



European**LEFT**

European**LEFT**

**SINISTRA** *europea*

**GAUCHE** *européenne*

Europäische**LINKE**

Avrupa**SOL**

Európai**BAL**

Evropská**LEVICE**

**STÎNGA** *europeana*

Ευρωπαϊκή**ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ**

**IZQUIERDA** *europea*

**VASAK** *euroopa*

Európska**LAVICA**

**ESQUERDA** *europeia*

Europæisk**VENSTRE**

Euroopan**VASEMMISTO**

**ESQUERRA** *europea*

*Jean-François Gau (French Communist Party),  
Member of the EL Executive Board*

## The Party of the European Left is a new reality in Europe

This party is a new reality. It was founded very recently – in Rome in May 2004. It has been existing for two years now. But, above all, it is a new reality because it is the bearer of a completely new project that was never tried before.

When parties and organizations of the anti-neoliberal Left created this new party, they had in mind to join efforts for opening the European political space to any kind of resistance against neoliberal, authoritarian, militarist policies in Europe, for searching alternatives to these policies, for promoting a broad accordance with all forces acting in the same direction.

Such a political force is not only useful, but essential, even indispensable for Europe. The first two years of the EL, the great social struggles and movements all over Europe against the policies of social destruction and war, the victory of the NO against the European constitutional treaty in France and the Netherlands, the successful attempts in several European countries to give life to a “transformatory Left”, are strong proofs of that.

*Fausto Bertinotti, Chairman of the EL*

## Yes, we can change Europe

The Party of the European Left was set up nearly two years ago at the 8th and 9th of May 2004. The years that have gone by were important years. Carlo Levi, a famous Italian writer, in order to describe a very intense period, began a book of his as follows: “Long years have passed, years full of war and of what is called history”. Two years have passed, sadly another two years full of war. War continues to mark the world and life within it. It is a special form of war: the pre-emptive war of the Bush administration and it is one of the worst kinds of war we have ever known.

At the same time, we have seen an increase in terrorism and the war-terrorism spiral that marks our time, a time that is also marked by disasters, and not only natural disasters, indeed, all too often these prove to be the result of a plundering and destructive development model. The tsunamis and the New Orleans hurricane have shown us what type of development this really is. In New

The European Left has grown stronger, as new parties and organizations joined it in recent months. At its last congress in October 2005 in Athens, it adopted a concrete project for the anti-neoliberal transformation of our continent under the slogan: “Yes, we can change Europe!” as well as the necessary steps for its implementation.

All these efforts have one common motive: to make use of the chances existing in today’s Europe for mobilizing and bringing closer together political forces, unions, associations and movements acting on our continent, so as to design a different future in accordance with the needs of the peoples. That is what the Party of the European Left wants to be useful for. That is what this Party is decided to struggle for with all its might.



Orleans, as well as the destructive fury, we saw what levels the civilization crisis of this world has reached.

There is a historic need that is becoming ever more evident: the need to build an alternative society. The movement of movements had sensed this very strongly and expressed it with the formula „another world is possible“. A movement that continues on its way, a karstic way as we know now, a way that is highlighted by major appointments, that pierces through the visible surface, but continues to work in the depths.

There emerges therefore, a new historic need, a need for an alternative society and, within this historical need there emerges also the need for a Europe that plays a leading role in this task. Not the Europe we see today, another Europe. The famous motto “The king is dead, long live the king” is valid for Europe too. The Europe of the market is dead, buried by the vote of many peoples and many countries, now the birth of the Europe the world and its population need is possible.

A Europe that plays a leading role in achieving world peace. Peace meant not only as lack of war, but as a new system



of international, social, economic and cultural relations. The French philosopher Etienne Balibar rightly said of this system: the Europe of translations, the Europe that is able to act as a bridge between the north and the south of the world, that is able to open its arms to the migrants of the world, to become a place where a different civilisation can be built.

A civilization that needs radical criticism, needs to challenge neoliberal policies, needs to build a new economic and social system. A Europe that bases its role in the world and its different economic and social system on democracy, a special form of democracy: participatory democracy, a democracy that is built on the constructive management of conflict, of social conflict, as well as conflicts that rely on critical thinking. The democracy as expressed by the participation of the people, organized from the bottom-up, thus building new chosen communities.

If we had not already created the Party of the European Left, we should certainly have to do so now. Two years have gone by. We have travelled part of the way and along the way we have underscored the need for a new role of the alternative Left, an alternative Left in Europe for another, different Europe in the world. We have travelled part of the way and it is indeed worth stressing two major events in which we played an active part. Events that would not have come about without the concrete presence of the movements, the Social Forums, the movement for peace, the revival of social conflict in Europe. Events for which the credit goes mainly to the forces that generated them in the various countries.

The first of these events concerned mainly France, because of the importance of this country for the building of Europe, because of the vital experience gained from the referendum against the European constitutional treaty, later rejected also by the

Netherlands. In France, not only did we see the attempt to build a Europe based on the treaties and on the primacy of the market disavowed, we also saw the birth of a popular left-wing Europeanism. We, as well as others, helped to shape it and this extraordinary experience is tantamount to a test that will be telling in the future. In Germany, we saw the birth of the Linkspartei that was very successful in the elections. It is the first time since Bad Godesberg that in this country, which is the home of the largest social democracy in the world, we see the birth of a united, national left-wing movement, which is open to Europe and belongs to the European left, that is positioned left of the social democracy. The results of the elections are an encouragement to all our ventures.

What these two events represent is something of extreme importance: the end of the reformist monopoly over the European Left. This monopoly developed during the historical moment of the collapse of the east European regimes on the one hand and the birth of the restoring capitalistic revolution called globalization on the other. The end of this reformist monopoly is creating in fact a Europe with two left wings. The alternative Left is taking shape in all our countries and for the very first time, it really can hope to achieve something concrete: to put an end to its days as a minority element and become a political force that is capable of truly influencing the economic, political, cultural and institutional dynamics throughout Europe.

Our tasks are thus taking shape and becoming more obvious: to acquire a systematic, strong and persistent presence among the movements that exist in European society, is the first task without which there is no future. The relation between these movements and the Party of the European Left is not only a fundamental element of this force. It is our future.

The second element has to do with our ability to utilize our presence to intervene in the crisis dictated by a lack of future prospects for social democracy, precisely when neoliberal policies have proved in many ways to be a resounding failure in all European countries. A crisis deeply involving also society in the former Eastern bloc countries, as the victory of an extremely populist right-wing force in Poland, where social democracy has been swept away. Social democracy is facing difficult choices, the events in Germany have made this clear. In theory, the SPD had the possibility of creating a government open to the left, an alliance with the Linkspartei and the Greens. They chose the Grosse Koalition, that is an alliance with their electoral opponents and the neoliberals, against whom they had pitted the entire electoral campaign. This result shows what degree of contradiction social democracy is capable of when it chooses to avoid a dialogue, even a critical dialogue with the alternative Left.

The same issue was addressed by a man who certainly does not belong to the history of the French alternative Left, Laurent Fabius, when he said that at the next congress the French socialists are going to have to choose between a line and a prospect that is liberal\socialist, liberal\democratic actually, and, as he put it, a strong anchorage to the left. And again it was Laurent Fabius who said that only a strong anchorage to the left can create a future for the Left.

The Party of the European Left cannot expect to live simply as the critical expression of social democracy. It can and it must intervene in this political reality, but it can do so only if it has its own autonomous political project, based on a political culture critical towards the present capitalism, its own autonomous programme, its own autonomous relation with society and the movements. In short, the Party of the European Left will become a main actor on the European scene only if it is able to develop fully the promises on which it was built. The movements are our great opportunity to establish a culture that wants to transform society.

The objective of establishing a new culture for the transformation of society and with it also an organized force able to become the lever of this transformation culture, emerges again very strongly in the form of a historical need to create a left-wing way-out from the labour movement crisis after the 20th Century defeat. This task can be performed today very effectively, but we must be aware of the difficulties involved, because it is connected to the reformism crisis, which in turn is both an opportunity and a risk. The risk is that this too could open up a further gap, thereby separating the masses, large parts of the masses, from politics thus creating a divide between the upper and the lower echelons of society.

This is indeed one of the characteristic

features of politics in our time. Alongside the historic left–right divide and the political government–opposition divide, there is a new fracture that is developing between the upper and the lower echelons of society. The outcome of this fracture could be good, in other words it could trigger a powerful change process, which is what European society needs, or on the other hand, it could lead to a crisis of politics with the affirmation of populism. Populism and liberalism are, in the West as well as in the East the most dangerous answers to the crisis of politics. This is why we absolutely must look into and follow very carefully the movements, to judge their potential, critically assess their limitations. We must set ourselves the goal of contributing together with the other forces present in the movement to start up a process of unification, of socialization of the movements.

A process of unification among the various movements that exist, are represented and are taking shape in all countries, because none of them taken singly, has the power to become a self-sufficient transformation phenomenon, but their web of relations, of connections can pave the way for the construction of a large reform movement to unify the experience of the various countries, still too far apart from one another. We can but lament the inadequate character of our European dimension and the European dimension of the existing movements and parties. On the other hand, it is possible to acquire this dimension, as is illustrated by certain struggles.

Simply take the latest struggle against the Bolkestein directive that produced European demonstrations and national demonstrations in various countries. Or let us take the struggle of the French students and workers against the CPE (Contrat première embauche). The withdrawal of the CPE shows that fighting in the streets for more social justice and against neoliberal deregulation is worth doing so.

The dock workers also achieved a great victory. After protests all over Europe, the European Parliament rejected the Port Service Directive.

This experience should make us reflect again on the limitations of our action, of the movements, of the trade unions. We are being challenged on extremely slippery ground, because liberalism in crisis does not mechanistically mean the end of liberalism, on the contrary, if we do not create an alternative, it could lead to a dramatic drop in the living and working conditions of the people and even to an institutional crisis.

At our first congress in Athens we stressed how high the expectation of a relation on our part with the movement is. Indeed, the 2006 ESF in Athens is for us of great interest. So, we must create this framework.

We must recreate an overall political framework, not one that fences the movements but rather one that allows the movements to grow and to become interconnected by networks.

This context can be developed to a large extent by initiating a bottom-up process to build Europe. The failure of the European constitution based on treaties and inter-governmental relations must prompt us to reopen a bottom-up constitutional process turning the European Parliament into the prime forum in which to re-open this debate. However, our contribution must be to combine political action in parliament with fundamental action in society. Even the debate on the European constitution is a debate that must be carefully interwoven with those fields of action where we already exert our social and political efforts.

This is the backdrop against which we must be able to bring about, first of all, the growth of a new campaign against war, against terrorism, for peace, that will promote the withdrawal from Iraq of all European troops. This, along with the action that is already under way following the brave choices made by the Spanish government after the elections and the action of other European countries that have always refused to take part in this dramatic adventure of imperial war, will help us mark the construction of the first pillar of a Europe of peace, a Europe open to the Mediterranean and through the Mediterranean to the third world.

This Mediterranean dimension is absolutely essential for us, it is the dimension of inter-ethnic dialogue, of inter-religious dialogue, of dialogue between civilizations. The Mediterranean can set itself against the idea of a war of civilizations and offer a basis and a foundation for peace. Within this foundation it must be our constant task to contribute to peace in Palestine, to the construction of two states for two peoples. We also have to promote any effort to give back rights and hopes to the Sahrawi people and the Kurdish people. A European Left for peace in Europe, for a Europe open to relations with the world through the Mediterranean, first of all through political action.

This is why we suggested that one of the first undertakings of the European Left be to organise a meeting, a dialogue with the South American Left. President Chavez is very much interested in our undertaking to advance this proposal for an exchange of experience and promotion of a political reality, which, also in Latin America, could gather various political subjects and movements, which share the will to defeat neoliberalism and war. I am glad that this meeting takes place at the alternative summit "Enlazando Alternativas 2" in Vienna.

This undertaking is all the more important for us as it allows us to show the course of

the European Left, at least symbolically. This course begins with its political presence in Europe, the main field of its action, but it always links the destiny of the European Left to that of all the Lefts in the world.

A Europe of peace, a Europe that finally departs from neoliberal policies. The political and social struggles against the Bolkestein directive, the struggles of migrants for their rights have indicated some of these chances. The struggles of the workers who are fighting harder and harder against the attacks on their living and working conditions that neoliberal policies launch on workers all over Europe, teach us that we must use these struggles in order to obtain concrete results that will create the possibility not only of building policies that allow us to depart from neoliberalism in the long run, but also of introducing contradictions immediately, thus obtaining results that go in the opposite direction to the neoliberal policies, as it is already the case in some countries. What we must do now is intensify the fight, extend the scope of the struggle in order to defeat the inspiration that lay behind the Bolkestein directive once and for all.

We must organize the fight side by side with native populations and migrants to achieve at least some result for civilization, like shutting down the CPT (Temporary Detention Centre) in Lampedusa (Sicily), that has become a outrageous symbol of the practice of imprisoning migrants, whose only fault is, as illegal, to be on the search of hope for their future. We must succeed in opening the Spain enquiry. The case of Ceuta and Melilla, so tragic as it is, should teach us that the right to life for migrant men and women is equal to ours. The upsetting tragedy occurred a couple of days ago proves how the Europe of jail bars is not compatible to the openness of our Europe, and that we cannot defend the European civilization if the governments do not stop their barbarity against migrants.

We must undertake the task, the long-term task related to the labour conflict that is becoming once again an ever greater issue in all European countries. Labour is being attacked by a form of politics that has a tendency to present it as that which can define general social relations as a whole. This is why policies of delocalization mean the creation of an instrument of aggression against collective agreements, the achievements of the workers, and their history of civilization. A fundamental instrument in the globalization policy in response to which there is a deliberate non-reaction on the part of the states that evade their responsibilities, are totally absent or even become accomplices.

More generally speaking, precariousness has become the rule. Precariousness is today's small-lot and single-unit processing of the Ford-Taylor cycle. In this capitalistic cycle, labour is systematically reduced to precariousness, through the organization



of the economy and the labour market, through new legislation, through new labour relations based precisely on flexibility and precariousness. Precariousness is not just the automatic result of the organization of a capitalistic economy, it is also a strategic choice made by the dominating classes that have by now lost the ability to organize consensus on their positions in order to dismantle any possible social opposition to neoliberal policies. The construction of a new alliance between the new workers of Europe and the traditional working classes is, I think, one of the strategic goals of the Party of the European Left.

The construction of this new labour movement is what is needed to open a new season of universal rights, not based exclusively on this new working class but on the indissoluble combination, which was sought, wanted and is practised, with other liberation forces, first of all women's movements, for women are not simply an additional element in our policy, they are a key to reviewing our entire political and cultural structure.

This patriarchal capitalism presents the issue of liberation to us in new, very different terms if compared to the past. It is a challenge. We must be able to take it up even in the face of more fundamentalist impulses that again stem from ecclesial religious phenomena and that are challenging once again secularism of the state and the rights of the individual, that are instead being presented with force as the new terrain by gays, lesbians, transsexuals. Their request to be able to live their emotions and their sexuality freely, expresses a new concept of citizenship, which, on a completely different plane, is what migrants seek. This opens the issue of new universal rights and urges Europe to become the homeland of these new universal rights. And these new universal rights will give body to the idea of a new public space. We must be the main actor for this goal.

A public space is also needed to intervene directly in order to modify the market and the economy. What is no longer possible is to build a social compromise, a dynamic social compromise through a compensation

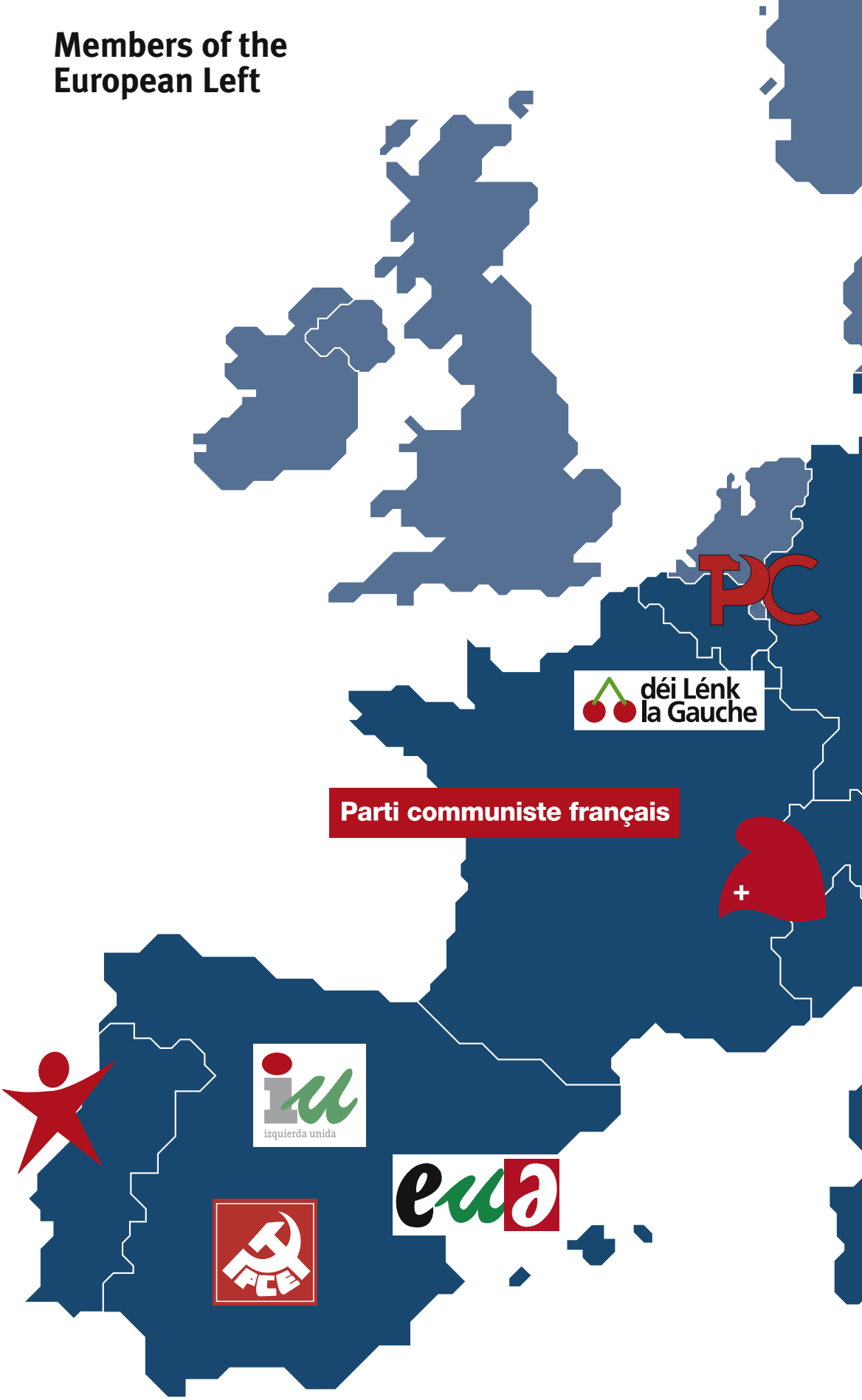
mechanism. Capitalists say: "Let the market do its part and then we will build the social state". But the social state according to the present government policies contains the dramatic consequences of the primacy of the market. To defend what is conceded is a wrong and impossible operation. It would be like taking water out of the sea with a spoon.

In actual fact, the main challenge is precisely to succeed in achieving a real social protection. It is the economy that must be challenged, it is the ability to criticize the economy that must be rediscovered. One of the living elements of this criticism of the economy is embodied in the concrete experience of the defence and promotion of collective goods. Proof of this is the extraordinary experience of the world water contract, as well as many other local experiences. But from water to culture, what we see forcing their way through are repeated attempts to withdraw from the market goods we must consider collective goods, that belong to us all, that are the lever for the construction of our future society, the lever for a living criticism of the gross domestic product paradigm and the start of a process that makes it possible to achieve the social and democratic compromise, a basis for the other Europe, the Europe of peace, the Europe free of neoliberal condemnation, the Europe of participatory democracy. This will become the main task of the Party of the European Left.

Dear comrades, during these two past years the number of our members and our influence on the European political scene have increased. We have been able to take advantage from our relations with our comrades at the parliamentary group GUE/NGL at the European Parliament, and to develop the largest ever institutional action against the neoliberal policies proposed by the European institutions. We have established new relations and new alliances. This is why, by keeping going and strengthening this way, the Party of the European Left can aspire to become a main actor of the social and political struggle in Europe.

It is true what the slogan of our first Athens Congress says: Yes, we can change Europe!

# Members of the European Left



**ESDTP**

**DIE LINKE. PDS**

**sds** strana  
demokratického  
socialismu

**KPO**

MAGYAR  
KOMMUNISTA  
MUNKASPART

**P.A.S.**



**SYNASPISMOS**  
COALITION OF THE LEFT AND PROGRESS

*Helmut Scholz, Member of the Executive Board of the Party of the European Left, Political Coordinator of the Secretariat*

## The Party of the European Left (EL): How it emerged and developed

Much of what has grown in the cooperation among left parties in the European Union and beyond over the past few years, what society expects from them and what the EL has done since its foundation cannot be understood without some knowledge of its history. Therefore, permit me to take a brief look back.

In June 1998, during the run-up to the 1999 European elections, personalities and political activists from a number of left socialist, communist and green-left parties from within the European Union met to discuss forms and paths of cooperation. After the parties of the transformative European Left had undergone a difficult revision of their policies following the changes in 1989/90 many of them arrived at the conclusion that it was time to give their cooperation a concrete boost in order to sharpen its contours.

As a result, in January 1999 thirteen European left parties signed, for the first time, a joint election appeal to all people living in the European Union. It laid down joint aims and principles for a social, ecological, democratic and peaceful Europe in solidarity; i.e. the foundation for their cooperation within the EU. After the elections in June 1999, which were rather successful for many of them, the United European Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) parliamentary group was formed in the European Parliament (EP).

At the mentioned meeting, agreement was reached to look for new paths of political cooperation beyond that in the GUE/NGL Group and the non-committal multilateral talks among parties in the Forum of the New European Left (NELF) held since 1991 – irrespective of how individual parties see their relationship with the European Union and the ongoing steps of integration. This had to take into account the rather broad spectrum of historical cooperation experiences among the Left, which were still lingering. Yet, why should the ‘European Left’ not think about joining forces in a European party, which defines itself as a consistently emancipatory Left and rejects any claim to a vanguard, without questioning the existing forms of cooperation? The experience made in these forms of cooperation among the European Left have certainly caused many parties to seek more cooperation as time went on.

**1.** On the invitation of the Greek SYNASPISMOS in mid-March 2003 an assignment agreed at

the NELF meetings in Paris and Copenhagen, to start working actively to establish a European left party, was put into practice. More working meetings of what was called the initiative group followed that year to discuss a draft manifesto as well as the necessary structure and statutes. This group agreed to be open and transparent for all parties interested in taking part without generally questioning the project as such, as had happened ever so often in the history of the Left. In general, the initiative group discussed about how and not whether to do things.



A joint appeal for founding the Party of the European Left was issued to all interested European parties in Berlin in January 2004. 11 parties responded to that appeal; others present declared they would closely watch the process (Berlin appeal of 10/11 January 2004, see [www.sozialisten.de/international](http://www.sozialisten.de/international)). The follow-up meeting of the initiative group in Athens (all signatories to the Berlin appeal, open to interested observers) agreed in February 2004 to convene the founding congress.

**2.** The Party of the European Left was founded in Rome on 8 and 9 May 2004. In comparison with the other 10 European political parties existing at the moment this party is the youngest force. It is undergoing a constant process of modification.

About 200 delegates of 19 parties coming from 15 European countries took part. Guest delegations of 23 left parties from all over the world were also present. The congress adopted the Manifesto and the Statutes as well as a financial concept of the organization with few dissenting votes and abstentions. Fausto Bertinotti (PRC – Italy) was elected Chairman and Pedro Marset (United Left/IU – Spain) Treasurer. For the first time in its history the Left in Europe thus have a joint organization of their own. This is a remarkable step into uncharted political territory, which takes into account and respects the differing historical experience of the parties and at the same time seeks to find new forms, structures and ways for their common political work.

At the moment the EL has 17 member and 9 observer parties with more than 400,000 party members. Its Manifesto and Statutes as well as the speeches and contributions held at the founding congress testify that

it is a democratic, transparent, open and emancipatory left party. It is oriented at joint political action for a social, democratic, ecological and peaceful Europe, which is open to the world. It is seeking close and equal cooperation with other left parties, trade unions, social and peace movements and non-governmental organizations. Yet, it is not open to just any ideas: internal democracy in each member party, independence in their national policies and anti-Stalinism are parts of the founding consensus.

The parties involved say: We want to do something for shaping a democratic, social and peaceful Europe, which shows solidarity and preserves the environment in a global context. We will stop the ideological battles over the unity and purity of the Left. Rather we want to be available for the people of Europe, to listen and give answers to their questions, worries and hardships in terms of jobs, education opportunities, pensions, health etc. We want to encourage people by providing convincing political offers for not hiding from the overpowering neo-liberal zeitgeist and not seeking salvation by retreating to mere survival. We are supporting them to defend themselves of attempts to market everything and everyone, of merciless exploitation, to show solidarity with each other and others in their communities, regions, home countries, in the EU and on a global scale. By applying its emancipatory approach the Party of the European Left goes back to Marx: As a political actor, as a self-assured partner of trade unions, of social and ecological movements, of human and civil rights initiatives it wants to help change the conditions in society for human self-emancipation in the framework of the European Union.

3. There has been a consensus from the very beginning that the joint work at creating the EL requires involving the members of all parties, that the concrete political steps must be discussed with them and as many supporters as possible. So far we have only managed to do so in part. We have the task (and this first independent EL publication wants to make a contribution) to achieve a closer intermingling of the fields of political activities such as the place of residence, the region, the country and Europe, a global interrelation of developments.

This European Left, which sees itself as an independent political subject of social development, also touches on the very sensitive field of the parties' sovereignty and independence. The dynamics of the EL's practical work has furthered the understanding among and within left parties in Europe of their relationship with one another. For the left political movement in Europe really varies in programmes and policies, in the way the individual parties are rooted and keep regional ties, in their experience and attitude towards the EU. Can they all fit into one party? Is the unity of the Left real?

The Party of the European Left is meant to

and can be more than an umbrella organization. It defines itself as an association of European left parties including member parties and observers. It depends on the real democratic participation of the members and supporters to show that the time is ripe for forming the EL and how this initiative can contribute to the cooperation among the wider Left of our continent.

That is why the EL must be an open project for all who want to take part in it. It must develop structures and forms of work, which do not only enable members and interested parties to participate but also invite them to do so. Therefore, it cannot be a centralistic effort.

Each party and political organization is free to decide on their relationship with the EL. The Party of the European Left wants and must be able to keep a dialogue and carry out joint actions. This is where I see the chance for it to grow politically and organizationally by consistently campaigning against the neo-liberal policies of those who are in government today in the EU and in the European countries, for a Europe of the people living here, for social justice, peace and democratic participation, for solidarity and openness to the world.

This is where we are today. The issue will continue to be in the focus the more we get involved with one another. That is why I would like to remind the slogan hanging over the Rome founding congress in many languages: 'Ce n'est qu'un début!' – 'This is just the beginning!' Meaning: there is more to come politically and territorially. The Party of the European Left leaves no doubt about that by saying in its Manifesto that the European Union and the entire European continent ... were going to be an important space for its alternative politics.



4. The EL is mainly concerned with concrete policies, i.e. current development processes in society. It wants to make its voice heard at the level of the European Union. We want to come up with concrete proposals for how to change the policies in the EU these days that are all modelled on neo-liberalism. We want to channel spontaneous resistance to social and democratic decline into political alternatives. Given the power and tradition as well as the expectations of the European working class, women's, environmental and peace movements it is high time the political Left lived up to this responsibility. The EL must contribute to devising and implementing political strategies.

Without a doubt this is the pivotal challenge to left parties in the EU and Europe in a situation in which neo-liberal thinking seems to have occupied more and more room, in a situation of a seeming lack of alternatives to the capitalist market logic, cost reduction, rigid and brazen social decline and to marketing the whole of society. That is why the EL expressly enters the broad social discourse on the future of Europe, participates in the campaigns concerning the referenda on the EU constitution and everyday life in the EU, which is dominated by neo-liberal economic and social policies.

The 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of the EL in October 2005 in Athens adopted Political Theses ([www.european-left.org](http://www.european-left.org)), where it analyzed the experience of the French and Dutch NO to the EU constitution and decided that the EL was to present at the 4<sup>th</sup> European Social Forum (ESF) in Athens concrete proposals for the future appearance of the EU and Europe as a whole, thus bridging the gap between the political and the social Left in Europe. Numerous members and EL activists of EL parties were present at the more than 200 events attempting to formulate alternative ideas for a different Europe, for a Europe, which fundamentally parts with neo-liberal political constraints, enables and guarantees far reaching democratic participation of all people living in the EU. How this could work was demonstrated in the joint actions against the EU Services Directive and the rejection of the EU Port Package II earlier this year.

**5.** Forming the EL does not only mean that we are breaking new ground politically, but also that we have to rethink and discuss with our members theoretically and practically untouched issues with regard to party cooperation. How do we treat each other in one European party given the fact that several left parties from one country compete nationally and yet endeavour to contribute to cooperation and forming an independent political profile at the European level? This also touches on organizational and financial issues. How do we arrive at a joint political understanding, strategic options and respective political steps in trying to influence the changing realities in societies in Europe, the EU and its member states if the answers to national issues differ?

This also includes sounding out the possible membership not only of parties but also of individuals in the EL as laid down in the statutes. The EL wants to give interested people the chance to join the party in case they live in countries with no EL member party or do not want to join such a party for some reason. How can collective members including their respective memberships democratically approach the newly created instrument of an individual membership, which has some appeal, especially in countries where the EL has no member party or any other interested organization? And not just there: the EL Board called on countries

with member parties to make an individual membership for those people possible who have not (yet) decided in favour of working in or with a national party. This is about more than just organizational or financial regulations, but rather a broad, democratic debate on how to spread the influence of the EL.

**6.** The EL has created the initial conditions for its practical work. It has opened its office in Brussels, can be contacted at any time (E-mail: [info@european-left.org](mailto:info@european-left.org)) and is constantly revising its multilingual homepage – even though mainly in English at present. The interested parties will soon provide for information in the respective national languages, too.

The EL Executive Board has been formed and greatly improved its practical work this year. In early 2006 it formed a Political Secretariat within the EL Board. It has 4 board members: from the French CP, the Left Bloc [Portugal], Synaspismos [Greece] and the Left Party.PDS [Germany]. Much emphasis is laid on an increasing intertwining of the vertical working structures (Board and Council of Party Chairpersons – as laid down in the statutes) with the emergent horizontal working structures, which are fed by the initiative and commitment of the EL members. The EL will always have to live with tensions between decisions taken by the leading bodies on the one hand, the demands and actions by grassroots organizations and members on the other. There is a major need for developing horizontal contacts and cooperation among the latter. A women's network (eL-fem), an economics working group and a network of MPs from various levels of the EL parties (ParlaCon) have formed already. More working groups specialised in individual fields of politics or even across the board are in the wings. Especially eL-fem has been active in devising and implementing EL policies and mainly in one of the 2006 priorities, i.e. the campaign against violence on women.

**7.** It is remarkable that both the Manifesto of the Party of the European Left – despite diverging views of the parties involved – and the first joint actions reflect a considerable area of common ground. Joint principles for the political work of the member parties and observers united in the EL have been agreed. Common features are mainly found in politics, in the commitment to extra-parliamentary movements and less in views on ideology or history.

The European Left wants to take politics from the backrooms of power back to society, to the streets and squares, into the people's discourse. It is part of movements and it takes sides. The member parties are active in parliaments and governments, in initiatives and extra-parliamentary protests. It is a countervailing power and creative force. The EL is thus ready to take over responsibility for what distinguishes political parties in the broad social discourse, i.e. being a reliable partner for the people at the political level.





# Manifesto of the Party of the European Left

*Adopted by the Founding Congress, Rome, 8-9 May, 2004*

New hope is springing up in Europe. A new vision is inspiring growing numbers of Europeans and uniting them to join in great mobilizations to resist the imposition of a capitalist one-way street that is an attempt to trap humanity in a new social and cultural regression. The condition of peoples, social subjects and individuals is marked by insecurity, uncertainty and precariousness. A new resistance against capitalist exploitation is strongly emerging. There is a new option for a change crisscrossing the lives of men and women who are more and more affected by the disasters produced by the capitalist globalization policies.

The new forms of power on a worldwide scale bring about a crisis of nation states, of the alliance systems and post-World War II world orders. The theory of permanent war, as presently depicted in the Bush doctrine, the vortex of terrorist violence that war is nourishing cause inequalities to grow and spaces of democracy to be reduced.

For us, Europe is, within international politics, a space for the rebirth of struggles for another society. The achievement of peace and the transformation of the present capitalist society will be the scope of this undertaking. We strive for a society, which transgresses the capitalist and patriarchal logic. Our aim is human emancipation, liberation of men and women from any form of oppression, exploitation and exclusion.

We refer to the values and traditions of socialism, communism and the labour movement, of feminism, the feminist movement and gender equality, of the environmental movement and sustainable development, of peace and international solidarity, of human rights, humanism and antifascism, of progressive and liberal thinking, both nationally and internationally.

We understand the role and the task of the Political Left in Europe as a contribution to form a broad social and political alliance for a radical policy change by developing concrete alternatives and proposals for that necessary transformation of the present capitalist societies. In that we see our responsibility and ability to address all those who are taking action for a more equitable society as a condition for a self-determined life of their own. We want to establish left wing politics lastingly as an independent, self-confident political project contributing to the implementation of solidarity, of democratic, social and ecological alternatives.

For that reason the European Union as well as the whole European continent are

becoming an increasing important space for alternative politics - besides the traditional political level of nation-states, regions and the municipalities and not being separated from world developments.

Therefore we see the worldwide range of the „alter-mondialiste movement“, its growing exchange, mutual cooperation as well as its influence within the traditional social, labour, feminist, environmentalist and democratic movements in terms of a new participation in the conflict for a change. All these movements confront the „private space“ of the strong world powers with a „public space“ inhabited by different subjects who want to reclaim fundamental rights: peace, democracy, social justice, freedom, gender equality and respect for nature. The political Left is a part of them. That gives a new resource for a policy of transformation.

In the different European countries extraordinary cultural and political experience and social struggles marked the original character of the European social model. We look to these political and cultural roots and not to the market values which today define it, in particular through the Maastricht treaty policies and the decisions of the European Central Bank.

In Europe, in each of our countries, the people are suffering from the policies of globalized capitalism implemented by governments in the interest of big capital and lobbies, which undermine solidarity and social gains won by great struggles. There is a general attack on pension systems, the dismantlement and privatization of social security, the submission of public services and such essential sectors as health, education, culture and common goods like water and other natural resources to market rules, casualization and deregulation of the labour market. There is an accentuation of anti-Trade Union repression and a policy of criminalization of immigration.

Everything is commodified. From labour to the whole life cycle. In present Europe unemployment, precariousness, outward militarization, as demonstrated in the Balkan wars, Afghanistan and Iraq, and inward militarization through repressive and liberticidal laws against those who oppose neoliberal policies, are growing. This process is alienating growing sectors of society from politics and producing wars between the poor, resurging of populism, racism and anti-Semitism.

The social democratic concept of the Third way in Europe has failed, because it did not resist this development and did not have any alternative, thus promoting it. That creates possibilities and lays a bigger responsibility on the Left that wants to change the present world. But we cannot trace the same traditional path as in the 20th century which brought great achievements but also great defeats and tragedies to the forces with a revolutionary inspiration.

To change society we have to widen our action. In Europe the construction of an alternative, radical, environmentalist and feminist left is a challenge for the new cycle which is now opening. The plural nature of movements can be crisscrossed by this new political force because we want to build a new relationship between society and politics.

We want to build a project for another Europe and to give another content to the EU: autonomous from US hegemony, open to the south of the world, alternative to capitalism in its social and political model, active against the growing militarization and war, in favour of the protection of the environment and the respect of human rights, including the social and economic ones. We stand for the right of citizenship for all those living in Europe.

We want a Europe free from the antidemocratic and neoliberal policies of WTO and IMF, refusing NATO, foreign military bases and any model of a European army leading to increasing military competition and arms race in the world. We want a Europe of peace and solidarity, free from nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, a Europe that rejects war as an instrument to settle international conflicts. That particularly concerns the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which should be solved according to the UN resolutions.

We - left-wing political forces of this continent - want to help the rise of a new force for change. We - parties and political organizations of communist, socialist, democratic, environmentalist, feminist inspiration, against neoliberalism and for a social change - want to give birth to a new political subject: the Party of the European Left (EL).

We aim to embody this hope which will enable us to tackle in fresh terms the question of globalization, world peace, democracy and social justice, the equality of genders, a self-determined life of handicapped people, sustainable and balanced development, respect for specific cultural, religious, ideological features or sexual orientations.

We see the necessity for a deep-rooted social and democratic transformation of Europe. Yes, the time has come to intensify struggles that challenge the dogma of the sacrosanct „market economy with free competition“, the power of the financial markets and multinationals, and, instead, to make our citizens active agents of the policies carried out in their name.

Faced with the recession and the growth of unemployment, the „stability pact“ and the European Central Bank orientations must be challenged so as to work towards another economic and social policy and social priorities in favour of full employment and training, public services and a bold investment policy, for the environment. The taxation of capital flows must be imposed.

Priorities must be changed - in favour of human beings, not money.

We undertake to work everywhere in Europe to advance the rights of wage-earners in their work-places. We consider that public services are an indispensable means for guaranteeing the right of equal access of everyone to education, water, food, health, power and transportation. We are in favour of modernized, decentralized and democratized public services which ensure social rights for everyone.

Today ten countries are joining the European Union and others have expressed the desire to join. But there are significant political and social forces both within these countries and in the countries that are already EU members, who view enlargement with reservations or outright hostility. These tendencies are reinforced by the impasses caused by the EU's present strategic choices.

The EL responds to the challenges for countries that are now outside the EU - such as the Balkan states and other Eastern European countries - caused mainly by their transformation and therefore to the arising dilemma of independent development or joining the capitalist European integration as mid-term strategy for dealing with all conflicts inside the societies connected to these changes of past and present time. The EL is ready to stand together with all democratic forces in these countries in favour of democracy, peace and social justice, social and economic development and to strengthen the democratic institutions.

We want to act so that the elected institutions, the European Parliament and the national parliaments as well as the representative committees (the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions) have more powers of action and control. Today, whatever may be our overall opinion of the „Constitutional Treaty“ being discussed, we are opposed to a Directorate of Great Powers. Nor do we accept their wish to impose ultra-liberal economic criteria and militarization on us leading to substantial social regression.

We will unceasingly strive to widen the action, participation and control of the citizens at all levels and at every stage of the building of Europe.

Finally, at the heart of the crisis of the European Union is Democracy. For decades the European Union has been constructed from above, with disregard for its great diversity of cultures and languages - without its people and often against them.

But already something is beginning to change. The great social, trade union, working class and civic struggles against the war have begun to change the situation. In just a few years they have greatly contributed to a broad rallying in support of peace, equality of human rights, respect for the planet. As

political forces of social transformation, we want to contribute to this new dynamic that is resolutely attacking neo-liberal policies. The social forums have been essential moments of debate, of confrontation and of building popular and civic alternatives to the present neo-liberal Europe. The social movements, the social and citizens' struggles have their own dynamics, their independence of analysis, of proposals and initiatives. We are in favour not only of defending the rights of workers and trade unions against all kinds of discrimination, but in favour of extending workers' rights, including for unemployed and for workers in precarious jobs, extending democracy at the working place and in economic life, at all levels, including the European one.

We stand for an alternative way of social, ecological, sustainable development and the restructuring of the economy based on the protection of the environment and climate, founded on the precautionary principle, through the use of environmental-friendly technologies, through lifelong social solidarity, through creating new jobs and through support for disadvantaged regions of the earth.

We will promote an enhanced role of the Committee of the Regions and the Social and Economic Committee as substantial institutional organs of democratic and regional policy in the EU, taking part in the decision making of the European institutions.

In the EU various interests are in conflict with each other. For us this creates a new political space for class struggle and for the defence of the interests of workers and democracy, of the European society with its organizations and institutions, among them the European Parliament.

The EL takes the obligation of contributing to ensure that the great changes it professes become reality – within a context of the constant broadening of peace, democracy and social justice.

Let us fight together for a new society, for a world of justice free from exploitation and war.

Together we say that another Europe is possible. The future is here – history never ends.



## Athens Declaration of the 1<sup>st</sup> EL Congress.

We, the European Left, gathered in Athens on the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of October, 2005, acknowledge that the crisis currently afflicting Europe has no borders, and that the neo-liberal policies decided upon in Brussels and by the national governments are to blame for it. These choices have been made over a period of many years, and the result is in front of our eyes now.

We also acknowledge that the peoples of Europe, who have suffered most from these policies, are fighting against them and looking for alternatives. Europe needs to be re-established on a foundation of peace, democracy and full respect for social and human rights. This is our commitment and our hope: European citizens must take their destiny into their own hands.

This action and declaration of solidarity is likewise an appeal for unity addressed to all movements and left political forces that are striving to reverse priorities and to change the policies that have been implemented up to the present.

The European Left and its member parties are committed to fight together with social movements, trade unions, and political left forces for another Europe, which is possible. In this context, we fully support all European mobilizations and initiatives against neo-liberalism and war, particularly the Fourth European Social Forum to be held in Athens.

We are committed to eradicating the tragedy of unemployment and job insecurity.

We are committed to fight against social exclusion, to support employment programmes, to work for the creation of new jobs, for the reduction of working hours, and the conversion of insecure and part-time work into steady, decently paid jobs. Therefore the European Left will develop its own set of proposals. We support all policies that fight and strive to stop job cuts. We also condemn fraudulent bankruptcies and relocations. We believe it is essential to preserve and rebuild social welfare systems (including public pensions) and to take life-long learning as a priority. We demand a new model of production, distribution and consumption.

We fight for the immediate withdrawal of the Bolkestein Directive and the GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services).

The deregulation of employment in Europe and the social dumping in the developing countries are two sides of the same coin. Both give benefits exclusively to the multinationals, increasing competition among the working people and affecting women in particular. A specific programme must be

drawn up to establish a new relationship between productive and reproductive work, equal wages to overcome the sexual division of labour.

Instead of relocation, we propose that working hours and conditions be improved, that production be subject to environmental considerations, that welfare and wage systems be empowered. Greater transparency, improved democracy and more workers' power in the workplace are fundamental demands. It is by defending rights, not abolishing them, that we can achieve a more just world.

We insist on an urgent reorientation of EU budget and monetary policies.

The European Central Bank should be democratically controlled and placed at the service of employment and of development, which should be free of the demands of the financial markets, with particular attention to the less developed EU regions. We demand an end to the stability pact in favour of social policies at European level.

We promote the strengthening of public services at local, regional, national and European levels.

We are against privatization and the neo-liberal directives that promote the commercialization of public resources and services such as water, energy, culture, education and health care. Basic services must not be regulated by profit, but by the quality levels demanded by the population.

We oppose migration policies oriented to police action and the so-called fight against terrorism.

The recent Lampedusa, Amsterdam and Melilla events, the situation of hundreds of so-called boat people in Italy and Greece and the deplorable conditions in the migrant detention centres reveal the inhuman cruelty and bankruptcy of Fortress Europe. A new policy must be formulated and implemented, based on respect for human dignity and equal labour rights that are an essential part of the labour movement in Europe, which will legalize all migrants and demand strategic support for development.

We stand for a world without war and demand a European peace policy against the military logic of the superpower's warfare.

We fight for the development of European cooperation and solidarity to promote peace.

Europe does not need an aggressive alliance – one that disrupts and challenges the role of the UN – to secure peace and to establish peaceful relations with all countries of the world. We call on the peoples of Europe to demand that their countries withdraw from the NATO military structure, and that all NATO and US military bases be abolished.



NATO, in its present form, is unacceptable and the demand for its abolition is absolutely essential.

Disarmament must become the primary issue in a Europe based on peace. The European Left demands a reduction of national military expenditure. Europe must be a continent free from weapons of mass destruction. All European armies must withdraw from Iraq immediately. The peace movement cannot slow down its actions. We are fully committed to its objectives, namely the mobilization of public opinion in solidarity with the Palestinian people and the Israeli pacifist forces. There will be no peace in the region without a political solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, based on UN resolutions. This must be the European priority within the framework of the quartet responsible for the „road map“, as well as the destruction of the wall and the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from the occupied territories.

We oppose the authoritarian offensive against civil liberties, social, labour and democratic rights.

The extraordinary legislation being approved by governments is an offensive against individual and collective rights that were the product of long democratic struggles. We will fight to stop this dangerous trend, for no security can be built that opposes freedom and democracy.

We, the European Left, are fully committed to this challenge.

Our perspective is peaceful, socialist, ecological and radically democratic.

Our perspective is also a feminist one, for gender equality and democracy in all domains of life are far from being real.

Our perspective recognizes diversity in individual life options.

Our perspective is internationalist, opens Europe to the world, promotes cultural exchanges, cooperation and new solidarity.

Our perspective considers the Mediterranean a region fundamental to world peace.

Change is a necessity. There is a profound gap between citizens and political elites. The victory of the NO forces against the Constitutional Treaty expresses the degree of this split. The majority of the population is not against Europe. The majority voted against the liberal and arrogant policies that have brought the crisis into our daily lives.

Today, the treaty is politically dead. This fact is the basis for an expanded debate on the present, so that Europe can look into a future of new prosperity.

We will participate in a broad citizens' movement that will work for a manifesto or a charter of the social and political rights appropriate to the Europe we want.

Yes, we can change Europe!

# Feminist Manifesto

*Adopted by the 1<sup>st</sup> EL Congress,  
Athens, 29-30 October 2005*

Women have been and are participating in the liberation movements of all times. In the 20th century they have achieved more rights than ever before. Now we see market liberalism, fundamentalism and militarism cutting the ground from under these hard-fought rights. Let us look at the most important aspects:

**1.** Not only neoliberal and capitalist globalization devours and invades the earth, oppressing women and men, male and female, old people and children on the economic and social level, but it even invades the life of each individual and attacks nature's resources, lays the foundations for new clashing contradictions, which hammer in deeply the gender relationships on each level, outlining again bearishly the rights' maps and women's freedom, favouring the coming back of women to "naturalness" of housework and private sphere, avoiding that new ways of approaching one another, dialogue, comparison among different cultures are experimented with, and this starting from women.

**2.** Globalization is nowadays the most important cause of the greatest inequality among countries, populations, human beings, classes, also inside the same country. Therefore, it needs a global market and a world divided in dominant and dominated people, therefore, it needs the preventive and constituent war, which is the context, in which our political action is now collocated as Party of the European Left. This context, intermingling the modern inheritance and the restoration of contemporaneity, is the one to change deeply-rooted models and behavioral patterns in the traditional gender relationships on the specific ground of war and armed forces.

**3.** Europe, prisoner of strong powers and banks, finds itself between an economic and political dependence on the USA and a kind of claim to autonomy, which, however, does not appear in the construction of an alternative society. It also fluctuates between the defence of a very little welfare and a social devastation, required really by the strong powers. Flexibility and precariousness become the constitutive elements of Europe, registered also in the Constitutional Treaty.

**4.** Europe arms itself more and more physically, ideologically and mentally in order to defend itself especially against migrant men and women, who come from the countries, colonized and sacked by



the European states along the centuries.

5. In this armed Europe, security means defence against migrants by way of a real closure, which appears also in some repressive laws. There is a real army of policemen against the landing of migrants; in the south of Italy there are built real places of detention and seclusion of men and women, who did not commit any offences.

6. The European economy is founded on selling guns to all countries of the world and on making sophisticated guns, encouraged also by the Constitutional Treaty.

Then, there is another Europe, the Eastern one, where an unbridled and wild capitalism has replaced the systems of “real socialism”. In this part of the continent Western Europe is looked at as an area, which exports marketing under the pretext of exporting democracy and human rights.

We must turn over this situation, fighting in the regional movements and in the European movement against precariousness and flexibility for a good reception and citizenship of residence for migrant people, for disarmament.

We women want to be the protagonists of this path with our gender point of view and with a common practice against the planet’s destruction, for a social Europe, which accords also with women working against guns, nationalisms and fundamentalisms in the East as well as in the West, against racism, anti-Semitism and sexism, against the discrimination of other sexual orientations, against the violence and oppression of women that may also appear like an emancipationist cover-up.

This is our project, which must be carried out through an autonomous feminist action.

We want el-fem to constitute itself as a European feminist political subject, founded on our relationships and on a common project. We think that women, who share this project, should be able to enrol in el-fem, also if they are not enrolled in any member-party of the European Left Party.

El-fem is open to relations with all the women of the EL, of the women’s movement and associations that are part of social forums. We propose that the EL recognizes our network in its statutes and in its practice (financing and involving women in all actions), overcoming the patriarchal character, that is also in the male tradition of the European and Western Left.

We want to underline that, together with the women of Eastern Europe, we want to work out a strong and profound criticism of Stalinism and “real socialism”, a criticism that, without cancelling our history, can open our eyes to a real cultural and theoretic rebuilding of the Left and of communism: a rebuilding, which can also be a criticism of

power and of “real socialism” as state power.

In this connection, we think that the patriarchate – as ancient form of the gender domination – finds in capitalism a social, cultural and political representation. In the same way, we think that communism and the Left have not tried to get out of patriarchate. On the contrary, they always talked of man’s freedom, which – as we know – does not include women’s freedom.

We underline strongly: The gender contradiction is not subordinated to the class contradiction. In contradistinction to the patriarchal principle of a hierarchy of different forms of social contradictions, it is necessary to point out the concrete interactions and mutual interrelationships among them.

Women’s movements and feminist theories point out the problem of the patriarchate’s presence within the Left, and meet strong opposition not only among men but also among many women, who trust politically in men, making, in this way, their sexual difference politically insignificant. But, if we want to knock down the present situation, it is necessary to eradicate patriarchate also within the Left. It is time to do it.

Over the last decade, women have been continually involved in political struggles against the social and ideological impact of neoliberal policies. On the streets, at workplaces, in new social organizations, women have been one of the most important subjects involved in the redefinition of political conflict in the new frame of neoliberal globalization.

In these political processes, a new generation of women has been breaking new ground, pointing out the contradiction between the public discourse of neoliberal institutions, arguing for gender equality, and their actual effects, resulting in a persistence of gender discrimination in work, social rights and political representation. Hand in hand with the historical experience of XXth century feminism, we, women, have won a political voice. It is a major change that cannot be ignored in the new century. It also implies a political redefinition of the organizational and representational culture of left political parties.

We want to stay in the EL as women and to cross it critically with our different point of view.

We engage to put forward concrete work proposals and to expand our el-fem. At the same time, we think that the EL must engage on every aspect – as its constitutive engagement - in order to overcome, not only formally but in culture and in practices, the unisexual and patriarchal character of its organizations, also through ways of self-education for men and women.

It is time to do that as well.

## ParlaCon 05

*First International Parliamentarians' Meeting of the EL, 18-20 March 2005 in Potsdam and Berlin*

On the invitation of the Party of the European Left and the German Left Party, PDS parliamentarians and activists of 21 parties and movements from 18 countries met in Potsdam and Berlin on 18-20 March 2005. Three days of friendly language confusion, new faces, new perspectives, new intentions – all this under the slogan “Let us learn from each other”.

Participants agreed on specific topics like right-wing extremism, the coordination of peace and disarmament initiatives but also local issues. They discussed joint initiatives against the planned EU services directive, for a left European labour market policy, for new approaches to taxation, for a social and eco-friendly location development. Female parliamentarians and politically active women of the EL-network el-fem convened alongside the meeting.

This first exchange of ideas was meant to

extend cooperation and networking. First results were reached during informal talks on parliamentary initiatives, motions and further steps regarding concepts for basic social security, against the privatization of public assets and services. The conference helped intensify work contacts. Many initiatives that were then discussed have now taken shape, as the numerous actions and protests against the EU Bolkestein Directive show.

The meeting in Potsdam and Berlin has laid the groundwork for the self-organization of the parliamentarians, as the EL already started to do with issues like local policies or the economy.

Henceforth ParlaCon will not be a series of events in the first place, but rather an active, vibrant network of parliamentarians of the EL and other left parties, of political organizations and people, including interested members of the left group GUE/NGL in the European Parliament, left groups in the Council of Europe and in the Nordic Council. Within the EL Executive Board MP Yozef Zisyadis, Labour Party of Switzerland, is the person to contact on this project.

E-mail: [z@zisyadis.com](mailto:z@zisyadis.com)



*Marga Ferré, Member of the  
EL Executive Board, United Left (Spain)*

## World Social Forum – impulse of new times in Latin America

The idea of the World Social Forum is representing a new stage of resistance to the neoliberal thought that today is dominating the world. The WSF has created a space where it is possible to bring dry declarations to life by concrete proposals.



Today the World Social Forum is much more than a counteraction to the annual meetings of the big bosses of the world economy in Davos as it was originally planned. The six WSF editions organized until now, have given an enormous impulse to the social movements on all continents. They have served as a catalyst to the great diversity of movements that contributed in a decisive way to the victory of progressive and popular governments in Latin America.

There is a red thread running from the demonstrations of Seattle to Evo Morales' recent victory in Bolivia. The World Social Forums have stimulated this development. It is their mission to continue proposing ideas, organizing actions and resistance leading to an alternative of the dominant neo-liberal model.

As is expressed in the Caracas Appeal of the Assembly of Social Movements: "In recent years the popular struggles against neoliberalism and imperialism in the Americas and in other parts of the world have generated a crisis of legitimacy of the neoliberal system and of its institutions. Its more recent expressions are the defeat of ALCA in Mar del Plata and that of the Treaty for a European Constitution in France and the Netherlands".

Although the WSF in sum is a success story, we need to take more efforts. For this, the Party of the European Left is supporting the

proposals of the Forum and feels an active part of the joint articulation of the alternative to the neoliberal model.

The WSF is a world-wide movement, but we cannot deny the Latin-American impulse to this space and the ideas that sustain it. Latin America is not only providing proposals any more, but also the movement necessary for the search of real alternatives. Venezuela and Bolivia are proving this in a convincing manner.

In face of the new political realities in Latin America the Forum has started the search of synergies stemming from the cooperation of the social movements with political organizations. The question of power has entered the debates of the Forum. The Party of the European Left is greeting the emergence of thematic axes that help in this impulse, such as the debates around the topics of power, hegemony and political struggle.

The 6<sup>th</sup> edition of the WSF in Caracas was one more step on this way. It took place in Venezuela, which is going through one of the most exciting, but also most complex social and political experiments on our planet. The Bolivarian Revolution had given a strong



impulse to the emergence of the Forum from the very beginning.

For the EL the debates in the 6<sup>th</sup> WSF on a Pan-American response to neoliberalism, on socialism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the need of an acceleration of the political processes have been very important.

The Forum is a space which is embracing a great diversity of cultures and movements, a space that explores the potentials of an explicit debate on the possibility of constructing a strategic area of common work of all these cultures.

As Party of the European Left we respect this autonomous space of the movements. At the same time we stimulate the dialogue between social movements and political parties.

In 2006 the EL will participate and mobilise for the Action Days of the four central campaigns called by the Assembly of Social Movements:

1. Against the occupation of Iraq: We demand the immediate, unconditional retreat of all foreign troops from Iraq and the end of the privatization of its energetic resources. We refuse to accept the occupation of any territories by foreign troops. Therefore we demand an end to the Israeli occupation in Palestine, and the creation of an independent Palestinian State.

2. We condemn the threats to Syria, Iran and Latin American countries. We are against military bases on foreign territory. We oppose the use of economic blockades as weapon of war, as the one the US is using against Cuba.

We speak out for disarmament, the elimination of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. We demand respect for human rights and civil freedoms, the end of torture, kidnappings, unlawful arrests and secret prisons!

3. Against the conclusion of the Doha Round in the WTO:

The Party of the European Left will make all possible efforts in every country and in the European Union to stop and reverse the process of liberalization of the WTO.

4. Against the G-8 summit in July 2006 in St. Petersburg, Russia, against the World Bank and IMF summits in September 2006:

The Party of the European Left supports the call of the Assembly of the Peoples of the South to an international day of direct action in front of the IMF and World Bank headquarters on the occasion of their annual meeting in September, 2006. There, the illegitimacy of the financial debt that is claimed to the countries of the South, will be denounced, there pay refusal supported. We demand to recognize the fact, that the peoples of the South are creditors of an immense historical social and ecological debt, which must be repaid.





*Natasa Theodorakopoulou, Member of the EL Executive Board, SYNASPISMOS, Greece*

## The Fourth European Social Forum (ESF), Athens, 4-7 May 2006

After Florence, Paris and London the social movements of Europe are meeting again on 4-7 May 2006 in Athens. The objective of this event is to share opinions and experience, to discuss alternatives, coordinate them and organise pan-European actions.

The ESF is held in a crucial phase of the political and social development in the EU, the whole of Europe, and the world: The results of the French and Dutch referenda on the European Constitution, the great actions in many countries against the policy of privatization, against the deregulation of labour markets and further demolition of the welfare state, e.g. against the Bolkestein Directive, have caused discussions and significantly raised the interest of the public in the 4<sup>th</sup> ESF. The new tendencies within the political Left of Europe, as in Germany, France, and Italy, the founding and subsequent activities of the Party of the European Left are in line with this.

The main slogan of the Athens gathering "Against War, Neoliberalism and Racism" gives the opportunity to answer many questions and approach various issues: the future of Europe after the NO to this European Constitution, Europe's relationship with the rest of the world, the effects of the "permanent war" in the everyday lives of European citizens, such as growing poverty, destruction of the environment or an increasing number of racist incidents, the role of the US, the new situation in Latin America or the highly critical state of the Middle East. A particularly important question: What actions against the neoliberal globalization are the social movements of Europe and the

world planning in the near future?

By the decision to hold the 4<sup>th</sup> ESF in Athens the social movements of Europe want to send out a signal: to give more support to partner organizations and initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe, on the Balkans and in the Middle East, to include them more actively and to give more attention to their views and priorities.

Large delegations from Turkey, Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Georgia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Palestine and Israel have announced their coming. Thus, for the first time, together with thousands of West Europeans there will be more than 2000 people from the "other" Europe and its neighbors attending the ESF.

In Athens a new organization model of the ESF will be tested, that gives more weight to grassroots participation. Large parts of the agenda will be filled by debates of the newly emerging European networks. Organizations and movements concerned with similar issues shall intensify their cooperation. They plan to develop alternatives and coordinate their activities on the European level more closely. They have also had a greater opportunity to influence the shaping of the agenda from the very beginning. This method had been applied at the last World Social Forum in Porto Alegre. The European committee has agreed to adopt it for the 4<sup>th</sup> ESF.

The seminars taking place from 4 to 7 May 2006 deal with such diverse topics as privatization, deregulation of the labour market, climate change, food security and GM food, oppression of women, cities and social exclusion, gay and lesbian rights, social racism, political asylum, migrant legalization and equal rights, the fight against "terrorism" and civil rights, the occupation of Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine, the international anti-war movement.

For more information see:  
[www.european-left.org](http://www.european-left.org)





Image: Torsten Leukert/wario-press

## Einstein versus Bolkestein!

Named after its father the EU services directive is called Bolkestein Directive. It is meant to turn the Common market into a predatory market. Albert Einstein once criticized what a predatory market causes: “All-out competition leads to a huge waste of labour and a paralysis of the individual’s social awareness.”

The Bolkestein Directive turns almost all spheres of the economy – commerce and trade, services and free-lancers into a predatory market. This is yet another severe blow to the European welfare-state model.

According to Bolkestein it is not the best but rather the cheapest standards that are to gain the upper hand – in terms of working hours, wages, industrial safety, the environment and our common weal. This is an assault on the working class’ hard-won achievements.

Bolkestein is affecting women in particular. Working with and for people is dramatically debased and the gender-specific division of labour deepened. This deprives the equal opportunities policy of its foundation.

It is meant to turn precious goods such as water and education into profitable ones. This is tantamount to an attack on human rights: all people are equally entitled to access to fundamental social and cultural goods. Europe is running the risk of going down the drain when it comes to social,

democratic and ecological affairs and gender relations.

We reject not only the compromise of the conservatives and social democrats in the European Parliament but also the latest draft version of the European Commission. Both versions are still in favour of a neo-liberal deregulation of public services.

NO has prevailed once before.

By voting NO to the European Constitution women and men in France and the Netherlands opened up a chance for all of us to rethink Europe.

By means of the Bolkestein Directive the ruling class attempts to press ahead with the core of the failed constitution, i.e. that unbridled competition, through the backdoor.

We say NO again, Oxi, Nej, Ne, Ei, Nie, Nein and Non, for we want a social Europe with peace, ecology, human rights and gender democracy.

Let us do it like the dock workers!

On 18 January the European Parliament rejected the Port Service Directive – Bolkestein for ports. This is a great success for the dock workers of Europe. It shows that enduring resistance pays. It shows that the people in Europe want a different policy – which is possible.

We call on people:

- to stage protests in every country, in the streets and in companies;
- to step up pressure on municipal, regional and national assemblies to reject Bolkestein!



## 13-16 July 2006: 1<sup>st</sup> European Left Summer University in Portugal

*“The Party of the European Left:  
contents and practices of an alternative”.*

The first EL Summer University, scheduled for 13-16 July, 2006, will take place in Tavira, Portugal. Around 160 participants from all over Europe – EL members, activists of the Portuguese anti-capitalist Left, people interested in the EL – are invited to discuss the party’s policies.

It will be a unique opportunity for activists and experts of political parties and social movements to get together and talk outside the usual framework of international meetings. Under the slogan of the EL parliamentarians’ conference Parlacon 2005 “Let us learn from each other” workshops, seminars and round table discussions are organized.

The aim is to promote theoretical and political debate on the major issues of the construction of an alternative political Left for the European Union, a broad exchange of experience on political and social problems in Europe and the European countries.

Proposed topics are: The economic system of the EU; Capitalist globalization, Alternative policies for a new European welfare state; A crisis of the EU: For another European constitution; The regulation of international financial transfers, and others.

A central point in the workshops will be the development of innovative communication strategies for political actions and campaigns, for a better mutual understanding of political parties and social movements.

As the event will take place in the Algarve region, local alternative projects of rural cooperatives can be visited, to study on the spot the problems of these rural areas in face of prolonged drought.

In the evenings, there will be cultural events in the historic centre of Tavira.

Come and join us!

For more information see:  
[www.european-left.org](http://www.european-left.org)



## The Party of the European Left: an association of national parties and individual members

The Party of the European Left (EL) is a decentralized flexible association of democratic national parties and political organizations of the alternative and progressive left, where the individual organizations keep their independence and sovereignty. The EL is open for all political parties and organizations in Europe.



Founding members of the EL are socialist, communist, red-green and other democratic left parties in the member states and associated countries of the European Union (EU) which have established various forms of co-operation at all levels of political activity, based on the agreements, principles and aims laid down in the EL Manifesto.

Membership to the EL is open to any left party and political organization in Europe that agrees with the aims and principles of the Manifesto and the Statutes. Decisions on their membership are taken in consensus by the member parties. Parties and political organizations may also apply for observer status or be invited by members to become observers to the EL.

What concrete steps have to be taken? Interested organizations send their request in written form to the EL Executive Board. There it will be discussed and then transferred with a recommendation to the Council of Chairpersons for the final decision. Since the founding congress in Rome in 2004, the EL has admitted 7 new member and observer parties. At the moment a further 7 applications are to be dealt with by the Executive Board.

It is the wish of the EL to win as many people as possible for its cause. Unnecessary obstacles are to be cleared away. One of the main features of left wing politics shall be put into practice: to encourage the individual to engage her/himself with shaping social reality.

In this sense the EL as an organizational structure wants to go back to Marx: to be a network closely linked to the social movements, organizations and trade unions. This has led to an idea, which is new for the cooperation of left wing parties: to open the doors of the EL also for individual members. This concerns individuals who either do not want to join the EL member party in their country, or simply have no such party to join, but want to become members of the EL.

As the understanding of the role of political parties, the organizational structure and the concrete situation of each EL member party in their country differ from each other, as the Left has to come to terms with past experience of international party cooperation, the idea of an (additional) individual membership was from the very beginning not undisputed. After a democratic debate the member parties agreed on the following procedure laid down in the statutes:

Article 6: “(7) The EL introduces for a certain period of experimentation the opportunity of individual membership as a contribution to its future development. A final decision on that issue will be taken only after a thorough debate of the experience and debates in all member parties. During that period each member party or political organization is free to adopt - for its own country - the most convenient approach and practical methods. According to that approach women and men residents of an EU member state can become individual members of the EL. In countries



where full-right member parties or political organizations exist they can form friendship circles associated to these parties of the European Left. Citizens of other European countries associated to the EU can also apply for individual membership. They can join or create a national group of individual members applying for observer status.”

Since this decision was made, individuals in

several countries have joined the EL. On 12 February, 2006 the “Free Association of Individual EL Members in Italy” was founded in Perugia. It has now about 300 adherents.

The association sees itself as an open network developing and spreading alternative ideas in politics, culture, economy and social sciences, thus making a contribution to the rise of a new political subject for radical change of society and economy. The founding event, the “Debate of Perugia” was a frank, vivid talk, where well-known intellectuals, experts and other individuals reflected on the need for change in Italian

and European politics from a very personal view.

Individual members of the EL are now also active in Great Britain, Belgium and Germany. They are developing their alternative ideas independently of national party structures, but may also work with national EL member parties on single issues of European and national policies or on political actions of the EL.

EL Friendship circles who do not want to associate with a national member party or just do not have one, are affiliated to the EL Office in Brussels.



## The Party of the European Left – a networking party

The EL is open to everybody, who is interested in left policy and actions.

We have therefore chosen open structures and the principle of a networking party. A unique feature of the EL structure is the integration of working groups and actors of all kinds. This reflects the intention of the EL to open politics to citizens, to carry through common demands by coordinated action.

Until now five working groups have been established and are cooperating with several movements and interested persons. One member of the EL Executive Board is taking responsibility for the respective political issue a group is engaged with. Working style and methods may be varying. Special attention is given to the fact that as many

countries as possible are represented in such a pluralistic body.

The EL is interested in working on certain issues with the left-wing parliamentary group GUE-NGL in the European Parliament as well as with European organizations and networks. It wants to initiate cooperation of itself and its member parties with local or regional organizations of other European and international structures.

How the networks see themselves?

### Women’s network: el-fem

The women’s network of EL member and observer parties was established already during the EL founding congress in May 2004 in Rome. By doing so we wanted to demonstrate that women are contributing from the very beginning to build the new party, to establish networks within the EL.

We want to exchange experience, to qualify our discussions, to strengthen our connections with other women’s organizations. We want to organize in our own responsibility activities on the European level. Therefore we invite all responsible persons engaged

within the EL in women's and feminist issues to join our work.

Contact:

Imma Barbarossa  
(Communist Refoundation Party)  
Jaroslava Cardová  
(CP of Bohemia and Moravia)  
Litsa Doudoumi (SYNASPISMOS, Greece)  
Katarina Ferro (CP of Austria)  
Christiane Reymann (THE LEFT.PDS),  
Hilary Wainwright (Red Pepper, UK)  
Address of the network:  
el\_fem@european-left.org

### **Network of gay, lesbian, bi- & transsexual, and queer-left activists**

Being queer means leading a different sort of life. This is not about the mainstream, profit margins, patriotism, patriarchy or being assimilated. It is not about leading positions, privileges or elitism. "It is about being on the margins, defining ourselves." (Leaflet of Queer Nations)

We are building a network to develop and promote queer policies within the European Left. Therefore we call all interested members and sympathizers to join and cooperate.

Contact:

Carsten Schatz (THE LEFT.PDS)  
Carsten.schatz@pds-berlin.de  
Saverio Aversa  
(Communist Refoundation Party)  
Address of the network:  
gltqnet@european-left.org

### **EL regional network for the Baltics**

This is an Estonian Left Party initiative to strengthen cooperation and political exchange of the EL with the political Left, its sympathizers and interested people in the Baltic states and the whole Baltic Sea region. The network will also contribute to deepen contacts with Greens, NGO's, peace movements and independent trade unions, to work with them in theory and practice for social, political and democratic alternatives. Explaining various aspects of European integration and its consequences for the new EU member states and neighboring countries, the Estonian Left Party as an EL member party tries to take part in widening the understanding of left thinking in the Baltic states. The network will be a self-confident competitor to the local Conservatives, Christian Democrats, as well as parties belonging to the Socialist International promoting another "European integration".

Contact:

Sirje Kingsepp, esdtp@hotmail.ee  
Address of the network:  
balticnet@european-left.org

### **EL working group on economic policy**

We want to be a working structure within the Party of the European Left for theoretical and political debate on the economic policies of the EU. We are convinced that the political Left has to contribute in a very concrete way to the broad discussion on alternatives to the neoliberal policy dominating today

all economic processes in the EU and its member states. Globalization is worsening the tendency towards the economization of politics. We have to join the search for concrete and persuading alternative proposals for a just, socially and ecologically sustainable development, for full employment. We have started with first projects on problems the EL has been confronted with in 2005: the Lisbon Agenda, the Growth and Stability Pact and the EU Services Directive ("Bolkestein Directive") as well as the outcome of the so called relocalizations of production. The EL and its working structures want to join the debates with the social movements and trade unions about and the struggle for another social and employment policy.

Contact:

EL Office Brussels  
info@european-left.org

### **EL network of activists on local policies**

Although national laws are differing, local authorities in the regions and municipalities are getting more and more competencies. They are increasingly involved in tackling social issues within the EU. Nowadays, EU treaties are giving education, health care, social care and labour policies in the hands of local institutions.

On the other hand throughout the European Union – differences in the implementation of civil rights notwithstanding - the competition principle is prevailing, what means that in the end the corporations decide how local areas are developing.

We want to establish within the Party of the European Left a co-ordination of local policies enabling us to come to a joint political understanding of the different legislations and to develop concrete political alternatives. This will enable us to do common research on the following issues:

- active labour market policies,
- local public services,
- social and health care,
- environment protection
- trade between individual regions.

These are just suggestions, other issues may be added. We invite all those interested in or being in charge of institutional policies to join our network.

Contact:

Marco Nesci  
(Communist Refoundation Party)  
esteri.prc@rifondazione.it  
rifondazione-roma@libero.it  
Mirko Messner (CP of Austria)  
mirko.messner@kpoe.at

## Executive Board of the Party of the European Left

The Executive Board was newly elected during the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of the Party of the European Left on 30 October, 2005 in Athens. The Executive Board consists of the chairperson and vice-chairperson, the treasurer, further members elected by the Congress on a key of two persons from each member party at a gender-quoted basis.

### List of Members:

#### Chairman

##### **Fausto Bertinotti**

Communist Refoundation Party (Italy)  
Partito della Rifondazione Comunista  
fbertinotti@europarl.eu.int

#### Treasurer

##### **Pedro Marset**

United Left (Spain)  
Izquierda Unida  
marset@um.es

#### Austria

##### **Waltraud Fritz-Klackl**

Communist Party of Austria  
Kommunistische Partei Österreichs  
wfritz@chello.at

##### **Günther Hopfgartner**

Communist Party of Austria  
Kommunistische Partei Österreichs  
hopfgartner@volksstimme.at

#### Belgium

##### **Maurice Magis**

Communist Party  
Parti Communiste (Wallonie)  
parti communiste@skynet.be

#### Czech Republic

##### **Miroslavá Hornychová**

Party of Democratic Socialism

Strana demokratického socialismu  
mhornych@centrum.cz

##### **Jiří Hudeček**

Party of Democratic Socialism  
Strana demokratického socialismu  
hj321@centrum.cz

#### Estonia

##### **Marju Karin**

Estonian Left Party  
Eesti Vasakpartei  
marjukarin@hotmail.ee

##### **Enn Ehala**

Estonian Left Party  
Eesti Vasakpartei  
enn.ehala@gmail.com

#### France

##### **Christine Mendelsohn**

French Communist Party  
Parti communiste français  
christine.mendelsohn@numericable.fr

##### **Jean-François Gau**

French Communist Party  
Parti communiste français  
jfgau@pcf.fr

#### Germany

##### **Christiane Reymann**

The Left Party.PDS  
DIE LINKE.PDS  
reymann-berlin@t-online.de

##### **Helmut Scholz**

The Left Party.PDS  
DIE LINKE.PDS  
helmut.scholz@linkspartei.de

#### Greece

##### **Anastasia Theodorakopoulou**

Coalition of Left, of Movements and Ecology  
ΣΥΝΑΣΠΙΣΜΟΣ (SYNASPISMOS)  
nathe@syn.gr

##### **Stelios Pappas**

Coalition of Left, of Movements and Ecology  
ΣΥΝΑΣΠΙΣΜΟΣ (SYNASPISMOS)  
steliospappas1945@yahoo.co.uk





#### **Hungary**

##### **Lászlóné Szabó**

Hungarian Communist Workers' Party  
Magyar Kommunista Munkáspárt  
taxi.maxi@chello.hu

##### **Peter Székely**

Hungarian Communist Workers' Party  
Magyar Kommunista Munkáspárt  
baloldalifront@freemail.hu

#### **Italy**

##### **Graziella Mascia**

Communist Refoundation Party  
Partito della rifondazione comunista  
mascia\_g@camera.it

##### **Gennaro Migliore**

Communist Refoundation Party  
Partito della rifondazione comunista  
gennaro.migliore@rifondazione.it

#### **Luxemburg**

##### **Concetta Valvason**

The Left  
Déi Lénk  
concetta.valvason@arcelor.com

##### **Henri Wehenkel**

The Left  
Déi Lénk  
henri.wehenkel@education.lu

#### **Portugal**

##### **Carmen Hilário**

Left Bloc  
Bloco de Esquerda  
mportas-assistant@europarl.eu.int

##### **Miguel Portas**

Left Bloc  
Bloco de Esquerda  
mportas@europarl.eu.int

#### **Romania**

##### **Annamaria Cheloiu**

Socialist Alliance Party  
Partidul Alianța Socialistă  
pas@pas.ro

##### **Costantin Crețu**

Socialist Alliance Party  
Partidul Alianța Socialistă  
c.cretu@xnet.ro

#### **San Marino**

##### **Vanessa Muratori**

Communist Refoundation of San Marino  
Rifondazione comunista sammarinese  
vanessarsm@yahoo.it

##### **Gianluca della Valle**

Communist Refoundation of San Marino  
Rifondazione comunista sammarinese  
rcs@omniway.sm

#### **Spain**

##### **Marga Ferré**

United Left  
Izquierda Unida  
mferre@asambleamadrid.es

##### **Willy Meyer**

United Left  
Izquierda Unida  
wmeyer@europarl.eu.int

##### **Maite Mola**

Communist Party of Spain  
Partido Comunista de España  
maitemola@telefonica.net

##### **José Luis Centella**

Communist Party of Spain  
Partido Comunista de España  
internacionalpce@pce.es

##### **Ángels Tomás**

United Alternative Left (Catalonia)  
Esquerra Unida i Alternativa  
matomasg@comfia.ccoo.es

##### **Antoni Barbará**

Esquerra Unida i Alternativa  
United Alternative Left (Catalonia)  
abm@minorisa.es

#### **Switzerland**

##### **Brigitte Berthouzoz**

Labour Party of Switzerland  
Partei der Arbeit der Schweiz  
bberthou@worldcom.ch

##### **Yosef Zisyadis**

Labour Party of Switzerland  
Partei der Arbeit der Schweiz  
z@zisyadis.com

# Member Parties of the EL

Member Parties of the EL are socialist, communist, red-green and other democratic left parties of the member states and associated states of the European Union (EU) which are working together and establishing various forms of cooperation at all levels of political activity in Europe based on the agreements, basic principles and political aims laid down in its Manifesto and Statutes. Membership to the EL is open to any left party and political organization in Europe that agrees with the aims and principles of the EL Manifesto and accepts the EL Statutes.

## List of Member Parties of the EL:

### Austria

Communist Party of Austria  
Kommunistische Partei Österreichs  
[www.kpoe.at](http://www.kpoe.at)



### Belgium

Communist Party Parti Communiste (Wallonie)  
[www.particomuniste.be](http://www.particomuniste.be)



### Czech Republic

Party of Democratic Socialism  
Strana demokratického socialismu  
[www.sds.cz](http://www.sds.cz)



### Estonia

Estonian Left Party (EVP)  
Eesti Vasakpartei  
[www.esdtp.ee](http://www.esdtp.ee)



### France

French Communist Party  
Parti communiste français  
[www.pcf.fr](http://www.pcf.fr)



### Germany

Left Party.PDS  
DIE LINKE.PDS  
[www.sozialisten.de](http://www.sozialisten.de)



### Greece

Coalition of Left, of Movements and Ecology  
ΣΥΝΑΣΠΙΣΜΟΣ (SYNASPISMOS)  
[www.syn.gr](http://www.syn.gr)



### Hungary

Hungarian Communist Workers' Party  
Magyar Kommunista Munkáspárt  
[www.munkaspart.hu](http://www.munkaspart.hu)



### Italy

Communist Refoundation Party  
Partito della rifondazione comunista  
[www.rifondazione.it](http://www.rifondazione.it)



### Luxembourg

The Left Luxembourg  
Déi Lénk  
[www.dei-lenk.lu](http://www.dei-lenk.lu)



### Portugal

Left Bloc  
Bloco de Esquerda  
[www.bloco.org](http://www.bloco.org)



### Romania

Socialist Alliance Party  
Partidul Alianța Socialistă  
[www.pas.ro](http://www.pas.ro)



### San Marino

Communist Refoundation of San Marino  
Rifondazione comunista sammarinese  
[www.rifondazionecomunista-rsm.org](http://www.rifondazionecomunista-rsm.org)



### Spain

United Left  
Izquierda Unida  
[www.izquierda-unida.es](http://www.izquierda-unida.es)



Communist Party  
of Spain  
Partido  
Comunista  
de España  
[www.pce.es](http://www.pce.es)



## Germany

German  
Communist Party  
Deutsche  
Kommunistische Partei  
[www.dkp.de](http://www.dkp.de)



United Alternative  
Left (Catalonia)  
Esquerra Unida i  
Alternativa  
[www.euia.org](http://www.euia.org)

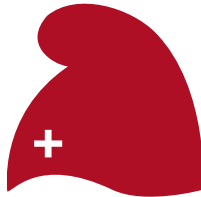


## Greece

A.K.O.A.  
Renovative Communist  
and Ecological Left  
Ανανεωτική Κομμουνιστική  
Οικολογική Αριστερά  
[www.ako.gr](http://www.ako.gr)

## Switzerland

Labour Party  
of Switzerland  
Partei der Arbeit  
der Schweiz  
[www.pda.ch](http://www.pda.ch) (de)  
[www.pst.ch](http://www.pst.ch) (fr)  
[www.pdl.ch](http://www.pdl.ch) (it)



## Italy

Party of Italian  
Communists  
Partito dei  
Comunisti Italiani  
[www.comunisti-italiani.it](http://www.comunisti-italiani.it)



Other parties and political organizations  
may apply for observer status or be invited  
by member parties to become observers  
to the EL.

## List of Parties with observer status:

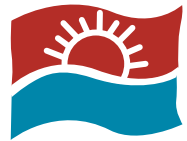
### Cyprus

Progressive Party of the  
Working People  
Ανορθωτικό κόμμα  
Εργαζόμενου Λοού  
[www.akel.org.cy](http://www.akel.org.cy)



### Turkey

Freedom and  
Solidarity Party  
Özgürlük ve  
Dayanışma Partisi  
[www.odp.org.tr](http://www.odp.org.tr)



### Czech Republic

Communist Party of  
Bohemia and Moravia  
Komunistická strana  
Čech a Moravy  
[www.kscm.cz](http://www.kscm.cz)



### Danmark

Red Green Alliance  
Enhedslisten  
De Rød-Grønne  
[www.enhedslisten.dk](http://www.enhedslisten.dk)



### Finland

Communist Party of Finland  
Suomen kommunistinen  
puolue  
[www.skp.fi](http://www.skp.fi)





Yes! We can  
change Europe

ΕΥΡΩ  
ΑΡΧΗ

2004, 21



Party of the European Left

## Entry Declaration

Hereby, I,

*Name, First Name* \_\_\_\_\_

declare my membership in the Party of the European Left (EL).

I support the principles of the EL Manifesto and accept the Statutes.

### Personal Information

*Birthday* \_\_\_\_\_

*Profession* \_\_\_\_\_

*Home Address (Street, Postal Code, City, Country)* \_\_\_\_\_

*Telephone Number* \_\_\_\_\_

*E-mail Address* \_\_\_\_\_

*Place and Date* \_\_\_\_\_

*Signature* \_\_\_\_\_

Please send back to: EL Office Brussels, 30, Rue Parnasse, B-1050 Bruxelles/Belgium



Party of the European Left

## Remittance

of the Membership Fee for the party of the European Left (EL)

( Immediately / From \_\_\_\_\_ on \*), I remit

my required monthly membership fees for the EL

in the amount of \_\_\_\_\_ Euro

to the Party of the European Left (Gauche Européenne a.s.b.l.), Brussels Office  
to the account at the

|                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Bank                       | <b>KBC Bank SA</b>         |
| InterBank-AccNumber (IBAN) | <b>BE60 7340 1243 1870</b> |
| Bank Identifier Code (BIC) | <b>KRED BE BB</b>          |

on a ( monthly / quarterly / bi-annually / annually \*) basis.

(Please cross out if not applicable \*)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

First Name \_\_\_\_\_

Birthday \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone Number (not required) \_\_\_\_\_

Address (Street, Postal Code, City, Country) \_\_\_\_\_

BIC \_\_\_\_\_

IBAN-Account Number \_\_\_\_\_

Name and City of the Bank \_\_\_\_\_

Name and Signature of Account Member (if different than member) \_\_\_\_\_

Place and Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Please send back to: EL Office Brussels, 30, Rue Parnasse, B-1050 Bruxelles/Belgium

Party of the European Left

Executive Board Secretariat: Helmut Scholz

Editor: Martin Herberg

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EL Office, Rue Parnasse 30, B-1050 Bruxelles

Phone: 00 32 2 502 26 06, Fax: 00 32 2 502 01 73

E-Mail: [info@european-left.org](mailto:info@european-left.org)

PODAK  
MILTEPA

