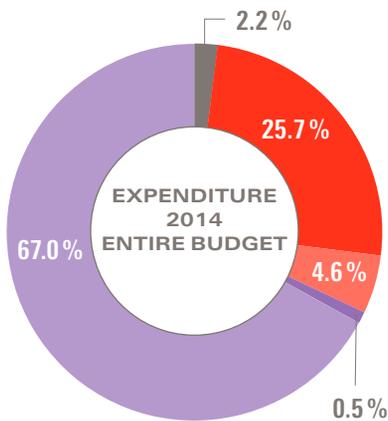
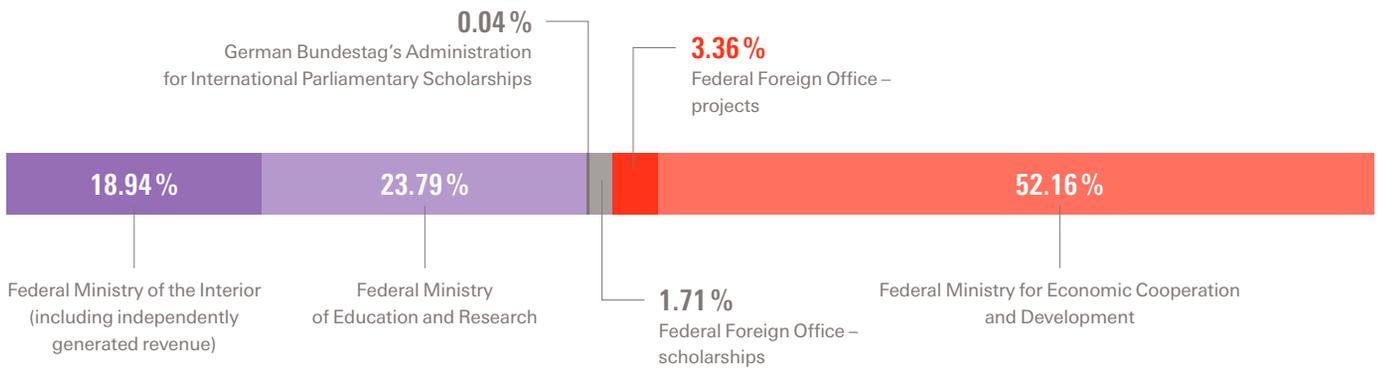
Evidence of the durability of an important political current is provided in practice by a political party's repeated entry into the Bundestag, particularly in the form of a parliamentary group. The amount of funding the Foundation then receives is dependent on the election results from the last four federal elections of the party to which the Foundation is affiliated. Following the successful re-entry of the Left Party into the Bundestag as a parliamentary group in 2005, as well as the increased number of votes that the party gained in the national elections in 2009, the annual grants provided by the federal ministries have been adjusted accordingly. The eventual goal was parity with the foundations affiliated with other political parties; this finally occurred in 2011

Compared with 2010, grants increased from € 30.6 million to € 48.3 million in 2014. In a 1998 joint statement, the party-affiliated foundations committed themselves to publishing details of their revenues and expenditures in the name of openness and transparency, and this has been done ever since. By publishing details of the Foundation's accounts, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also fulfills the obligations to which it committed itself as part of this agreement.

The Foundation's largest grants come from the BMI (so-called general funds), the BMZ, the BMBF, and the AA. These general funds constitute the backbone of the Foundation's political education budget in Germany and fund the Foundation's offices. The funds are used to 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 these federal funds, party-affiliated foundations can also be provided with funding from regional budgets. These funds are used by the eleven regional associations that constitute the Foundation's network at the regional level.

REVENUES 2014



- Personnel expenditure
- Administrative costs
- Investments
- Specialist expenditure
- Transfer of general funds to regional foundations

- International projects
- Supervision of students and PhD candidates
- Domestic political education

- Personnel expenditure
- Administrative costs
- Investments
- Specialist expenditure
- Transfer of general funds to regional foundations

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

As a political foundation, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to ensure that its annual accounts are independently audited. For the 2013 fiscal year, the auditor confirmed that the general funds provided by the Federal Ministry of the In-

terior and administrative grants provided by other ministries were used sparingly and in accordance with the legal guidelines, and that all other requirements were met. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung uses a controlling procedure that is suitably equipped and staffed to ensure that the relevant funding guidelines are correctly adhered to.

PROFIT AND LOSS STATEMENT AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2013

Assets	December 31, 2013 in EUR	December 31, 2012 in EUR
A Fixed assets		
I Intangible assets		
Trademark rights	5,000.00	5,000.00
Computer software	47,795.83	32,858.74
II Property		
Furniture and fixtures	795,063.43	817,450.08
Total assets	847,859.26	855,308.82
B Accounts receivable and other fixed assets		
I Entitlements from the BMI due to independent revenues	367,185.00	367,185.00
II Receivables from grants	0.00	140,000.00
III Other assets	135,291.09	83,814.83
Total liabilities	502,476.09	590,999.83
C Liquid assets		
Total liquid assets	2,311,068.33	3,502,088.03
D Accrued income	1,103.72	1,454.16
Total	3,662,507.40	4,949,850.84

Liabilities	December 31, 2013 in EUR	December 31, 2012 in EUR
A Net assets		
I Previous year	684,341.65	1,057,231.80
II Surplus/deficit	801,656.42	-312,070.44
III Reserve	60,819.71	60,819.71
Total net assets	1,546,817.78	745,161.36
B Advances and contributions from donations	847,859.26	855,308.82
C Accrued liabilities		
Other accruals	306,386.30	127,876.58
D Liabilities		
I Accounts payable	640,045.54	1,112,778.31
II Other liabilities	39,626.07	33,435.53
Total liabilities	679,671.61	1,146,213.84
E Deferred incomew	281,772.45	2,075,290.24
Total	3,662,507.40	4,949,850.84

INCOME STATEMENT AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2013

		2013 in EUR	2012 in EUR
I	Income	46,565,609.91	43,279,715.72
1	Federal grants	46,449,010.26	42,890,030.18
2	Donations	6,962.04	4,831.40
3	Membership fees	15,145.72	11,848.22
4	Other revenues	94,491.89	373,005.92
5	Revenue deductions		
II	Expenditures	-45,763,953.49	-42,039,250.17
1	Expenditures for activities according to the statutes	-31,939,328.44	-30,231,371.97
	Conferences and seminars	-840,654.62	-850,085.76
	Publications	-571,027.87	-630,222.55
	Research projects	-240,605.36	-488,128.47
	Transfer of general funds	-916,611.29	-916,703.16
	Support of students and postgraduates Graduierten	-9,236,914.86	-7,365,022.80
	International cooperation	-19,625,770.21	-19,379,354.66
	Other expenses	-507,744.23	-601,854.57
2	Staff costs	-11,445,510.00	-10,624,589.82
	Wages and salaries	-9,430,192.34	-9,175,397.34
	Social security contributions	-2,015,317.66	-1,449,192.48
3	Administrative costs	-2,085,515.92	-974,632.82
	Operating expenses	-322,477.67	-314,229.41
	Other administrative costs	-1,763,038.25	-660,403.41
4	Investments	-293,599.13	-208,655.56
III	Annual surplus/deficit	801,656.42	1,240,465.55

REVENUE IN 2014 (PROVISIONAL)

I	Income in EUR	48,420,769.21
1	Contributions	48,284,774.13
	Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI) (incl. independently generated revenues)	9,144,101.00
	Federal Ministry of Education and Research	11,487,906.09
	German Bundestag administration for international parliamentary internships	17,458.47
	Foreign Office scholarships	823,350.00
	Foreign Office projects	1,624,500.00
	Contributions from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	25,187,458.57
2	Donations	8,892.63
3	Membership fees	15,090.00
4	Other revenues	140,375.92
5	Revenue deductions	28,363.47

EXPENDITURE IN 2014 (PROVISIONAL)

II	Expenditure in EUR	-48,269,724.21
1	Staff costs	-12,400,887.84
	Of which for staff expenditure in Germany	-9,330,172.14
a)	Wages and salaries	-10,342,946.98
b)	Social security contributions and other	-2,057,940.86
2	Administrative costs	-2,206,590.91
2,1	Operating expenses, devices, equipment and furniture, consumables	-389,775.56
	Network, software and system support	-224,877.31
	Agency fees	-42,840.00
	Maintenance fees and repairs	-17,367.34
	Office and consumable supplies	-37,082.79
	Rented equipment	-51,106.61
	Tools and small appliances	-11,645.58
	Books / teaching materials	-4,855.93
2,2	Management and maintenance of properties and construction works	0.00
2,3	Other administrative costs	-1,816,815.35
	Costs for premises	-746,877.82
	Cleaning	-15,422.77
	Maintenance of operational rooms	-7,304.17
	Insurance	-5,226.15
	Contributions and other duties	-49,461.98
	Work conducted by third party contractors in administration	-242,684.13
	Repair work and maintenance of technical installations	0.00
	Advertising/announcements	-52,047.78
	Representation costs	-21,341.15
	Entertainment costs	-1,273.50
	Travel expenses	-161,651.66
	Third party vehicles	-1,603.68
	Courier service	-6,085.12
	Training costs	-102,656.28
	Postage /telephone/internet costs	-113,637.57
	Journals/books/media	-41,428.00
	Legal consultancy/auditing/accounting	-67,635.63
	Incidental costs of monetary transactions	-10,198.32
	Other taxes	0.00
	Other expenses	-170,279.64
3	Allocation to the special item from contributions for fixed assets	-241,911.75
4	Specialist expenses	-32,354,508.84
	Conferences and seminars	-809,605.73
	Publications	-493,997.29
	Research contracts	-316,521.47
	Other specialist expenses	-245,479.13

International projects	-19,963,530.47
Support of students and postgraduates	-10,301,712.19
Of which for students in Germany	-9,588,299.79
Of which for students in other countries	-697,553.97
Of which for international parliamentary internships	-15,858.43
Intellectual support of scholarship recipients	-223,662.56
5 Transfer of general funds	-1,065,824.87

NOTE:

In 2014, 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 – Verein für politische Bildung und Kultur e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt – Verein zur Förderung von Kultur, Wissenschaft und politischer Bildung in Sachsen-Anhalt e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein: werkstatt utopie & gedächtnis e. V. ■ Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thüringen e. V. ■ Max-Lingner-Stiftung ■ Michael-Schumann-Stiftung

OVERVIEW OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE EXPECTED IN THE 2015 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	11,500,000.00
Grants from the administration of the German Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	17,500.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	24,174,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for projects	5,235,000.00
Grants from the Foreign Office for scholarships	848,360.00

Expenditure in EUR (extract)

Staff costs	-13,700,000.00
Administrative costs	-2,750,000.00
Of which for investments	-320,000.00
Specialist expenses (not including permanent employees)	-36,230,000.00
Of which for the education program	-4,700,000.00
Of which for scholarships	-9,600,000.00
Of which for projects associated with international cooperation	-21,930,000.00

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All data and figures are current as of December 2014 unless otherwise stated.

**“A king cannot honor a guest
any more than by placing the sun,
the moon, and all of the
Earth’s green splendor at
his guest’s feet.”**

ROSA LUXEMBURG