

transform!

european network for alternative thinking
and political dialogue

Since December 2009 the **transform! europe** newsletter has been published regularly once a month. It contains information about the activities of our network, its members and observing members and about important initiatives of social movements we are taking part in.

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A Policy Paper

Immediate Measures – Setting the Course towards a New Direction

By Elisabeth Gauthier, Ruurik Holm, Haris Golemis and Walter Baier

The measures agreed upon by the European Council in May cannot point the way out of the crisis. They do not seek to protect the populations against the financial markets, but on the contrary, to bail out unilaterally the creditors and banks at cost of the European populations.

So, what is the way out of the crisis?

We have to take into account that the difficulty to exit from the crisis is not due to the “profligacy” of one or more individual states, but reflects the inefficiency of the hitherto existing neoliberal architecture of the EU.

To trace out alternative strategies we must come to an understanding of the structural causes of the crisis. These can be traced to the over-accumulation of capital and the crisis of profitability of the 1970s, as well as the subsequent neo-liberal response which led to extreme inequalities of income and wealth with ordinary people facing deterioration in their living standards and an increase in poverty, unemployment and social insecurity.

Setting out a different course will require a tenacious and long-term social and political struggle. Yet the dramatic extent of the crisis also requires short-term and decisive measures along with longer-term orientations.

- First and foremost, it is necessary to stop the pressure exerted on public fi-

nances by financial markets. This can be achieved by means of a European moratorium regarding the service and repayment of debts. As historical instances of such moratoria show, they provide breathing space for measures to be taken against the growing recessionary forces.

- To avoid a recession, the states must be empowered, through lending, to stabilise domestic demand and public investment. A priority must be afforded to ecologically sustainable social and employment policies. Instead of the markets, the ECB must grant loans to the states on favourable terms.

- The exorbitant indebtedness of national budgets is not merely the result of international speculation and economic imbalances within the EU, but also of misguided policies and corruption. We advocate transparency-creating measures through the establishment of fact-finding commissions, including as members trade-union representatives, which will document the circumstances of over-indebtedness in national economies and naming those responsible.

- Only within the framework of such investigations can a decision be made at the European level concerning the question of which parts of the public debt can be acknowledged and which needs to be cancelled.

- One measure that needs to be taken immediately is a restructuring of the European banking sector, through its

public control and/ or ownership. No “bail-outs” should take place without the states becoming the main shareholder of the banks. This, among others, can help the reasonable and socially just adjustment and/ or partial cancellation of sovereign and private debts, under the surveillance of the above mentioned “fact finding commissions”.

We reject the austerity programmes that the top-level executives of the EU, the governments and the IMF want to impose on the populations of Europe. Lowering the living standards of millions of people and dismantling of the public services and the social welfare state do not point to a way out of the crisis, but only lead further into it. We express our solidarity with the social and political resistance movements against these programmes.

It is necessary and also feasible to set a course in the opposite direction: to enforce a redistribution of incomes, assets and power from top down and a democratisation of economy.

This can be brought about

- by means of a European minimum wage regulation and social security for all;

- by an agreement among all the European countries on a minimum tax on profits, assets and in particular on financial investments.

Address to the 6th Party Congress of Synaspismos*

Alternatives Exist, of Course!

By Walter Baier

A couple of weeks ago the media were full with messages and comments on what they called the “Greek Crisis”. But if it was only about Greece, how can it be explained that the same sort of measures imposed on Greece by the EU and the IMF are now applied in Portugal and Spain?

And even if we admitted that the crisis concerns a couple of Mediterranean countries, why then is the same austerity policy executed by the new government of the UK, and why then also in Denmark and Austria?

Already this first consideration proves that the diagnosis of a pure debt crisis is not sufficient; and even to interpret the current crisis as a cyclical one typical of capitalism’s history is not enough. What we experience, indeed, is a crisis of the capitalist regime as well as of its regulation, its accumulation mechanism and beyond that an upheaval of the political and international system, while at the same time the limits of the bearing capacity of the eco-system turn out to be overcharged. Consequently, this leads to the conclusion that we are confronted with a systemic crisis. This is the historical challenge which we have to cope with in our political action.

Even for the ruling elites the current situation is precarious. The attacks of the finance markets seem to exhaust the instruments of regulation available. Today nobody is able to seriously fathom what will become of the Euro-zone.

However, despite the lack of concepts which became obvious in the improvisations of the recent weeks, the elites have launched a fierce continent-wide attack on the social welfare-states and the living standards of the people attained in social and political struggles during the

“Golden Age” of capitalism after World War II.

Europe has arrived at a turning point. According to our opinion, the greatest danger lies in underestimating the drama of the historical moment. The peoples or the markets – that is the choice we must make.

There is no way out of the crisis without seeking a transition to another kind of economy and policy. This requires not only intellectual work but political mobilisation and struggles. From this arises the unprecedented importance of the big mobilisations which we saw during the last weeks in Greece, in Rumania, in Portugal and in France. However, the saying that we are coping with a general offensive on the part of the European ruling classes implies that there are no national and isolated ways out of the crisis. The policies of European states must converge to that end. European policy, the paradigm of the European construction, the whole system has to be changed.

All policies must be aimed at stopping the crisis of over-accumulation, at intervening massively in favour of a redistribution of incomes and wealth, in favour of work and public interest.

The ruling classes, political elites and big media may differ in many of the details, however they try to convince us of one particular argument: There is, so they claim, no alternative to the current austerity programmes which indeed have less to do with austerity than with a selfish offensive of the ruling classes against the working classes.

Yet, the idea of overcoming of the crisis by dispossessing the poor cannot but fail to the detriment of millions and millions of people.

Therefore the Left must not cease to resist, politically, theoretically and culturally.

And There is an Alternative:

Maybe the recently implemented crisis-fund of the EU constitutes a step in the right direction. But it must not be allowed to work as an anti-democratic instrument for the blackmailing of governments applying for funds. Indeed, the states must be empowered via loans, to stabilise domestic demand and public investments. The Stability Pact designed to ration social expenditure must be abandoned; the European peoples need a pact of cooperation in favour of social and ecological development and of solidarity.

We will also have to do away with hitherto existing taboos. A selective treatment of debts – by means of debt conversion and by partial debt relief – must also be considered and negotiated on a European scale. In the short run, it will be necessary to stop the pressure exerted on the public budgets by the financial markets by means of a European moratorium.

The exorbitant indebtedness of public budgets is not only the result of international speculation but also of misguided politics and corruption. Those responsible for the state of affairs must be named and held publicly responsible for what they did. We advocate the implementation of a whole set of transparency-creating measures through the establishment of publicly active fact-finding commissions documenting the circumstances of over-indebtedness in national economic balances.

The EU-budget must be increased in order to allow redistributive processes on the European scale which are re-

quired to surmount the economic and social unbalance among European regions.

Effective measures of controlling the financial sector must be applied. The finance and bank system has to be democratised, re-directed and re-sized in a reasonable manner. Tax havens must be closed down. The banking secrecy must be abolished just as the private rating agencies must be replaced by a European public credit rating agency.

At any rate, the re-structuring of the real economy by means of creating socially and ecologically valuable employment, in particular in a renewed public sector, is in the very core of every responsible recovery programme.

As eminent European economists have demonstrated, these measures constitute a way out of the crisis which is socially just, ecologically responsible and technically feasible. What is required is the political will to implement them, which implies broad mobilisations and a political determination of the people in order to impose pressure on the governments and the EU.

The Left endeavours to create the broadest possible social and political alliances. It tries to unite the traditional actors such as the trade unions with youth whose future is threatened by unemployment and precariousness, with the women who stand up for gender equality, and with immigrants at the

sides of whom it advocates equal social and civic rights. What is necessary is a new solidarity between the labour movement in the developed capitalist societies in defence of their social rights and the peoples of the global South who fight for world-wide social and ecologic justice.

It is this renewal in which the historic challenge of the Left consists and its chance to find a way out of the crisis.

* The 6th Party Congress of *Synaspismos* (Coalition of the Left of Movements and Ecology) took place from 3 to 6 June 2010.

First Conclusions on the Seminar

Meaning, Subjects and Spaces of Transformation

Florence, 29-30 May 2010

By Barbara Steiner

The aggravation of the crisis and the fact that it has arrived in the midst of societies was in the focus of the *transform!* seminar “Meaning, Subjects and Spaces of Transformation”, which constituted the second chapter of our project on the “Strategic Perspectives of the Left in Europe”.

This title reflected the specific character of the crisis which capitalism is undergoing at the moment, namely a crisis of a systemic quality. It is obvious that in the crisis we are confronted with an offensive of the ruling class against the majority of the populations.

The hypothesis presented at the beginning of the seminar started out from the Gramscian idea that any progressive social transformation must have as its starting point the real lives of the people. Yet to become effective, these interests must translate into alternative politics,

which has as its basis an alternative logic of social development. This means that every transformation presupposes the political and cultural construction of a new historical bloc which connects the elements of the economic basis and the superstructure of the state and of culture in a new way. For this new historical bloc the term of a “new paradigm” or of a “new model of development” was repeatedly used in the debate.

Most speakers emphasised that this new paradigm or the new historical bloc will not consist in the unbroken continuation of the paradigm of the traditional labour movement which has been informed by Fordism. The generalisation of information technologies, which revolutionalises the working world, accompanied by social precarisation which affects an ever growing part of the labour force results in a “crisis of labour”, as some speakers said, or its

degradation by the ruling classes, as others seem to conceptualise the process. However, the critical question was raised if this actually holds true for the whole world or rather expresses the Northern point of view.

At any account a new paradigm or a new model of development will rest on the recognition that the capitalist modes of production, consumption and living have reached their ecological boundaries. We have to integrate the ecological perspective into left thinking or into a new class consciousness.

In this debate and linked to the concept of a “crisis of civilisation”, contradictions which exist in reality come into play. The crisis is perceived in different ways in different regions of the globe and by different social classes and expressed in different languages (“Mother Earth”). The development of a new common language is an important com-

ponent in the process of the re-foundation of the Left. This is all the more relevant as European societies nowadays include big communities of immigrants whose social and political rights the Left is defending. But of course this means also that the subject of progressive transformation is changing as well. Also in the area of gender and sex relations a new integration is necessary.

So the big question of transformation seems to be how the diversity existing in real life can be respected on the one hand while being transformed at the same time into a socially, politically and culturally converging project.

For the second semester of 2010 we are planning the third part of the project entitled "Typology of the European Left" which will cover questions about

the political and ideological identity, culture and social basis of parties.

To find more information on the seminar please refer to the website:

<http://www.transform-network.net/en/home/display-home/article//Strategic-Perspectives-of-the-European-Radical-Left-2-Meaning-Subjects-and-Spaces-of-Transf.html>

Announcements

The Past of Three PIGS

The Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy: Portugal, Spain and Greece

International Conference in Athens, 18-19 June 2010

Economic, social and political developments in various countries are certainly determined by the present state of the world capitalist system, but are also to a large extent conditioned by the history of the specific social formations. One important historical phase in Spain, Portugal and Greece, three of the four infamous PIGS of the present crisis, is the period of their transition from dictatorship to democracy, which happened at approximately the same time in the 1970s (1974 in Portugal and Greece and a little later in Spain).

A comparative analysis of the developments in this crucial period is undertaken in the International Conference "The Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy: Portugal, Spain, Greece", which is organized in Athens, on 18-19 June, by Nicos Poulantzas Institute, the Politics Department of Panteion University and the New University of Lisbon. The organizing committee consists of Procopis Papastratis (Panteion Univer-

sity), Nicos Petralias (Nicos Poulantzas Institute) and Fernando Rosas (Universidade Nova de Lisboa).

The conference will examine, among others, the role of the political parties (especially the parties of the Left), the army, the trade-union and student movement etc. Speakers include university teachers from the three countries, historians, political scientists and economists.

Programme Preview:

On Friday, 18 June 2010, 11.00 am, Panagiotis Tsiris, Procopis Papastratis, Haris Golemis and Stavros Constantakopoulos will open the congress. The first panel on **Society** is co-ordinated by Grigoris ANANIADIS (Athens) and presents speeches by Xavier DOMENECH (Barcelona), Carme MOLINERO (Barcelona), Raquel VARELA (Lisbon) and Gerasimos SEFERIADIS (Athens). A panel on **Political Parties** is chaired by

Stefanos PESMAZOGLOU (Athens). Contributors are Ismael SAZ (Valencia), Antonio ELORZA (Madrid), Michael SPOURDALAKIS (Athens) and Christoforos VERNARDAKIS (Thessaloniki).

The second day opens with a panel on **Economy**, co-ordinated by Apostolos DEDOUSOPOULOS (Athens). Speakers are Fanis PAKOS (Athens), Stefanos VAMIEDAKIS (Crete) and Christos TSAKAS (Crete), followed by a panel on **University and Student-Movement**, co-ordinated by Alkis RIGOS (Athens) and with contributions by Olymbios DAFERMOS (Athens), Procopis PAPASTRATIS (Athens) as well as Emanuel LOFF (Porto). The last panel on **The Army** is chaired by George KAMINIS (Athens) and presents speeches by Fernando ROSAS (Lisbon), Maria Inacia REZOLA (Lisbon) and Spyros SAKELLAROPOULOS (Athens). A final discussion at 21.00 will conclude the conference.

European Social Forum

Istanbul, 1-4 July 2010

By Chantal Delmas

What are the Political Stakes of the Next European Social Forum in Istanbul?

10 years after the first World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, we are preparing the Sixth European Social Forum. The fact that it will take place in Istanbul (1 to 4 July, 2010) is a sign that the forces involved in its preparation reject any vision of a closed fortress of Europe.

This sixth ESF will take place at a time when Europe is undergoing an existential crisis and where the aggressiveness of financial capitalism and the respective governments in the pursuit of their neoliberal logic are leading the societies on to the brink of the abyss.

transform! europe will be present at the Social Forum as a co-organiser of 9 seminars (see below), with a delegation of its members coming from many European countries, a stall and a flyer.

Seminars co-organised by *transform! europe*:

- Which Political Answers are there to the Crisis? (*Nicos Poulantzas Institute, TAKSAV, Alternatives Russia, Mémoire des luttes, transform! europe*)
- Analysis of the Car Industry Crisis: What Kind of Social and Ecological Reconversion do We Need? (*TAKSAV, Espaces Marx, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, CGT, IG Metall, Labour and Globalization Network*)
- What can be a Left Perspective on Ecology? (*TAKSAV, transform! austria, Left Forum, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Mémoire des luttes*)

The current crisis of the Euro and the EU is not only a consequence of the “great global crisis”. The very nature of European integration is a factor of crisis. The crisis has particularly severe consequences on Europe. The serious defects in the construction of Europe have been rejected by the majority of voters in referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005 and then in Ireland, but neither the EU nor governments have respected these votes. This shows clearly how the lack of democracy leads to a dangerous deadlock.

The moment, when societies are facing the need to invent new social dynamics and policies if they are to meet the immense dangers looming in the economic and social spheres but also

concern the political area and questions of democracy, a meeting of different forces from all over Europe as happens at the ESF is a particularly important moment. It is about comparing our analyses, appropriating a ‘power of interpretation’ of reality, identifying convergences, seeking ways to new dynamics of struggle and overcoming obstacles and about discussing the contents which could underpin campaigns and joint actions in Europe that would support the struggle in each country. And it is about discussing the role which Europe should play in the world. All this is happening when the EU and our countries are at a crossroads of historic significance.

■ Student Struggles in Europe during the Last Period (*Gençlik Muhalefeti, TAKSAV, Nicos Poulantzas Institute, transform! austria*)

■ What the “Greek Crisis” Revealed. Beyond the Lisbon Treaty? (*Charter for another Europe, Mémoire des luttes, Nicos Poulantzas Institute, Fondation Copernic, transform! europe*)

■ After the Social and Political “Greek Crisis”: How to Build Another Europe? (*Charter for another Europe, Fondation Copernic, Nicos Poulantzas Institute, transform! europe, Mémoire des luttes*)

■ Capitalism Changes its Skin: the New Regulatory Agencies. Social, Ecological, and Economic Democracy (*Charter for another Europe, Labour and Globalization Network*)

■ Facing the Crisis of the Capitalist Model. Economic Democracy as a Major Component of an Alternative Project? (*Fondation Copernic, Cultra,*

Espaces Marx, Utopia, Labour and Globalization Network, Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens de Belgique CSC and Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique FGTB, ver.di)

■ Anti-crisis Programmes of Left and Social Movements: A Comparative Analysis (*Mémoire des luttes, Alternatives Russia, transform! europe, Comité pour l'annulation de la dette du Tiers Monde CADTM, Hungarian Social Forum, Network for Political and Social Rights Greece, Fondation Copernic, Espaces Marx, Utopia, Labour and Globalization Network, Cultra*)

transform! europe will also be associated to the seminar:

- The ESF, the Global Crisis and European Policies. Which Challenges for the Movements?

Invitation for participation coming from other organisations:

- PIGS in the Neoliberal Space (*Greek Social Forum*)
- The Neoliberal Reform of Higher Education in Europe and the Answer of the Students' Movement (*Neolaia Synaspismou*)

■ Marxism and Alter-Globalism (*Alternatives Russia*)

■ What Alternatives are there to IFIs and Capitalism? (*Comité pour l'annulation de la dette du Tiers Monde CADTM*)

Contact:

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Party of the European Left in co-operation with *transform! europe*

Summer University 2010

Republic of Moldova, 14-18 July 2010

The Summer University 2010 of the *Party of the European Left* in co-operation with *transform! europe* will take place in the Republic of Moldova

from 14 to 18 July 2010. Working languages are English, Russian and French. Each day will have its "theme of the day" and each day there will be a ple-

nary with several topics and speakers. The sessions are organised by the EL and *transform! europe*.

PROGRAMME

■ **Wednesday, 14 July 2010**

Day of arrival, accommodation of participants

20.30 Welcome dinner, getting to know each other

■ **Thursday, 15 July 2010**

Theme of the Day: *Global Politics in the Era of the Global Crisis. Is a Left Trend Possible?*

PLENARY 1 - 09.00-13.00

9.00 – 9.30 Opening

Vladimir Voronin (Chairman of PCRM)

Representative on behalf of the EL

Representative on behalf of *transform! europe*

Interventions on: *Theory of the Crisis*

9.30 – 10.15 **Elisabeth Gauthier**

(France)

10.15 – 10.45 Questions and answers

10.45 – 11.15 Coffee break

11.15 – 12.00 **Mark Tkaciuk**

(Moldova)

12.00 – 12.30 Questions and answers

13.00 – 14.00 Lunch

PLENARY 2 - 14.00 – 18.00

Interventions on: *Crisis of Civilization*

14.00 – 14.45 **Veaceslav Inozemtzev**

(Russia)

14.45 – 15.30 Speaker from Bloco (tbc), on "*Crisis and Environment*"

15.30 – 16.00 Questions and answers

16.00 – 16.30 Coffee break

16.30 – 17.15 **Leonid Masionjnik**

(*transform! moldova*)

17.15 – 17.45 Questions and answers

18.00 – 21.00 Evening programme:

Visit to the famous Museum Complex

of "Orheiul Vechi" – a real open air

museum with cave monasteries and

ruins of three towns dating from differ-

ent historic epochs

21.00 Dinner

■ **Friday, 16 July 2010**

Theme of the Day: *Leftist Political Methods. From the Diversity of the Left towards the Common Agenda or "How Do People Live in Europe?"*

PLENARY 1 - 9.00 – 12.00

Interventions by invitees of the European Left Women's Network (EL-Fem)

Interventions and debate by young participants in the Summer University
12.00 – 14.00 Lunch

PLENARY 2 - 14.00 – 16.00

Invitees from the European Left Trade Unions network

Invitees from the European Left working group on energy and climate change policies

16.00 – 18.00 Presentation of *transform! europe*

18.00 – 21.00 Evening programme:

Visit to the Museum of Popular Art of Ivancea and to the underground Moldovan cellars and wine collections

21.00 Dinner and evening concert

■ **Saturday, 17 July 2010**

Theme of the Day: *The Left in the Government / the Left and Power, the Left and the Institutions*

PLENARY 1 - 10.00 – 13.30

Interventions on: *European Current and Past Experience on the Local, Regional and National Levels*

Cyprus – AKEL contribution

Iceland – Left-Green movement contribution
Moldova – PCRM contribution
Germany – LINKE contribution
Norway – Left Party contribution
transform! europe contribution: “*Thinking about Social Transformation in terms of Gramsci and Poulantzas*”,
Speaker from Nicos Poulantzas Institute (tbc)
13.30 – 15.30 Lunch

PLENARY 2 - 15:30 – 18:00

Interventions on: Latin America – solicited (invited contributors on Latin America)

Mihail Delyagin (Russia): “*The Left in Eastern Europe and Post-Soviet Republics*”

18.00 – 21.00 Closing of the Summer University

21.00 Dinner and return to venue

■ **Sunday, 18 July 2010**

Departure of participants

Organizational Details

Arrival: Wednesday, 14 July 2010, at Chisinau International Airport or Chisinau Railway Station

Costs per participant: EUR 100,- (excluding travel expenses)

Contact

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“Tool box”

transform! europe Special Edition

■ Booklet on the International Women's Conference 2010 in Copenhagen “International Women's Day – 100 Years of Struggle”

On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the International Socialist Women's Conference in Copenhagen in 1910, where the idea to have an annual International Women's Day was adopted, the Women's Committee of the Red Green Alliance in Denmark organized a conference, again in Copenhagen (6-7 March 2010).

The collection of the contributions of the conference will be published as a

transform! europe special edition in June 2010.

Topics:

- Women's rights and the years of struggle for suffrage, political participation, democracy and against capitalism
- A historical and theoretical overview on socialism and feminism
- Effects of neo-liberalism on women in the EU and elsewhere

- Modern slavery and human trafficking and the struggle against it with focus on Denmark
- Women's lives in an armed conflict zone: Women in Iraq
- Icelandic women's policies and struggles in times of crisis

The **booklet can be ordered** from *transform! europe* office under: office@transform-network.net

■ Current issues of the *transform!* magazine are available in English, German, French, Hungarian and Turkish

The magazine *transform! european journal for alternative thinking and political dialogue* is published twice a year.

While the English edition of the *transform!* magazine vol. 6 was released in May, the French and the German edition came out last week. Also last week a second volume of the *transform!* magazine has been published in Hungarian. On time for the European Social Forum in Istanbul the first edition of the journal *transform!* will be released in Turkish.

The **sixth** issue of the *transform!* magazine on “**Porto Alegre – The World Ten Years After**” presents a broad spectrum of texts relevant for the left discussion and includes contributions by Walter Baier, Nicolás Muzi, Moishe Postone, Maria Karamessini, Judith Butler, Jacques Fath, Haris Golemis, Hans-Jürgen Urban, Eric Canepa, Elisabeth Gauthier, Simon Tremblay-Pépin, Raffaella Bolini, Christophe Ventura, Chico Whitaker, Asbjørn

Wahl, Louis Weber, Lothar Bisky and Barbara Steiner.

The **PDF-file** of vol. 6 as well as former issues of the journal can be found under: www.transform-network.net/en/home/journal-transformeurope.html

For **ordering printed versions** of the *transform!* journals, please refer to: www.transform-network.net/en/home/journal-transformeurope/order-journal.html

■ Documentation of the Project “The Crisis in Europe”

A documentation of the seminar “The Crisis in Europe: Depression Economics – Social Crisis – State Policy – Alternatives” (Vienna, 15-16 January 2010) is available **on our website**:

<http://www.transform-network.net/en/home/projects/display-projects/article/The-Crisis-in-Europe-Depression-economics-social-crisis-state-policy-alternatives.html>

■ Videos of the introductory speeches and the debate

- PowerPoint Presentations by Joachim Bischoff and Maria Karamessini
- Papers by Bob Jessop (UK), Maria Karamessini (GR), Stephen Bouquin (BE/FR), Teppo Eskelinen (FI), Jiri Malek (CZ) are already available in English
- Since late February the complete report of the seminar is available in English together with the texts submitted by Elisabeth Gauthier (FR), Miguel Portas (P) and Joachim Bischoff (Germ)

Texts in French are available at: <http://www.espaces-marx.net/spip.php?article537>

- An article by Jean Paul Pierot in “L'Humanité”
- Contributions by Joachim Bischoff, Teppo Eskelinen, Elisabeth Gauthier, Bob Jessop, Maria Karamessini, Lutz Brangsch, Stephen Bouquin and Miguel Portas

■ Printed versions of EuroMemorandum 2009/2010 in English, German, French and Greek

As of now, booklets containing the printed versions of *EuroMemorandum* 2009/2010 entitled “Europe in Crisis: A Critique of the EU’s Failure to Respond and Proposals for a Democratic Alternative” are available in English, German, French and Greek with translations provided by *transform! europe*.

The *EuroMemorandum* is edited by “European Economists for an Alterna-

tive Economic Policy in Europe” and supported by 200 well-known European economists. The texts can be ordered by e-mail from the *transform! europe* office in Vienna as well as from our member organisations in Germany, France and Greece.

To order copies in English, German, French or Greek, please contact

office@transform-network.net or our member organisations:

Espaces Marx (France):

Espaces_Marx@internatif.org

Nicos Poulantzas Institute (Greece):

info@poulantzas.gr

Sozialismus (Germany):

redaktion@sozialismus.de

■ “Systemic Danger? The Effects of the Financial Crisis on Private Pensions”, a study by Richard Detje, is available in English

The study about the risks of private pension schemes, authored by Richard Detje on behalf of *transform! europe*, is available in English in printed version

and may be ordered from office@transform-network.net.

It can also be retrieved as an **electronic document** from:

[http://www.transform-](http://www.transform-network.net/uploads/media/Detje_FinancialCrisis.pdf)

[network.net/uploads/media/Detje_FinancialCrisis.pdf](http://www.transform-network.net/uploads/media/Detje_FinancialCrisis.pdf)

■ Majorca Seminar on the Strategic Perspectives of the European Left (1) – Documentation is available

On 12-13 March 2010, *transform! europe* hosted a seminar in Majorca entitled “Why the Crisis Seems to Favour the Right Rather than the Left in Europe”.

The recent economic crisis, among other things, has shown the serious crisis of the European Social Democracy, as well as the inability of “our” Left (with some interesting exceptions) to increase its influence in society. This can be seen not only from the fact that the agenda

for facing the crisis is set by the conservative political forces in Europe, but also by the election results for the European Parliament. Thus the question arises with urgency how the Left in Europe can develop the capacity of becoming an effective counter-hegemonic force. The debate, which started out with a general assessment of the political geography, was followed by a number of thematic focuses and case studies on different countries such as the

Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Spain and Sweden.

Videos, papers and PowerPoint presentations can be found at:

[http://www.transform-](http://www.transform-network.net/en/home/projects/display-projects/article//Strategic-Perspectives-of-the-European-Left-1-Why-the-Crisis-Seems-to-Favour-Rather-the-Right.html)

[network.net/en/home/projects/display-projects/article//Strategic-Perspectives-of-the-European-Left-1-Why-the-Crisis-Seems-to-Favour-Rather-the-Right.html](http://www.transform-network.net/en/home/projects/display-projects/article//Strategic-Perspectives-of-the-European-Left-1-Why-the-Crisis-Seems-to-Favour-Rather-the-Right.html)

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