

2023 ANNUAL REPORT

**ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG**



2023 ANNUAL REPORT
ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL	4
A Future for the RLS	6
Organizational Chart	7
FOCUS: READY FOR PEACE	8
Breaking through the Logic of Violence	8
Middle East: Solutions for a Just and Lasting Peace	10
Ukraine and Russia: The Left in a Time of War	11
Educational Focus on the Topic of the Russia-Ukraine War	12
Cooperative Security	12
On the Need for Greater “European Independence”	13
Do Sanctions Violate International Law?	13
Conflict Profiles on the LINX Education Platform	14
<i>A Few Good Germans</i>	14
dis:arm — The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Peace Talks	14
75 Years of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights	15
Publications on the Thematic Focus	15
THE CENTRE FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS AND POLITICAL EDUCATION	16
Three Become One	16
Socialization Cuts the Rent	17
“Finding Collective Answers to the Major Questions of Social Justice”	19
The Heating Transition	20
Trade Union Conference in Bochum	21
Positive Polling for Left-Wing Demands	22
The Youth Education Network: 20 Years	22
Weimar: The Second Conference on Local Politics	23
Deeply Etched in Memory: The Coup in Chile	24
Revolutionary Saddle Period, 1923 — A Conference in Three Locations	25
Myths and Facts behind the “Social Market Economy”	26
Historical Narratives, Written and Unwritten	26
Fellows and Postdocs	27
THE RLS NETWORK ACROSS GERMANY	28
Baden-Württemberg: “Historic Turning Point” — Which Way?	30
Bavaria: Poverty in Bavaria	30
Berlin: Evaluating the “Deutsche Wohnen & Co Enteignen” Referendum	31
Brandenburg: The Future of the Media in Rural Regions	31
Bremen: Reading — <i>Die Verräter</i>	32
Hamburg: Digital Surveillance at Hansaplatz	32
Hesse: Democracy in Danger	33
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania: “No Martial Music at the Hansa Sail”	33
Lower Saxony: Military, Bundeswehr, and Class	34
North Rhine-Westphalia: A Cycling Tour of the 1973 Strikes	34
Rhineland-Palatinate: A Contribution to Antisemitism Research	35
Saarland: Meeting against the War	35
Saxony: <i>Paths out of Crisis for the Left</i>	36
Saxony-Anhalt: <i>The East: A West-German Invention</i>	36
Schleswig-Holstein: <i>In the Arms Race</i>	37
Thuringia: <i>Jena before the NSU</i>	37

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION	38
A Multipolar World Order — Hopes for Justice in International Relations	39
Feminist Foreign Policy — Fraudulent Labelling and Purplewashing	40
Military or Civilian — As Long as It’s Authoritarian!	40
Obstacles to the Left-Led Peace Process in Columbia	42
Before Europe Votes: The Situation and Prospects for the Left Parties	42
FUNDED PROJECTS	48
THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT	58
Seeing Authoritarianism from the South	60
Critical Education Days	61
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION	64
Bernie Sanders at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung	65
Event with Standing Together	66
Combative and Controversial — RLS Exhibitions	67
Clarifying the Economic Context	68
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Podcasts	68
Selected Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Publications	69
DISPATCHES FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG	70
The General Assembly	70
Members of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung	71
Members of the Executive Board	72
The Work of the Executive Board	72
The Stiftung Funding Law and its Consequences	74
The Academic Advisory Board	75
The 2023 Jörg-Huffschmid-Preis	77
Internal Communication — A New Triad	77
KEY TASKS	78
The <i>Fit for Change</i> Programme	79
Human Resources Development, 2000 to 2023	80
The RLS Subsidiaries	81
The RLS Budget	82
IMAGE CREDITS/IMPRINT	88

EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

A great many of us long for peace. Russia's invasion of Ukraine brought war back to Europe. In the Middle East, Hamas's inhumane terrorist attack on Israel sparked a bloody military campaign by the Israeli army in Gaza that has already claimed the lives of tens of thousands of civilians. The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research registered 21 wars and 174 violent crises in 2023. Not all of them are receiving the attention they deserve. At the same time, the German government's foreign policy has taken a military turn; the Bundeswehr is to be made "fit for war".

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung opposes this logic of violence. In 2023, we continued to stand in solidarity with people affected by war and to further our work on peace policy. The left needs new answers to the question of how a sustainable peace can be achieved. The conditions are not favourable. The Russian war of aggression has revealed how fragile the European peace actually is. Our job on the ground in Russia is difficult. As a result of the closure of our office by the authorities in Moscow, it has become harder to reach representatives from civil society, the left, and trade unions. Nonetheless, we have managed to bring out numerous publications on the ongoing situation. With regard to Palestine and Israel, in recent years we have made strenuous attempts through critical and solidarity-based work to make a small difference in a context of violence and counter-violence. The present destructive war, with all its catastrophic and unbearable consequences for the people in Gaza, does not benefit anyone in the region. The RLS has been active for many years in the Middle East. Our offices in Ramallah and Tel Aviv support political actors and members of civil society who are committed to an amicable and peaceful resolution to the conflict, one that would give both peoples the right to freedom, justice, and a life in dignity. Contrary to the policy of the current German government, we see the need to make this country "ready for peace". Under this heading, our annual report provides a brief overview of approaches to civil prevention and the management of conflict that we worked up and discussed over the past year. Together with national and international movements and civil society organizations that focus on peace and development, we have been publishing analyses, studies, and other materials on the subject, and organized live and digital events. The response to our work shows that it is striking a chord with many people. Our dossier *Gegen die Logik der Gewalt* (Against the Logic of Violence) was our most visited online dossier in 2023. Our new podcast *dis:arm — Friedensgespräche der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung* (The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Peace Talks) had almost 3,000 subscribers and about 30,000 downloads within just a few months.



Heinz Bierbaum.

One of war's effects is to exacerbate multiple crises. The traffic-light coalition government has not risen to this challenge. Urgently needed investments for the future are not being made. Meanwhile, the social divide is widening. Those who had little money to begin with are being hardest hit by rising living costs. Not even climate protection projects have escaped the government's austerity policy. All the more reason to expand the work of analysis and political education that we do, focusing on key topics like social infrastructures, social rights, the struggle for justice, and social-ecological transformation. As regards housing and rent, together with Netzwerk Steuergerechtigkeit (Tax Justice Network) we brought out new research findings on the different types of real estate capitalist and their business models in six German cities — Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt am Main, Düsseldorf, Leipzig, and Erfurt. For the first time, one of our studies focused on the ownership structure and business practices in residential care for the elderly in Bremen. The debate on socialization and redistribution has regained momentum, supported by our organization's information and educational materials. The importance of the RLS as a contact point and platform for trade union members also became clear during the three-day trade union conference which took place in May in Bochum; there were more than 1,500 participants, including many young trade union members. The broader social questions were just as much a focus of discussion as the current cycle of wage disputes and strikes. New networks were built. Any ecological restructuring of society will have to come to grips with questions of social justice. In this context, the RLS provides a space for debate between a wide range of left-wing actors. After our studies in 2022 focused primarily on mobility and the socially just restructuring of industry, in 2023 attention was turned to climate-friendly housing and the heating transition at the local level. Of course, we also provided critical analysis of the UN Climate Change Conference in the United Arab Emirates. As former chair of the European Left, I am particularly alarmed about the difficult situation that the left is facing in Germany

and Europe. Many states are undergoing a pronounced shift to the right, which the left-wing socialist forces in Europe can only counter by working together. The fight against the right and for a "society of the many" is one of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's central concerns. At the conference *Europa den Räten!* (Europe to the Councils!), we endeavoured to think the tradition of antifascism alongside the latent democratic potentials of the European project. On 8 November, international guests and activists from social movements and political parties gathered at the Volksbühne in Berlin to discuss the rise of the new right and its international networks, as well as the scope for antifascist resistance, solidarity-based economics, and a democratization of the European Union. Historical anniversaries also play an important role in the historical-political work at the RLS. On the fiftieth anniversary of the fascist military coup in Chile we organized several events in Berlin and other German states. On September 27, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung held a joint event entitled *Tief ins Gedächtnis gegraben* (Deeply Etched in Memory), featuring Michelle Bachelet, who spoke about her eventful political life, the coup that took place 50 years ago, and her experience of exile in the GDR.

Dear readers,

Die Linke is in a difficult situation. The breakaway by Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht and the subsequent formation of a new party represent a deep rupture in the evolution of Die Linke and tremendously weakens the broader left. In a time of multiple crises, the left is proving unable to take up and address the demands of large sections of the population and develop new conceptual approaches. The loss of our parliamentary group status in the Bundestag, the poor election results, the lack of support from the public — all these factors also have an impact on the work of the RLS. Our financial conditions are deteriorating. The foundation will become smaller. But we want to continue to be politically effective as a left-wing organization. As the Executive Board, we will do everything in our power to maintain the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung as an important platform for social dialogue and left-wing political education. Now more than ever, it is necessary to struggle for political alternatives that aim to build a democratic, socially just, and peaceful society.

HEINZ BIERBAUM
Chair of the Executive Board

A FUTURE FOR THE RLS

INTERVIEW WITH THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The commencement workshop for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's organizational development process took place on 16 February 2021. During the workshop, we formulated goals for the process, described the procedure, and discussed the mechanisms of communication and participation. Over nearly three years, this process involved a great deal of time and energy. Daniela Trochowski, Executive Director of the RLS, talks about expectations, results, and the future of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

What was the situation three years ago, when the process began?

Daniela Trochowski: The situation was already challenging back then. As a society, we were in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic. We had to reorganize ourselves and our work in Germany and abroad in order to adapt to the new circumstances. At the same time, we wanted to remain visible as an organization despite the restrictions, and to intervene in the societal debates. We achieved this through new and inventive digital formats. On the other hand — thanks to electoral gains made by Die Linke — the RLS had experienced a few years of growth, during which it addressed numerous interesting and significant issues both at home and abroad. However, we had the impression that we were not always able to tap our potential due to our internal structures and working methods.

Why was the organizational development process necessary?

Daniela Trochowski: After a long phase of growth, it is always important to subject ourselves and our actions to critical scrutiny — more so as we had identified weaknesses in terms of effectiveness and visibility. At the centre of this debate were the strategic principles adopted by the Executive Board in a policy paper in 2022. The paper outlined thematic priorities, the role of the RLS with regards to Die Linke and left-wing actors in various areas of society, as well as the aspiration to have a greater public impact. Our aim was and is to become more effective and, above all, more visible through our work. We must sharpen our focus and create synergies — also structurally — but must also be willing and able to change. Through the organizational development process, we wanted to direct the resources, internal structures, and processes of the RLS towards these goals.

The organizational development process broke new ground. Most employees were critical of the process. Did you succeed in getting them on board?

Daniela Trochowski: We have always stressed that this is a management-driven process. Also, structural decisions are the Executive Board's responsibility. However, there



Daniela Trochowski.

was a participation process with working groups in which our colleagues developed concrete proposals for the design of new structures and processes. Many of them were keen to make changes and many of their suggestions have been incorporated into our work.

The multiple crises of the present need answers from the left. Is the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, as a left-wing think-tank and place of political education, equipped to meet these challenges?

Daniela Trochowski: As a party-affiliated organization, our aim must be to strengthen both Die Linke as a distinct political force, and the left more broadly. We can do this by participating in societal debates and providing both pragmatic and strategic solutions for burning issues. For example, the rent cap must be just as important a topic as our ideas for a socio-ecological transformation of society. We must expose the ideology and activities of fascists at home and abroad as well as support those who oppose them. And we need strong alliances with the left in Europe and beyond in order to uncover and combat global exploitation. To fulfil these various tasks, our potential lies in our committed and intelligent colleagues, our connections with the broader left-wing community — including left-wing intellectuals as well as civil society organizations — and our alliances at home and abroad. These are all assets we can use to grow.

Today, the new financial situation raises completely different questions. Does the organizational development process help answer these questions? If so, how?

Daniela Trochowski: The financial situation of the RLS will deteriorate because of the electoral weakness of Die Linke. Starting in 2026 at the latest, our funding will be cut by several million euros. These funding cuts will require a considerable staff reduction. We must therefore significantly reduce tasks, downsize or even give up areas of work, and at the same time increase our visibility! This means that we must sharpen

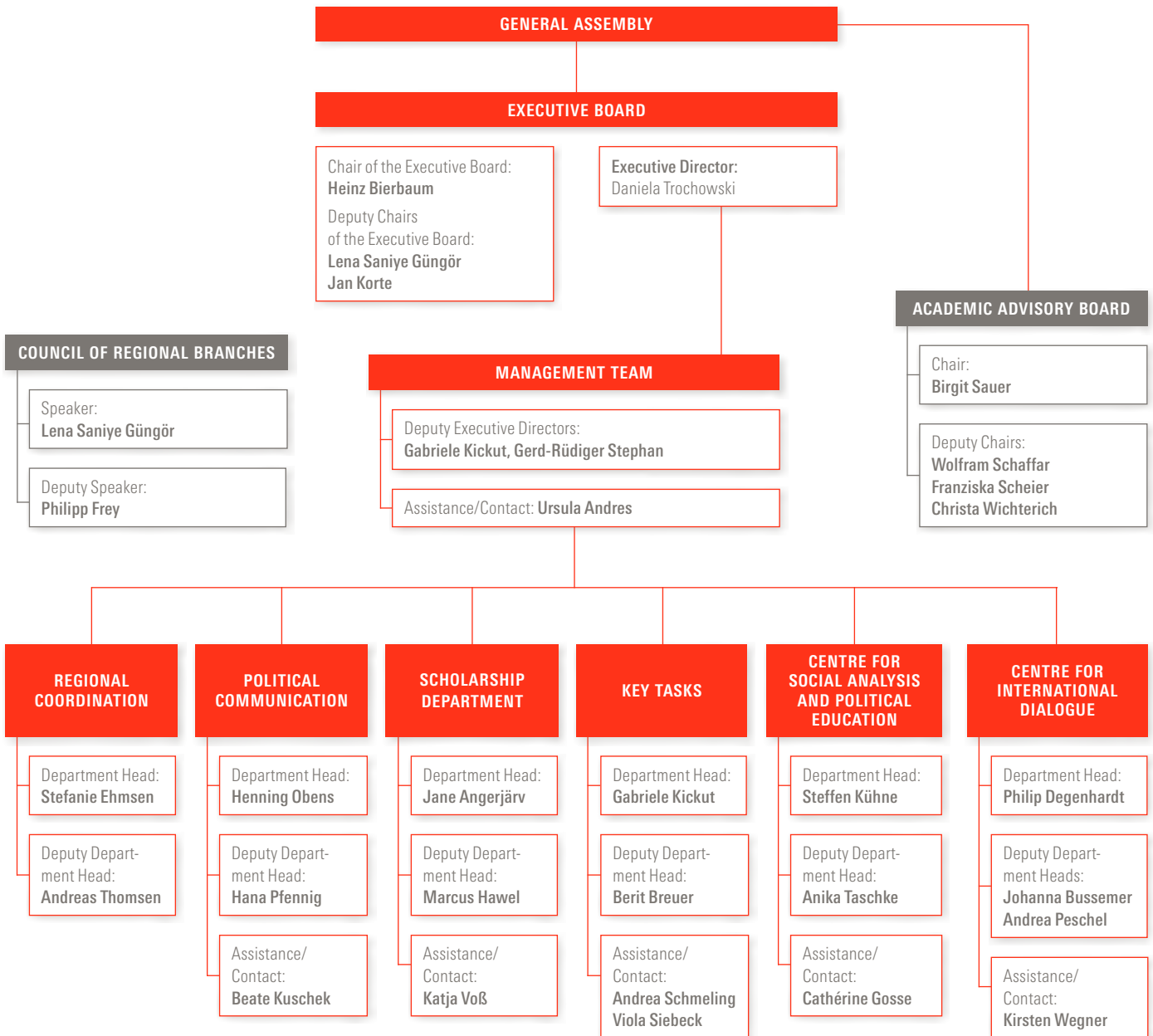
our focus and set priorities, reducing redundant structures in our work. Against this backdrop, the merger of three departments into one is an important step – even if it was not originally intended as a cost-cutting measure. The same applies, for example, to the establishment of a central editorial department to strengthen our public-relations work.

Where do you see Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung at the end of 2030?

Daniela Trochowski: We will be a lot smaller. But what I said prior to the organizational development process still stands: we have a clear profile and are visible and recognizable from outside. We are a pillar of the left-wing community, of left-wing academia, of the trade unions, and of the progressive civil-society alliances that are countering the shift to the right.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

As at January 2024



FOCUS: READY FOR PEACE

BREAKING THROUGH THE LOGIC OF VIOLENCE

The Twenties are really something. Last century they were “Golden”; this time around they are proving catastrophic. First the coronavirus, then Russia's war on Ukraine. By the end of the year we were thinking, what a ride, things can only get better from here. Then came the 7 October 2023 and Hamas's terror attack on Israel — and thus, a new bloody war, an unending escalation of violence.

The daily slaughter in Gaza and Ukraine are very present in our minds. On our screens we watch bombs falling, grenades exploding, houses collapsing. And apart from these two very present wars, violence is escalating in other parts of the world as well. Last year, the Heidelberg Conflict Barometer counted 21 wars and 174 violent crises. Violence is only answered by counter-violence, the space for peaceful conflict resolution continues to shrink, and pacifism has become a dirty word in the reigning discourse. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has been attempting in a variety of ways to keep this space open and to extend it, and to encourage thinking that goes beyond the logics of violence. The directors of the RLS have made the topic of peace a focal point of the Stiftung's work, and this was reflected in a wide range of activities in 2023.

Key to this, as might be expected, were conversations around the appropriate options for intervention from the left. Regarding the Russia-Ukraine war, there was disagreement over arms deliveries, sanctions, and peace negotiations; as for Israel-Palestine, the central questions pertained to the context, and to the complex connections between occupation, illegal settlements, the failed peace process, the Hamas terror attacks, and the invasion of Gaza. Going beyond these specific conflicts, though, the RLS also raised a number of fundamental topics that need to be dealt with systematically and in the longer term:

- First and foremost, developments in China and the risk of escalation over the Taiwan question. Any confrontation with China will always immediately impact the economic, social, and political situation in Germany — both directly, because it would affect supply routes and supply chains, for example, and indirectly, because of China's links with many different parts of the world.
- The historic demand for a collaborative European security system that includes Russia may still be a good idea in theory, but in light of recent events it seems impossibly distant from being practicable. In this situation, the aim is to learn from the Cold War experience of *détente* and the early successes of the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), and to work on ideas for a new cooperative security system — one that must include China and India. These shifts also raise questions about



A Peace Now demonstrator at the Erez border crossing in northern Gaza, November 2007.

the so-called strategic autonomy of the European Union and the establishment of an EU army.

■ The risks and utility of economic sanctions. Especially in relation to the Russia-Ukraine war, the discussion around sanctions has gained new relevance. However, there are very different approaches to reconciling comprehensive economic sanctions with adherence to international law and the protection of human rights.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's educational goals are closely linked to the development of new ideas. In 2023, the RLS organized numerous public discussions focused on the wars in Ukraine and the Middle East, and produced introductory dossiers, brochures, and multi-media presentations on the subjects of war and peace and detailing the historical background. In addition to these resources, the important new podcast *dis:arm* — *Friedensgespräche der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung* (*dis:arm* — The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Peace Talks) has made conversations about peaceful conflict resolution accessible to the public and at the same time encouraged casting a critical eye on the one-sided and militaristic orientation of German foreign policy.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also plays a pivotal mediating role in the current, often heated debates, platforming voices

from Russia and Ukraine, Israel and Palestine, that continue to focus on fostering cooperation and understanding, making space in the discursive field for such often-neglected perspectives. The RLS also provides direct material and non-material support for the important work done by many local groups, for example by promoting well-founded analyses of social developments on both sides of the battlelines in times of war.

Last but not least, the RLS is also trying to help counter feelings of powerlessness. For a more peaceful future in Germany and the world, we need to rethink the topic of disarmament. Many historic disarmament agreements are currently being terminated. And with the threat of an unstoppable arms race on the horizon, defence spending is increasing sharply worldwide — Germany is no exception in setting aside 100 billion euros for a special military fund. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has given itself the task of developing ideas for new, grass-roots disarmament initiatives.

There is one idea that has been haunting international debates for decades now, without ever really being taken up. It can be broken down to a simple formula — ten percent for everyone. If all countries simultaneously cut their military budgets by ten percent, the relative security of each individual country



Jabalia refugee camp in northern Gaza, November 2023.

would remain the same. The balance of power would not change. This is a proposal that would even be compatible with prevailing understandings of national security, because either everyone joins in, or no one does. According to the renowned Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), in 2022 over 2.24 trillion US dollars were spent on militaries worldwide. Even a reduction of just ten percent would save all states a huge amount of money that could then be used to combat the climate crisis, hunger, and poverty. Ten percent for all means ten percent less spent on defence worldwide, and ten percent more money for all human beings. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has developed a series of resources around this simple concept, and organized discussion forums to develop it with data, facts, and ideas. Some examples of the projects, ideas, initiatives, and results of the RLS's focus on peace in 2023 are presented below.

MIDDLE EAST: SOLUTIONS FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE

The renewed escalation of violence in Israel and Palestine expresses the political failure to find a just, lasting, peaceful solution to a conflict which has been grinding on for decades. This political failure is also a failure on the part of the global community. After Hamas's brutal attack on Israeli civilians on 7 October 2023, and the kidnapping of over 200 hostages, the Israeli government declared war and completely blockaded Gaza. Since then, Gaza's civilian population has suffered under the relentless bombardment and ground operations of the Israeli army, whose official objective is to crush Hamas. Tens of thousands of Palestinians have been killed since the start of the conflict and close to two million have been displaced. Events since October 7, involving immense human suffering on both sides of the border and extensive violations of inter-

national treaties on human rights, have been an occasion for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to examine possible ways out of the political dead end and the cycle of violence.

On 19 October, the RLS was the first political foundation in Germany to host a public discussion on the current crisis. Karin Gerster, director of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Ramallah office, and Gil Shohat, director of the RLS Tel Aviv office since March 2023, spoke about the importance of analyses that contextualize the changed situation, without losing sight of the need to stand in solidarity with all victims of violence. On 6 December 2023, 300 people accepted an invitation from the RLS to attend a discussion in Berlin with the Jewish and Palestinian grassroots organization Standing Together, on the topic of practical solidarity in times of war.

With the online dossier *Against the Logic of Violence*, available in German and English, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung also provides multifaceted information and evaluations regarding the current situation in Israel, Gaza, and occupied West Jordan and East Jerusalem, as well as the regional impacts of the escalating conflict. We provide space for diverse and sometimes also conflicting perspectives to be heard. As an institution of political education, one of our central tasks in providing a political analysis of the situation is to draw attention to the complex historical contexts and power relations in the Middle East.

In collaboration with our colleagues in the Tel Aviv and Ramallah offices, and with various civil society partner organizations, we have been campaigning for a political resolution to this conflict for many years. There are people on both sides of the checkpoints and barricades who want peace, social justice, genuine democratic participation, and to live together in solidarity. These things would require an immediate ceasefire and the release of all the hostages, but also an end to Israel's illegal occupation and a halt to the construction of settlements in the West Bank — as well as the strengthening of a secular and democratic civil society.

UKRAINE AND RUSSIA: THE LEFT IN A TIME OF WAR

Our work with left-wing activists, academics, and journalists from Ukraine and Russia continued to be dominated by the war in 2023. The office in Kyiv continued its work with partner organizations, both in Ukraine itself and in places to which the Ukraine-office staff had fled. For safety reasons, many colleagues from the RLS Kyiv office have been forced to leave Ukraine, a process requiring enormous flexibility and resilience from all concerned.

Even in times of war, the issue of social justice remained central to the RLS's projects. Responding to high demand from the global left for information on current developments in Ukraine, the RLS sponsored the translation of texts from our partner organizations and the creation of English-language podcasts. While the initial focus lay on exchanges with the

left in the West, in 2023 the *Dialogues of the Peripheries* series was created at the initiative of the media portal Spilne. Some outgrowths of this series were an online conference in November 2023, and a number of articles published in the journal *Commons*. Various meetings were organized between Ukrainian and German leftists, including events in Berlin and a delegation that travelled to Ukraine in September 2023. Even in the context of this new war, it is important to keep alive the memory of Germany's crimes in Ukraine during the Second World War. In collaboration with the organization After Silence, the RLS organized an exhibition on Ukrainian forced labourers, which was on display in Gelsenkirchen and Furtwangen at the beginning of 2024.

Working with left-wing activists from Russia was incomparably more challenging in 2023 after the closure of the RLS office in Moscow, where opponents of the current government face harsh repression. A pivotal project in the last year was the ongoing conversation about possibilities for civil society dialogue in situations of conflict. Unfortunately, plans to strengthen the work of dialogue in Eastern Europe by setting up a new RLS office in Vienna have had to be abandoned for financial reasons. The office in Prague will take on this task in future.

.....
 For information about *Dialogues of the Peripheries*, see <https://commons.com.ua/en/dialogues-peripheries>

Ukrainian village, 2023.





Anti-war protest, St Petersburg, 27 February 2022.

EDUCATIONAL FOCUS ON THE TOPIC OF THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR

Debate on the left around the Russia-Ukraine war has been controversial from the start. There was thus a pressing need in 2023 for easily accessible information and analyses, as well as “safe spaces” with careful moderation and that promoted a respectful discussion culture. This year, the 16 regional branches (*Landesstiftungen*) have once again made an important contribution to the educational mission of the RLS, organizing around 200 events on the topic of peace policy. Conversations in the RLS network confirm that format is often decisive for the quality of public discussion. There is a strong desire for simple and reproducible event formats that aim for plurality, the imparting of key fundamental information, and mitigating the potential hostility of debate. In the course of these conversations, an edition of *Argumente* was produced, tackling eleven myths about war and peace, and arguing against the necessity of armament, deterrence, and confrontation. The educational video *Kriegstüchtig oder Friedensfähig?* (Ready for War, or Skilled in Peace?), likewise produced in 2023, addresses left-wing controversies around this topic, explains complicated terms, and takes a closer look at institutions such as NATO, the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, and the EU.

COOPERATIVE SECURITY

To mark the 50th anniversary of the start of negotiations at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on 3 July 1973, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized a conference in Berlin that explored the question of what a cooperative security policy in Europe might look like in view of the Russian war of aggression in Ukraine and the many war crimes committed there.

The starting point was an analysis of the history of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which was a genuine success story, at least in its first decades. Despite extreme systemic antagonism between East and West and the deep divisions that existed in Europe, the organization succeeded in establishing a process of détente, certainly helping to prevent the “Cold War” from turning into a hot one. Speakers at the conference attempted to project lessons from the history of the OSCE onto the current security situation in Europe. The starting point of the debate was an acknowledgement that Russia will still be Germany’s neighbour in 50 years, and that today’s decisions will determine whether we remain in a long-term state of confrontation or whether we can rebuild a cooperative security system. Nadja Douglas, from the Centre for East European and International Studies (ZOiS) in Berlin, summed up what is at stake: we need to be prepared for the time after the war, when dialogue can begin again. For this, we need to be coming up with ideas today.

35 European and North American states sign the Final Act that concluded the CSCE, Helsinki 1975.





Quo vadis Europe?



Demonstration for peace, Berlin, 3 July 2022.

ON THE NEED FOR GREATER “EUROPEAN INDEPENDENCE”

One of the issues discussed in 2023 by the Peace and Security Policy Discussion Group and at the then Institute for Critical Social Analysis the RLS was whether there is an at least partial convergence or a clash of interests between the USA and the EU states regarding their respective power blocs in Ukraine. Resistance on the part of Germany and France to the US push to admit Ukraine into NATO in 2008 points to these differences. It has always been in the interests of the USA to create a conflict between Russia and Europe in order to maintain its supremacy over Europe, raise the status of NATO, and bring about a transatlantic division of the work of opposing China. According to assessments in *Die neue Blockkonfrontation: Hochtechnologie. (De-)Globalization. Geopolitics* (The New Bloc Confrontation: Advanced Technology, (De-)Globalization, and Geopolitics; ISW Report 133/134), authored by RLS senior Peace and Security Policy advisor Ingar Solty, and in other analyses from the discussion group milieu (e.g. by Detlef Bimboes, Jochen Scholz, and Peter Wahl), there are clear divergences of interest between the USA and the EU that make an independent European security policy an urgent necessity. Firstly, the electrification of the economy for which Germany and the EU are striving depends entirely on a cooperative relationship with China, insofar as the technologies and resources required, from raw materials to storage media, come from there. Secondly, because Germany’s export-oriented economic model cannot easily decouple itself from the Chinese domestic market. Thirdly, any further escalation of the war in Ukraine would take place on European soil. Finally, it will be the European and not the American working class who will suffer from various knock-on effects such as inflation, imminent crises of distribution, and processes of state breakdown in Africa.

The dominant discourse on the need for “European strategic autonomy” cannot be taken up wholesale by the left because it is exclusively focused on military build-up. In this sense, according to the Peace and Security Policy discussion group, striving for European independence would be the more rational course.

DO SANCTIONS VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL LAW?

In the face of the Russia-Ukraine war, in Germany the sense and nonsense of economic sanctions have been the subject of much heated discussion. In 2023, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung substantially intervened in this debate with various articles. A common assertion is that all sanctions that have not been decided by the UN Security Council are per se contrary to international law. The RLS’s New York office commissioned a legal study regarding this question. The author, Hannah Kiel, dissects the various arguments around this topic, concluding that in certain extreme cases a clear legal assessment is possible — thus, the total sanctions imposed by the USA on Cuba are undoubtedly in breach of international law, even though some punitive measures are permitted, even when unilaterally imposed. However, there is a large grey area in between, and so the legality of sanctions should be examined on a case-by-case basis for potential violation of international legal norms and to establish where exceptions may apply.

.....
 The study is accessible here: <https://rosalux.nyc/international-sanctions>



L!NX education platform: What's Going on in Colombia?

CONFLICT PROFILES ON THE L!NX EDUCATION PLATFORM

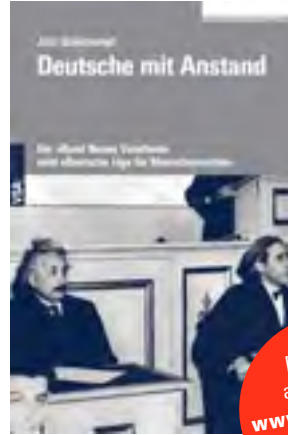
Even people interested in politics struggle to find time in their daily lives to devote to complex analyses or to follow relevant debates in detail. Left-wing basic education in the peace policy field must take into account this circumstance, as well as the new digital learning habits, by producing low-barrier educational resources.

This is where the new project series from 2023, *What's Going on in ...?* comes in. Conceived as interactive conflict profiles on the digital learning platform L!NX, the articles that have been published so far, on Colombia and Afghanistan, provide good introductions to the history, causes, and key players in these conflicts. The texts are punctuated by comprehensive maps, timelines, short videos, and quizzes.

The series has been well received, with a lot of online activity and positive feedback on the format. More conflict profiles are planned for the coming years, and a profile of the current situation in Niger and the military coups in the Sahel states is already in the works.

A FEW GOOD GERMANS

The German League for Human Rights was born out of the struggle against militarism during the First World War. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung commemorated its work with a publication honouring the 75th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In *A Few Good Germans*, Jörn Schüttrumpf presents the history of the League and its most important members. Founded in 1914 as the Bund Neues Vaterland to combat the tremendous war euphoria in Germany at the time, according to its charter the organization's main purpose was to promote "all endeavours capable of suffusing the politics and diplomacy of the European states with the idea of peaceful competition and of supranational union, with the



Jörn Schüttrumpf
A FEW GOOD GERMANS
 FROM THE BUND NEUES VATERLAND TO THE DEUTSCHE LIGA FÜR MENSCHENRECHTE
 176 Pages, VSA: Verlag, 2023,
 14.80 euros
 ISBN 978-3-96488-207-3

Download and order at www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/51336

aim of bringing about political and economic understanding between the civilized nations". As *Die Weltbühne* reported in 1928, the *Bund Neues Vaterland* was attended at least once by all those who had "their doubts about the official propaganda even in the midst of the war". The organization was accordingly banned in March 1916.

For more information, see www.rosalux.de/news/id/51292/wider-dem-militarismus

DIS:ARM – THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PEACE TALKS

Since April 2023 there have been monthly editions of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's podcast *dis:arm – Friedengespräche der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung*. Moderated by Linda Peikert and Jan van Aken, the podcast spends a good half hour each month illuminating a recent wartime incident or discussing concepts for a left-wing peace policy – definitely worth a listen.



75 YEARS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

On 10 December 2023, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) turned 75. The Declaration was a groundbreaking historical document, the first to set out the fundamental human rights that ought to be protected worldwide. Its adoption meant the recognition that these rights are the basis for freedom, justice, and peace. To commemorate the importance of the UDHR, our offices in New York and Geneva made a joint presentation of their output on the topic, including articles, videos, a 24-hour discussion event, and podcasts. As an organization committed to social justice, democracy, and solidarity, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung recognizes its central role in upholding the values enshrined in the UDHR. This also goes for our partners, with whom we share the view that human rights are not just about laws and regulations, but also our daily lives and our common humanity. The UDHR laid the foundation for the rights and freedoms to which everyone is entitled today. From 1948, many generations and many institutions have contributed to the further development of the concept of human rights, and we have helped them amplify their voice. The UDHR is a cornerstone of international human rights law and a beacon of hope for people around the world. It must be defended, especially now, in a time of increasing attacks on democratic and constitutional progress.

Since 1950, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been commemorated on 10 December.



PUBLICATIONS ON THE THEMATIC FOCUS

In 2023–24, the following publications appeared on the topics of peace and security:

Judith Delheim

DIE HERSTELLUNG DER "ZEITENWENDE"
GERMAN MANUFACTURING INTERESTS
AND THE "HISTORIC TURNING POINT"
Studien 5/2024, 42 pages, ISSN 2749-3156

Isa Homann

EIN LUKRATIVER WAFFENMARKT
THE EGYPTIAN ARMS PROGRAMME AND
ITS CONSEQUENCES
Online publication, 11 pages, ISSN 2567-1235

Felix Jaitner

**FAILED MODERNIZATION
AND AN IMPERIALIST PROJECT**
RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN LIGHT OF ITS
ECONOMIC AND SECURITY INTERESTS
Online publication, 25 Pages, ISSN 2567-1235



Dieter Klein

**GEMEINSAME SICHERHEIT –
TROTZ ALLEDAM!**
CONSIDERATIONS ON LEFT-WING
SECURITY STRATEGY
Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung/
VSA: Verlag, 240 pages,
ISBN 978-3-96488-213-4

Paul Stockdreher

**THE PROGRESSIVE LEGACY OF THE UN
AND ITS POTENTIALS FOR LEFT POLITICS**
Online publication, 25 pages

Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (eds.)
LUXEMBURG 2/2023: ZEIT DER MONSTER
LuXemburg magazine examines the threats of our time
Paperback, 144 pages, ISSN 1869-0424

RLS-SPONSORED PUBLICATIONS

apabiz e. V.

**DER UKRAINE-KRIEG
IN DER RECHTEN PUBLIZISTIK**
Online publication, 8 pages, July 2023

THE CENTRE FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

THREE BECOME ONE

THE NEW CENTRE FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS
AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

One of the results of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's three-year organizational development process was the formation of a new department. As of 1 December 2023, the former Academy for Political Education, Institute for Critical Social Analysis, and Historical Centre for Democratic Socialism have all been combined in the new Centre for Social Analysis and Political Education (Zentrum für Gesellschaftsanalyse und politische Bildung – ZAB). We talk with new department head Steffen Kühne to discuss prospects and challenges.

The new structure brings leftist think tank and political education under one roof. What are the advantages?

Steffen Kühne: I see many. Colleagues who work on similar issues are put in closer contact with one another, working more cooperatively according to the core principles of the RLS. In my view, it is equally important that theoretical analytical work and the sharing of practical, easily-understandable information are now more closely integrated.

How are history and culture going to be integrated?

Steffen Kühne: We have found that, by looking through a historical lens, we can support and broaden the scope of the work we do on topics of contemporary relevance. This is an approach we want to utilize more in future, for example in our focus on combatting the far right. But a *Zeitdiagnose* (diagnosis of the times) is also impossible without insight into the past. To be more specific, in 2024 the German constitution (or "basic law") will be 75 years old. If the government tightens asylum laws, voices need to be raised to remind us of why Article 16 of that document was included in the first place. We will of course be continuing our research into our namesake, Rosa Luxemburg. Political education also implies culture, and the role of the latter should be expanded in future. Literature, music, visual arts, and even architecture can allow us to reach completely different target audiences. Our goal is to better integrate this side of things.

There are now four teams that reflect the core issues of the RLS...

Steffen Kühne: When colleagues became aware that the departments would be merged, they took the initiative to assemble cross-departmental teams based on each overarching topic and carried out some initial meetings. This also served to establish which synergies were feasible and



Steffen Kühne.

worthwhile. Previously, colleagues would sometimes sit side-by-side, independently working on similar topics, whereas now we are putting the emphasis on working collaboratively. The teams develop their own working methods, nobody is forced into a framework that doesn't fit them. We are going to set up new points of interface, for example with volunteering, regional foundations, and in our work abroad as well.

What are the next steps?

Steffen Kühne: A lot of resources were tied up in the organizational development process, which also made people quite uneasy. Meanwhile the broader left is in crisis. We need to quickly rebuild our capacity to act. The new structures must be measured in terms of the number of people reached, the level of public impact. Our four teams are representative of the RLS focal points, while our educational work focused on practical politics has its own specific cluster. We aim to explore new working methods and thereby plan in a more comprehensive fashion. At the same time we want to be able to react more quickly to current challenges, and move ourselves closer to the pulse of societal debates.

Your department also has to deal with budget cuts...

Steffen Kühne: One result of the organizational development process has been the demand for the RLS to have a stronger core identity. The new financial conditions only add to this. We are going to concentrate more strongly on our core issues. That doesn't mean that I subscribe to the criticism, levied internally by some, that the RLS has been a bit of "a jack of all trades". We have worked on so many important issues. Those on the left have high expectations of us. Yes, we are not going to be able to continue to work on every issue, and we will need to scale back our collaborations on projects. But this mustn't have the effect of reducing our positive impact on society.

Which challenges do you foresee for 2024?

Steffen Kühne: Not only in Germany, but also internationally,

the situation for the societal left and for leftist parties is somewhat alarming. In a time in which armed conflicts are increasing and social and ecological crises are becoming more pronounced, we need to offer solutions which go to the roots of these problems. The prevailing political wisdom only reacts to what is immediately in front of it. Unfortunately the left often does the same thing. We must advance the current debates, provide solutions to the issues of the day, and develop alternative societal models. We cannot lose sight of our goals by always fighting defensive battles. We want to empower people to get involved in achieving societal change. Take for example housing and urban policy. Here, not only did we manage to build expertise, but we also anchored ourselves in networks and initiatives, and our studies helped us to get media coverage and raise public consciousness about the issues. As for the new structure — at best, it will be more than the sum of its three parts!

**SOCIALIZATION CUTS THE RENT
STUDY ON THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF THE
SOCIALIZATION OF HOUSING**

The housing situation in Germany continues to worsen. While housing construction stagnates and the available social housing stock sinks to new lows, rent increases are reaching all-time highs. In 2023, Berlin was once again the miserable outlier in this regard, with available rental contracts increasing in price by an average of over nine percent. No instrument seems effective against the spiralling costs caused by capitalist speculation on the housing market. Still, the Berlin Senate has kept its sharpest sword sheathed thus far. For the last two and a half years it has been dragging its heels on implementing the referendum to expropriate apartments



.....
**MATTHIAS BERNT/
ANDREJ HOLM**
**SOCIALIZING HOUSING
CUTS THE RENT**
A BRIEF STUDY OUTLINING
THE POSITIVE IMPACTS
OF SOCIALIZING BERLIN'S
HOUSING STOCK
Studies 2/2023
ISSN 2749-3156
.....



On the sidelines of a demonstration against high rents and evictions, Berlin, 11 September 2021.

owned by large housing companies — a referendum which passed with a clear voter majority. The Hamburg Senate has acted in a similar way, having just taken the popular initiative *Hamburg enteignet* (Hamburg expropriates) to the state constitutional court, mainly as a play for time. Recently, the high-calibre expert commission of the Berlin Senate gave the socialization plan the green light: “A socialization of large housing stock is legally possible, including by paying below the market value”, according to lawyer Franziska Drohsel, quoted in one of the RLS publications for the commission. But what can expropriation actually change regarding the catastrophic rental situation? In their brief study, Matthias Bernt and Andrej Holm investigated the social impacts of expropriating six of Berlin’s largest property companies. If their roughly 220,000 apartments were administrated according to the standards of the city’s housing associations, that would have clear advantages for tenants: first of all, an average monthly rent reduction of 16 percent; second, each year an additional 4,600 apartments would be made available to social tenants — roughly as many as the Senate aims to achieve this year. And third, expropriation would help to maintain and increase affordable housing stock in neighbourhoods where

low-income tenants are especially at risk of being squeezed out, thus counteracting social-spatial segregation. Faced with the Senate’s failure to act, the initiative *Deutsche Wohnen & Co enteignen* (Expropriate Deutsche Wohnen & Co) announced that it would prepare a new referendum on specific legislation, which in that case would immediately come into effect if successful. At the same time, nationwide protests against market-oriented housing companies are growing, with high additional charges for heating and hot water a particular target of criticism. To support the protesting tenants, we organized a nationwide speaking tour. In March 2024, this culminated in a national conference at the RLS headquarters in Berlin.

.....
 For more on this, see: www.rosalux.de/en/publication/id/51043; www.rosalux.de/news/id/51039/vonovia-co-kritik-krise-und-gegenstrategien and www.rosalux.de/en/event/es_detail/YZ911?c

“FINDING COLLECTIVE ANSWERS TO THE MAJOR QUESTIONS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE”

Interview with Christoph Trautvetter, senior academic advisor for Netzwerk Steuergerechtigkeit (the Tax Justice Network) on his many RLS research activities relating to structures of property ownership

Since 2018, you and Stefan Thimmel have led the RLS project *Who Owns the City?* Can you say a bit more about it?

Christoph Trautvetter: There is a glaring lack of information regarding the strongly financialized property market. We want to combine research and educational work around a topic which is relevant to many people — housing, for instance — and using the example of property ownership structures (who actually owns the buildings?) shed light on the economic and social contexts. The goal is to bridge the gap between academic studies on the one side, and the press, public, and politics on the other. We aim to do this through systematically analysing case studies, and thereby find collective answers to the major questions of social justice.

In the beginning, the focus of your research was on the rental market in Berlin. At the start of 2023, part two of your series of studies *Who Owns the City?* was published.

Christoph Trautvetter: In part two, alongside Berlin, we also looked at Leipzig, Erfurt, Frankfurt am Main, Munich, Hamburg, and Düsseldorf. The central finding is that, even in these cities, the large private landlords form the biggest or second-biggest group, while also being the least visible. These insights are also intended to serve as a basis for the work of local tenant initiatives and local leftist politics. This has worked very well in some cities like Hamburg, Leipzig, or Frankfurt am Main. Our methods and findings were also used in workshops and for collective research activities in places like Aachen, Lüneburg, Saarbrücken and Stuttgart.

In 2023 you also investigated the ongoing privatization in two other critical sectors of social infrastructure — healthcare and care work — with the examples of the hospital operator Asklepios, and nursing homes in Bremen. Do we need more empirical knowledge about the business models of profit-driven companies, and their impacts?

Christoph Trautvetter: Sociologists like Steffen Mau attest that public debate on social justice has all but ceased. This means that there is too little discussion of the concentration of assets and how the tax privileges of the super-rich contribute to this state of affairs. Wealth remains far too abstract, and false promises, for example that private wealth creates jobs and ultimately benefits everyone, stubbornly persist. Left-wing politics should, in my view, focus far more on economic policy and the distribution question. For that, we need



Christoph Trautvetter.

concrete examples that make the structures understandable. We have precious little statistical data about the super-rich, but company financial statements can provide a trove of information about their activities. That applies to the property billionaires as much as it does to the owners of hospitals or care homes.

Going beyond the issue of housing, could the topics of socialization and democratic planning in future become more central to the discourse on the left, as well as within Die Linke and the RLS?

Christoph Trautvetter: Socialization and democratization, especially of companies that provide local and regional public services, serve to make questions of distribution, social justice, and economic policy tangible. This makes them important fields for left-wing politics, and here one could build on the successful projects the RLS has already completed. But socialization is no magic bullet and is also not the only tool available. It only makes sense if the price is right. Socialization is also far from solving the problem of democratization. And in many cases and sectors, fair taxation is a good alternative.

What could the RLS do in order to increase the reach of studies it has commissioned?

Christoph Trautvetter: A large majority of people in Germany have the feeling that economic gains are unfairly distributed. There is therefore a potentially large audience for analyses that demystify the business practices of large companies and the assets of the super-rich. In order to also reach people beyond its typical audience, RLS studies should be accompanied by well-targeted publicity.

THE HEATING TRANSITION

The surge in electricity and heating costs of the last few years, resulting from the War in Ukraine, was a particular focus of ours at the start of 2023. This meant clarifying the complex interrelations between war, markets, prices, and profits. To give an example, the full increases in consumer gas and heating bills, caused by the 2022 gas shortage, were only felt the following year. The same for electricity prices, which were linked to gas prices (a fact which many people were apparently surprised by). Industry terms like “merit order” or “electricity market design” were suddenly on everyone’s lips, while we used the RLS website to explain their meaning and the need for reform.

The critical analysis also included those billions of unearned windfall profits for companies in the economically turbulent energy industry. The Federal Government barely taxed these massive excess profits; their reaction was too little, too late. Even so, the government did respond to the rally in prices by introducing energy price caps and consumer grants. These measures were significant but inadequate. On top of that, the support was poorly distributed: the scattershot “watering can” approach unfairly advantaged households with a high energy consumption.

Switching to renewable heating sources and making energy-efficiency renovations to buildings can help to insulate the heating sector against rising prices on energy imports. But

it is hard to think of a legislative change that sent as many shockwaves through German society as last year’s heating law. Firstly, the initial draft amendment to the Building Energy Act (GEG) contained technical errors. Secondly, the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Climate Action (BMWK) totally underestimated the social policy dimension of the project. And thirdly, the new heating law is one of the legal regulations that many view as having a significantly greater negative impact on daily life compared to the now-abolished renewable energy surcharge in electricity bills, which also faced backlash.

Nonetheless, it was right that the GEG concentrated on the highly efficient heat pump, and on district heating powered by green energy, to replace broken oil and gas heating (for more on this see our German-language online publication *Heizungstausch: Mythen und Wahrheiten* [Replacing Your Heating: Myths and Facts]). Unfortunately, the legislative process gave the building sector a lot of leeway to use hydrogen fuel. RLS publications continue to warn that green hydrogen, produced using renewable electricity, fares much worse than heat pumps both in terms of efficiency and cost — moreover, its availability is limited. The heating transition will fail unless it takes social aspects into consideration, including energy-efficiency renovations. In November 2023, the RLS held a three-day workshop in which tenant initiatives and climate activists came together to discuss ways to get there. This is something we particularly want to continue in 2024.

“Wohnen klimagerecht organisieren” — a workshop on organizing climate-friendly housing, Berlin, November 2023.





Fanny Zeise speaks at the trade union conference, Bochum, May 2023.



IG Metall at the trade union conference.



Working group on the wildcat strikes of the 1970s.

TRADE UNION CONFERENCE IN BOCHUM

From 12–14 May 2023 the RLS, in collaboration with 15 local and regional trade union bodies, hosted the fifth *Gewerkschaftliche Erneuerung* (Trade Union Revival) conference at the Ruhr University Bochum.

Here we present an excerpt from Jana Ballweber and Steffen Herrmann's report on the conference for the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (15 May 2023):

“Bochum, of all places: here in the Ruhr Valley, trade unions experienced huge defeats: the Opel and Nokia closures, the decline of industrial mining.

But this weekend, the mood on the Bochum campus is exuberant, times have changed: there is talk of a renaissance of workers' power; it is a 'conference in the era of renewed trade union struggles', as RLS Chair Heinz Bierbaum puts it. This is also borne out by visitor numbers: at the last strike conference in Braunschweig in February 2019 there were around 820 in attendance, now according to the organizers there are about 1,550 registered. ...

Many attendees have come to network, to learn from successful industrial action in other sectors, or to show solidarity: when an employee of the Galeria department store recounted the struggle there, she received a standing ovation. She told of how the branch is to be shut on 1 July, and the employees laid off. 'When they informed us of the redundancies, they forgot to thank us,' she said. 'Instead, we later received an Easter greeting along with the expression of the hope that we would remain customers.' ...

Christine Behle, deputy chair of ver.di, and Felicitas Heinisch, an activist with Fridays for Future, discussed how the climate and labour movements can work together to reach common goals. The two organizations are working closely together ... in particular to push for a mobility transition that protects the climate, but also one that does not lose sight of the interests of workers and the public.

On the second day of the conference, participants separated out into roughly 25 working groups, where they discussed building power through participation, wage negotiations in the age of inflation, and feminist strikes. ...

... Speaking on the third and final day of the conference, the organizers had only positive things to say: 'it was the biggest left-wing trade union conference in Germany for decades', according to Florian Wilde of the RLS. The conference has kept its 'cross-regional, inter-union, and multigenerational character and its focus on the practical issues surrounding trade union work', while also noticeably attracting a younger demographic. According to Wilde, the high turnout in Bochum shows that there is a great need for such forums to discuss a pluralistic union renewal movement. 'It also won't be the last conference of its kind — preparations are underway for the next edition in 2026.'”

POSITIVE POLLING FOR LEFT-WING DEMANDS

2023 was another year in which analysing the state of the left, including Die Linke and its strategies, was among the core tasks of the Institute for Critical Social Analysis. For some years, the RLS has also been commissioning representative quantitative surveys. Our survey on the topic of poverty and wealth redistribution showed growing fears for their livelihood among the population, and strong support for the demand for an increased wealth tax. Almost three quarters of those surveyed were in favour of bringing in an asset tax, while 85 percent wanted a windfall profit tax. This additional tax revenue should be used to improve the situations in hospitals and care facilities, as well as in schools and daycare. The survey’s accompanying publication could be used for educational purposes and as the basis for campaigning on the issue.

A further representative survey was dedicated to the potential vote share for Die Linke and for the Sahra Wagenknecht Alliance (BSW). The new Wagenknecht project intends to establish itself as a kind of “centrist anti-establishment party”, representing an extremely heterogenous spectrum of voters. It is explicitly not a leftist party. There were a few signs of this in the survey that we published to mark Die Linke’s European party conference: the overlap between the two voter blocs seems smaller than feared. Only a small proportion of those intending to vote for Die Linke (13 percent) can imagine also voting for the BSW. Conversely, many potential AfD (29 percent) and FDP (21 percent) voters can imagine voting for a party led by Wagenknecht. Potential BSW voters are mostly right of centre. Potential Die Linke voters are on average much younger than those of the BSW, who rather tend to be pensioners. Die Linke seems to be especially preferred by low-income voters (21 percent) while the BSW was seen as a viable voting option more among middle-income voters (15 percent). However, those on a low income are by far the demographic least likely to vote at all. Die Linke therefore need a strategy to overcome this, in order to attract former non-voters. This is not only a question of having the right political

positions, but rather a question of having the right approach and doing good voter outreach. Die Linke have thus not completely lost their voter base, but they are less effective at tapping into it than most other parties. Nevertheless, following the split with the BSW it has a good chance to regroup, as long as it can keep its communication clear and avoid continually contradicting itself. The survey came just at the right time and has since become the most-read article on the RLS website.

THE YOUTH EDUCATION NETWORK: 20 YEARS

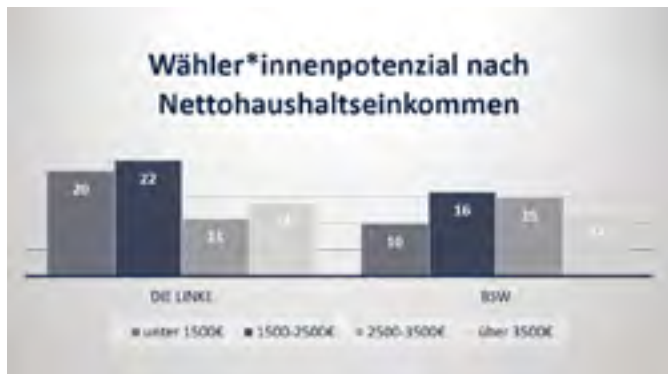
.....
 From 9–11 June 2023, over 60 people came together at Schloss Trebnitz in Brandenburg, travelling from all over Germany to celebrate the 20-year anniversary of the founding of the RLS youth education network. The network is comprised of small independent agencies, collectives, and individuals active in youth political education who are looking for fresh approaches. The celebration saw the participants toasting the preceding years, reporting on successful projects and working methods, and swapping more than a few anecdotes. But the focus wasn’t on the past, but rather on how to shape the future of emancipatory youth education.

Those attending the youth education festival were met by both familiar and new faces. In the evening, Silke Veth opened the programme. In a podium discussion moderated by Lucie Matting and Lina Urbat and billed as the “20th anniversary get-together”, Ann-Katrin Lebuhn, Jibrán Khalil, Ronald Höhner, and Janis Walter regaled the audience with the origins of youth education in the RLS and how it has developed over the years, explaining that “[they] all worked in really different areas, but had the same concerns and questions: how can leftist education be designed to be less elitist and more movement-oriented? How can we build long-term self-organized structures? How do we ensure there are processes for learning and for knowledge transfer?” The day concluded with the amazing reading *Fireworks against the Patriarchy*, as well as a screening of the film *RiseUp*.

The next day focused mostly on exchange. Participants from Interbrigadas e. V., the Junge ABL, Solid Linksjugend, the Geflüchteten-Netzwerk Cottbus e. V., as well as local antifascist groups all presented their educational activities. In the *Zukunftswerkstatt* (Future Workshop), Rebecca Gotthilf and Ronald Höhner led a discussion on what is currently needed in youth education. The evening featured a performance of *The Climate Monologues*, followed by a podium discussion on climate catastrophe and the issue of climate refugees.

The youth education festival concluded with the presentation of ideas collected from the *Zukunftswerkstatt*, among which

Illustration from the RLS publication *Nach der Trennung* (After the Split) by Carsten Braband and Mario Candeias.





Participants in the youth education festival, Schloss Trebnitz, June 2023.

was the proposal for an intergenerational discussion on the topic of East-German identities, pencilled in to take place in 2024. It was a busy and inspiring festival full of contributions, discussions, and wonderful encounters. We would like to thank all the participants for their amazing support. Something we all agree on is that we will need youth education in future to create and maintain spaces for free discussion, question norms in society, develop utopian spaces in practice, and organize the collective struggles that will be especially necessary in the coming socio-ecological transformation.

WEIMAR: THE SECOND CONFERENCE ON LOCAL POLITICS

In September 2023, the second RLS KoPoKon conference for local politics took place in Weimar. Jointly organized by the RLS, the Thüringengestalter — Kommunalpolitisches Forum Thüringen e.V., as well as Die Linke's representatives in the Bundestag, the Thuringian state parliament, and Weimar city council. The conference was held at mon ami Weimar, a large youth and cultural centre on Goetheplatz in the centre of the city.

The KoPoKon is a format for education, networking, and exchange between those active in local politics — both in the big cities and in the countryside, from the far north and the mountainous south; the conference is intended for seasoned figures in local politics, as well as those who have great passion for it despite their relative inexperience. As well as a wide range of workshops and training sessions on left-wing issues in (local) politics, the KoPoKon above all offered a space for sharing experience, discussions, developing ideas, and networking. The diverse programme had something for everyone. The first day was all about making connections. In the afternoon there were various meetings of local political forums, and it was also possible to explore the surroundings by taking part in a political walking tour of Weimar. In the evening, there was the welcome reception in the main conference hall, with interactive meet-and-greet sessions followed by a quiz night. The Saturday offered political training workshops on topics like local heating planning, debating and media training, public transport, and dealing with right-wingers on local committees. The café also hosted a number of smaller discussion forums. A mobile bookshop invited people in to browse and representatives of various organizations were available to chat with at the many info booths. The breaks offered a great opportunity



Conference for local politics, Weimar, September 2023.

to get to know one another and network. Following the reception — featuring local Thuringian delicacies — for Die Linke’s state parliament representatives, one could round off the day either relaxing in mon ami, or partying in Mascha with karaoke, music, and cold drinks.

On Sunday the programme featured a number of excursions blending tourism and education. While some found out about the ways in which children and youths are getting involved in politics in Erfurt, others learnt about how climate change is causing forest dieback in Willrode, or went on a guided tour through the Buchenwald concentration camp site. There was also a sister event to Friday’s political walking tour, the historical tour *Farewell to Weimar*.

Aside from representatives from the Thuringian state parliament and the German Bundestag, there were also two comrades from the Graz chapter of the Communist Party of Austria (KPÖ). The second edition of the KoPoKon was an inspiring and motivating gathering supporting left-wing local politicians in their various activities — intervention, policy development, and societal change — as well tackling the necessary process of reorganizing the left.

DEEPLY ETCHED IN MEMORY: THE COUP IN CHILE

The Chilean coup that took place 50 years ago is firmly etched in the memory of the left — and continues to resonate today. Salvador Allende, together with the Popular Unity coalition, attempted to achieve a socialist transformation of the country via democratic means. On 11 September 1973, a military junta led by General Pinochet overthrew Allende

and his elected government. Parliament was dissolved, one of the bloodiest of the Latin American dictatorships was put in place, and thousands of political opponents were abducted, tortured, and killed. Tens of thousands went into exile abroad, among them Michelle Bachelet. Travelling via Australia, she ended up in the GDR, where she studied medicine. Later she would become the first ever female president of Chile, and recently served as the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. On the invitation of the RLS and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung she visited Berlin on 27 September 2023 to give a talk on the coup and her experiences in exile. The opening speeches by the respective chairmen of the two foundations, Heinz Bierbaum and Martin Schulz, expressed a united commitment to preserving this historic legacy. That same

(From left) Heinz Bierbaum, Michelle Bachelet, and Daniela Trochowski, Berlin, 27 September 2023.



month, the RLS supported Amanda Jara, daughter of Victor, the famous singer who was brutally murdered by the junta, in her speaking tour of Saxony, Hessen, Brandenburg, and Berlin. To build engagement with the legacy of the coup and its repercussions, not least for left-wing politics today, numerous events were held all over Germany, including film screenings, theatre performances, and concerts. At the same time, the Rayuela Kollektiv, a group of Chilean exiles, was supported in building an online archive with audio-visual testimonials of exile in both East and West Germany. Excerpts from the archive, as well as contributions from other partner organizations, fed into an RLS web dossier which focused on democratic socialism's past and present. The dossier also called attention to the suppression of the Prague Spring exactly five years prior. On the occasion of the anniversary of the Chilean coup, the *taz* Panter Stiftung, the RLS, and the Stiftung Umverteilen collaborated on a supplement published in *taz* on 8 September 2023.

The *taz* supplement can be found here (in German): www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/images/Dossiers/Demokratischer_Sozialismus/chile_dossier_print_taz.pdf

REVOLUTIONARY SADDLE PERIOD, 1923 – A CONFERENCE IN THREE LOCATIONS

1923 is the year that saw the simultaneous working through of three events, which together were to mark the onset of and shape what Eric Hobsbawm dubbed the “short 20th century”: the horrors of World War I, the victorious Russian Revolution, and the failure of revolutionary uprisings in Germany and Western Europe. These all led to a significant shift in social critique, and to the beginnings of Critical Theory and Western Marxism. The year also marked the definitive end to revolutionary uprisings in Germany and Western Europe, the beginnings of Stalinization in the USSR as well as within the Communist Party of Germany, and the rise of fascism. By employing Reinhart Koselleck's term *Sattelzeit*, we aimed to capture this period of practical and theoretical transformation and reorientation, as reflected in influential texts, new political concepts, and the biographies of key figures. This *Sattelzeit* can be traced through to the emergence of the New Left in the 1960s.

Reason enough to invite everyone to a joint conference with “Helle Panke” e.V. and the Leibniz Centre for Literary and Cultural Research (ZfL). The conference was held between 18 and 20 October, with each day's events taking place at a different location. The theoretical-historical shifts in philosophy, politics, and Marxism were all up for discussion, as well as the historical context for the transformative year of 1923 itself. Reflecting on the leftist responses to that era's



Conference announcement featuring Richard Kearnton's 1909 photo *Shouldering the Imitation Ox*.

far-right threats took on a frightening resonance given the situation today. A highlight of the conference was the evening panel discussion on gender and revolution with dramaturge and author Luise Meier and cultural scientist Klaus Theweleit. Theweleit's text *Male Fantasies*, first published in German almost half a century ago, demonstrates that the victory of the counter-revolution and the rise of fascism must also be understood as movements with reactionary components that are psychodynamic and intensely gendered.



LINX: Excerpt from the timeline showing the development of the “social market economy”.

MYTHS AND FACTS BEHIND THE “SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY”

The history of the former West Germany is befogged with numerous myths and legends. The most well-known surely revolve around the “Miracle on the Rhine” of the 1950s, but this is perhaps given a run for its money by the idea of the “social market economy”. Ludwig Erhard (CDU, minister of finance from 1949–63, then chancellor until 1966) did not come up with this concept, nor was it his intended goal. When Erhard was appointed economic director of the Bizone (the US- and UK-administered zone) in March 1948, he strove to establish a “free-market economy”. However, this plan would not have been feasible given the resistance from the population and the trade unions — just think of the last general strike in Germany in November 1948. Ultimately the “social market economy” is the result of social conflicts that were worked out on the markets, on the streets, in workplaces, and in parliament. In order to illustrate the context behind the “social market economy”, the RLS asked historian Uwe Fuhrman to chronicle the most important events. This resulted in a timeline — with accompanying text provided by Fuhrman, Uwe Sonnenberg, Erwin Anders, Bernd Hüttner, Adriana Yee Meyberg, and Steffen Kühne — published on LINX, the digital education platform of the RLS.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVES, WRITTEN AND UNWRITTEN

There are historical narratives that were never written down and that have nevertheless been engraved in the international collective consciousness. The Spartacist uprising of 1919 in Berlin is therefore irrevocably associated with a few iconic images: with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, as well as Käthe Kollwitz’s image of the latter’s funeral; with Gustav Noske, who was not even in Berlin; with Friedrich Ebert, who had ladders set up for him and his associate Philipp Scheidemann to escape; with the barricade made of rolls of newsprint in front of the offices of the SPD newspaper *Vorwärts*; with the unarmed *Vorwärts* negotiators, who on 11 January 1919 would be impaled on bayonets at the barracks of the Garde-Dröner regiment; with Wilhelm Runge, who was ordered to bash in the heads of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg ... but one person is missing: Anton Fischer, the city commandant of Berlin. He was the initiator of this bloodbath, but it was only in 1922, once the smoke had cleared, that he felt the need to write himself into the narrative. But he was too late. Historical narratives, especially those left unwritten, tend to have a lengthy half-life. It was not Noske, but rather Fischer, formerly a pastor in Switzerland, who had explained to Ebert and Scheidemann over a glass of wine, one late-December evening in 1918, that the Berlin left would have

to be disarmed — otherwise the political revolution would veer inexorably leftwards and might even degenerate into a social revolution. The left would have to be drawn into street battles while it was still weak and unprepared for such fights. The plan was successful. After the Spartacist uprising came to a bloody but unsuccessful end, it was not Fischer who was written into the historical narrative, but rather someone else — someone who did not even belong there. Sergeant Wilhelm Runge had tried to sabotage the order to kill Rosa Luxemburg, and likely did not even injure her. With a carrot-and-stick approach, Runge (who had been an SPD member until getting drafted in 1914) was made to claim sole responsibility, so as to protect the German officers who were the real killers. Of course, Runge never saw the 250,000 Reichsmark that Scheidemann had allegedly promised.

The second edition of the letters of Clara Zetkin (1919–23), now published by Karl Dietz Verlag, also turned quite a few things on their head: from the March Action in central Germany in 1921, to the Moscow show trial against the socialist revolutionaries in 1922, up to the aborted “German October” of 1923. In China, 2023 saw the first volume of the works of Rosa Luxemburg to be published in a translation from the German — previously there had only been translations from the Russian. After the publication of the sixth volume of the English edition in London and New York, various revisions to the established historical narrative were also unavoidable. Otto Runge had tried in vain to rewrite the historical narrative surrounding him, but he was to officially remain the murderer, whereas not even the time and place of Anton Fischer’s death place of Anton Fischer’s death are known.

.....

Jörn Schütrumpf: *Der wahre Runge. Wilhelm Pieck und die Ermordung von Rosa Luxemburg und Karl Liebknecht.* Online publication, January 2024, available in German at: www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/51484/der-wahre-runge

.....

The murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht celebrate their crime at the Hotel Eden, 15 January 1919 (seated middle: Otto Runge).



FELLOWS AND POSTDOCS

Markus Wissen continued his 2023 fellowship on social-ecological transformation and mobility justice. Together with **Ulrich Brand** and others, he is in charge of the RLS doctoral programme, *Social-Ecological Transformation and Crisis*. Together they worked on finalizing the manuscript for the book *Kapitalismus am Limit*, which explores eco-imperialist



Markus Wissen.

tensions, contested crisis politics, and prospects for solidarity, and which is set to be published in 2024 by Oekom Verlag.

Dieter Klein wrote his study *Gemeinsame Sicherheit — trotz alledem!* (Collective Security — Despite Everything!), which will be published in 2024 by VSA Verlag. In 2023, his book *Das Morgen tanzt im Heute* was republished in English as *Within and Beyond Capitalism: A Twofold Transformation*.

Michael Brie wrote his pamphlet *Chinas Sozialismus neu entdecken* (Rediscovering China’s Socialism), also published by VSA Verlag. In his essay “Strategische Orientierung in Zeiten der Transformation” (Strategic Orientation in an Era of Transformation) he deals with the conceptual approaches of Hans-Jürgen Urban.

Alex Demirović wrote the article “Gegen die Eindeutigkeit”, exploring the desire — including on the left — to take clear sides and set up binary oppositions, even if the real conditions are complex and ambiguous. He was deeply involved in the editorial work of *LuXemburg* magazine, as well as running the highly successful theory podcast *tl;dr* (too long, didn’t read).

Judith Dellheim, in collaboration with Lutz Brangsch, published an article exploring what we can learn from the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). Titled “Ver-Kümmert”, it appeared in *LuXemburg*, where she also worked as part of the editorial team. In addition, she wrote an analysis of the role of the Federation of German Industries (BDI) in developing and promulgating the notion of a *Zeitenwende* (“historic turning point”); this will be published by the RLS in 2024.

Thomas Goes completed his postdoc at Göttingen’s Sociological Research Institute (SoFI), finishing his manuscript *Grüner Sozialismus?* (Green Socialism?) exploring the political awareness of workers in an era of upheaval, published by transcript Verlag in 2024.

THE RLS NETWORK ACROSS GERMANY

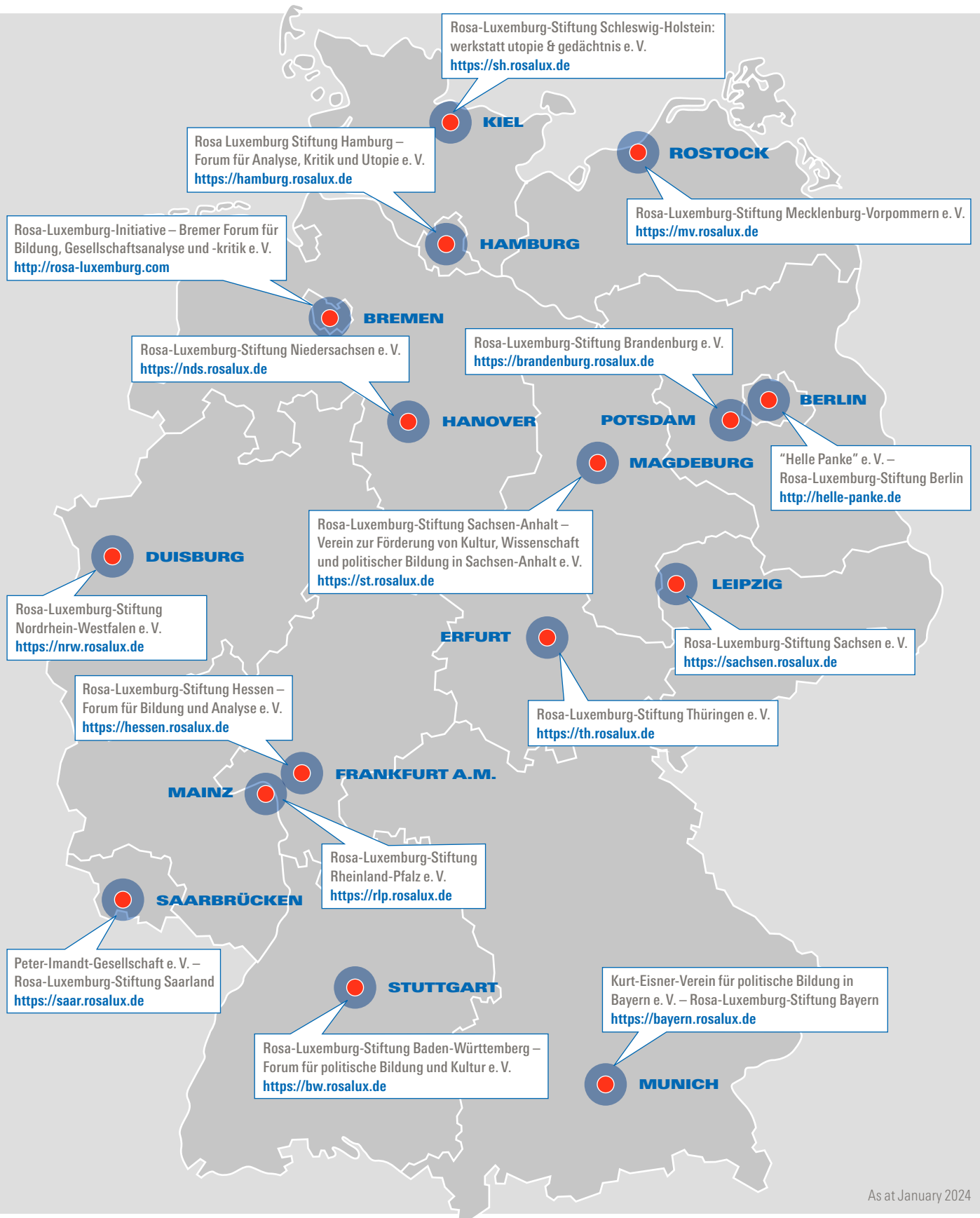
Providing political education, where it is needed, locally – this is what the regional branches of the RLS stand for. In all 16 federal states, they organize a large part of the political education work of the RLS, both independently and in collaboration with partner organizations. Their programmes address both the milieu around Die Linke as well as the general public. The Department of Regional Coordination organizes the cooperation between the different departments of the RLS and the regional branches. Regional branch activities are financed with RLS funds, donations, and membership fees. In many federal states, state funding can also be drawn on.

In 2023, the programme across the whole network featured around 1,600 events, attended by over 65,000 people. There were also approximately 105 online and hybrid events, with a total of over 6,000 participants. Podcasts and videos are now also an integral part of political outreach. Last year, the 16 regional branches produced 128 podcasts and videos, which were viewed over 80,000 times. The RLS network met in Berlin from 14–16 September 2023. In Berlin, full-time staff and representatives from the 16 executive boards were present, notably for discussions with Anne Helm, Chair of Die Linke in the Berlin parliament, and Sebastian Walter, parliamentary group and party leader of Die Linke Brandenburg, about the challenges currently facing Die Linke in state politics. Elections for speaker of the Council of Regional Branches were held and Lena Saniye Güngör (Thuringia) was re-elected, and Philipp Frey (Baden-Württemberg), Anette Kruse (Hamburg), and Carsten Penzlin (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) elected as deputy speakers.

The RLS networks across Germany were responsible for the following key projects in 2023: the political academy for young activists, which since 2014 has been offering space for discussion and networking, as well as imparting basic knowledge, and takes place in close cooperation with the RLS regional offices. Activists from Lower Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony, and Baden-Württemberg participated in 2023's academy. In Hesse, three events were held in the first half of the year on the topics of mobility, housing, and education. The central office of the RLS cooperated with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Hessen branch and the Brussels office to bring about these events.

As part of the *Arbeit an Schulen* (work in schools) programme, a *Soziale (Un-)Gerechtigkeit* (Social (In)justice) project day was held a total of nine times at five different venues in 2023. The project's target audience is students of vocational schools who are training for work in the social sector.

In the following pages, we present some of the highlights of regional branch educational activities in 2023.



As at January 2024



Symposium celebrating the 100th birthday of Theodor Bergmann (left), Stuttgart, 2016.



What do you do when the money runs out?

BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG

“HISTORIC TURNING POINT” – WHICH WAY?

In 2016 the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg marked Theodor Bergmann’s 100th birthday by organizing a colloquium in Stuttgart’s Waldheim Clara Zetkin paying tribute to the anti-fascist, anti-Stalinist communist, agricultural scientist, and internationalist. Theodor Bergmann passed away on 12 June 2017. Since then, a commemorative academic and political conference has been held yearly in Stuttgart, the Theodor Bergmann Lectures. The series discusses the central challenges of contemporary left-wing politics, keeping Bergmann’s legacy alive.

In 2023, Russia’s war on Ukraine was of central importance both in broader public debate and in conversations on the left. Have we really reached a “historic turning point” (*Zeitenwende*), as Chancellor Olaf Scholz proclaimed? In which direction is it leading us? And what conclusions should the left draw from the changing (global) political context? In light of these questions, “*Zeitenwende*” – *wohin?* was the title of this year’s Theodor Bergmann Lectures, which took place on 25 June 2023.

“What might a genuinely anti-war and anti-militaristic peace policy position look like?” was the guiding question of the lecture. The lively discussion round focused on various issues, including the question of how to engage in a debate based on solidarity in spite of the many different assessments of the situation, both among the left and in the peace movement. The point is not to open new rifts, but rather to overcome the existing ones. Discussion participants were unanimous that the Russian war of aggression should be condemned, and that solidarity should be shown to all the victims of this war. They also agreed that the causes of the war also needed to be sought in the misguided NATO policy of eastward expansion and the EU’s placing pressure on its neighbours, and that solutions to this conflict also require a change to NATO and EU policy.

BAVARIA

POVERTY IN BAVARIA

According to the Bavarian state government’s social report, poverty is a marginal phenomenon in the Free State. The state government draws a comparison with the rest of the Federal Republic, presenting Bavaria as a role model. Yet this depiction was widely criticized by social organizations and experts as whitewashing and disguising the actual situation in Bavaria.

In order to determine the real nature of the often “hidden” poverty in Bavaria and to close a gap in the field of poverty research, the Kurt-Eisner-Verein — the regional representative of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in Bavaria — commissioned its own study. Concrete strategies to combat poverty require reliable data. The study, *Einkommensarmut und Regionale Unterschiede in Bayern* (Income Poverty and Regional Variation in Bavaria), was prepared by Tobias Klinge, Hannah Busch, Andreas Kallert, and Simon Dudek from the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt — and brought to light alarming data about wealth and poverty in the region.

If the average income in Bavaria is used to calculate the number of people at risk of poverty, then 15.8 percent — more than two million people in Bavaria — are suffering income poverty. Certain sociodemographic groups are at particular risk of poverty: the unemployed, the working poor, single parents, families with numerous children, minors, and senior citizens. The proportion of elderly people living in income poverty is even especially high in Bavaria when compared with the national average, with women particularly affected in this bracket. Poverty in Bavaria is also very unevenly distributed across the state.

This report was published in early August 2023 with a print run of 1,000 copies. The press conference in Munich was attended by the authors and Stefan Jagel, Director of the Kurt-Eisner-Verein, and Karin Majewski, Director of the Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband Oberbayern. The study was picked up by numerous media outlets.



Demonstration against high rents and gentrification in Berlin, 11 September 2021.



From left to right: Bärbel Romanowski-Sühl, Kathrin Gottwald, Mandy Tröger, Dietmar Ringel.

BERLIN

EVALUATING THE “DEUTSCHE WOHNEN & CO ENTEIGNEN” REFERENDUM

In September 2021, 59.1 percent of Berlin voters voted in favour of the initiative Deutsche Wohnen & Co Enteignen (DWE). In doing so, they sent a clear signal that rents in the capital are exorbitantly high. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Berlin’s “Helle Panke” e. V. had already supported the campaign with various actions in the two years prior to this vote. Two years after the referendum, in September 2023, representatives of the DWE initiative and the RLS met for a one-day seminar.

After the referendum was won, Berlin’s then red-red-green coalition government presented a compromise: a commission would be created to work out whether the large-scale expropriation and socialization of massive housing portfolios was constitutionally legal, and if so, whether the preconditions for this radical step were in place. In June 2023, the commission published their final report with a positive result for the DWE — in principle, the implementation of the referendum result was possible. The commission adhered in many regards to the argument put forward by DWE. However, there were also special votes on individual points.

As the 156-page final report is a lot to get to grips with, the “Helle Panke” e. V. had the idea to set up an educational seminar where experts would go through the report and unpack its findings. “Helle Panke” was able to enlist three women who had monitored the committee’s work on behalf of DWE. In particular, the speakers analysed the chapters on proportionality, on compensation, and on two of the committee’s additional provisions. In a mixed format combining lectures, reading groups, and discussion, 17 participants dug into the rather difficult material. Some had been actively involved in the referendum campaign; there were also interested parties present from Berlin’s city administration.

BRANDENBURG

THE FUTURE OF THE MEDIA IN RURAL REGIONS

The announcement that in the autumn of 2023 the *Märkische Allgemeine Zeitung* (MAZ) would cease publishing its print edition and replace it with an online version caused an uproar amongst many Prignitz locals. Hardly surprising, in a region where many of the inhabitants are senior citizens, internet connections are often low quality, and there is a general feeling of increasingly being left behind. To discuss the future of media in rural areas, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Brandenburg and the Kommunalpolitischen Forum Brandenburg (Brandenburg Municipal Political Forum) hosted a discussion event at Bluhm’s Hotel in Kyritz on 26 October 2023, with the title *Ist die Zeitung in der Prignitz das Papier nicht mehr wert?* (Is the Prignitz Newspaper No Longer Worth the Paper It’s Printed on?).

Bärbel Romanowski-Sühl, Media Advisor of the Berlin-Brandenburg Media Authority, and Kathrin Gottwald, Editorial Director of *MAZ Prignitz-Ruppin*, sat on the panel, defending the discontinuation of the print edition as a necessary economization that would save local journalism. Media scholar Mandy Tröger countered this, saying that major newspaper publishers had profited for decades from the subscribers they had inherited from the SED’s regional newspapers and had mainly skimmed off profits without investing them back into local journalism. This has resulted in long-standing problems of quality. In view of the challenges presently facing democracy, local journalism ought to be expanded, in order to keep people informed about what is taking place in their vicinity, and about the opportunities for political participation *in situ*.

Those affected also voiced their opinions, expressing disappointment at having to give up 60-year-long habits such as reading the local newspaper in the morning. From the discussion, it was clear that many local people will not use the new digital service, and that access to journalism about local information is important for everyone, regardless of their age or region of residence.



Artur Weigandt (right) and Norbert Schepers, Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bremen.



"Intelligent Video Surveillance", Hansaplatz, Hamburg.

BREMEN

READING – *DIE VERRÄTER*

On 5 December 2023, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Bremen and the Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Bremen (Regional Centre for Political Education Bremen) invited the public to a reading at the Theaterkneipe Falstaff. Artur Weigandt presented his book *Die Verräter* (2023, Hanser), in which he brings together the collapse of the Soviet Union, the search for his own identity, and the war in Ukraine. Weigandt was born in 1994 in Uspenka (Kazakhstan), a "planned village" which, like the nationality of its citizens, was intended to be assimilated into the Soviet Union. With the USSR's collapse Uspenka was deserted, and many people left both the village and the region. Artur Weigandt's take on the German *Heimatroman* genre tells the story of the people of his village. When he met some of Uspenka's previous inhabitants again in Germany, he found that some of them were emotionally still living in the Soviet Union and had a romanticized view of the past. For Weigandt too, Russian-language television represents both a window into a golden age and an agent of propaganda. One reason for the ambivalent relationship many Kazakh immigrants have to their own past is that they have never really "arrived" in Germany, as they are often perceived as Russians here. As the son of a Ukrainian-Belarusian mother and a father of German descent, Weigandt also moves between these worlds.

Betrayal is a recurring theme in the book. Using the examples of the Soviet Union's war against Afghanistan and the war waged by post-Soviet Russia against Chechnya, Weigandt points out how the then governments betrayed soldiers, sending them off to the wrong wars using false narratives and promises. The soldiers, however, also betrayed the Soviet regime by speaking openly about their experiences during the war.

Many people with a similar background to Weigandt took part in the reading and expressed afterwards how touched they were by the evening.

HAMBURG

DIGITAL SURVEILLANCE AT HANSAPLATZ

Digital surveillance technology is gaining ground. Test beds for security forces are being set up everywhere, sometimes in ways that border on illegality, and in situations when other security measures would make more sense. Train stations equipped with facial recognition technology, drone surveillance over demonstrations and in football stadiums, and last but not least, the high-tech warfare and the testing of the latest digital weapons on the Ukrainian battlefield all witness to a change of approach on the part of the executive powers. Human judgements and decisions are being guided, automated, and, in the worst cases, replaced by artificial intelligence.

In Hamburg, Hansaplatz in the St Georg neighbourhood is one of these testing grounds. The square is close to the main train station, between a street known for sex work and drug dealing and a gentrified neighbourhood, and of late has been fitted with surveillance cameras. Based on algorithms, the cameras decide what they capture: a hug or a fight. It has been proven that this kind of technology has a high error rate and is discriminatory, primarily being used against groups already stigmatized as delinquent. On 16 November 2023, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hamburg, in collaboration with the Forschungsnetzwerk Sicherheit & Polizei, Braun-Weißen Hilfe: Fanhilfe St. Pauli, and Café Libertad Kollektiv organized a panel discussion at the Gewerkschaftshaus (trades hall) on the developing situation at Hansaplatz. Nathalie Meyer, scientific advisor to Die Linke, Matthias Marx from the Chaos Computer Club, Gudrun Greb, the Director of Ragazza e. V., a help and advice centre for sex workers with addictions, and Peter Ullrich, research associate at the Institute for Protest and Social Movement Studies, were the panelists. The event was moderated by Katharina Schipkowski from *taz Nord*. Around 100 participants engaged in an intense and constructive discussion, particularly about the consequences and problems of increased repression at Hansaplatz.



Enis Gülegen (left) and Benno Hafeneger (right).



Bundeswehr at the Hanse Sail, Rostock, August 2023.

HESSE

DEMOCRACY IN DANGER

After years of declining support for the AfD, the tide turned in the Hesse state parliament elections in 2023. The AfD was able to increase its share of the vote from 5.3 percent in 2018 to 18.4 percent. In light of this, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Hesse in collaboration with the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Ausländerbeiräte Hessen (Working Group of Immigrants' Committees, agah) organized a seminar series on the topic of rising authoritarianism, right wing populism, and fake news. The six seminars were held in Hanau, Darmstadt, Giessen, Witzenhausen, Fulda, and Obach.

Benno Hafeneger, a political scientist from Marburg, opened the seminars by going over the various terms of the debate and differences between far-right extremism and right-wing populism. Both ideologies, he noted, are strongly characterized by misanthropy and hostility to democracy. He then elaborated on right-wing modes of operation and forms of organization, and the causes and motives for processes of radicalization. He drew on empirical findings and made suggestions for a comprehensive counter-strategy to combat the rise of the right.

The chair of agah, Enis Gülegen, provided insights into the AfD's party programme from a migrant perspective. He demonstrated which untruths, fake news items, mystifications, and islamophobic propaganda it contains, and the extent of its implicit cultural racism. Gülegen built on the arguments put by Hafeneger, backing them up with specific examples from the programme of the right-wing racist-populist party. This highlighted the extent of the threat posed by the AfD, but also the possibilities for action.

Many of those present took part in the discussion that followed — the majority of them members of immigrants' committees and engaged in local politics. In particular, they discussed what options for action against right-wing populism are available to the members of immigrants' committees.

MECKLENBURG-WESTERN POMERANIA

"NO MARTIAL MUSIC AT THE HANSE SAIL"

Every year, the "Hanse Sail" attracts nearly a million visitors to Rostock to see the maritime spectacle. The event is good business, and a profitable setting for advertising messages. This year the Bundeswehr was also in attendance, with a rocking army band and demonstration vehicles in tow, to present information about "career opportunities" in the German military to a thrill-seeking and tech-happy audience. The audience in the Bundeswehr's promotional sights mainly consisted of families, children, and young people. The idea was to cast a favourable light on the Bundeswehr and attract new recruits. And indeed, the military, the Bundeswehr, and the arms industry are becoming enormously important in the Baltic region — given the geostrategic situation, the multi-billion euro "historic turning point", and the insistence that society be made "ready for war". A largely sceptical public has to be convinced of this, however. The Rostocker Friedensbündnis (Rostock Peace Alliance) organized a protest around the slogan "No Martial Music at the Hanse Sail". In collaboration with the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, the Rostocker Friedensbündnis hosted a lecture and discussion at the Peter-Weiss-Haus. Michael Schulze von Glaßer, from the Deutschen Friedensgesellschaft — Vereinigte Kriegsdienstgegnerinnen (German Peace Society: United Opponents of Military Service), gave a talk on the Bundeswehr's public relations work. The army is very active in recruiting young people, using every tool in the standard advertising arsenal, from visits to schools and sponsored trips to military bases, to merchandising products and YouTube series. The image the Bundeswehr projects is that the military means career, adventure, community, and high-tech — the Bundeswehr is cool and in step with the times. In the discussion following the talk, Die Linke, responsible for education in the "Meck-Pomm" state government, was criticized for tolerating Bundeswehr's propaganda activities in the school system.



Speaker Martin Fochler, co-founder of the KBW.



1973 strike location bike tour participants.

LOWER SAXONY

MILITARY, BUNDESWEHR, AND CLASS

At the latest since Russia’s attack on Ukraine, the possibility of war in Germany has once again come closer. Chancellor Olaf Scholz’s announcement of a “historic turning point” for strengthening the German army must also raise certain questions on the left — what is our position on the Bundeswehr? What are the left’s opportunities for action in that context?

On 20 October 2023, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Lower Saxony and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Club invited guests to the Scala Cinema in Lüneburg to discuss the military and the Bundeswehr as class questions. Speaker Martin Fochler presented the reasons why left-wingers organized themselves within the Bundeswehr in the 1970s. He was a cadre in the KBW, the Kommunistischen Bund Westdeutschland (West German Communist League), one of several small parties from the 1968 movement, which established its own “Soldiers’ and Reservists Committees”. The KBW printed newspapers, organized poster and flyer campaigns and lectures, but also met for field exercises. Their aim: to resist social ills and to organize those living under the chain of command. Leftists were supposed to be active in their own troops and carry out propaganda work.

At the same time, this work was also defensive. Emergency laws passed in 1968 provoked justified fears that the Bundeswehr could be used against left-wing and democratic forces in Germany. Having comrades in the army was intended to create opportunities for resistance in an emergency. At the same time, the KBW wanted to get a foothold across all social structures and make its social demands heard.

Inspired by this look back on the 1970s, the event also raised questions about the current relationship trade unions and progressive organizations have to the Bundeswehr and to soldiers. It became clear that a left-wing party rooted in society as it is must not ignore the army as a potential site for political mobilization.

NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA

A CYCLING TOUR OF THE 1973 STRIKES

This tour, with 28 participants travelling in the footsteps of the wildcat strikes that took place here 50 years ago, was a highlight of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung North-Rhine-Westphalia’s 2023 programme. In 1973, more than 275,000 workers participated in spontaneous strikes, technically illegal, across 335 work sites. The strikers were struggling against high inflation, in favour of equal wages, against piecework, bad working conditions, and racism in the workplace. From 14–17 August 2023, our bike tour followed a route that passed through the historical sites of the workers’ struggles in the Ruhr and Rhine-land region. At the same time we inquired into what is needed for successful solidarity actions, and what we can learn from those experiences that is of use for contemporary struggles.

The tour started from Duisburg (the strike at Mannesmann) and went on via Dortmund (labour struggle at Hoesch Phönix), to Gelsenkirchen (the AEG Küppersbusch strike), and Bochum (the Opel strike). From there the tour continued to Neuss (the Pierburg strike), and finally to Cologne (the strike at Ford). At these locations and following two film screenings, discussions were held with historical eyewitnesses from the workforce, works councils, and trade unions. Often, very divergent perspectives on what the events of 1973 meant were expressed. Everyone agreed, however, that the strikes changed the German labour movement, the trade unions, society, and the strikers themselves, regardless of whether all of the spontaneous actions were successful at the time. Those we talked to said that their involvement in the struggles gave them a sense of political agency and of control over their own lives that has stayed with them to this day.

In the conversations, the question of which conditions are required for solidarity strikes to be successful kept leading to debates about differing expectations of trade unions. Is a renewal of the trade union movement needed? Should there be a right to the political strike in Germany?



The book comes out in November 2023 with Verlag Barbara Budrich.



Andrej Rudoy (middle) and Alexey Sakhnin with discussion participants, at Restaurant Woll, Spichern, France.

RHINELAND-PALATINATE

A CONTRIBUTION TO ANTISEMITISM RESEARCH

The academic study of antisemitism, and the political struggle against it, have been important themes for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung since its foundation. Discussions around antisemitism have flared up again over the last few months due to the current situation in the Middle East. The specific constellation of post-Nazi ideological continuities with racist and anti-Semitic patterns of interpretation and at the same time increasingly (post)migrant identities in contemporary German society — in which it is precisely antisemitism that repeatedly becomes the subject of conflict over interpretative power and negotiation processes — plays a major role here. In light of this, the authors of the RLS-sponsored study *Antisemitismus in der Postnazistischen Migrationsgesellschaft. Eine Interdisziplinäre Bestandsaufnahme* (Antisemitism in a Post-Nazi Migrant Society: An Interdisciplinary Inventory) examine both the lines of continuity and current developments in antisemitism in the Federal Republic, and examine some of the key players, ideologies, and possibilities for educational work that can counter antisemitism.

This anthology is the first in a series of critical examinations of current and historical forms of antisemitism, its social causes, and the numerous strands of antisemitic discourse strategies present in contemporary German society. The Trier-based Initiative Interdisciplinary Antisemitism Research (IIA), a Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Rhineland-Palatinate partner organization, was founded in 2019 with the aim not only to name antisemitic phenomena, but also to analyse antisemitism with a view to overcoming it. The IIA especially emphasizes opportunities for young researchers to present the results of their work.

The IIA's open access format makes research findings on antisemitism accessible to the wider public, thereby also contributing to the fight against antisemitism.

SAARLAND

MEETING AGAINST THE WAR

When the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine began, many people in Germany were not only shaken by the scale and cruelty of events there but also surprised at the ease with which the Russian left showed solidarity with Vladimir Putin's proclaimed war goals. The conformist Communist Party, which has representatives in the Duma, and many other smaller left-wing parties, organizations, and trade unions likewise welcomed the war.

Only a few Russian leftists found the courage to regard the war not as a "special military operation to denazify Ukraine", but to oppose it. One of the loudest anti-war voices is the activist, unionist, and teacher Andrej Rudoy. His Russian language YouTube channel, which he started in 2018, has around 300,000 followers. Since 2022, he has been co-chair of the independent teachers' union Uchitel. Like Alexey Sakhnin, a historian, publicist, journalist, and co-founder of the largest extra-parliamentary left-wing organization Left Front, Rudoy suffered extensive repression and had to leave the country. He went to Paris, where Jean-Luc Mélenchon, founder of La France Insoumise, helped him find refuge. Sakhnin had already gone into exile in Sweden in 2013. He was a member of the Russian Opposition Coordination Council, formed during the mass protests of 2011–12.

At the invitation of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saarland, Andrej Rudoy and Alexey Sakhnin came to Germany on 31 March 2023 to report on the peace movement in Russia. As both have applied for asylum in France, they were not allowed to cross the German–French border, which is why our meeting took place at Restaurant Woll in Spichern, France, 100 meters from the border line.



Paths out of Crisis for the Left event series logo.



Rolf-Dietmar Schmidt (left) and Dirk Oschmann.

SAXONY

PATHS OUT OF CRISIS FOR THE LEFT

Capitalism, climate crisis, war — seen from the left, there is plenty to do. But the left is fragmented and often carries out its quarrels in public. In times of multiple crises and profound social and political upheaval, the left milieu is often far too preoccupied with its own problems to present real solutions to social issues.

In the six-part event series *Paths out of Crisis for the Left*, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony and 17 speakers from different left-wing contexts (foundations, parties, trade unions, movements) addressed the problem and analysed the socialist left's current situation, also discussing utopias and concrete steps towards a new kind of society. The lapses and the potentials of left-wing political actors was discussed, and an attempt was made to clarify the present "use value" of the Die Linke party. At the same time, synergies were identified that might contribute to making the left a force capable of social action again.

Furthermore, concrete forms of utopia and implementation strategies for a new form of society were discussed, as were the limits and possibilities of organizing as an instrument of mobilization.

What was special about the series of events, apart from the breadth of content, was the way in which it was implemented. While the speakers and audience gathered together in Leipzig, the event was broadcast to Chemnitz, Dresden, Görlitz, and Zwickau. A number of interested parties gathered in second locations to watch the event together and, furthermore, to discuss the topics the event covered. This community approach was particularly important to the organizers, which is why there was no livestream available to watch at home. The event series reached many people who had not previously attended a Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung event.

SAXONY-ANHALT

THE EAST: A WEST-GERMAN INVENTION

On the 9 November 2023, 34 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saxony-Anhalt, the Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung Sachsen-Anhalt (The Saxony-Anhalt State Centre for Political Education), and the Stadtbibliothek Halle hosted a very special reading at the Stadthaus Halle. Dirk Oschmann, literature professor and bestselling author, presented his book *Der Osten: Eine Westdeutsche Erfindung* (The East: A West German Invention), published by Ullstein in February 2023. As might be suspected from the title, the book garnered both a great deal of praise and many critiques, and hence significant media attention.

Lots of people wanted to get to know the author and talk to him; the event packed out the city's huge ceremonial hall. The evening was moderated by Rolf-Dietmar Schmidt, publisher and editor-in-chief of the business magazine *aspekt*.

Dirk Oschmann emphasized that he had not written anything new in his book and that the critics were not upset about what he wrote, but the way he wrote it. Oschmann deliberately exaggerates for effect. According to him, the East got the impression that it had to adapt itself in order to become "West". At the same time, the West thought it could just stay "West" and hang on to its Cold War-era image of the East. In short: the West was the norm and the East the deviation. Oschmann reminds us that the East actually fought for its democracy; this self-liberation should not be interpreted as a victory for the West.

The audience were attentive to the presentation and generous with their applause. The subsequent discussion was likewise lively, touching on the questions of an East German employment quota and the East Germany portfolio, the AfD's role in the East, and interest in the book in the West German states. Many attendees were enthusiastic about Oschmann's book and had copies signed by him at the end of the event.



Bundeswehr Leopard 2 Tanks.



The entrance to the Altes Gud youth club in Jena-Burgau

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

IN THE ARMS RACE

On 21 March 2023, numerous Flensburg residents took part in an event focused on peace policy, hosted by Attac Flensburg and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Schleswig-Holstein at Volksbad Flensburg. The theme of the evening was Jürgen Wagner's new book *Im Rüstungswahn. Deutschlands Zeitenwende zu Aufrüstung und Militarisierung* (In the Arms Race: Germany's Historic Turn Toward Rearmament and Militarization), published by Papyrossa Verlag in 2022.

According to Wagner, the German government's biggest military buildup in decades is currently in progress. Olaf Scholz's "historic turning point" has been in preparation since long before Russia's invasion of Ukraine — since the 2014 Munich Security Conference, to be precise. Political ambitions for great power status were openly articulated and the Bundeswehr was then restructured and weapons sourcing massively increased. The defence budget has been growing significantly since; talk of the Bundeswehr being "hacked down to the bone" does not correspond with the facts. Wagner claims that these developments are far-reaching enough to leave a lasting impact on the German political landscape.

Jürgen Wagner expounded central theses from his book and emphasized the urgency of finding alternatives to rearmament and militarization. He warned the audience that the current militarization programme would not only strengthen the military-industrial complex, but also divert desperately needed resources from other important areas, such as solving the climate crisis, the assorted public health crises, and poverty.

The event in Flensburg left plenty of space for critical discussions. Everyone in attendance agreed that it is time to bring about a broad public debate on the use of resources. Diverging attitudes towards military support for Ukraine against Russia's invasion barely played a role in the discussions — an important step towards critically contesting the German government's arms policy.

THURINGIA

JENA BEFORE THE NSU

In April 2023 the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thuringia, in collaboration with the Jena-based Institut für Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft (Institute for Democracy and Civil Society), produced the research report *Jena vor dem NSU — Rechtsextremismus bis 1990 in Jena und Ostthüringen* (Jena Before the NSU: Right-Wing Extremism until 1990 in Jena and East Thuringia), which sheds light on the context within which the National Socialist Underground (NSU) emerged there and the possible neo-Nazi continuities in the region.

The report's author, Michael Ebenau of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Thuringia, analysed police files, files from the public prosecutor's office, and files from the Ministerium für Staatssicherheit in the then Gera district. He reconstructed which (neo-)Nazi structures were known to the authorities in the GDR and how these were handled during different phases. He also identifies social sites of neo-Nazi politicization in the area and asks to what extent these continued to have an effect in the 1990s and thus during the period when the NSU emerged. Like many anti-fascist activists, after the NSU went public Ebenau became fascinated with the question of how the right-wing terrorist group formed. His research, presented in Jena and Gera in April and May 2023, presents important findings in this regard. These presentations were followed by a two-part workshop at the Antifaschistischen und Antirassistischen Ratschlag (Antifascist and Antiracist Council) in Suhl, in November 2023. The first part was led by Ebenau and Kai Richarz, a former RLS scholarship holder who wrote a master's thesis based on the recollections of anti-fascists active in the Suhl district at the time of reunification, and himself a historical eyewitness. The first part of the workshop dealt with the far right in the districts of Suhl and Gera. For the second part, the Blinde Flecken Erfurt (Blind Spots Erfurt) initiative was invited to add counterculture and migrant perspectives on the Erfurt of the 1990s.

THE CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION

In 2023, the work of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (ZID) was most profoundly affected by the ongoing war in Ukraine and the renewed war in Gaza following the 7 October Hamas-led attack on Israel. The general conditions for RLS activities in the Middle East, where we have three offices (in Tel Aviv, Ramallah, and Beirut), have since significantly worsened. The immediate priorities were to shield affected colleagues from the repercussions of the war and to adjust our work to the new circumstances. The heads of the Tel Aviv and Ramallah offices had to rearrange (and in some cases suspend) work on projects, and instead dedicate significant time and energy to reporting on the unfolding events in Israel and Palestine. Back in Berlin, a number of briefings as well as high-profile public meetings were held, including one on the subject of peace efforts during wartime organized with the Israeli partner organization Standing Together. If conditions allow, project work should gradually resume at the Tel Aviv and Ramallah offices in 2024.

2023 also saw a change in leadership at the ZID. Boris Kanzleiter, who between 2016 and 2023 had confidently and with the utmost patience steered the ZID through all kinds of crises, swapped Berlin for Athens, where he has been heading the regional office since January 2024. He was succeeded in December 2023 by Philip Degenhardt, who can draw on ample experience and ideas from his previous role as director of the Southeast Asia office in Hanoi to guide the ZID successfully into the future. There were other personnel changes: Gil Shohat took over the Israel office in Tel Aviv in March, while Karin Gerster is now heading the Palestine and Jordan office in Ramallah, and Stefan Mentschel moved from the RLS headquarters in Berlin to the Hanoi office.

As its 26 international offices enable the RLS to connect directly with leftist social and political struggles in various countries and continents, this represents an immeasurable wealth of experience, and one which can also be applied to our work in Germany. In 2023, ZID staff contributed invaluable internationalist perspectives to the RLS organizational development process. In line with the new planning guidelines and topics designated as action areas by the Executive Board, the ZID placed a special focus on peace policy and geopolitical challenges. The podcast *dis:arm*, dealing with possible approaches to peaceful foreign policy, is just one example of successfully merging international and domestic projects.



BRICS summit, Johannesburg, 24 August 2023.

A MULTIPOLAR WORLD ORDER – HOPES FOR JUSTICE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

“Multipolarism” is a term that both influenced the course of international politics in 2023 and gained particular significance for the work of the RLS. But what exactly does it mean, what role does it play in the current world order, and how should the left view this development?

The Russian war of aggression against Ukraine has once again created a shift in the global balance of power and in the established order. For the European Union, this poses the question of how it can become more active in setting security policy. Countries like South Africa, China, India, Brazil, and Turkey are becoming increasingly influential on the world stage. Other countries from the Global South now have sufficient sovereignty to be able to assert their own interests and priorities. They are no longer under the thumb of the West, nor are they content to simply follow the USA's lead. In 2023, the BRICS group voted to accept additional member states, with Egypt, Argentina, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates all joining as of 1 January 2024. Almost 3.3 billion people, about 40 percent of the world's population, now live in BRICS countries.

This indicates that we find ourselves in a dynamic and turbulent period of transition where the existing world order — which for decades has been singularly dominated by the USA — is becoming more multipolar, influenced by various centres of power in mutual cooperation and competition. Many leftists hope that multipolarism will foster a world order that makes for greater justice and equality between nations while balancing their interests. The promise of multipolarism is that it will break the old hierarchies and one-sided dependencies. In the past, the unipolar system led to numerous wars and conflicts, with the Global North often exercising power in an entirely self-serving way, especially in pursuit of its own economic interests. Multipolarism also amplifies the voices of smaller nations. According to the prevailing theory, a multipolar world order could allow all nations — or at least more nations — an equal say in forming international policy.

For the RLS, and for the ZID in particular, this means orienting towards (and where possible, bolstering) forces and initiatives that promote sustained dialogue and cooperation, as this is essential if we are to foster mutual understanding and trust, ensuring peace and security through bilateral and multilateral coordination and cooperation. All states, regardless of their size, constitutional make-up, or economic situation, are equal

members of the international community. This becomes especially important in a world order with multiple centres of power.

The ZID will thus continue to keep a critical and analytical eye on the work and role of regional alliances and organizations such as the European Union, the Organization of American States, the African Union, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, to name but a few. At the same time, for a left-wing organization like the RLS, its goals have always included observing and assessing new centres of power — as well as any emerging, perhaps smaller, hegemon — with regard to their commitment to engaging in international relations as equals, and to social justice and the protection of human rights. As leftists, however, we cannot rely solely on the whims of governments and (alliances of) states to tackle the coming global challenges. Even in a multipolar world, we still need the engagement of social movements if we are to achieve a world order that is based around principles of fairness and solidarity.

FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY – FRAUDULENT LABELLING AND PURPLEWASHING

The situation of crises and wars in West Asia and the ongoing war in Ukraine had a huge influence on the work of the RLS in 2023. The work that we do should always retain its feminist perspective. But taking a position on the German Federal Foreign Office’s new “feminist foreign policy” guidelines is not entirely straightforward. The concept is the subject of much discussion, but is also ripe for misuse. It encompasses the so-called “three R’s”: rights, resources, and representation. The declared aim is to empower and protect women and marginalized people, establish their autonomy and political rights, and to use diplomatic channels to facilitate their accession to positions of leadership. Access to education, healthcare, and the labour market are to be improved for women and lesbian, gay, queer, bisexual, trans, and intersex people (LGBTQI+); more consideration should be given to their being particularly vulnerable in situations of war and exploitation. With that in mind, both the Foreign Ministry and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) are aware that they also urgently need to look into their own structures and make any changes deemed necessary. When it comes to issues such as reproductive rights and bodily autonomy, LGBTQI+ rights, the implementation of the Istanbul Convention, femicides, and gender mainstreaming, Germany itself still has much work to do.

Regardless of what it purports to be, feminist foreign policy as it is currently being implemented is not yet intersectional. It is being systematically thwarted and falling victim to outside interests. There is no coherent approach to implementation, and a lack of consistency and credibility. It also needs to be assessed in terms of what it has achieved at the highest



Colombian President Gustavo Petro in Bogota, 3 August 2023.

levels of *realpolitik*. Since the traffic-light coalition began to govern in Germany, there have been numerous global developments that could have been perfect opportunities to implement genuinely feminist foreign policies: by committing to an immediate ceasefire in Gaza, by halting exports of German weapons, or convincingly intervening against the repression of feminist protests in Iran. The announcement that “We are reinforcing gender-sensitive approaches in arms control and arms export control” cannot but seem cynical in light of the government’s bequeathing the Bundeswehr a “special fund” worth 100 billion euros. The Common European Asylum System (CEAS), which serves to isolate and systematically deprive asylum seekers of their rights, is inherently antifeminist and irreconcilable with human rights-based policy. Feminist foreign policy under the auspices of the current Foreign Office seems to be mostly limited to issues around development projects and representation, with a “gender budgeting” approach that barely scratches the surface of what is needed. Its approach could hardly be described as coherent, gender-transformative, or critical of the prevailing systems of power.

MILITARY OR CIVILIAN – AS LONG AS IT’S AUTHORITARIAN!

THE SITUATION IN WEST AFRICA

Military coups are seldom one-off events: studies show the high likelihood of coups within coups. And in West Africa we can see how one coup may serve as inspiration for militaries in neighbouring countries — with six coups in four states since 2020. The military tends to claim that such intervention is necessary due to a deteriorating security situation in the face of jihadist terrorism, or because of socio-economic crises. The civilian populations in Mali, Guinea, Burkina Faso, and Niger were, in any case, dissatisfied with many aspects of their governments.

The military regimes in Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger went on to form the Alliance of Sahel States at the end of 2023, also announcing their withdrawal from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Their rhetoric is informed by populism. They present themselves as agents of change, breaking away from neocolonial dependencies and finally leading their countries to long-awaited self-determination. Such aspirations on these countries' part are per se more than justified, as the West, led by France, the former colonizer, still exerts significant influence on their political and economic development. Unfortunately, these lofty words have so far been followed by few progressive deeds, and the new regimes instead set about repressing critical voices.

Militaries are not the only ones doing this. Authoritarianism is on the rise all across the region: presidents exceeding their legally-defined terms in office (Côte d'Ivoire, Togo), opposition figures being put out of the running (Benin, Senegal), and parliaments disempowered (Guinea-Bissau). Alongside a lack of tangible improvements for the majority of the population, these are precisely the factors fuelling further dissatisfaction. Western countries are increasingly being scorned as diplomatic partners in favour of Russia, and for countries like Mali, the cooperative relationship with Russia has a much longer history. The increasingly multipolar world affords West African governments expanded scope for action.

However, it remains unlikely that West Africa will achieve the autonomy it desires as long as trade and financial relations remain imbalanced — regardless of whether these are with Russia, China, the USA, or the EU. Instead, in addition to moving away from the CFA Franc, a colonial currency, there should be promotion of intra-African trade, implementation of agricultural programmes, and bolstering of the state and social infrastructure. It goes without saying that providing a real say in decision-making processes will be essential in avoiding further regional conflicts.

What is needed is organizing from the left to counter authoritarian regimes and achieve long-term progressive change. That is why the RLS is working with partner organizations in eight West African countries — progressive trade unions, trade associations of fisherpeople, groups representing youths or women, climate activists, and others. They are providing support to those in civil society who are struggling for a better future.

Demonstrations in Bamako against the ECOWAS sanctions against Mali, January 2022.



OBSTACLES TO THE LEFT-LED PEACE PROCESS IN COLUMBIA

In 2016, the communist FARC guerrillas and the Colombian government reached a peace deal. This put an end to 50 years of civil war, and was met with jubilation by the international community. The hope that a treaty will result in lasting peace is understandable, but overlooks the fact that there are other armed groups and conflicts in Columbia, and that peace is a long process with many obstacles.

Colombia now has its first-ever leftist government, led by president and former guerrilla Gustavo Petro and the Afro-Colombian activist Francia Márquez as vice president.

The *Paz Total* (“Total Peace”) law, passed after their election victory in 2022, was the first acknowledgement that the country is experiencing an armed conflict with underlying social causes such as land disputes, inequality, and the readiness of economic elites to use violence. Previous right-wing governments had focused attention on the FARC; Petro’s aim is to negotiate with all armed groups. This is because in the wake of the FARC’s withdrawal from territories it previously controlled, a power struggle has erupted between other guerrilla groups, paramilitaries, and narco-paramilitaries. All of these armed groups perpetuate the war against the poor.

In 2023, the RLS — in particular the Quito office, whose area of operation includes Colombia — again placed a focus, via publications and events, on the country’s difficult peace process and complex conflict situation. At the invitation of the RLS, José Benito Garzon, a Colombian historian active in many grassroots movements, came to Berlin on 21 June to give a talk on the current situation. He explained how the new government’s initiatives have met with serious resistance. Although the government did manage to negotiate a ceasefire agreement with the leftist guerrillas of the ELN in 2023, in many rural areas the situation has become more dangerous than it was ten years ago. The article *In Government, but Not in Control* by journalist Raul Zelik, published on the RLS website in late August, unpacks how Columbia’s right-wing opposition is using obstructionist tactics wherever it can. They challenged the *Paz Total* in the constitutional court and were successful in having it watered down. Peace processes are complex and challenging, and require a population who participates in the process, international support, and a lot of time.

.....
[A preliminary assessment of the Petro government can be found here: www.rosalux.de/en/news/id/50936](http://www.rosalux.de/en/news/id/50936)
.....



Luka Mesec, leader of Levica.

BEFORE EUROPE VOTES: THE SITUATION AND PROSPECTS FOR THE LEFT PARTIES

.....
2024 will see elections held in countries which are home to half of the world’s population. Nearly 450 million people will have the chance to elect a new European Parliament. Compared to the Europe of 2019, a changed picture is emerging, in particular when it comes to left-wing political parties and organizations. There were two European countries for whom their largest left-wing parties each experienced a split in 2023: in Germany, Die Linke and the Sahra Wagenknecht Alliance (BSW) are now running separately, and in Greece, the same applies for Syriza and the newly-founded Nea Aristera (New Left).
.....

In Spain, 2023 saw the return to government of the left-wing electoral alliance Sumar, led by Yolanda Diaz from the Izquierda Unida party. Election forecasts for Sumar remain stable at around ten percent. Finland’s Left Alliance is in the same situation; their chairwoman and former Education Minister Li Andersson will again be running for the EU Parliament. In the Republic of Ireland, the electoral success of Sinn Féin could rival that of their sister party in Northern Ireland, where under the leadership of Michelle O’Neill they became the largest party in the devolved government. A possible 2024 referendum on Irish reunification could make history and further advance the cause.

In Europe, Slovenia’s left-wing Levica party serves as a shining beacon for successful leftist politics in government: in 2023, it achieved notable successes as a smaller party within a centre-left coalition. These successes include the passing of a new democratic media law that prevents political parties and wealthy companies from interfering in public broadcasting.

Additionally, a law was passed to enable companies to be taken into the ownership of their employees, marking an important step in the democratization of the Slovenian economic system. Developments in EU member states raise questions as to the future composition of The Left (the left-wing faction in the European Parliament). It could happen that parts of Sumar will go over to the Green faction, and perhaps the same will happen with the Polish left-wing party Razem, which tolerates the new Tusk government. Despite initial optimism, France's left-wing New Ecological and Social People's Union (NUPES) was not able to stabilize support. Should the BSW enter the European Parliament, it is expected to join a conservative or populist bloc, while both Syriza and Nea Aristera could find themselves back in The Left.

There is still the hope that in 2024, at least some candidates from Central European and Eastern European countries will be elected to the EU Parliament who will join The Left. In 2023, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung tracked these processes in all of these countries.



Wenke Christoph,
Anne Steckner (eds.)
**HÄUFIG GESTELLTE
FRAGEN ZUR EURO-
PÄISCHEN UNION**
KLEINE KRITISCHE
INSTITUTIONENKUNDE
2nd edition
revised and updated by
Stephan Kaufmann
Paperback, 76 pages
ISBN 978-3-948250-74-4

An abridged English version, "FAQ: A Brief Critical Study of the EU's Institutions", is available at: www.rosalux.de/en/dossiers/for-a-europe-of-the-many/faq-a-brief-critical-study-of-the-eus-institutions

Panel discussion at the event *Europa den Räten!* (Europe to the Councils!) with (from left) Florian Schneider, Vincent Bababoutilabo, and Raul Zelik, Volksbühne Berlin, November 2023.



OUR INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

MEXICO CITY

NEW YORK

QUITO

SÃO PAULO

BUENOS AIRES

LATIN AMERICA UNIT

ANDES



Location: Quito, Ecuador
Year founded: 2010
Project countries: Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela
Office director: Karin Gabbert
www.rosalux.org.ec

BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY



Location: São Paulo, Brazil
Year founded: 2003
Project countries: Brazil, Paraguay
Office director: Andreas Behn
www.rosalux.org.br

CONO SUR



Location: Buenos Aires, Argentina
Year founded: 2015
Project countries: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay
Office director: Torge Löding
<https://rosalux-ba.org>

GLOBAL FEMINISM DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

Location: Buenos Aires, Argentina (in the regional office)
Year founded: 2019
Project countries: Worldwide (focus on Latin America)
Programme director: Alex Wischnewski

CENTRAL AMERICA, MEXICO, AND CUBA



Location: Mexico City, Mexico
Year founded: 2007
Project countries: Costa Rica, Guatemala, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua
Office director: Dieter Müller until August 2023; interim: Caroline Kim; from March 2024, Gerold Schmidt
www.rosalux.org.mx

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS UNIT

NORTH AMERICA AND UNITED NATIONS

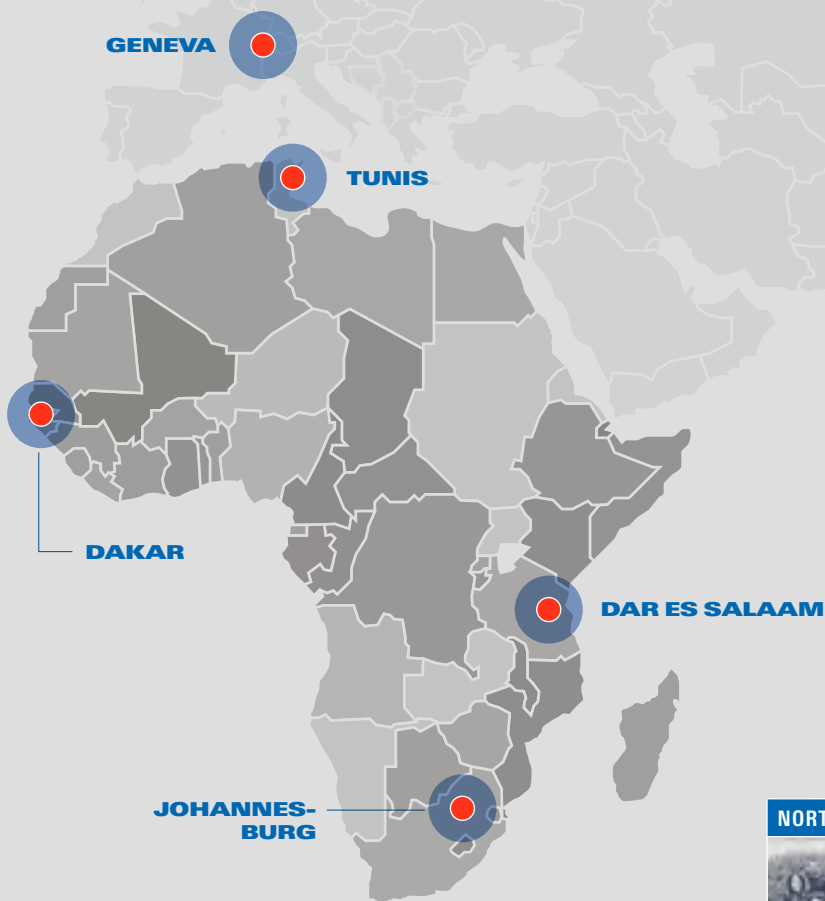


Location: New York, USA
Year founded: 2012
Project countries: USA, Canada, UN locations
Office director: Andreas Günther; from March 2024, Stefan Liebich
www.rosalux.nyc

INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION POLITICS AND GLOBAL SOCIAL RIGHTS



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



AFRICA UNIT

EAST AFRICA



Location: Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Year founded: 2012
Project countries: Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda
Office director: Katrin Voss
www.rosalux.co.tz

WEST AFRICA



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

NORTH AFRICA



Location: Tunis, Tunisia
Year founded: 2014
Project countries: Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Sudan
Office director: Armin Osmanovic
<https://rosaluxna.org>

ACADEMIC COOPERATION IN NORTH AFRICA



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

SOUTHERN AFRICA



Location: Johannesburg, South Africa
Year founded: 2003
Project countries: South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Mauritius, Namibia, Botswana, Comoros, Madagascar, Seychelles
Office director: Janine Walter
www.rosalux.co.za

FOOD SOVEREIGNTY DIALOGUE PROGRAMME



Location: Johannesburg, South Africa (in the regional office)
Year founded: 2017
Programme countries: Worldwide (focus on Southern Africa)
Programme director: Jan Urhahn
www.rosalux.co.za

EUROPE UNIT

SOUTHEAST EUROPE



Location: Belgrade, Serbia
Year founded: 2010
Project countries: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, North Macedonia, Romania, Montenegro
Office director: Maria Oshana
www.rosalux.rs

LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



Location: Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina
Year founded: 2020
Project countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo
Office director: Maria Oshana
www.facebook.com/RLStuzla

CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE



Location: Warsaw, Poland
Year founded: 2003
Project countries: Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia
Office director: Achim Kessler
www.rls.pl

WESTERN EUROPE



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

TRADE AND ECONOMICS DIALOGUE PROGRAMME

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

LOCALLY STAFFED OFFICE FOR SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Location: Madrid, Spain
Year founded: 2017
Project countries: Spain, Portugal
Programme Coordinator: Anna Schröder
www.rosalux.eu

BRUSSELS

PRAGUE

WARSAW

LONDON

MADRID

TUZLA

ATHENS

BEIRUT

TEL AVIV

RAMALLAH

CENTRAL EUROPE



Location: Prague, Czech Republic
Year founded: 2018
Project countries: Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary
Office director: Joanna Gwiazdecka
<https://rosalux.cz>

UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND



Location: London, United Kingdom
Year founded: 2019
Project countries: United Kingdom, Ireland
Office director from Berlin: Johanna Bussemer
www.rosalux.eu/en/topic/1567
rls-office-london.html

GREECE



Location: Athens, Greece
Year founded: 2012
Project countries: Greece and the Mediterranean
Office director: Boris Kanzleiter
www.rosalux.gr

UKRAINE

Location: Kyiv, Ukraine
Year founded: 2016
Project countries: Ukraine
Programme Coordination: Ivo Georgiev
<http://rosalux.org.ua/de>

WEST ASIA UNIT

ISRAEL



Location: Tel Aviv, Israel
Year founded: 2009
Project countries: Israel
Office director: Gil Shohat
www.rosalux.co.il

PALESTINE AND JORDAN



Location: Ramallah, Palestine
Year founded: 2008
Project countries: Palestinian Territories, Jordan
Office director: Karin A. Gerster
www.rosalux.ps

LEBANON, SYRIA, IRAQ



Location: Beirut, Lebanon
Year founded: 2017
Project countries: Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Qatar
Office director: Tanja Tabbara;
Corrina Bender from September 2024
www.rosalux-lb.org

ISRAEL

Location: Tel Aviv, Israel
Year founded: 2009
Project countries: Israel
Office director: Gil Shohat
www.rosalux.co.il

PALESTINE AND JORDAN

Location: Ramallah, Palestine
Year founded: 2008
Project countries: Palestinian Territories, Jordan
Office director: Karin A. Gerster
www.rosalux.ps

LEBANON, SYRIA, IRAQ

Location: Beirut, Lebanon
Year founded: 2017
Project countries: Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Qatar
Office director: Tanja Tabbara;
Corrina Bender from September 2024
www.rosalux-lb.org

SOUTHEAST ASIA (MANILA OFFICE)



Location: Manila, Philippines
Year founded: 2019
Project countries: Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia
Office director: Liliane Danso-Dahmen
www.rosaluxmanila.org

CENTRAL ASIA



Location: Almaty, Kazakhstan
Year founded: 2017, opened in 2019
Project countries: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan
Office director: Marlies Linke
<https://en.rosalux-ca.org>
<https://ru.rosalux-ca.org>

CENTRAL ASIA

Location: Almaty, Kazakhstan
Year founded: 2017, opened in 2019
Project countries: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan
Office director: Marlies Linke
<https://en.rosalux-ca.org>
<https://ru.rosalux-ca.org>

SOUTHEAST ASIA (HANOI OFFICE)



Location: Hanoi, Vietnam
Year founded: 2009
Project countries: Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand
Office director: Stefan Mentschel
www.rosaluxhanoi.org

SOUTHEAST ASIA (HANOI OFFICE)

Location: Hanoi, Vietnam
Year founded: 2009
Project countries: Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand
Office director: Stefan Mentschel
www.rosaluxhanoi.org

CHINA



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

CHINA

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

SOUTH ASIA



Location: New Delhi, India
Year founded: 2010
Project countries: India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan
Office director: Nadja Dorschner; from March 2024, Britta Petersen
www.rosalux.in

SOUTH ASIA

Location: New Delhi, India
Year founded: 2010
Project countries: India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan
Office director: Nadja Dorschner; from March 2024, Britta Petersen
www.rosalux.in

ASIA UNIT

FUNDED PROJECTS

In 2023, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung continued to cooperate with a variety of political education organizations from across Germany's federal states by funding their projects. Out of 195 applications, 59 projects were selected for funding. Of these, 25 projects were overseen by the staff of the RLS regional branches.

In response to the thematic call *Solidarität bilden. Wie geht soziale Gerechtigkeit in der Krise?* (Building Solidarity: How Can Social Justice Be Achieved in Times of Crisis?), we received 13 applications, five of which were funded with up to 5,000 euros:

- Seminar series: *Let's talk about System Change!*, Bund Deutscher Pfadfinderinnen — Landesverband M-V e. V., March–October 2023, Schwerin — 2,550 euros.
- Workshops and publication: *Basisarbeit heißt auch Konflikt — wie wir mit Unterschieden arbeiten und miteinander wachsen* (Grassroots Work Also Means Conflict: How to Work with Difference and Grow Together), European Youth for Action Germany e. V., February–August 2023, Salzderhelden and Berlin — 4,300 euros.
- Publication: *Öffentlicher Luxus* (Public Luxury), Communia e. V., Berlin — 5,000 euros.
- Four radio broadcasts: *Perspektiven von Armut in Deutschland* (Perspectives on Poverty in Germany), OS-Radio 104,8 e. V., January–April 2023, Osnabrück — 1,600 euros.
- Two podcast episodes: *Ohne Mehrwert 2.0* (Without Surplus Value 2.0), sozialwissenschaftsladen berlin gUG, April–December 2023 — 2,000 euros.

A total of almost 110,000 euros was invested in project funding, of which around 35,000 could be used directly by the RLS regional branches for project funding. The largest project of 2023 was the *Linke Medienakademie 2023* (Left Media Academy 2023), which took place in April under the motto “WTF — What the Future?!”. The topic with the largest number of funded projects (ten) was gender relations, closely followed by social theory and critique of capitalism with nine funded projects.

In 2023, the RLS supported two large projects:

- *LiMA23: “WTF — What the future?!”*, Linke Medienakademie e. V., 11–16 April 2023, Berlin — 30,000 euros.
- *Feministische Sommerakademie 2023: “Hoch die feministische Solidarität!”* (Feminist Summer Academy 2023: “Up with feminist solidarity!”), Frauensommerakademie e. V., from 29 June–2 July 2023, Brandenburg — 8,000 euros.

Most funded projects consisted of in-person events in large and small formats (a total of 50). In addition, five publications, two podcasts, an exhibition, and a documentary film were also funded.

With ten projects, proposals on the topic of gender relations were the most strongly represented. These are some examples of funded projects:

- For A Change e. V.: *For A Change Festival*, queer youth culture festival, 21–22 July 2023, Passau — 1,000 euros.
- Wohn- und Ferienheim Heideruh e. V.: *Feminist Youth Camp*, 6–9 July 2023, Heideruh — 2,000 euros.

With nine projects, the topic of social theory and critique of capitalism was also one of the most funded areas. These are some of the projects we supported:

- Subotnik e. V.: *Kantine Sabot — Theorie und Geschichte des Anarchismus* (Sabot Canteen: Theory and History of Anarchism), 31 July–6 August 2023, Chemnitz — 2,000 euros.
- Bund demokratischer Wissenschaftlerinnen und Wissenschaftler e. V.: *Digitalisierung und Demokratie* (Digitalization and Democracy), BdWi Autumn Academy 2023, 14–17 September 2023, Regensburg — 4,000 euros.

Seven projects on the topic of social infrastructures, social rights, and social justice were funded. Here is a selection:

- SoliMed e. V.: *Vom Ehrenamt zur transformativen Lohnarbeit* (From Voluntary Work to Transformative Wage Labour), Workshop, 15 April 2023, Cologne — 500 euros.
- Zentrum Raum e. V.: *(re)searching urbanity*, Symposium, 4–6 August 2023, Berlin — 2,000 euros.

A LOOK AT THE VARIETY OF FUNDED PROJECTS

In 2023, we funded and supported a wide spectrum of events and projects with different formats and diverse target groups. The following are some examples:

COMMUNIA E. V.: BOOK AND WORKSHOPS ON “PUBLIC LUXURY”, OCTOBER 2023, BERLIN – 5,000 EUROS

As part of a thematic call for proposals, the RLS funded the publication of *Öffentlicher Luxus* (Karl Dietz Verlag, edited by communia & BUND-jugend) with 5,000 euros. The book launch took place on 1 November at the RLS headquarters in Berlin. The term “public luxury” refers to unrestricted access to things that make our lives possible and enjoyable. From public transport that makes cars superfluous and a public space in which no one is excluded, criticized, or discriminated against, to dignified work, good education and healthcare, affordable housing, and renewable energy for all. All of these things are feasible. With contributions by Nancy Fraser, Eva von Redecker, George Monbiot, Simin Jawabreh, Barbara Fried, and Alex Wischnewski, among others, the publication shows how we can get there, why “public luxury” is worth fighting for, and how it can contribute to the fair organiza-

TOPICS OF THE FUNDED PROJECTS





A scene from *Invisible Game* — *(k)eine Grenze*, Heimathafen Neukölln, Berlin, March 2023.

tion of care work, the success of the socio-ecological transformation, and the democratization of the economy.

KUNSTBLOCK E. V.: INVISIBLE GAME – (K)EINE GRENZE, THREE THEATRE PERFORMANCES FOLLOWED BY PANEL DISCUSSIONS, MARCH 2023, BERLIN – 2,000 EUROS

The theatre piece *Invisible Game* deals with the illegal push-backs that happen in Europe’s border regions. Created in cooperation with investigative journalists and based on documented cases, this theatre evening reflects the fundamental conflict around borders in a colonized world, and tells of the dissolution of the boundaries of the human body. Each of the three performances at Heimathafen Neukölln was followed by a panel discussion with experts. The special guests included affected persons, journalists, and representatives from human rights organizations and other solidarity initiatives.

.....
<https://heimathafen-neukoelln.de/events/invisible-game>

BERLINER VVN-BDA E. V.: DER SCHEUNENVIERTEL-POGROM 1923 – ALLES NUR GESCHICHTE? (THE SCHEUNENVIERTEL POGROM OF 1923 – ONLY HISTORY?), EXHIBITION, 11 MARCH TO 6 APRIL 2023, BERLIN – 2,000 EUROS

Pupils from the John-Lennon-Gymnasium in Berlin conducted research on the Scheunenviertel pogrom at Centrum Judaicum and the Berlin State Library, among other places. On 5 November 1923, during the Weimar Republic, long before the Nazis came to power, Jews became the target of an antisemitic mob in what is now Berlin-Mitte. The assignment was to create an exhibition to mark the hundredth anniversary of the pogrom. The pupils designed five large exhibition walls in which they asked not only what made the attack possible 100 years ago but also whether there are any parallels between then and the present day and whether a similar attack could happen again. They presented their findings and conclusions in the form of collages, texts, and letters in an exhibition at Rathaus Mitte.



Poster announcing *Klimakneipe* in Frankfurt am Main.

**VEREIN ZUR FÖRDERUNG VON KLIMAGERECHTIGKEIT
E. V.: KLIMAKNEIPE (CLIMATE PUB), 1 SEPTEMBER-
1 DECEMBER 2023, FRANKFURT AM MAIN –
1,000 EUROS**

Klimakneipe is an innovative event series that promotes knowledge, dialogue, and involvement in climate matters. On 1 September, ZDF presenter and meteorologist Özden Terli held a series of discussions with the climate-activist group Koala-Kollektiv. In addition to his expertise, Özden Terli provided inspiring insights on the urgency of climate action. On 1 December, the journalist, media scholar, and podcaster Samira El Ouassil spoke about reporting narratives and climate communication. Besides disseminating knowledge, *Klimakneipe* aims to serve as meeting point for people interested in climate issues and social justice who want to take action.

**APABIZ E. V.: DER UKRAINE-KRIEG IN DER RECHTEN
PUBLIZISTIK (RIGHT WING JOURNALISM ON THE WAR
IN UKRAINE), MAGAZINE, NO. 11, JULY 2023 –
1,190 EUROS**

After more than two years, the war in Ukraine shows no sign of ending any time soon. So far, little has been known about how the war, its causes, and a possible resolution are viewed among German far-right circles. This is why *magazine*, a publication of the Berlin-based antifascist press archive and educational centre apabiz e. V. (antifaschistischen Pressearchivs und Bildungszentrums Berlin) undertook to analyze right-wing publications and media coverage on the subject. What is the overall assessment of the war? What are the views on the role of Russia, Ukraine, the United States, and Germany? And what about the role of NATO? What is the position of the German far-right regarding arms supplies and peace negotiations? This issue of *magazine* provides thoroughly researched insights into these issues.

www.apabiz.de/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/magazine_11_web.pdf

magazine, a publication series by apabiz e. V.



From 8 to 10 November 2023, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and the Volksbühne hosted the event Europa den Räten! (Europe to the Councils!) at Haus am Rosa-Luxemburg-Platz in Berlin. Six months in advance of the European elections, the event discussed the burning questions of our present. How can we prevent the rise of fascist forces in Europe? How can we strengthen social struggles for justice? How can Europe come to terms with its colonial past and become a driving force of global solidarity in an increasingly polarized world?

The social council for a Europe from below convened at the Volksbühne with the participation of Carola Rackete, Martin Schirdewan, Klaus Dörre, Gesine Schwan, Clara Bünger, Gregor Gysi, Sabine Zielke, Wolfgang Kaleck, Elisa Aseva, Hans-Jürgen Urban, Sabrina Fernandes, Ines Schwerdtner, Gerhard Trabert, Caren Lay, Michael Hardt, and Deutsche Wohnen & Co enteignen, among others.

EUROPA DEN RÄTEN





ROSA
LUXEMBURG
STIFTUNG

ALD
ENT
IGNEN

WWW.SALIX.E

UNTERREDE

TRANS
FORM
EREN!



UBLIK!

ENTEIGNE
ENTEIGNE

EUROPA
DEN
RATEN







THE SCHOLARSHIP DEPARTMENT

.....

The task of the Scholarship Department is to foster and support the next generation of left-wing scholars. This includes the selection, guidance, counselling, and political education of the scholarship holders. We prioritize supporting those especially affected by structural inequalities of educational opportunity.

.....

In 2023, we increasingly concentrated on strengthening our scholarship holders' and academic trustees' ties to the Scholarship Department and the RLS. After the years of the coronavirus pandemic, there seemed to be an urgent need to renew bonds that had weakened. The focus thus lay on event formats that allowed for both content-driven political education and large social gatherings. From 27 August to 3 September 2023, the third Begabtenförderungswerke summer academy (run by a confederation of the various German foundations that provide scholarship funding for gifted students) took place in Villigst (Schwerte) under the motto *Der Wert der Demokratie* (The Value of Democracy). It was organized by the two religiously affiliated gifted support scholarship funding bodies in Villigst, the Evangelische Studienwerk and the Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich Studienwerk (ELES). All 14 gifted support scholarship organizations took part. The aim was to engage in dialogue with the scholarship holders about the current state of democracy and its development in a rapidly changing world. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Scholarship Department, together with the Jewish scholarship organization ELES, hosted the multi-day seminar *Solidarisch aus der Krise – Demokratie neu denken* (Solidarity out of the Crisis – Rethinking Democracy), which was attended by 13 scholarship holders from various scholarship organizations. Five speakers – including feminist Veronika Kracher (Amadeu Antonio Stiftung), internet activist Katharina Nocun, and the Director of the Frankfurt Institut für Sozialforschung and RLS academic trustee Stephan Lessenich – presented their socio-political analyses on the topic and then engaged in discussion with the participants. From 1 to 4 October 2023, the *Kritische Bildungstage* (Critical Education Days) took place in Berlin – the largest educational event held by the Scholarship Department since its inception. From 12 to 14 October, we welcomed 150 new scholarship holders to our introductory seminar.

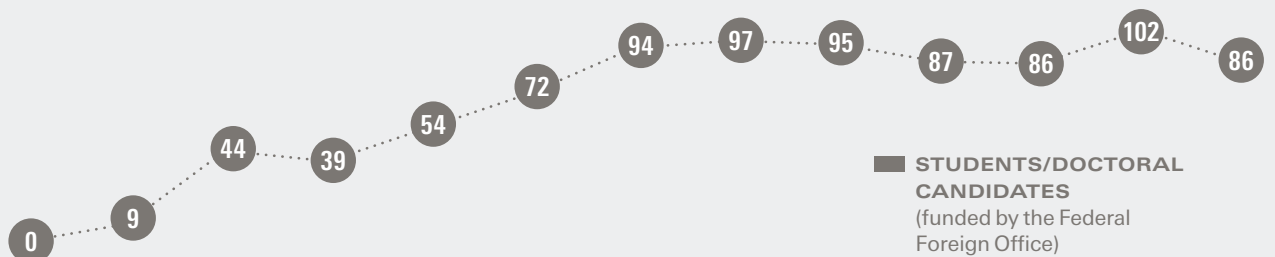
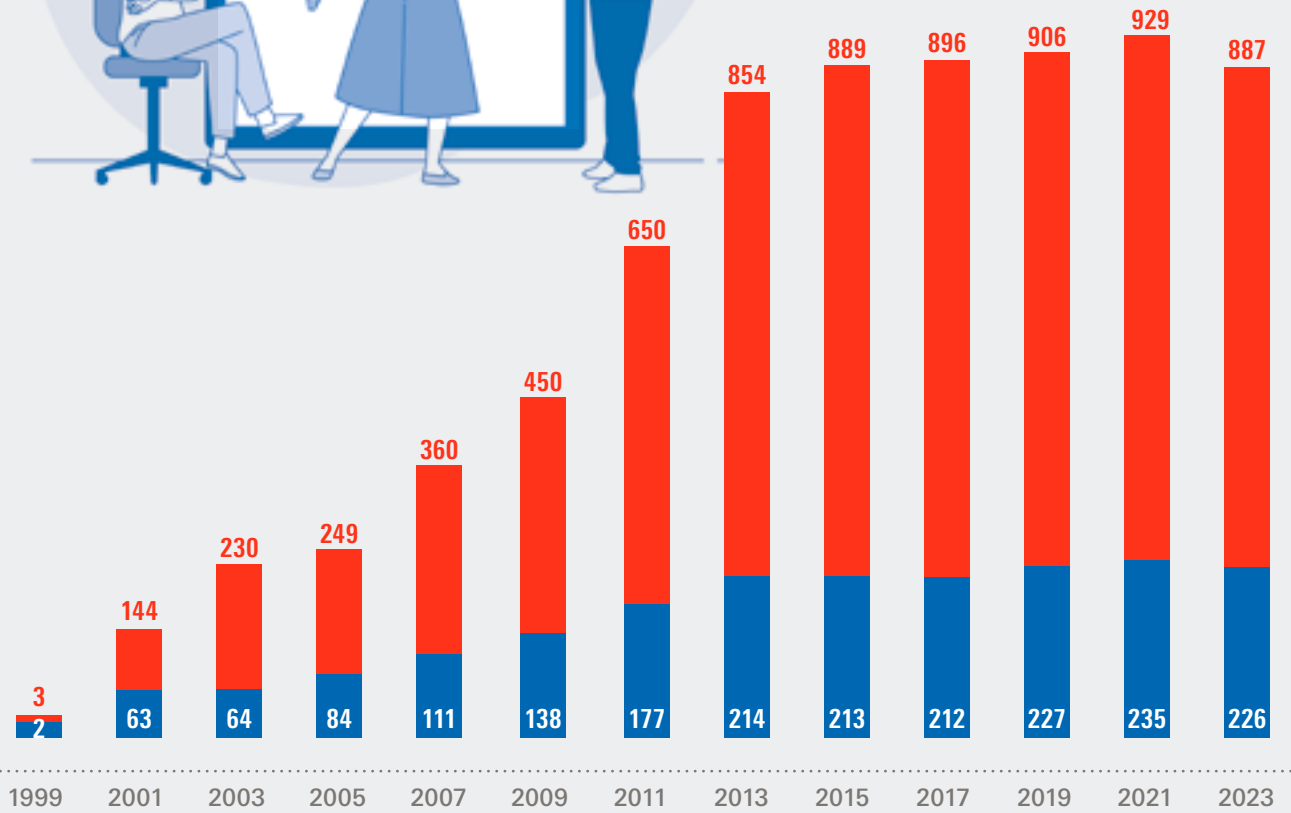
One thing did not change in 2023: the work we do would not be possible without the support of the academic trustees, who work for us on a voluntary basis. They have made a significant contribution to the development of a broad network of left-wing academics in Germany. We would like to thank them for their indispensable commitment to the Scholarship Department.

FUNDING RECIPIENTS OVER THE YEARS



STUDENTS
(funded by the BMBF)

DOCTORAL CANDIDATES
(funded by the BMBF)



STUDENTS/DOCTORAL CANDIDATES
(funded by the Federal Foreign Office)



Fellows of the International Research Group on Authoritarianism and Counter-Strategies at a meeting in Berlin.

SEEING AUTHORITARIANISM FROM THE SOUTH
INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH GROUP ON
AUTHORITARIANISM AND COUNTER-STRATEGIES

In many parts of the world, we are seeing an increasingly authoritarian and violent enforcement of neoliberal exploitation and domination. At the same time, nationalist, racist, anti-feminist, and anti-Enlightenment ideologies and movements are on the rise. Critical researchers are often among the first to suffer repression. In view of this, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation and its Scholarship Department launched the International Research Group on Authoritarianism and Counter-Strategies (IRGAC) in 2019. Our aim is to connect critical and activist perspectives on authoritarian transformations worldwide, particularly those coming from countries in the Global South. With this aim in mind, we have awarded fellowships to over 30 postdoctoral researchers so far, for periods ranging from one and a half to three years. Most of the fellows research and teach at universities in countries in the Global South and complete a research semester at a university in Germany during the course of their funding. By focusing on funding local initiatives in combination with guest residencies, we hope to promote critical left-wing scholarship and activism in the Global South, and to embed these more deeply in local discourses.

In January 2023, twelve fellows, from China, Brazil, Bosnia and Herzegovina, India, Argentina, Turkey, Iran, Zimbabwe, and Russia, commenced their research. Each of them will be funded by the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung for two years. The post-doctoral researchers are investigating topics such as the relationship between the labour movement in Turkey and authoritarian populism, the ideological dimension of class conflict in urban areas in Brazil, the links between patriarchal moralism and neoliberal transformation in Iran, and the role of local influencers in the dissemination of Hindu nationalist neoliberalism in India.

.....
The fellows meet online every two weeks and in person in Berlin every six months. In May 2023, the IRGAC organized a multi-day conference together with the University of Puebla in Mexico, as well as a colloquium at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. The group's analyses and interviews are regularly published on the website www.irgac.org. The IRGAC-edited volume *Beyond Molotovs — A Visual Handbook of Anti-Authoritarian Strategies* brings together 50 international contributions and is being published in 2024 by Transcript.
.....

CRITICAL EDUCATION DAYS

From 1 to 4 October 2023, the Scholarship Department organized its biggest event to date in Berlin: the *Kritische Bildungstage*. Over three days, 40 workshops were held on five topics, including “Ideologies of Inequality and the Fight Against the Right”, “Imperial Capitalism, Environmental Destruction, and the Global South”, and “Education — Learning and Research in School, Work, and University”. Between workshops, there was time for informal dialogue and network-



Opening of the *Kritische Bildungstage*, Berlin, 1 October 2023.

ing. In the evenings, attendees could enjoy a diverse cultural program. More than 170 scholarship holders, alumni, academic trustees, and colleagues from the RLS took part, making this new event format a resounding success.

EDUCATIONAL GOALS IN THE ONGOING CRISIS

Political education should not only encourage critical thinking but also promote active participation in political processes. We therefore view the transfer of knowledge as a reciprocal process in which everyone, including the educators, learns from everyone else. This fundamental equality is what truly allows for emancipatory learning to get underway. We also aim to align the range of topics with the interests of the participants so that the joy of learning is not stifled by predetermined subjects or restrictive learning environments. Furthermore, we focus on politicization and networking. To renew our collective capacity for action, we want to strengthen the ties between the different groups comprised by the Department — scholarship holders, alumni, academic trustees — and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, its employees, and Die Linke. We consider this to be especially important after the challenges of the coronavirus pandemic and the fatigue of living through a prolonged crisis.



Evening program: Live concerts by Liadland (above) and Laiz & the New Love Experiences (below).

.....
 We are making the *Kritische Bildungstage* a fixed part of the broader support programme we offer our scholars. The events are to take place every two years.

Prof. Dr Friedemann Affolderbach
Leipzig University of Applied Sciences, social work

Prof. Dr Ravi Ahuja
University of Göttingen, modern Indian history

Prof. Dr Thomas Alkemeyer
University of Oldenburg, sociology

Dr Freia Anders
JGU Mainz, history

Prof. Dr Jörg Arnold
Max Planck Institute Freiburg, criminal law

Dr Sina Arnold
TU Berlin, interdisciplinary anti-semitism studies

Dr Sevda Can Arslan
University of Paderborn, media studies

Dr Nele Austermann
University of Bremen, law

Dr Felix Axster
TU Berlin, modern and contemporary history

Dr Dr Dario Azzellini
Autonomous University of Zacatecas, Mexico, sociology

Prof. Dr Kurt Bader
Psychology

EngD André Baier
TU Berlin, general engineering

Dr Hanno Balz
University of Bremen, history

Dr Nils Baratella
HS Düsseldorf, philosophy

Prof. Dr Klaus Bastian
Leipzig University of Applied Sciences, foundational studies

Dr Gisela Baumgratz
Intercultural Education

PD Dr Johannes M. Becker
University of Marburg, peace and conflict studies

Prof. Dr Julia Becker
Osnabrück University, social psychology

Prof. Dr Lale Behzadi
University of Bamberg, Arabic studies

Prof. Dr Bernd Belina
Goethe University Frankfurt, human geography

Apl. Prof. Dr Sebastian Berg
University of Bochum, English studies

Dr Peter Bescherer
FSU Jena, sociology

Prof. Dr Henning Best
TU Kaiserslautern, sociology

Dr Margrid Bircken
Literary studies

Dr Peter Birke
University of Göttingen, sociology

Dr Mai-Anh Boger
University of Regensburg, special education

Dr Marcel Bois
FZH Hamburg, modern history

Prof. Dr Manuela Bojadzijev
HU Berlin, political science

Prof. Dr Kemal Bozay
University of Cologne, social work

Prof. Dr Ulrich Brand
University of Vienna, political science

Prof. Dr Thomas Bremer
University of Halle, cultural studies

Prof. Dr Ariane Brensell
FH Braunschweig, Soziale Arbeit

Prof. Dr Micha Brumlik
SSZ Berlin, education

Prof. Dr Hauke Brunkhorst
University of Flensburg, sociology

Prof. Dr Christian Brütt
HS Darmstadt, social work

Prof. Dr Antje Buche
EuroFH Hamburg, social science

Prof. Dr Michael Buckmiller
Social sciences

Prof. Dr Julika Bürgin
HS Darmstadt, social work

Dr Zülfikar Çetin
Evangelische Hochschule Berlin, sociology

Dr Georgia Christinidis
University of Bochum, cultural studies

Dr Karin Cudak
University of Flensburg, social sciences

Dr Philipp Dapprich
FU Berlin, philosophy

Apl. Prof. Dr Alex Demirović
Goethe University Frankfurt, sociology

Dr habil Christian Dietrich
European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder), history

Prof. Dr Alexander Dietz
Hanover University of Applied Sciences and Arts, pastoral care studies

PD Dr Kristin Eichhorn
University of Paderborn, modern German literature

Prof. Dr Andreas Eis
University of Kassel, social sciences

Dr Markus End
TU Berlin, social science

Prof. Dr Esra Erdem
ASH Berlin, social sciences

Dr Mechthild Exo
HS Emden/Leer, social work

Dr Dominik Feldmann
University of Giessen, social science

Prof. Dr Karim Fereidooni
University of Bochum, social science

Dr Maja Figge
Berlin University of the Arts, media studies

Prof. Dr Andreas Fisahn
University of Bielefeld, law

Prof. Dr Andreas Fischer-Lescano
University of Kassel, public law

Prof. Emeritus Dr Peter Fleissner
TU Vienna, computer science

Dr Fabian Frenzel
University of Oxford, social sciences

Dr Jens Gaitzsch
Leibniz Institute of Polymer Research Dresden, chemistry

Dr Udo Gerheim
University of Oldenburg, education

Dr Johanna Gold
University of Bielefeld, education

PD Dr Stefanie Graefe
FSU Jena, sociology

Dr Wolfram Grams
Political science

Apl. Prof. Dr Hermann-Josef Große Kracht
TU Darmstadt, catholic theology

Prof. Dr Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez
Goethe University Frankfurt, sociology

Dr Noa Ha
German Centre for Integration and Migration Research, social sciences

Prof. Dr Felix Hanschmann
Hamburg University of Applied Sciences, public law

Dr Johan Hartle
ABK Vienna, philosophy

Dr Tino Heim
TU Dresden, sociology

Prof. Dr Arne Heise
University of Hamburg, economics

Prof. Dr Annette Henninger
University of Marburg, political science

Prof. Dr Jutta Hergenhan
University of Giessen, political science

Dr Cordelia Heß
University of Greifswald, history

Prof. Dr Sabine Hess
University of Göttingen, gender studies

Dr Andreas Heyer
TU Braunschweig, political science

Prof. Dr Uwe Hirschfeld
Political science

EngD Stefan Hoerner
Otto-von-Guericke-University Magdeburg, general engineering

Prof. Dr Rainer-W. Hoffmann
University of Göttingen, social sciences

Prof. Dr Wolfgang Hofkirchner
TU Wien, computer science

Dr habil Martin Horsch
UK Research and Innovation STFC, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, computer science

Dr Anne Huffschnid
FU Berlin, cultural studies

Prof. Dr Dr Frank Jacob
Nord University, modern and contemporary history

Prof. Dr Philip Jaeger
TU Clausthal, geothermal energy

Prof. Dr Melanie Jaeger-Erben
Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg, business engineering, environment and sustainability

PD Dr Anne Maximiliane Jäger-Gogoll
University of Marburg, literary studies

Dr Carsten Jakobi
Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, literary studies

Dr Lisa Janotta
University of Rostock, social work

Dr Alke Jenss
University of Freiburg, sociology

Dr Petra Jung
University Medical Center Freiburg, medicine

Prof. Dr Horst Junginger
Leipzig University, religious studies

Prof. Dr Ingrid Jungwirth
HSRW Kleve, social science

Prof. Dr Olaf Kaltmeier
University of Bielefeld, history

Prof. Dr John Kannankulam
University of Marburg, political science

Dr Florian Kappeler
University of Wuppertal, modern German literature

Prof. Dr Juliane Karakayali
University of Lüneburg, social sciences

Dr Serhat Karakayali
HU Berlin, social sciences

Dr Ismail Karatepe
University of Kassel, social sciences

Prof. EngD Jürgen Krause
Nordhausen University of Applied Sciences, automation engineering

Prof. Dr Regina Kreide
University of Giessen, political science

Prof. Dr Franz Kasper Krönig
TH Cologne, pedagogy

Dr Timmo Krüger
Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, political science

EngD Karl-Eugen Kurrer
History of technology
and science

**Prof. Emeritus Dr
Ingrid Kurz-Scherf**
University of Marburg,
gender studies

Prof. Dr Friederike Kuster
University of Wuppertal,
philosophy

Junior Prof. Dr Rosa Lehmann
University of Heidelberg,
political science

Prof. Dr Thomas Lemke
Goethe University Frankfurt,
sociology

Prof. Dr Stephan Lessenich
Goethe University Frankfurt,
sociology

Prof. Dr Manfred Liebel
University of Potsdam,
education

Dr Kolja Lindner
University of Paris VIII,
political science

Prof. Dr Daniel Loick
University of Amsterdam,
philosophy

Prof. Dr Volker Lüderitz
FH Magdeburg, agricultural
sciences

Prof. Dr Stefania Maffei
EHS Dresden, philosophy

Prof. Dr Kai Marquardsen
FH Kiel, sociology

Prof. Dr Nadine Marquardt
University of Bonn,
human geography

Prof. Dr Angela Martini
Slavic studies

PD Dr Reiner Marx
Literary studies

Prof. Dr Michael May
RheinMain University of Applied
Sciences, social work

Prof. Dr Nicole Mayer-Ahuja
GAU Göttingen, sociology

Prof. Dr Wolfgang Menz
University of Hamburg,
sociology

Dr Jana Mikota
Siegen University,
German studies

Prof. Dr Matthias Naumann
University of Klagenfurt,
geography

Prof. Dr John P. Neelsen
Tübingen University,
social science

Dr Filomain Nguemo
University of Cologne,
neuroscience

Dr Jan Niggemann
University of Graz, education

Univ.-Prof. Dr Roberto Nigro
University of Lüneburg,
philosophy

Prof. Dr Karoline Noack
University of Bonn, linguistics
and cultural studies

Dr Salvador Oberhaus
History

Prof. Michaela Ott
HFBK Hamburg, aesthetics

Prof. Dr Christof Parnreiter
University of Hamburg,
geography

Prof. Dr Marc Partetzke
University of Hildesheim,
political science

Dr Christian Paschke
University of Halle, law

Prof. Dr Stefan Paulus
FHS St. Gallen, sociology

Prof. Dr Martin Pinquart
UMR, psychology

Prof. Dr Jan Pinsler
FH Magdeburg, communication
studies

Dr Kathrin Plank
University of Passau, education

Prof. Dr Andrea Plöger
ASH Berlin, cultural and
media education

Dr Matthias Rätzer
TU Chemnitz, social science

Dr habil. Jan Rehmann
New York University, philosophy

**Apl. Prof. Dr Ursula
Reitemeyer**
University of Münster,
education

Prof. Dr Tilman Reitz
FSU Jena, sociology

Prof. Dr Lizzie Richardson
Goethe University Frankfurt,
human geography

Prof. Emeritus Dr Steffi Richter
Leipzig University,
Japanese studies

Dr Sabine Ritter
University of Bremen, sociology

Prof. Dr Eckhard Rohrmann
Education

Dr Nikolai Roskamm
FH Erfurt, urban studies

Dr Sven Rößler
PHS Weingarten,
political education

Apl. Prof. Dr Karla Rost
TU Chemnitz, mathematics

Prof. Dr Werner Ruf
Social science

Prof. Dr Oliver Rump
HTW Berlin, museum studies

Prof. Dr Ulrich Ruschig
University of Oldenburg,
philosophy

Dr David Salomon
TU Darmstadt, political science

Dr Martin Sauber
University of Hamburg,
economics

Prof. Dr Markus Sauerwein
Nordhausen University of
Applied Sciences, social work

Dr Wolfram Schaffar
University of Passau,
Southeast Asian studies

Prof. Dr Barbara Schäuble
ASH Berlin, social work

Prof. Dr Renatus Schenkel
FH Magdeburg, journalism

Prof. Dr Jörg Schmidt
Anhalt University of Applied
Sciences, economics

Dr Imke Schmincke
LMU Munich, sociology

Prof. Dr Lars Schmitt
HS Düsseldorf, sociology

Prof. EngD Volker Schöppner
Paderborn University,
mechanical engineering

Prof. Dr Andreas Schröder
Brandenburg University of
Technology, physics

Dr Jörg Schröder
University of Rostock,
sports studies

**Dipl phil Klaus-Dieter
Schubert**

University of Halle,
transportation

Prof. Dr Erika Schulze
FH Bielefeld, sociology

Prof. Dr Volker Schürmann
German Sport University
Cologne, philosophy

Prof. Dr Francis Seeck
Nuremberg Technical
University, social work

Dr Christian Seipel
University of Hildesheim,
social science

Prof. Dr Detlef Siegfried
University of Copenhagen,
contemporary history

Dr Alexander Silbersdorff
GAU Göttingen, statistics

Prof. Dr Ruth Sonderegger
ABK Vienna, philosophy

Prof. Dr Susanne Spindler
HS Düsseldorf, sociology

Dr Anja Steidinger
HFBK Hamburg, art education

Dr Kevin Stützel
Goethe University Frankfurt,
social education

Prof. Dr Chris Tedjasukmana
JGU Mainz, film studies

Dr Angelika Timm
Political science

Prof. Dr Patrizia Tolle
Frankfurt University of Applied
Sciences, social work

Dr Ben Trott
University of Lüneburg,
philosophy

Prof. Dr Vassilis Tsianos
FH Kiel, philosophy

Dr Pinar Tuzcu
University of Kassel, sociology

Jun. Prof. Dr Niklas Venema
Leipzig University, communi-
cation and media studies

Univ.-Prof. Dr Roland Verwiebe
University of Potsdam,
sociology

Prof. Dr Fabian Virchow
HS Düsseldorf, sociology

**Univ.-Prof. Dr
Friedemann Vogel**
Siegen University,
German linguistics

Prof. Dr Janis Voigtländer
University of Duisburg,
computer science

Prof. Dr Heinz-Jürgen Voß
HS Merseburg, sexology

Dr Benjamin Wachtler
RKI Berlin, public health

Assoc. Prof. Dr Thomas Waitz
University of Vienna,
media studies

Prof. Dr Klaus Weber
FH Munich, psychology

Prof. Dr Martina Weber
HS Emden/Leer, gender studies

Prof. Dr Barbara Wedler
FH Mittweida, social science

Prof. Dr Klaus Weinbauer
University of Bielefeld, history

PD Dr Wolfgang Weiß
University of Greifswald,
geography

Prof. Dr Felix Wemheuer
University of Cologne, sinology

Dr Christa Wichterich
University of Vienna, Sociology

**Assoc. Prof.
Katharina Wiedlack**
University of Vienna,
gender studies

Prof. Dr Hanns Wienold
Sociology

Prof. Dr Kathrin Wildner
HCU Hamburg, urban studies

Prof. Dr Werner Winzerling
HS Fulda, computer science

Prof. Dr Markus Wissen
HWR Berlin, social science

Prof. Dr Markus Wöhr
University of Marburg,
psychology

Dr Benedikt Wolf
University of Bielefeld,
German literary studies

Prof. Dr Gabriel Wollner
University of Bayreuth,
philosophy

Prof. Dr Safiye Yildiz
IUBH Cologne, pedagogy

Dr Michael Zander
FH Magdeburg, psychology

Prof. Dr Aram Ziai
University of Kassel,
social science

Dr Birgit zur Nieden
HU Berlin, social science

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

In general, 2023 was a difficult year for the left. From the perspective of the Political Communication department, however, there were also some bright spots — successful events, podcasts, and publications, as well as the social media and TV presence of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Jan van Aken, Advisor for International Conflict Analysis at the RLS, was a frequent talk-show guest (including on *Anne Will* and *Hart aber fair*). Since April 2023, he also runs the podcast *dis:arm — Friedensgespräche der Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung* (The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Peace Talks) together with Linda Peikert. Overall, podcasts are proving to be a successful tool of education and communication. The theory podcast *tl;dr* has already been played more than 500,000 times, with a 90 percent increase in plays in 2023 according to Spotify's statistics. During the same period, the podcast *Rosalux-History* also increased its listening figures by 80 percent. With 6,684 downloads and a print run of 2,000 copies, the study *Linke Kommunikation in Podcasts* (Left-wing Communication in Podcasts) was one of the RLS's most successful publications for 2023. *Schwarzbuch Krankenhaus* (The Hospital Black Book), a publication on grievances in the healthcare sector, was also accessed more than 6,000 times and its print version is already out of stock. A comparative study on the electoral potential of Bündnis Sahra Wagenknecht Alliance (BSW) and Die Linke was the most popular online publication of the RLS, with 15,118 views.

Probably one of the most remarkable events in the history of the Stiftung took place on 12 October 2023 at Haus der Kulturen der Welt, when US senator and leftist icon Bernie Sanders presented his new book *It's OK to Be Angry About Capitalism*. Other sold-out presentations included the book premiere of *Systemsturz*, the German edition of Kohei Saito's *Capital in the Anthropocene*. With more than 1,6 million views on Instagram, a videoclip from Saito's event became the RLS post with the highest social media reach to date. Cross-media content dissemination is vitally important in times of structural changes in the public sphere. All RLS events were also translated into viral video elements, and were thus able to reach a wider audience than "traditional" events. In 2023, the social media channels of the RLS gained many more subscribers and followers: on Instagram, the number of followers grew by 85 percent (up to 28,800 followers), while TikTok became a hugely important platform with 116,300 likes and numerous comments. The number of visits to the website rose by 6.5 percent, with 2,519,577 visits. The RLS also joined Threads and BlueSky, two alternatives to X (formerly Twitter), embracing the challenges posed by a new era in communication.



Left to right: Heinz Bierbaum, Martin Schirdewan, and Bernie Sanders outside Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung headquarters.

BERNIE SANDERS AT THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

.....
It's OK to Be Angry About Capitalism is the title of the new book by US Senator Bernie Sanders. It was presented for the first time in Germany on 12 October 2023, to a sold-out auditorium at Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin at the invitation of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung and Tropen-Verlag. The American Academy in Berlin and the *tageszeitung* were partners of the event.
.....

The book is a testament to Sanders' life's work in politics and a passionate appeal to the multi-ethnic working class to fight together and not let themselves be set against each other. Tony Kushner, US screenwriter and author, once wrote: "In this world, there is a kind of painful progress. Longing for what we've left behind, and dreaming ahead". Using plain language, Bernie Sanders manages to mobilize solidarity from below against the divisive racism propagated by the powerful. Had he been elected as the democratic candidate in the 2016 primaries, Donald Trump's first presidency might have been

prevented, taking the United States in a completely different direction.

In his book, Sanders traces a programme for building societal counter-power. Journalist and TV presenter Jana Pareigis eloquently hosted the event, and quizzed Sanders about the key aspects of his book. Just a week before the event, Hamas had attacked Israel, killing 1,200 people and taking 200 hostages. As the son of Holocaust survivors and a prominent representative of the US left, Sanders answered several questions regarding the attack. He spoke out strongly against Hamas, but also called for serious steps to be taken to end the oppression and suffering of Palestinians. The event ended with a standing ovation for Sanders and his life's work from the audience of more than a thousand people. Media response was also considerable: Sanders made TV appearances in *Maischberger* and *Jung und Naiv*, and was interviewed by *Die Zeit* and other important outlets. More than 50,000 people watched the recording of the event on YouTube, making it one of the most-watched videos posted by the RLS in 2023.

The following day, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung welcomed Bernie Sanders into its own headquarters. In a conversation moderated by Stefan Liebich, head of the RLS New York office, Sanders talked to climate activist Carla Reemtsma from

Fridays for Future about the links between climate and class issues, and how to evaluate the potential of socio-ecological alliances. Sanders' visit and these events are no doubt among the highlights in the history of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and his credo "Not me, us!" left its mark during his visit to Berlin.

EVENT WITH STANDING TOGETHER

The escalation of the conflict in the Middle East was certainly one of the most dramatic political events of 2023. The brutal massacre perpetrated by Hamas on 7 October 2023 left 1,200 people dead and released shockwaves of conflict. Tens of thousands of Palestinian civilians have been killed by Israeli forces in the relentless bombing and the ground invasion that followed the attack. Even the orders by the International Court of Justice to do everything possible to prevent a genocide went unheeded for a long time. In Israel, the space to criticize the conduct of the military has been massively restricted: demonstrations have been banned, critics intimidated, and Palestinian Israelis have been attacked. Jewish-Israeli peace activists, including the approximately 5,000 members of the movement Standing Together, are being targeted as alleged traitors.

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung hosted Rula Daood and Alon-Lee Green, directors of Standing Together, at a public event in Berlin on 8 December 2023. They spoke with Gil Shohat, head of the RLS Israel office, about the current challenges for peace activists in Israel, and explained how difficult the situation has become for the Jewish and Palestinian left, campaigning for the liberation of the Israeli hostages and at the same time for a just peace and an end to the policy of occupation in the West Bank.

.....
Despite being organized on short notice, the event was fully booked within two days and attended by 300 people. Almost 10,000 views on YouTube show the audience's interest in left-wing voices from the region, and in an empathetic approach to the war and its historical causes that reflects different perspectives. The presence and remarks of the members of Standing Together gave us the courage to continue campaigning for a just peace in the Middle East.
.....

Rula Daood and Alon-Lee Green from Standing Together.





Panel discussion on the Stefan Heym exhibition with Annekathrin Bürger, Bettina Wegner, Therese Hörnigk, Joochen Laabs, and Jenny Erpenbeck (left to right).

COMBATIVE AND CONTROVERSIAL – RLS EXHIBITIONS

In 2023, the RLS generated public attention and discussion with two exhibitions. From 30 March to 15 September, the exhibition *Ich habe mich immer eingemischt* (I Always Got Involved) followed Stefan Heym's biography and his literary work on the occasion of his one hundred and tenth birthday. The exhibition was curated by Therese Hörnigk, a brilliant expert on Heym who published a book with the same title in 2013. Heym's life and work reflect the contradictions of the twentieth century, with all its tragedies, hopes and illusions. He saw himself as a storyteller and publicist. The controversial writer and political figure was made accessible to a multi-generational audience through a substantial programme of accompanying events. These included a concert by Robert Stadlober and his band with the title *Vom Aufstoßen der Fenster* (On Pushing Windows Open); an excursion to Chemnitz, Heym's birthplace; a film evening with director Beate Kunath, who documented the relocation of the author's work library to Chemnitz in her film *Abschied und Ankunft* (Farewell and Arrival); and a session of reminiscence with contemporary witnesses in a panel discussion.

From 27 September 2023 to 16 February 2024, the photo exhibition *Wir sind keine Rausländer* (We're No Foreigners) gave an insight into the political organization and struggles of people of Turkish descent in West Berlin in the 1970s and 1980s. Historian and journalist Svenja Huck came across the archive of press photographer Jürgen Henschel (1923–2012) by chance while researching in the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum. The archive contains several images documenting the political and cultural life of people of Turkish descent in

former West Berlin. Henschel's photographs are of enormous value for the historical memory of this period of migration and political organization. Some of the demands and slogans raised at the time, such as those calling for a ban on fascist Turkish organizations, are still relevant today. The photo exhibition and accompanying texts in German and Turkish met with a very positive response. At a time when the immigration debate is dominated by racist discourse, strategies of resistance and self-empowerment are particularly important topics. Contemporary witnesses and activists engaged in dialogue about the exhibition, and shared their memories and experiences with the public at various events.

The exhibitions working group of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized and supported both exhibitions.

Exhibition *Wir sind keine Rausländer* in the RLS headquarters in Berlin.





Frame from the video *Weshalb sind die Reichen so reich?* with Wolfgang M. Schmitt.

CLARIFYING THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT

“Why are the rich so rich?” This was the question explored by famous film critic and podcaster Wolfgang M. Schmitt on 21 September 2023, before an auditorium of 300 guests at the RLS Berlin headquarters. Schmitt runs both the podcast *Die Filmanalyse* (Film Analysis) and the economic podcast *Wohlstand für Alle* (Prosperity for All), in which he has analyzed capitalism’s classic promise of happiness and upward mobility through the example of Hollywood films like *The Secret of My Success*, starring Michael J. Fox. In his lecture at the RLS, he also tackled these ideological promises using statistics on upward mobility and other indices of social mobility. As a matter of fact, social mobility barely exists in German society. In the overwhelming majority of cases, those who are born poor remain poor. Poverty is inherited. Worldwide, there are 690 million people suffering from hunger and 2,640 billionaires, a number that is constantly increasing along with their share of social wealth. Schmitt emphasized that people’s own work or efforts rarely make them billionaires; inheritances do. He also made clear the need to stop the upward redistribution of wealth. Besides taxing “unearned income”, such as inheritances, Schmitt suggested putting the concept of democratic socialism back on the political agenda. The recording of his lecture was the most popular video of the RLS in 2023, with more than 80,000 views on YouTube alone. This demonstrates the high level of demand for education on economic contexts and realities and their ideological connections with the culture industry.

ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PODCASTS

DIS:ARM – THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PEACE TALKS

dis:arm deals with crises, wars, and conflicts, with alternatives and solutions. This is a podcast about the possibilities of a peace-oriented foreign policy. Once a month, Linda Peikert and Jan van Aken discuss a specific topic with scholars and activists from around the world.

MANYPOD – THE SOCIETY OF THE MANY IN CONVERSATION

This podcast created and hosted by Massimo Perinelli focuses on migrant struggles. Perinelli talks to friends and comrades from social movements, academia, culture, and politics, about how to overturn the status quo.

TL;DR – TOO LONG, DIDN'T READ

This theory podcast with Alex Demirović presents key works of left-wing theory and discusses their relevance today. The wide spectrum of works presented stretches from classical Marxism, critical theory, feminism, anti-colonial theory, and poststructuralism, to hegemony theory and existentialism.

ROSALUX HISTORY

The aim of this podcast is to “brush history against the grain” (Walter Benjamin). Current issues are discussed in their historical context by guests from academia, politics, and society. With moderation and thematic introductions from Anika Taschke and Albert Scharenberg.

LUX.LOCAL – THE LOCAL PODCAST

Spaces for shaping progressive local politics are at the centre of *LUX.local*. Through interviews with committed participants, best practice examples, and everyday stories from local politics, Katharina Weise presents the topics in local and municipal politics in an accessible manner.



AVAILABLE ON THE
RLS WEBSITE, SOUNDCLOUD,
SPOTIFY, AND OTHER PODCAST
PLATFORMS.

WWW.ROSALUX.DE/PODCASTS



SELECTED ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG PUBLICATIONS

Jane McAlevey, Abby Lawlor
Machtaufbau in Tarifverhandlungen
 Building Power in Collective Bargaining
 Paperback, 52 pages
 ISBN 978-3-948250-20-1

Wenke Christoph, Anne Steckner
Häufig gestellte Fragen zur Europäischen Union
 Frequently Asked Questions
 About the EU
 2nd edition, revised and updated by
 Stephan Kaufmann
 Paperback, 76 pages
 ISBN 978-3-948250-74-4

communica e. V. (eds.)
Neue Energie für Vergesellschaftung für neue Energie
 Perspectives on socialization
 in the energy sector
 Paperback, 60 pages
 ISBN 978-3-948250-62-1

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (eds.)
Antisemitismus definieren?
 Defining Antisemitism
 Paperback, 24 pages
 ISBN 978-3-948250-70-6

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (eds.)
Schwarzbuch Krankenhaus
 Breaking the silence on the
 healthcare sector
 Paperback, 48 pages
 ISBN 978-3-948250-66-9

Johannes Schulten, Jörn Boewe
Die Transformation der globalen Automobilindustrie
 The transformation of the global
 automotive industry

Paperback, 108 pages
 ISBN 978-2-8399-3840-2

Stephan Kaufmann
Geld allein macht nicht glücklich
 Myths and misconceptions about wealth
 luxemburg argumente, 40 pages
 ISSN 2193-5831

Riccardo Altieri, Bernd Hüttner,
 Florian Weis (eds.)
Die Arbeiter*innenbewegung als Emanzipationsraum
 Jews in the international left (Volume 3)
 luxemburg beiträge, 112 pages
 ISSN 2749-0939

Nuria Cafaro, Bernd Hüttner,
 Caner Tekin (eds.)
Gelungende und misslingende Solidarisierungen
 Wildcat strikes in West Germany, 1973
 luxemburg beiträge, 112 pages

Anne Göbel, Florian Janik
Schöner Wohnen in Hessen?
 A review of the housing crisis in Hesse
 and proposals for overcoming it
 luxemburg beiträge, 72 pages
 ISSN 2749-0939

Hendrik Sander
Mobilitätswende in ländlichen Räumen
 The mobility transition in rural areas
 luxemburg beiträge, 102 pages
 ISSN 2749-0939

Nele Heise, Erik Meyer
Linke Kommunikation in Podcasts
 An analysis of the progressive
 "podosphere" based on current actors

and topics
 Studien, 40 pages
 ISSN 2194-2242

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung (eds.)
#wirfahrezusammen
 Arguments for a social-ecological
 transformation in transport
 Zahlen & Fakten, 8 pages
 ISSN 2942-2825

FROM KARL DIETZ VERLAG BERLIN

communica & BUNDjugend (eds.)
Öffentlicher Luxus
 On public luxury
 160 pages, paperback
 ISBN 978-3-320-02414-7

Jörn Schütrumpf, Marga Voigt (eds.)
Clara Zetkin — Die Briefe 1914 bis 1933. Volume 2: Die Revolutionsbriefe (1919–1923)
 760 pages, hardcover
 ISBN 978-3-320-02412-3

Andreas Arndt
Hegel in Marx
 Studies on dialectical critique
 and liberation theory
 272 pages, paperback
 ISBN 978-3-320-02407-9

IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER PUBLISHERS

EDITION NAUTILUS

Mohammed Chahrour, Levi Sauer,
 Lina Schmid, Jorinde Schulz,
 Michèle Winkler (eds.)
Generalverdacht
 The political function of the myth
 of clan criminality
 Paperback, 320 pages
 ISBN 978-3-96054-328-2

VSA: VERLAG

Richard Detje, Dieter Sauer
Solidarität in den Krisen der Arbeitswelt
 The current relevance of collective
 experiences of resistance
 Paperback, 160 pages
 ISBN 978-3-96488-181-6

Andreas Fisahn, Alois Stiegeler,
 Manfred Braatz
Oben, Unten, rechts und links
 An alternative introduction to political
 colour theory
 Paperback, 208 pages
 ISBN 978-3-96488-183-0

Buy or download
 the publications of
 the Rosa-Luxemburg-
 Stiftung for free



DISPATCHES FROM THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

As a follow-up to the 2022 General Assembly, an Extraordinary General Assembly was held on 10 June 2023. It revolved around the topic of “War and Peace” and proposals for a left-wing peace policy. After Heinz Bierbaum, Chair of the Executive Board, introduced the topic, three speakers addressed the assembly: Christina Schües, a philosopher specializing in peace studies (University of Lübeck), Ingar Solty, the RLS’s chief advisor on Peace and Security Policy, and Janine Wissler, co-chair of Die Linke. The three contributions, which were formulated from different perspectives and complemented each other well, led to a lively debate on the current security situation in Europe and beyond, and the question of how the left can contribute to the peaceful resolution of current conflicts.

At the regular General Assembly on 25 November 2023, Heinz Bierbaum and Executive Director Daniela Trochowski spoke about their work during the reporting period, focusing on both the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung’s external work and the fundamental structural changes within the RLS in the context of the organizational development process. They emphasized the profound changes to the context of the RLS’s educational work, due to conflicts, crises, and wars both in Europe and beyond, and the need to adapt to this in terms of content and organization. Franziska Scheier, Deputy Chair of the Academic Advisory Board, gave an account of its work. Lena Saniye Güngör, member of the Executive Board and spokesperson for the Council of Regional Branches, reported on the situation of the regional branches and the anticipated effects of the pending austerity measures.

.....
Peace, social justice, and a socio-ecological transformation — these three goals were repeatedly mentioned when it came to the RLS’s positioning itself in these difficult times.
.....

The general debate that followed focused on the current conjuncture — escalating conflicts, wars that are expanding in scope, overlapping crises. The speakers repeatedly emphasized that the RLS, like Die Linke, must stand up for peaceful and just solutions and must work towards being “ready for peace” (*Friedenstüchtig*) rather than preparing for war. At the end of the General Assembly, three new members were elected to the Academic Advisory Board.



Hybrid again — the General Assembly on 25 November 2023 in Berlin.

MEMBERS OF THE ROSA-LUXEMBURG-STIFTUNG

FULL MEMBERS

Marwa Al-Radwany
 Renate Angstmann-Koch
 Dr Dietmar Bartsch
 Yasmina Bellounar
 Prof. Dr Heinz Bierbaum
 Dr Joachim Bischoff
 Steffen Bockhahn
 Karola Boger
 Dr Marcel Bois
 Prof. Dr Ulrich Brand
 Dr Lutz Brangsch
 Dr André Brie
 Prof. Dr Michael Brie
 Prof. Dr Ulrich Brinkmann
 Sandra Brunner
 Christine Buchholz
 Prof. Dr Michael Buckmiller
 Dr Carolin Butterwegge
 Kate Cahoon
 Wenke Christoph
 Daniela Dahn
 Prof. Dr Alex Demirović
 Prof. Dr Frank Deppe
 Richard Detje
 Ulrike Detjen
 Sophie Dieckmann
 Dr Cornelia Domaschke-Prochnow

Evelyn Edler
 Dr Dagmar Enkelmann
 Prof. Dr Andreas Fisahn
 Dr Thomas Flierl
 Wulf Gallert
 Wolfgang Gehrcke
 Claudia Gohde
 Dr Stefanie Graefe
 Dr Bärbel Grygier
 Lena Saniye Güngör
 Ates Gürpınar
 Dr Gregor Gysi
 Dr Noa Ha
 Sofia Hamaz
 Thomas Händel
 Karl-Heinz Heinemann
 Heiko Hilker
 Dr Gerd-Rüdiger Hoffmann
 Dr Barbara Höll
 Florian Höllen
 Dr Steffen Hultsch
 Meike Jäger
 Dr Gerda Jasper
 Dr Lukrezia Jochimsen
 Kadriye Karci
 Cigdem Kaya-Boztemur
 Dr Andreas Keller
 Prof. Dr Mario Keßler
 Katja Kipping
 Prof. Dr Dieter Klein

Dr Thomas Klein
 Katharine Kolmans
 Erhard Korn
 Jan Korte
 Prof. Ingrid Kurz
 Caren Lay
 Dr Klaus Lederer
 Dr Steffen Lehndorff
 Sabine Leidig
 Katrin Lompscher
 Dr Gesine Lötzsche
 Prof. Dr Christa Luft
 Dr Helmuth Markov
 Ulrich Maurer
 Prof. Dr Margit Mayer
 Sahra Mirow
 Cornelia Möhring
 Margret Mönig-Raane
 Prof. Dr Oliver Nachtwey
 Helga Nowak
 Onur Ocak
 Petra Pau
 Victor Perli
 Klaus Pickshaus
 Prof. Dr Dörte Putensen
 Peeter Raane
 Bodo Ramelow
 Prof. Dr Katrin Reimer-Gordinskaya
 Dr Sabine Reiner
 Prof. Dr Rolf Reißig

Bernd Riexinger
 Prof. Dr Rainer Rilling
 Dr Bernd Rump
 Dr David Salomon
 Dr Reyhan Şahin
 Dr Birgit Schliewenz
 Horst Schmitthenner
 Christiane Schneider
 Dr Ursula Schröter
 Siri Schultze
 Dr Karin Schüttelpelz
 Dr Jörn Schüttrumpf
 Dr Reinhard Semmelmann
 Dr Petra Sitte
 Prof. Dr Susanne Spindler
 Sonja Staack
 Gabriele Gün Tank
 Güldane Tokyürek
 Nina Treu
 Daniela Trochowski
 Vera Vordenbäumen
 Dr Jochen Weichold
 Janine Wissler
 Dr Evelin Wittich
 Dr Ulrich Wolf
 Ulrike Zerhau
 Gabriele Zimmer

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERS

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

HONORARY MEMBERS

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

INACTIVE MEMBERS

Dr Mario Candeias
 Dr Stefanie Ehmsen
 Kerstin Kaiser
 Stefan Nadolny
 Norbert Schepers
 Dr Jan van Aken
 Eva Völpel
 Dr Florian Weis
 Fanny Zeise

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

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

Lena Saniye Güngör (Deputy Chair): b. 1993, studied psychology, applied ethics, and conflict management, member of the Thuringian State Parliament since 2019, Speaker of the Council of Regional Branches since 2021; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

Jan Korte (Deputy Chair): b. 1977, studied history, sociology, and political science, member of the Bundestag since 2005, Deputy Chair of Die Linke's parliamentary group from 2013 to 2017 and head of the group from 2017 to 2023; member of the RLS Executive Board since 2014.

Daniela Trochowski (Executive Director): b. 1969, diploma in economics, from 2012 to 2021 volunteer vice president, and since 2021 member of the executive board of the Humanistischen Verbands Berlin/Brandenburg, member of the executive board of Die Linke from 2016 to 2019, state secretary in the Brandenburg Ministry of Finance from 2009 to 2019; member of the RLS Executive Board since February 2020.

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

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

Ulrike Detjen: b. 1952, industrial bookbinder, partner and manager of a prepress house since 1999, voluntary activities in the community-political forum of North Rhine-Westphalia and in the NRW regional branch of the RLS since 2008, Speaker of the Council of Regional Branches from October 2014 to November 2021; member of the RLS Executive board since 2013.

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

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

Victor Perli: b. 1982, studied political science, sociology, and modern history, member of the Lower Saxony State Parliament from 2008 to 2013, member of the Wolfenbüttel County Parliament and parliamentary group leader from 2011 to 2015, member of the Bundestag since 2017; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

Bernd Riexinger: b. 1955, on works councils from 1980 to 1990, trade union secretary from 1991 to 2000, executive di-

rector of ver.di for the Stuttgart region from 2001 to 2012, chair of Die Linke from 2012 to 2021, member of the Bundestag since 2017; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

Sonja Staack: b. 1977, diploma in chemistry, research assistant and consultant in the parliamentary group of Die Linke from 2006 to 2012, Advisor of the Executive Board of the GEW from 2013 to 2017, Deputy Chair of DGB Berlin-Brandenburg from 2018 to 2021, Director of the Federal Commission for Higher Education and Research at ver.di since 2021; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

Gabriele Zimmer: b. 1955, diploma in language mediation, chair of the PDS from 2000 to 2003, member of the European Parliament for PDS/Die Linke from 2004 to 2019, parliamentary leader of the GUE/NGL group in the European Parliament from 2012 to 2019; member of the RLS Executive Board since November 2022.

THE WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Executive Board of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a voluntary body. Its members are elected by the highest authority in the RLS, the General Assembly. Prior to the General Assembly of 26 November 2022, it consisted of thirteen members (seven women and six men).

.....

The primary task of the Executive Board is to manage the affairs of the RLS and to define the fundamental principles of its work. In this sense, the Executive Board decides on the RLS's basic structure and the key aspects of personnel and financial organization.

.....

In 2023, the Executive Board held six meetings as well as a one-and-a-half-day conclave in Vienna at the beginning of September. As a general rule, the Deputy Executive Director, the Chair of the Academic Advisory Board, and a member of the Works Council attend the meetings and conclaves of the Executive Board, with the exception of the closed sessions.

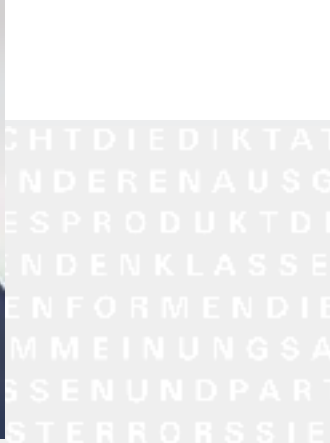
At its meetings, the Executive Board deliberated on current issues and events. In the reporting period, these included the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine and the various reactions of Western countries and institutions, the elections in Greece, Turkey, and Spain, as well as those in Bremen. Following the Hamas-led attack on Israel on 7 October 2023, the Executive Board decided on how the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung would position itself on this matter. A statement from the Executive Board was immediately published on the RLS website and a dossier on the Middle East conflict was compiled. The RLS sees itself as a platform for the discussion of diverse views, even controversial ones, and it offers protected spaces for this purpose.



PROF. DR HEINZ BIERBAUM



DANIELA TROCHOWSKI



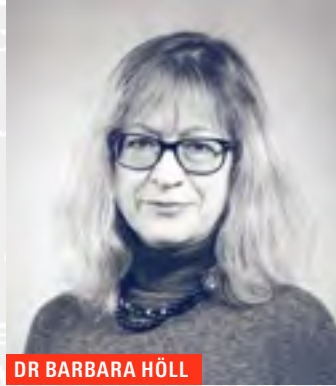
LENA SANIYE GÜNGÖR



JAN KORTE



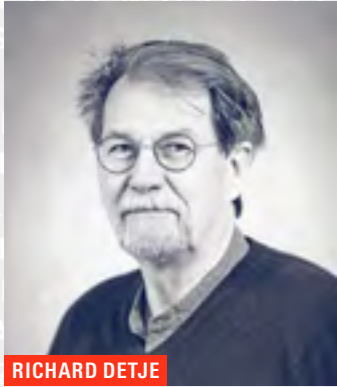
ULRIKE DETJEN



DR BARBARA HÖLL



LENA SANIYE GÜNGÖR



RICHARD DETJE



SONJA STAACK



APL. PROF. DR ALEX DEMIROVIĆ



GABRIELE ZIMMER



BERND RIXINGER



SOPHIE DIECKMANN



VICTOR PERLI

One of the main concerns of the Executive Board is to utilize the potential of the RLS’s international offices more effectively and to strengthen the links between our foreign and domestic work.

Permanent agenda items at meetings and conclaves in the reporting period:

- The implementation status of the focal points of the RLS’s educational work as decided by the Executive Board: peace and security policy, the fight against the right and for a “society of the many”, socialist justice policy, socio-ecological transformation, and diagnosis of the times.
- The implementation status of the decisions taken by the Executive Board as part of the organizational development process.
- The integrated planning process and the stages of its implementation; the RLS-wide planning process, which now covers all areas and therefore all donors. This was one of the main topics of the conclave of the Board in Vienna. The new planning approach was seen as a major step forward by the members of the Executive Board.

The Executive Board also decides on new appointments to the management of our offices abroad — last year it was New Delhi, Athens, New York and, following the sudden passing of Dieter Müller, Mexico City. At its October meeting, the Executive Board also decided on new appointments to the management of the Centre for International Dialogue and Cooperation (Philip Degenhardt), Political Communication (Henning Obens), and the Institute for Critical Social Analys and Political Education (Steffen Kühne) — the latter department newly created as part of the organizational development process.

THE STIFTUNG FUNDING LAW AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The Federal Constitutional Court’s decision on 22 February 2023 (2 BvE 3/19) prompted the legal regulation of the financing of political Stiftungen. The Alternative for Germany party (AfD) felt that their constitutional right to equality of opportunity was being violated as regards the funding of their party-affiliated Stiftung, the Desiderius-Erasmus-Stiftung. Thus, the AfD sued the German Bundestag, its Budget Committee, the Federal Government, the Interior Ministry, and the Finance Ministry. The oral hearing took place on 25 October 2022, at the Federal Constitutional Court. In the verdict it handed down on 22 February 2023, the Court established that the prior regulation of financing practice by budgetary laws was insufficient, and that a Stiftung Funding Law was required.

The Bundestag passed such a law on 10 November 2023. Key provisions of the law are that a new political Stiftung will only receive funding if the associated party is elected to

the Bundestag in three consecutive electoral periods. The distribution of funds among the political Stiftungen also became subject to new regulations: initially, each political Stiftung receives a base amount of one percent from the global budget. The amount of further global funds is determined by the arithmetic mean of the results of the last four Bundestag elections. Funds for the international activities of Stiftungen are distributed exclusively according to the arithmetic mean of the election results, as are — and this is likewise new — the funds for scholarship holders.

Section 2, Paragraph 4 of the Stiftung Funding Law sets out the requirements for funding a political Stiftung: it should be recognizably “committed to the free democratic order and the idea of international understanding”.

.....
The law came into effect on 1 January 2024. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is already experiencing very concrete consequences: since the beginning of this legislative period, it has received 10.4 percent of the funding from the various providers. This quota is the result of the arithmetic mean and the negotiations between the political Stiftungen.
.....

From 1 January 2024, the new quota of 9.9 percent comes into effect. This means that the Stiftung is to receive significantly less funding in 2024. Overall, we can expect that contributions will continue to fall considerably from 2026 due to the anticipated election results of Die Linke. If the party achieves 5 percent at the polls, the rate will fall to 7.4 percent. Due to the significantly lower funds that will be available to the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in the future, drastic structural cuts will have to be made. As the majority of expenses are personnel costs, a major reduction in staff will be necessary. For this reason, a process for operational changes in accordance with Section 111 of the Works Constitution Act was initiated in December 2023.

.....
The aim is to adapt the structure of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung to the new circumstances, to reorganize it, and to secure its continued existence.
.....

THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD

Through 2023 the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's Academic Advisory Board dealt with key focal points of the RLS's work both in terms of content and organization. It supported the RLS's organizational development process and issued two statements in this regard. At its five meetings, it addressed a number of substantive issues relating to the RLS's work and discussed these with the relevant departments and responsible persons within the RLS. These included the discourse on the left about China, the RLS's funding policy within the framework of the scholarship programme, the RLS's work in the context of trade unions, the war in Ukraine, the focal point *Sorgende Stadt* (caring city), and the rise of the New Right in international politics. The focal point *Zeitdiagnose* (diagnosis of the times) also took centre stage. With reference to Nancy Fraser's book *Cannibal Capitalism: How Our System Is Devouring Democracy, Care, and the Planet and What We Can Do about It*, the Academic Advisory Board debated about how to interpret the overall historical conjuncture. In addition, questions of the left's class politics in its implications for societal analysis and political education were discussed.

As an honorary advisory body, the Academic Advisory Board supports the RLS primarily from an academic and strategic perspective. In autumn 2023, there were some changes in the Advisory Board. It now comprises:

MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD:

Chair:

Prof. Dr Birgit Sauer: Professor of political science, retired.

Deputy chairs:

Prof. Dr Wolfram Schaffar: Professor of development policy at Passau University.

Dr Franziska Scheier: Research associate, consultant, and member of the IMU-Institut Berlin.

Dr Christa Wichterich: Lecturer in gender studies, sociology and political science; freelance journalist for German-language daily newspapers, magazines and radio; consultant and expert in development cooperation.

Additional members:

Prof. Dr habil. Ilker Ataç: Professor of political science at Fulda University of Applied Sciences.

Prof. Dr Frank Deppe: Professor Emeritus of political science at the University of Marburg.

Prof. Dr Andreas Fisahn: Professor of public law, environmental and technology law, legal theory, academic trustee of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

Dr Stefanie Hürtgen: Political scientist and labour sociologist, permanent fellow of the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt a. M.

Prof. Dr Mario Kessler: Historian and senior fellow at the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History in Potsdam.



Birgit Sauer is the new chair of the Academic Advisory Board.

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

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

Dr Nadja Rakowitz: Executive director of the Verein demokratischer Ärztinnen und Ärzte (Democratic Doctors' Association).

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

Prof. Steffi Richter: Professor of Japanese studies at Leipzig University.

Dr Axel Rüdiger: Political scientist at the Free University of Berlin.

Dr David Salomon: Political scientist at the TU Darmstadt.

Sarah Schilliger: PhD, current co-director of the international research project "Migrant mobility, 'illegality' and racialization in European agricultural labour".

Dr habil. Susanne Schultz: Lecturer at the universities of Frankfurt a. M. and Vienna, Head of the DFG (German Research Community) project "Demografisierung des Politischen", private lecturer at the Goethe University Frankfurt with a focus on biotechnology, nature, and society.

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

Prof. Dr Markus Wissen: Professor of social science, with a focus on socio-ecological transformation processes, at the Hochschule für Wirtschaft und Recht, Berlin.

THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

During the reporting period, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung organized more than 20 discussion groups (DGs), including the working group Critical Pedagogy, which is linked to the DG Education Policy. They offer protected spaces for the exchange of diverse, sometimes controversial views on specific topics. The DGs have very varied subject areas, structures, formats.

The DGs are hybrid bodies in the sense that they bring together both full-time and voluntary staff. Not the least of their aims is to have an impact on the RLS's wider network or to draw this network closer to the RLS and benefit from the expertise available there. Certain DGs have been in existence for some time, such as the DG History or the DG

Rural Areas, which have been operating since the mid-2000s. Others are more recent, such as the DG Economic Policy, which began its work in 2017, or the DG Future of The Car – Environment – Mobility (ZAUM, for its German initials), which was established in 2018. The newest among them is the DG Antisemitism. The work of the DGs also includes the annual meetings of the DG coordinators, organized by the chair of the Executive Board, at which the coordinators of each DG report on their work. The participants at the 2023 annual retreat were unanimous that there should continue to be discussion groups at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, as they are an important part of our educational work. They can partially cover the work on the ground, in rural areas, where full-time structures sometimes fall short due to their limited capacities.

ANTISEMITISM

Florian Weis (florian.weis@rosalux.org)

LABOUR LAW

Steffen Hultsch; full-time contact:

Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

EDUCATION

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

and Katrin Schäffgen (katrin.schaefgen@rosalux.org)

As part of the Education discussion group: Working Group on Critical Pedagogy

Lukas Eble and Simon Kunert

EUROPEAN POLITICS

Johanna Bussemer (johanna.bussemer@rosalux.org)

FEMINISM

Barbara Fried (barbara.fried@rosalux.org)

PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY

Alexej Stoljarow; full-time contact: Ingar Soltý

(ingar.soltý@rosalux.org)

HISTORY

Bernd Hüttner (bernd.huettner@rosalux.org)

HISTORY FOR THE FUTURE

Cornelia Domaschke-Prochnow (dr.c.domaschke@t-online.de)

& Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan (gerd-ruediger.stephan@rosalux.org)

UNIONS

Fanny Zeise (fanny.zeise@rosalux.org)

and Florian Wilde (florian.wilde@rosalux.org)

CLASSES AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Horst Kahrs (Horst.Kahrs.Fellow@rosalux.org) and

Florian Weis (florian.weis@rosalux.org)

COUNCIL ON RESEARCH, PHILOSOPHY, AND EDUCATION

Wolfgang Girnus; full-time contact:

Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan (gerd-ruediger.stephan@rosalux.org)

CULTURE

Michaela Klingberg (michaela.klingberg@rosalux.org)

MIGRATION

Massimo Perinelli (massimo.perinelli@rosalux.org)

PARTIES AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

TBD

RURAL AREAS

Steffen Kühne (steffen.kuehne@rosalux.org)

THE RIGHT

Anika Taschke (anika.taschke@rosalux.org)

SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

TBD

URBAN POLICY

Stefan Thimmel (stefan.thimmel@rosalux.org)

and Armin Kuhn (armin.kuhn@rosalux.org)

DIALOGUE BETWEEN WORLDVIEWS

Jürgen Klute; full-time contact:

Cornelia Hildebrandt (cornelia.hildebrandt@rosalux.org)

ECONOMIC POLICY

TBD; full-time contact:

Eva Völpel (eva.voelpel@rosalux.org)

FUTURE OF THE CAR – ENVIRONMENT – MOBILITY

Stephan Krull; full-time contact: Mario Candeias

(mario.candeias@rosalux.org)

DISCUSSION GROUPS COORDINATOR

Effi Böhlke (effi.boehlke@rosalux.org)

THE 2023 JÖRG-HUFFSCHMID-PREIS

The award commemorating the Bremen economist Jörg Huffs-
schmid (1940–2009) is presented every two years by the Ar-
beitsgruppe Alternative Wirtschaftspolitik, Attac Deutschland,
the EuroMemo Group, and the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. On
14 July 2023, Patrick Kaczmarczyk and Moritz Kuhles were
awarded the prize for their work in the field of political econo-
my.

Patrick Kaczmarczyk discusses how transnational corpo-
rations shape the European Union in his dissertation *Growth
Models in a World of Inter-
national Trade and Capital
Flows*. He focuses on competi-
tion among major automo-
bile manufacturers in Germa-
ny and France, illustrating the
obstacles to a socio-ecologi-
cal transformation in the mo-
bility sector.



der Werte nach der Demone-
tisierung des Goldes” (From
Money Commodity to Money
Policy: On the Measure of Val-
ue after the Demonetization of
Gold) that today’s monetary
system, which is no longer
tied to the gold standard, can
also be understood in terms of
Marx’s theory of value. His in-
sights into the nature of mon-
etary policy are timely con-
sidering the present relatively
high inflation rates.

The award ceremony was moderated by Birgit Mahnkopf
(Institute for International Political Economy) and took place as
part of the conference *Zeitenwende – welche Zeitenwende?
Umbrüche im globalen Kapitalismus* (Which Historical
Turning Point? The Crises of Global Capitalism) at the Goethe
University Frankfurt. The laudatory speeches were delivered
by Arno Gottschalk (working group Alternative Economic
Policy) and Thomas Sablowski (Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung).



Moritz Kuhles convincingly
demonstrates in his master’s
thesis “Von der Geldware zur
Geldpolitik. Über das Maß



INTERNAL COMMUNICATION – A NEW TRIAD

Since 1 December 2023, for the first time in its history the
RLS has had a position covering Internal Communication
(IC), based in the office of the Executive Board. The imminent
operational restructuring poses a particular challenge, as the
structural changes are significant, and so are the concerns of
our colleagues. In this situation the main goal of the IC position
is to alleviate these concerns through transparent and reliable
communication and to address any questions that arise.

To this end, we have established and further developed three
main means of communication: the Employee Assembly, the
Employee Information e-mail, and the Instant Information
service from the management consultancy. Introduced in
December 2023, Instant Information summarizes relevant
decisions and information directly after the management
consultation and makes them available to all employees. The
preparation and implementation of the Employee Assembly
have been professionalized and long-term planning has been
introduced. Six dates are scheduled for 2024; those in the
first half of the year have already been announced so that our
colleagues can prepare for them in advance and be assured
that spaces exist in which they can raise their concerns. The
Employee Information e-mail is particularly useful for bridging
the time gaps between management consultancy meetings
and the Employee Assembly.

This triad of Employee Assembly, Employee Information,
and Instant Information, which is also to be supplemented
by an intranet in the future, reflects the RLS’s approach to
communication, which is based on dialogue, transparency,
and solidarity.

KEY TASKS

The Key Tasks Department is the central pillar of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's functioning, combining the Human Resources, IT and Communications, Administration, Accounting, and Budgeting Departments. Key Tasks also encompasses the Construction Department and the Inclusion and Diversity Departments. Thus, this Department unites all essential service functions of the RLS.

With the implementation of the organizational development process, in 2023 the Key Tasks Department was expanded to include additional subject areas and departments. Since December, the Archive of Democratic Socialism has been part of Key Tasks. Given the Archive's original purpose — to collect, organize, preserve, and make available to the public sources related to the development of the party Die Linke and its two predecessor organizations — there are already points of contact to Key Tasks and to other units within the department, and these are to be further developed. In addition, as part of the organizational development process, the work of budgeting was expanded to include resource management. The main focus here is on closer financial control of the RLS's project funds and better coordination with personnel planning.

Since November 2023, the head of the Key Tasks Department has also been in charge of Human Resources at the RLS. The Personnel Unit will continue to operate as the Human Resources Unit. In addition, through an internal reassignment, a position for Further Training and Personnel Development was created to further the internal qualification of our colleagues at the RLS. In the past year, HR work was characterized by a series of projects. For example, the training programme *Fit für Veränderung* (Fit for Change) was completed (participants report on it in the interview below). Negotiations for an agreement on inclusion, and plans for an inclusivity post at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, also began. Furthermore, four works agreements were negotiated and approved with the RLS's works council. These will regulate the handling of remote work, discrimination, conflict resolution, and the implementation of the Whistleblower Protection Act at the RLS.

The new space utilization concept for the RLS's new building was also significantly advanced in 2023. The aim is to replace the office space at Franz-Mehring-Platz 1 as quickly as possible and thus bring all areas of the RLS together in one location. This move will be completed by April 2024. The team and meeting areas will also be upgraded as part of this process. There are also plans to remodel the first floor of the building. The main aim here is to increase the use of the library as an event space and location for meetings, while also preserving a quiet reading area. These plans will be implemented by the middle of 2024.



Participants in the programme *Fit für Veränderung*, with their mentors.

THE FIT FOR CHANGE PROGRAMME

INTERVIEW WITH EVA AND FRANZISKA, TWO OF THE EIGHT PARTICIPANTS IN THE PROGRAMME

The idea was first mooted two years ago: to develop a training programme for RLS staff to help them take on a wide variety of tasks and positions in Germany and abroad. The 18-month programme *Fit für Veränderung* aimed to sharpen the participants' perception of the RLS as a whole and to prepare staff for new tasks, new responsibilities, and possible rotations within the RLS. The training concluded in autumn 2023.

What is your assessment of the programme after one and a half years?

Eva: My assessment is extremely positive. The group process was crucial and created a very valuable network. The comprehensive programme covered all relevant areas well,

and enabled us to learn a great deal. We got to know many colleagues and were encouraged to break new ground. The structure of the programme, with its mentoring model, was very good.

Franziska: I haven't learnt so many different things in such a short time since I was at school! It was a lot of fun, at times it pushed me to my limits and made me grow.

Has *Fit für Veränderung* changed your view of the RLS?

Eva: Yes. The internships in the offices in Hanoi and Rostock were particularly fruitful, as I was able to delve deeper into the RLS's work *in situ*. The project work within the training also brought us in contact with many colleagues from the RLS in Berlin and we got to collaborate with other departments.

Franziska: We really got to know the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung from a completely new angle. We gained a better understanding of the big picture and the interrelationships within the RLS. We learned that not only can we be better

KEY TASKS

together than alone, but that it actually works quite smoothly and is more fun when we approach each other with more understanding and better knowledge of one another.

What was your most surprising realization during the training?

Eva: Participating in the planning workshop organized by the Hanoi/Southeast Asia office. There, I not only learned about planning with PME, but also gained detailed insights into the content, topics, and goals of the RLS's political work in the Southeast Asia region.

Franziska: There were many surprises, big and small. The stay in Hanoi was a highlight, as I was once again able to travel to a place in the world that I would not have otherwise had the opportunity to visit.

What's next for you both?

Eva: I would like to pass on the experience gained during my training, build new networks within the RLS, and utilize and expand the existing potential of our employees for the benefit of the Stiftung and all of us.

Franziska: I would like to inspire more colleagues to work together across departments. We should all look beyond our own horizons if we want to create good political education together to change the world.



HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT, 2000 TO 2023

December 31 ...	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2023
Total number of staff	45	58	134	212	296	275
... in the international offices	0	4	14	25	41	45
... in the regional branches	0	2	15	20	25	25
Proportional composition						
Female employees	56%	50%	55%	55%	56%	57%
Male employees	44%	50%	45%	45%	43%	43%
Gender diverse employees					1%	
Employees with migration backgrounds	0%	0%	11%	15%	18%	18%
Permanent employees	3%	90%	84%	78%	80%	78%
Part-time employees	4%	16%	22%	29%	34%	30%
Average age						
Female employees	46	45	44	45	45	47
Male employees	47	48	46	48	48	49
Gender diverse employees					39	

THE RLS SUBSIDIARIES

The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's educational work is significantly complemented by six subsidiary *Stiftungen*. These pursue charitable goals defined by their respective statutes. They have been able to expand their activities on the basis of a high level of voluntary commitment. Here are some examples of the work of the subsidiary *Stiftungen*:

The Max-Lingner-Stiftung was able to publish *Der Wille zum Glück. Max Lingner im Kontext. Kunst und Politik 1929–1949* (The Will to Happiness: Max Lingner in Context — Art and Politics 1929–1949) in 2023, after several years of research.

The Hermann-Henselmann-Stiftung bid farewell to its long-standing chair, Dr Thomas Flierl, at its 2023 New Year's reception. Katrin Lompscher, the former Senator for Urban Development and Housing in Berlin, has taken over as the new chair. Under her leadership, the ninth edition of the *Henselmann* journal was published, focusing on the history, current state, and future of the open space that stretches between Alexanderplatz and the Spree.

The Modrow-Stiftung published the anthology *Abschied von Hans Modrow — Reden, Nachrufe und Kondolenzen* (Farewell to Hans Modrow — Speeches, Obituaries, and Condolences) in September 2023. The volume once again commemorates



the work of Hans Modrow, who passed away at the beginning of 2023, just a few days after his 95th birthday. Under the chairmanship of Torsten Hochmuth, the Modrow-Stiftung will continue to initiate projects on cultural remembrance and the history of German East-West relations.

Hans Modrow in 2018.

The Erik-Neutsch-Stiftung continued in 2023 its close collaboration with the winners of the Erik Neutsch prize on the topic of *WENDEpunkte* (turning points). A photography exhibition by Armin Mueller-Stahl at the Stadtwerkehaus Schönebeck in the summer of 2023 attracted a lot of attention. This exhibition explored the parallels between Neutsch's and Mueller-Stahl's artistic work.

The Clara-Zetkin-Stiftung organized a workshop for the first time in the autumn, based on the second volume of Clara Zetkin's letters, *Die Revolutionsbriefe (1919–1923)* (Revolutionary Letters, 1919–1923), published in 2023. The aim was also to provide an overview of the current state of Zetkin research and to support networking between the various people involved. The Harald-Breuer-Stiftung supported students at the Academy of Performing Arts Baden-Württemberg in 2022–23 with the production and release of the short film *Stray Flower*,

which addresses the genocide of the Herero and Nama by the German colonial power in South West Africa. In collaboration with the German-African Society (DAFRIG), it initiated the project *Selbstbestimmung durch Bildung* (Self-Determination through Education) in northern Cameroon in 2023.

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

Chair: Evelin Wittich

Email: evelin.wittich@rosalux.org

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

The **ERIK-NEUTSCH-STIFTUNG** focuses on artistic and literary matters, as well as the conservation of the work of Erik Neutsch.

Chair: Evelin Wittich

Email: evelin.wittich@rosalux.org

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

The **MAX-LINGNER-STIFTUNG** is dedicated to conserving and promoting the work of the painter and graphic artist Max Lingner (1888–1959).

Chair: Thomas Flierl

Email: info@max-lingner-stiftung.de

www.max-lingner-stiftung.de

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

Chair: Katrin Lompscher

Email: info@hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de

www.hermann-henselmann-stiftung.de

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

Chair: Torsten Hochmuth

Email: info@modrow-stiftung.de

www.modrow-stiftung.de

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

Chairs: Anny Heike and Gerd-Rüdiger Stephan

Email: clara-zetkin-stiftung@rosalux.org

www.rosalux.de/news/id/39808

THE RLS BUDGET

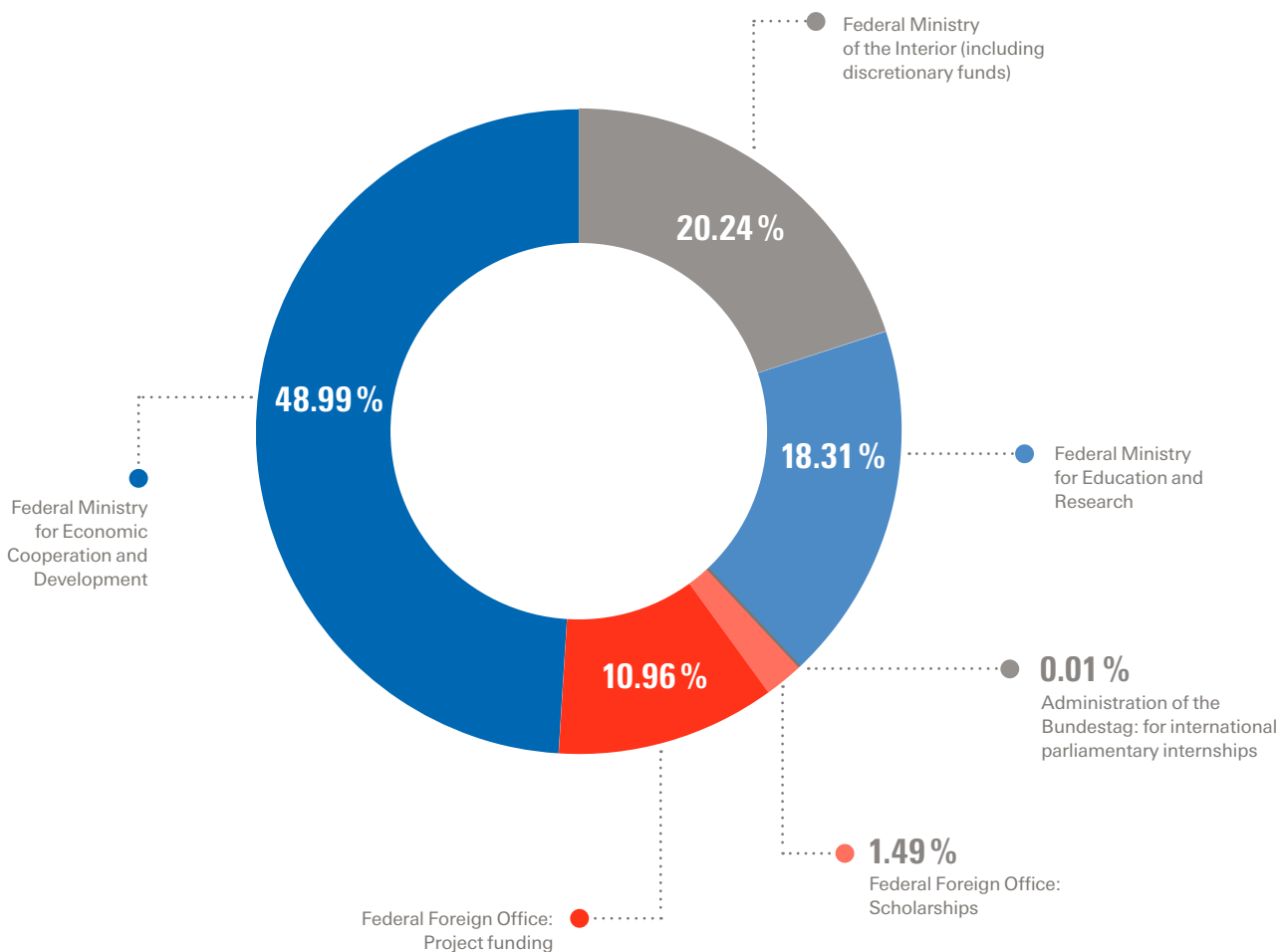
The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is a political Stiftung affiliated with the political party Die Linke. Like the other political party-aligned Stiftungen in Germany, it is chiefly financed out of the budget of the federal government. Specifically, the funding for the RLS flows from the budgets of the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI), the Federal Ministries for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and for Education and Research (BMBF), the Foreign Office (AA), and from the Administration of the German Bundestag. Funding is only granted to Stiftungen that represent significant and enduring political and intellectual tendencies in society. What that means exactly is determined by the Bundestag.

In practice, if the party associated with a political Stiftung has repeatedly been elected to the Bundestag, and has achieved the size and status of a parliamentary group (*Fraktion*) at least once, this counts as indicating the longevity of an essential tendency.

The level of funding for the Stiftung is based on the electoral results of the respective party at the last four federal elections. Contributions for the RLS thus rose from 30.6 million euros in 2010 to 75.8 million euros in 2023. By reporting on its income and expenses, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is fulfilling its voluntary commitment as a politically-aligned Stiftung to publish and make transparent its use of funds, a practice to which all the party-aligned Stiftungen agreed in a joint declaration in 1998, and to which they have since adhered.

The most important financial contributions come from the BMI, referred to as core funding, which supplies the main backing for our political education programmes domestically, as well as for the maintenance of the RLS offices in Berlin and in the German federal states. The core funding is used for the running of seminars, conferences, and colloquia, the purchase of teaching and learning materials, and the allocation of research funding with social and political goals, in the field of education research in particular.

FUNDING 2023

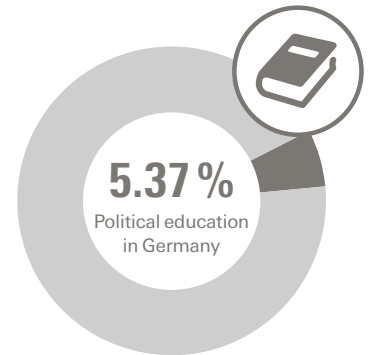
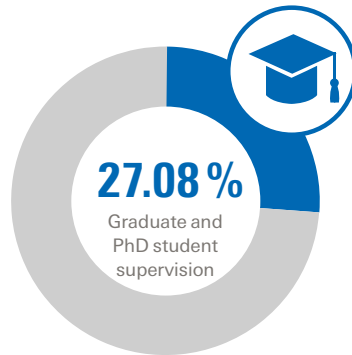
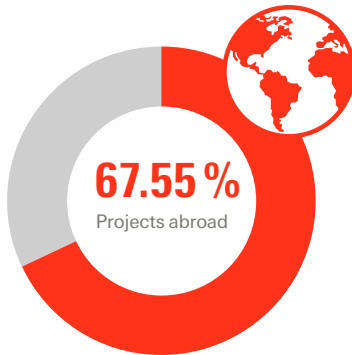


With the help of funds from the BMZ and the Foreign Office, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung maintains a network of international relationships. This includes financing its foreign offices, projects with partner organizations, and events abroad. Funding is now available for over 26 locations and projects in more than 80 countries. Contributions from the BMBF are allocated to fund scholarships and grants for talented and socially engaged students and PhD candidates. Besides these federal funds, politically-aligned Stiftungen are also able to make use of funds from state budgets. In the RLS's case, this happens via the network of regional branches, and the funds are deployed by the latter. These funds are utilized by the regional branches as part of the RLS network.

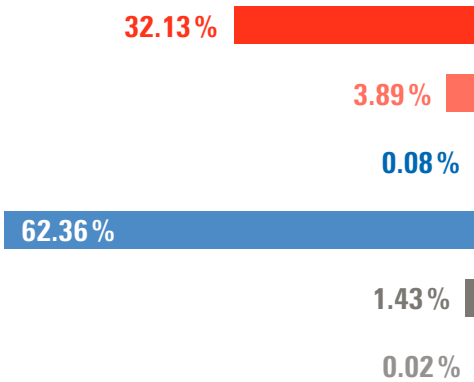
The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung is required to pursue its statutory objectives while remaining independent – both in terms of organizational structures and in terms of staff – of the party with which it is associated. Nor is it permitted to provide this party with funds or in-kind benefits. The Rosa-

Luxemburg-Stiftung receives annual grants in the form of funding agreements that ensure the funds are used for their designated purposes and that also provide for oversight of their use. As a politically-aligned Stiftung, the RLS is obliged to have its financial management independently audited on an annual basis. For the 2022 financial year, the auditor confirmed that the core funding from BMI and the funding provided by the other ministries for administration costs were used efficiently and economically, in accordance with regulations and legal requirements. The Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung has put management accounting procedures in place that are equipped with the requisite staff and means for ensuring that funding conditions are met in a timely manner.

PROJECT EXPENSES 2023



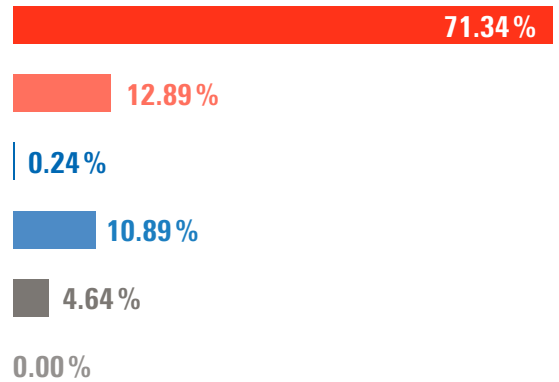
2023 EXPENDITURES: OVERALL BUDGET



- Staff costs
- Other administrative costs
- Spending on investments
- Project funds
- BMI core funding for distribution to regional branches
- Asset management expenses

2023 BUDGET EXPENSE STRUCTURE WITHIN GERMANY

BMI and contributions to administrative costs from BMZ, AA, and BMBF



BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31/12/2022

Assets		31/12/2022 in euros	31/12/2021 in euros
A	Fixed assets		
I	Intangible assets		
	Trademark rights	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Data-processing software	89,486.57	103,889.53
II	Tangible assets		
	Real estate, rights equivalent to real estate, and buildings, including buildings on third-party land	156,760.40	159,649.04
	Business and office equipment	827,819.38	1,202,326.62
	Advance payments for assets under construction	0.00	0.00
III	Financial assets	0.00	0.00
	Investments	26,833,765.64	26,707,302.22
	Securities	233,152.13	0.00
	Total fixed assets	28,145,984.12	28,178,167.41
B	Receivables and other assets		
I	Other receivables	0.00	0.00
	a) Discretionary funds made available by BMI	4,119,218.00	2,966,311.00
	b) Unused discretionary funds (BMI)	-4,119,218.00	-2,966,311.00
II	Receivables from grants	59,983.61	0.00
II	Receivables from affiliates	1,950.45	2,950.45
III	Other assets	454,212.16	489,649.04
	Total receivables	516,146.22	492,599.49
C	Liquid assets		
	Total liquid assets	5,986,399.63	6,508,351.51
D	Accrued revenue and deferred charges	88,166.25	74,390.99
Total		34,736,696.22	35,253,509.40

Liabilities		31/12/2022 in euros	31/12/2021 in euros
A	Net assets		
I	Balance from previous year	315,826.26	272,394.62
II	Surplus/deficit	415,627.35	51,431.79
III	Reserves	82,719.42	82,719.42
IV	Reserves	213,706.17	205,706.02
	Total net assets	1,027,879.20	612,251.85
B	Additional funds from grants	27,748,980.59	28,018,427.37
C	Provisions		
	Other provisions	1,177,916.46	552,697.38
D	Liabilities		
I	Liabilities with credit institutions	2,086.61	2,938.26
II	Liabilities from goods and services	2,868,769.47	4,511,713.18
III	Other liabilities	28,109.33	28,915.60
	Total liabilities	2,898,965.41	4,543,567.04
E	Accrued expenses and deferred income	1,882,954.56	1,526,565.76
Total		34,736,696.22	35,253,509.40

EXPENDITURES AND RECEIPTS AS AT 31/12/2022

	2022 in euros	2021 in euros
I Receipts	77,759,933.67	79,706,101.99
1 Federal government grants	76,477,096.09	78,970,688.36
2 Donation	27,717.00	13,518.68
3 Membership fees	15,929.50	18,131.50
4 Income from asset management	31,423.42	6,949.37
5 Other revenue	592,679.69	21,017.65
6 Income from the liquidation of the special reserve	615,087.97	675,796.43
II Expenditure	-77,344,306.32	-79,654,670.20
1 Costs arising through statutory activities	-48,773,581.56	-50,923,449.84
Project expenses paid out of core funding	-2,364,794.58	-2,619,842.11
Transfers out of core funding	-1,063,801.87	-1,335,731.51
Grants to students and PhD candidates	-12,615,243.06	-12,855,970.62
International cooperation	-32,478,685.22	-33,969,640.09
Other project expenditures	-251,056.83	-142,265.51
2 Staff costs	-24,565,139.29	-22,842,669.71
Wages and salaries	-19,904,887.40	-18,793,949.48
Employment benefits	-4,660,251.89	-4,048,720.23
3 Asset management expenses	-7,395.10	-7,379.95
4 Write-downs	-617,976.61	-678,685.07
5 Administrative costs	-3,034,572.57	-2,907,990.87
Office equipment and supplies	-617,335.33	-585,944.60
Running and maintenance of properties and buildings	-5,495.70	-4,617.72
Other administrative costs	-2,329,571.01	-2,317,428.55
Other costs	-82,170.53	0.00
6 Investments	-345,641.19	-2,294,494.76
III Surplus/deficit for the year	415,627.35	51,431.79

INCOME IN 2023 (INTERIM)

I	Income in euros	75,974,952.78
1	Grants	75,803,828.66
	Federal Ministry of the Interior (including discretionary funds)	15,341,551.82
	Federal Ministry for Education and Research	13,878,653.74
	Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary internships	4,944.20
	Federal Foreign Office scholarships	1,127,928.00
	Federal Foreign Office projects	8,311,403.90
	Federal Foreign Office projects	37,139,347.00
2	Tax-free income/donations	51,857.13
3	Membership fees	15,076.00
4	Asset management income	44,996.69
5	Other income	104,418.70
6	Revenue reductions	-45,224.40

SPENDING IN 2023 (INTERIM)

II	Expenditure in euros	-74,669,618.95
1	Staff costs	-23,994,445.74
	Of which staff costs Germany	-16,389,199.16
	a) Wages and salaries	-19,813,324.36
	b) Employment benefits and other costs	-4,181,121.38
2	Administrative expenses	-3,032,309.38
2.1	Office equipment, supplies, consumables	-819,255.51
	Network, software, and systems administration	-545,630.41
	Maintenance and repairs	-139,206.20
	Tools and small appliances	-6,682.06
	Office supplies and consumables	-18,077.54
	Equipment rentals	-48,414.97
	Allocation to special reserve for investment	-61,244.33
2.2	Operation and maintenance of properties and buildings	-34,316.89
	Street cleaning/winter street maintenance	-3,140.85
	Property tax	-31,176.04
2.3	Other administrative costs	-2,178,736.98
	Other expenses for staff	-201,123.63
	Office rent and room costs	-823,249.52
	Insurance	-20,614.15
	Fees and other levies	-65,014.07
	External services, contract work, administration	-563,445.60
	Advertising	-27,795.13
	Promotional costs	-20,859.41
	Hospitality costs	-341.40
	Travel costs (falling under administrative expenses)	-110,329.30
	Postage, telephony, internet	-124,603.53
	Journals, books, media	-63,356.11
	Legal services, accounting, bookkeeping	-72,028.02
	Monetary transaction costs	-11,356.02
	Other costs, fees, donations	-9,485.07
	Vehicle costs	-5,438.05
	Other administrative costs	-59,070.43
	Other expenses	-627.54
3	Project costs	-47,630,657.64
	Total BMI project costs	-2,095,442.48
	BMI core funding allocated to third parties	-1,066,464.56
	Projects abroad	-31,452,289.64
	Supervision of students and PhD students	-12,609,309.37
	Scholarships Germany	-11,655,628.31
	Scholarships abroad	-950,336.86
	International parliamentary internships	-3,344.20
	Student networking and mentoring	-368,144.78
	Other project costs	-39,006.81
4	Asset management costs	-12,206.19

EXPLANATORY NOTE:

In 2023, core funding for political and democratic education was transferred to the following associations and Stiftungen:

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

OVERVIEW OF ALL RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES ANTICIPATED FOR THE 2022 BUDGET PERIOD

Income in euro*	2024
Grants from the Federal Ministry of the Interior	15,837,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (estimated)	14,190,000.00
Grants from the Administration of the Bundestag for international parliamentary interns	10,000.00
Grants from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	34,138,000.00
Project grants from the Foreign Office	8,300,000.00
Scholarship grants from the Foreign Office	1,180,000.00

* excluding discretionary funds

Expenses in euro (partial list)	2024
Staff costs	-25,500,000.00
Other administrative costs	-3,000,000.00
of which investments	-400,000.00
Project spending (excluding permanent staff)	-45,100,000.00
Educational programme	-3,100,000.00
Scholarships	-11,000,000.00
International cooperation projects	-31,000,000.00

IMPRINT

Responsible: Alrun Kaune-Nüßlein
German project management
and proofreading: TEXT-ARBEIT, Berlin
Translation: Rowan Coupland, Andrea Garcés,
Sam Langer, Juan Diego Otero, and Eve Richens
for Gegensatz Translation Collective, Berlin
Design: Heike Schmelter
Production: MediaService GmbH
Druck und Kommunikation, Berlin

CONTACT

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung
Straße der Pariser Kommune 8A, 10243 Berlin
Phone (+49) 30 44310-0
www.rosalux.de, info@rosalux.de

Unless otherwise stated, all information and figures
are current as of February 2024.

This publication is part of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung's
public relations work. It is distributed free of charge
and may not be used for electoral campaigning purposes.



IMAGE CREDITS

Cover: Heike Schmelter

Unless otherwise noted, all images
are from the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

p. 9: iStock/Joel Carillet
p. 10: picture alliance/Reuters, Stringer
p. 11: imago/NurPhoto
p. 12 left: picture alliance/AA, Sergei Mihailichenko
p. 12 right: picture alliance/Horst Sturm
p. 13 left: Theophilos Papadopoulos, Flickr, CC-BY-NC-ND 2.0
p. 13 right: imago/IPON
p. 14: Agencia Prensa Rural, Flickr, CC-BY-NC-ND 2.0
p. 18: Deutsche Wohnen & Co enteignen
p. 19: Netzwerk Steuergerechtigkeit
p. 21: Niels Holger Schmidt
p. 25: Schroeter & Berger
p. 27 left: Franz Gerlach/Bundesarchiv, Bild Y 1-330-1485-76
p. 27 right: private
p. 30 left: Alexander Schlager/Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Baden-Württemberg,
CC BY 3.0
p. 31 left: Deutsche Wohnen & Co enteignen
p. 32 right: picture alliance/dpa, Christian Charisius
p. 33 right: Cornelia Mannewitz/junge Welt
p. 35 right: Patric Bies/Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Saarland
p. 36 right: Gabriele Henschke/Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Sachsen-Anhalt
p. 37 left: Bundeswehr-Fotos, Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 2.0
p. 37 right: Landesarchiv Thüringen — Staatsarchiv Rudolstadt, District Public
Prosecutor's Offices of Jena City and Jena County nr. 2149, Bl. 10.
p. 39: picture alliance/associated press, Kim Ludbrook
p. 40: imago/NurPhoto
p. 41: imago/Starface
p. 42: Vlada Republike Slovenije. Flickr, Public domain
p. 43: Andreas Domma
p. 50: Gianmarco Bresdaola
p. 52–57: Andreas Domma
p. 60: Andrea Dip
p. 61: Marcus Hawel/Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung
p. 65: Andreas Domma
p. 75: Otto Penz
p. 77: private
p. 81: Sandro Halank, Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 3.0



**“True peace is not merely
the absence of war, it is the
presence of justice.”**

JANE ADDAMS