

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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The Public Debt Crisis: A Challenge to the Left

By Elisabeth Gauthier, *Espaces Marx*

The Development of Public Indebtedness

The development of indebtedness of private and public households is the result of the full deployment of finance market capitalism since the international recession in the 1970s and during the 30 years of stagnation of the real economy.

A Leftist Argumentation

Arguing against and fighting the public debt crisis requires multi-dimensional action on the part of the states and the EU. It must become the uppermost goal of all policy to push back the power of the finance markets and the big shareholders and to establish the primacy of politics (“economic democracy”) with an orientation towards new models of economy and development.

Neither a short-sighted anti-cyclical policy nor a policy of austerity – which triggers recession – represent effective answers to the crisis of public debts. Only thorough and highly ambitious restructuring according to an alternative logic can open a path out of the crisis.

The following axes can lead the way out of the public debt crisis:

- New revenues are necessary and also possible to be raised from taxation of incomes gained from finance and big property, from socially just tax reforms which stimulate the real economy, from a stop to tax reductions and a closure of tax havens.

- From a short-term-perspective it is necessary to relieve the immediate pressure of the finance markets and the creditors on the public budgets by means of a European moratorium. Instead of the markets, the ECB must grant loans to the states on favourable terms. A selective treatment of debts – debt conversion and partial debt relief – must also be envisaged and negotiated on a European scale. The entire credit sector must selectively favour useful projects and penalise speculative operations. Speculation that is detrimental to the common good must be prosecuted according to the criminal law.

- The domestic economies have to be stimulated, in particular by means of structural policy and higher mass incomes. The re-valuation of labour, the reduction of precarisation and unemployment (reduction of working hours at the expense of big capitalists), the improvement of primary distribution all amount to creating new incomes for social funds and public budgets and reduce necessary social insurance contributions.

- Budget policy must be restructured along principles of solidarity and real economy must be strengthened vis-à-vis the finance markets and institutions.

- The development of economic democracy can be effective as a lever for intervention by state institutions and civil society to shift the power relations, to support the implementation of new

criteria in the economy and to re-establish the primacy of politics. The EU-Treaty as well as the Stability Pact and the function of the ECB must be subjected to a radical re-orientation.

- The entire banking and finance sector must be structured anew, with deposit banks and merchant banks being separated, public banking centres being set up and even certain bodies being integrated into the public sector. No more public means must be provided for bailing out the banks without a simultaneous expansion of public decision-making and controlling rights!

- The introduction of a European capital tax could contribute to increasing the EU-budget and so facilitate an intervention by the EU in favour of an inter-European cooperation so as to counteract the inter-European asymmetry.

- A tax on financial transactions can help finance internationally administered funds, the means of which serve the enforcement of a new model of social and ecological development.

To read the **full text version** please refer to the article “EU-Crisis and Concrete Alternatives” published in the special issue of the *transform!* magazine for the ESF:

www.transform-network.net/uploads/media/transform_special_edition_ESF_Istanbul_.pdf

transform! europe

Annual General Meeting

Vienna, 17-18 September 2010

By Ruurik Holm, Elisabeth Gauthier und Haris Golemis

On 17-18 September 2010, *transform! europe* will have its General Meeting in Vienna which will start on Friday at 1 pm and end on Saturday at 6 pm.

The representatives of the member organisations, the observers as well as invited guests are taking part. *transform! europe* can cover the travel expenses and expenses for accommodation for one delegate each. As regards registration and technical information we ask you to contact the office of *transform! europe* in Vienna: office@transform-network.net

Agenda (Draft)

1. Opening
 - Acknowledgement of the quorum
 - Acknowledgement of the agenda
2. Decisions on applications for membership and observer status

3. Reports
 - *transform!'*s major projects
 - Major activities and organisational development
4. Work schedule for 2011
 - European projects
 - Projects in cooperation with our members and observers
 - Projects in the CEE
5. The magazine and the other media activities of *transform! europe*
 - Web site relaunch
 - Restructuring of the editorial work of the magazine
6. Financial statement and discharge from liability
7. Budget guidelines for 2011
8. Election of the new management board
9. *transform!'*s agenda for autumn
10. Miscellaneous

Study Day: "Instances of Best Practice in the Left in Europe"

19 September 2010

For Sunday, 19 September, *transform! europe* and the Austrian association *Forum Social Justice* are organizing a Study Day to take place between 11 am and 5 pm.

It will be on "Instances of Best Practice in the Left in Europe" and we expect participants from Finland, Hungary, Greece, France, Italy, Denmark, Portugal, Germany and Austria (tbc).

For details of the programme and registration please contact the *transform! europe* office in Vienna (office@transform-network.net) or *transform!at* (fleissner@arrakis.es).

Synaspismos: A Split that could not be Avoided

By Haris Golemis

When a divorce, especially in Greece, does not instigate passions or lead to an exchange of accusations and slanders, one can reasonably assume that it was more or less inevitable. Many people tend to believe that this was the case with the recent split of *Synaspismos*, after the walk out from the last Congress of the *Renovative Wing*, one of its two main (legal) tendencies, and the subsequent establishment of the *Democratic Left*. The "official" reason for this development given by the "Renovators" was the turndown on the part of the leadership of their last minute demand

that *Synaspismos* gets out of *SYRIZA*. *SYRIZA* is an alliance of *Synaspismos* with various small groups of left Euro-Communist, Maoist, Trotskyist or "patriotic" socialist orientations, as well as independent left activists, which has been existing since 2003. It is true that, from the outset, the leadership of the *Wing* and the majority of its followers felt very uncomfortable with the so-called "ultra-leftism" of the alliance. However, their resentment, which reached its climax during the student revolt of December 2008, had not prevented them from staying in the party

and participating in elections with the *SYRIZA* list. This happened also in the last elections of October 2009, in which the alliance managed to have thirteen deputies in Parliament, five of which belonged to the *Renovating Wing*. One of these five, the ex-MEP Papadimoulis, disagreed with the decision to get out of *Synaspismos* and remained in the party and *SYRIZA*, while the remaining four became "independents" and retained their seats, a decision criticized as having an ambiguous moral legitimacy.

A very short flashback to *Synaspismos'* history is, I believe, useful for an

understanding of its recent split. Since its establishment in 1989, the party had effectively two “souls”: the one belonged to a radical Left, which included a large, rather “dogmatic” part and the other to the renovating, institutional Left, which has attracted modernization. The two major tendencies of the party were the *Left Current*, consisting mainly of ex-members of *KKE*, expelled from that party by the orthodox hardliners in 1989 and the *Renovative Wing*, which mainly included ex-members of *EAR* (Greek Left), the non-communist party which came out of the split of the Euro-Communist *KKE Esoterikou* (Communist Party of Greece/ Interior) in 1987 and resembled the predecessors of the Italian *Democratic Party*, i.e. the *Democratic Party of the Left* and the *Democrats of the Left* of Occhetto, D’Alema, Veltroni etc.

During the 1990s, the two tendencies co-existed rather peacefully under the ideological and political hegemony of the Renovators, a characteristic sign of which was the voting of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. Since 2000, *Synaspismos* has substantially changed its policies with a “left turn” to the movements (some of its members were among the protagonists of the *WSF* and the *ESF*), the creation of *SYRIZA*, the establishment of the *European Left* etc.

The *Renovative Wing* was not happy with these developments, but since they had a preferential treatment in the media, where they could openly express

their strong disagreement with the *Synaspismos* policies from a centre-left perspective, they stayed in the party, having their own deputies and waiting for better days to come. During the last years, after the election of Tsipras as President of *Synaspismos* and the events of December 2008, the Renovators were in fact functioning as a party within the party. At the same time, most groups of *SYRIZA* tried to exploit an unexpected personal attack made by Alavanos, the ex-President of *Synaspismos*, against Tsipras, hoping that this conflict could divide or even split *Synaspismos*, to the benefit of a *SYRIZA* in which their influence would then increase. However, the situation in *Synaspismos* was not the same as before. The once solid *Left Current* had started to undergo some ruptures, with part of it mainly consisting in a new generation of young (or not so young) *cadres* and the Youth of the party, which was inspired by the spirit of Genoa, Porto Alegre and the principles of historic “Left Eurocommunism”, not being ready to come to the usual compromises. Tsipras proposed an extraordinary Congress to deal with the disastrous situation in the party and *SYRIZA*, against the strong opposition from both the *Renovative Wing* and the *Left Current*, which was split with the majority leaving it and establishing, together with the Youth, the *Red-Green Network* and a number of “independents”, the tendency of *Left Unity*. Finally, the Congress took place, the *Renovative Wing* left and the *Left Unity* scored a convincing victory.

Following this short presentation of events, one can imply some of the real reasons behind the split of *Synaspismos*, which cannot of course be presented in a newsletter. However, my view is that the split would not have occurred if Greece was not in the middle of a serious crisis, which demands clear answers from all political forces. In this situation the old equilibrium among *Synaspismos* tendencies was not sustainable anymore, especially since the new leadership had decided to put an end to the factional segmentation of the party and the hostility against *Synaspismos* within *SYRIZA*.

However, even after the split, the situation in the Greek Radical and Renovative Left is far from clear. Prominent figures of the *Left Current* and some groups in *SYRIZA* have made a regression to some sort of national isolationism, flirting with the *KKE* thesis that Greece should withdraw from the EMU and the EU and the *Democratic Left* has regressed to centre-left modernization, while at the same time desperately seeking an alliance (or fusion) with the Greens. Despite the bad omens, if the leadership of *Synaspismos* manages to reinvent its ideological and political identity and has the nerve to take difficult and risky decisions, things can improve in the future, a development which will be to the benefit of the Radical Left not only in Greece but in Europe as a whole.

Review

The European Social Forum 2010 in Istanbul

By Elisabeth Gauthier, *Espaces Marx*

When the decision was made that the 6th European Social Forum should take place in Istanbul, intense discussions about Turkey joining the European Union were still going on. In July 2010, the most discussed topics were the crisis and the future of the EU, the Palestinian question, the struggles against the social, democratic and ecologic destruction. For the Turkish Left – divided in the EU-question and facing other issues than those brought on the agenda by the movements coming from the EU – the preparation process turned into a highly contradictory undertaking, which had its effects on the mobilisation in Turkey itself. 1,000 to 1,500 Turkish people – those most politically aware – took part in the ESF, along with 2,000 participants from EU- and other European countries. Eastern Europe, where the preparation had reached an intense scale, was well represented.

That the ESF should be about the systemic crisis of capitalism was not consensus. Unlike in the beginning of the ESF-process, more than the deconstruction of neo-liberalism is required today. What is needed is the capacity not just to

add up demands but to bring to life alternatives that are global and at the same time concrete as regards content and strategies. It is the subject of intense discussions how we understand the current confrontation. On that, eventually, our approach to the alternatives depends. And indeed, more than in previous years the ESF 2010 was characterised by work on alternatives, with one focus being the fact that in Europe the political conditions are drifting ever more to the right. It had been the aim of *transform! europe* to deepen the analysis of the crisis and thus to point out wherein the transition to alternatives had to consist. The seminars were well-attended (all available contributions and reports will be accessible from the *transform!* website) which reflected the interest in the questions that were raised.

All in all, the Social Forum is a reflection not so much of the state of the movements as of their ability and motivations to jointly shape the working processes. Recent years in Europe were marked by a diversity of movements, with convergences becoming visible which in practice did not lead to power-

ful and assembling movements neither in the individual countries nor in the EU as a whole. The formation of broad fronts against the crisis would have to become the subject of public debates for which a frame such as the ESF could be extremely helpful. But at the same time potential activists are absent and most of the time the topics are just added up and do not become the topics of constructive, transparent confrontations with the chance to yield more common ground. For this not the ESF is responsible in the first place, but the way in which the space is used by the different actors. So, what we can hope for is that in the face of culmination of the crisis, new forms of co-operation will be found between all the forces fighting against the social and democratic regression.

These urgently required discussions about the crisis and alternatives, about the situation in Europe and the necessary initiatives in favour of an all-European movement are to be intensified in the next EPA-meeting (23-24 October in Paris). Also the experiences of the European Action Day on 29 September will be discussed.

Strategic Challenges for the World Social Forum

The US and the European Social Forum

By Francine Mestrum, *transform! Working Group Brussels*

At the end of June a second US-Social Forum was organized in Detroit. For those accustomed to the social fora, this was “back to the old days”: an extremely enthusiastic crowd of 15,000 people, a very motivating opening march, a central place where (almost) all seminars took place and people could meet, drink and eat.

Diversity was very well respected with indigenous, white, black, Latino men and women represented everywhere. All seminars and assemblies were very lively and participative. The organization was perfect, even with “linguistic justice” in the form of interpreters and translators.

What Made the USSF so Special?

Firstly, the whole preparation process was very elaborate. The starting point was, obviously, the charter of principles of the WSF and, consequently, the “open space”. Nevertheless, since the “open space” is not a “level playing

field”, a long process of looking for the necessary partners was started.

Secondly, the old controversy on “space” versus “action” was solved with “people’s movements’ assemblies”. These assemblies also started to work long before the event and about 50 gathered during the USSF.

Thirdly, the seminars and workshops were very participative and motivating. Panels were almost never physically separated from the public, people sat around in circles, no one talked for more than 5 or 10 minutes, participants spoke alternately with the performance of some piece of music, a poem, some dancing.

Fourthly, I noted a difference in personal attitudes in people. I do not want to be naïve and think there are no power relations within and between movements and people in the US, but the way they were dealt with was very attractive for a European participant.

These two last points certainly are very different from what happens at the European level.

Seminars and panels were here organized in an “old-fashioned” way, with mainly male participation and speakers who easily needed 15 to 20 minutes to make their point. Diversity was extremely limited or absent, translation was mostly lacking or consecutive.

The major difference I experienced was in the attitudes of people, most of those involved in the ESF knowing each other for many years and their common participation in the preparatory process. Most of them, knowingly or unknowingly, carry a label and are not listened to for what they are saying but from where they are speaking. The words that are used serve as markers for the place occupied. This severely hinders the emergence of new ideas and the potential for convergence.

Most of all, compared to the USSF, the European Social Forum is a more top-down process organized by a couple

of leftwing trade unions and a small group of social movements, people who have known each other for some years now and who are defending their own positions rather than the process and its huge potential for convergence.

The Crisis of the Left

The difficulty for the Forum and for social movements in general to re-define their strategies and to achieve or regain political relevance is linked to the crisis the Left is facing in many parts of the world, especially in Europe.

If the Left wants to survive, especially in Europe, it needs an innovative approach able to attract young people, focusing on rights and on democracy, reframing solidarity in a multilevel way, redefining the objectives of the economy by directly linking it to the social and political world.

This is the short version of an analysis which will be published in the next issue of the *transform!* magazine.

Report

European Left Summer University

Kishinev, Moldova 14-18 July, 2010

By Barbara Steiner

The fifth Summer University, organized by the *European Left Party (EL)* and *transform! europe*, took place in Kishinev, the capital of the Republic of Moldova.

The hosting party, the *Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova (PCRM)*, member party of the EL, is facing harsh anti-communist attacks by the neoliberal right-wing government at the moment. Therefore the idea behind holding the summer university in Kishinev amongst others – such as the exchange of information and experiences in the various European countries – was

to show a sign of solidarity towards the sister party.

200 participants from over 20 countries, half of them from Moldova, took part at the Summer University. Due to the necessity of interpretation into English, French, Russian and Moldavian there were only plenary speeches possible and no workshops.

On Thursday the speeches and discussions dealt with the question, “Global Politics in the Era of the Global Crisis. Is the Left Trend Possible?”

The topic of the second day was, “Leftist Political Methods. From Diver-

sity of the Left towards the Common Agenda or: ‘How People Live in Europe’”. This thematic block included interventions prepared by women of the *EL-fem* network and various speeches gave an insight into the situation of women, migrants and youth all over Europe.

Besides the official programme, there were several autonomous network meetings organized by women of *EL-fem* and the youth.

The last day of the Summer University was dedicated to “The Left in Government / the Left and Power, the Left and

the Institutions". Different speakers, including special guests from Latin America, from *Frente Amplio*, Uruguay and *Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela (PSUV)*, presented to the partici-

pants different case studies of countries where the Left is in power.

One input was reserved to present the work and projects of *transform! europe*.

The varied evening programmes allowed the participants to network and communicate and to learn about Moldova and her culture.

Announcements

New Publication

The Left in Government: Latin America and Europe Compared

Since the late nineties, left forces have taken over government responsibility in a growing number of Latin American countries. In Europe, too, the Left has participated in governing coalitions. But when has government participation been successful? Has the Left been able to achieve structural changes, has it enlarged its social basis? In discussing critically the conditions for left government participation, the authors of the book – political activists and intellectuals from Latin America and Europe – try to fill a gap in current research on political parties.

The book aims at giving a theoretic overview over the strategic question of left participation in governments, and it

describes the specific struggles in 14 countries. The Latin American Left, in spite of generally reaching higher election results, is increasingly under pressure from the dominance of reactionary forces in economy, the judiciary and media. Brazilian Iole Iliada states for the case of Brazil that being in government does not automatically mean having power. In Europe, experiences in such diverse countries as Norway and Italy show that the Left can only be successful in government when it has strong social movements standing behind it. German professor Michael Brie therefore argues that in order to reach its goals, the European Left needs to think strategically and to enter into broader alliances.

The book comprises articles on El Salvador, Venezuela, Ecuador, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Norway, Sweden, Germany, France, Italy and Cyprus. It is available in English and Spanish.

Birgit Daiber (Ed.): The Left in Government: Latin America and Europe Compared, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brussels Office 2010

Free download: http://rosalux-europa.info/publications/books/the_left_in_government/

Order copy of book via e-mail: info@rosalux-europa.info

A Workshop for Thinking and Acting Future Factory

By Peter Fleissner, *transform!at*

Inspired by Marxist Workers' Schools (Marxistische Arbeiterschulen) in Germany and Austria around 1930 and contemporary training programmes of Trade Unions in Canada, *transform!at* starts a new initiative, *Future Factory* -

A Workshop for Thinking and Acting, as a platform of joint learning. This evening school is not held at university grounds, but at an adult education centre (Volkshochschule) located in Brigittenau, a workers' district in Vienna with a large population of immigrants.

Its intention is to improve the level of education on issues of political economy, ecology, feminism, and globaliza-

tion. Participants are invited to act as experts of their own lives and to bring in their own themes of interest. In group discussions, direct interactions with people in their neighbourhoods, visits to factories and social services, and computer simulations, experiences can be made that deepen the awareness of societal processes and constraints. External experts have already offered their skills to assist participants in ending up with an improved theoretical understanding and to facilitate the learning process. Participants' strategies of resistance

against negative social tendencies and of shaping their societal environment in a humane way are promoted. *Future Factory* takes a non-partisan stand and is open to all people with a constructive and democratic political view. The Vienna City Council supports this initiative financially, but participants also have to pay a fee.

Future Factory is another attempt by *transform!at* at establishing critical discourses about society. In 2008 at the Institute of Political Sciences (Univer-

sity of Vienna) a series of lectures on critical aspects of contemporary capitalism was successfully organized. Among the 34 lecturers there were also students. In 2009 the contributions were published in German under the title "Fragments" (www.trafoberlin.de/978-3-89626-837-2.htm).

For **details** on *Future Factory* please refer to:

<http://peter.fleissner.org/Transform/FutureFactory.pdf> (in German)

transform! europe at

Fête de l'Humanité

10-12 September 2010, Le Bourget, Paris

transform! europe will be present with a stall in the "village du livre". One of the discussions taking place there will deal with the publication of our magazine in 7 languages – which is in itself an event in the history of publications in Europe – with contributions by Walter Baier (editor-in-chief), Michel Cullin

(professor at the Diplomatic Academy, Vienna), Bernard Cassen (former head of *Le Monde Diplomatique*), Maité Mola (European Left Party), Patrice Cohen-Seat (President of *Espaces Marx*) and Elisabeth Gauthier (*transform! europe*).

Representatives of *transform! europe* will take part in several discussions, in particular, on Europe, the crisis and alternative strategies as well as on the upcoming World Social Forum in Dakar in January 2011.

6th International Marx Conference

Crises, Revolts, Utopias

22-25 September 2010, University Paris-1 Sorbonne and Paris-West Nanterre

An Initiative by Actuel Marx

***transform! europe* supports this conference and takes part with two workshops.**

How should the twofold crisis, economic and ecological, that is shaking the world today be interpreted? Is it a new link in the long chain of successive breaks that have occurred throughout the history of modern capitalism? Is it the beginning of a new era? Could revolts be part of the conjuncture that Marxism

had assigned to the revolution? How can utopia, considered positively with regard to its social, political, cultural and subversive creativity, become a reality?

The congress is organized in sections corresponding to the main disciplines of the social sciences: Philosophy, Economics, Law, History, Sociology, Culture, Languages, Political Science and Anthropology, as well as thematic sec-

tions: Feminism, Ecology, Socialisms and Marxisms.

Interdisciplinary plenary sessions deal with themes that transcend these categories. The main theoretical journals will co-organize and develop their own projects. About a thousand researchers are expected to participate in approximately a hundred workshops.

Fees

- Basic fee: € 15
- You can help support the financing of the congress (in particular to finance invitations from the South) by contributing € 30 or more.
- If you only attend one day, fees are € 5.
- There is no fee for students or persons with low incomes.

Foreigners are invited to pay in Euros, directly before the opening session on Wednesday, 3 October, at the Sorbonne. You will receive the brochure of the congress, with the full programme and introduction to the plenary sessions and the workshops.

Contact

- Presidents of the Congress: Jacques Bidet, Gérard Duménil, Stéphane Haber
- Information: <http://netx.u-paris10.fr/actuelmarx/>
- E-mail: Actuelmarx@u-paris10.fr

Registration

Please register online by going to INSCRIPTIONS, using the link (« remplir en ligne »):

<http://actuelmarx.u-paris10.fr/cm6/index6.htm>

Surname:
 First name:

Occupation:
 Phone:
 Fax:
 E-mail:

Do you want to make a presentation?
 If yes, in which section(s)?

If you want to contribute a presentation, you need to contact the person in charge of the organisation of the section (using the link « présenter une communication au Congrès »).

“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 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 has been 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 in June. At the same time a second volume of the *transform!* magazine has been published in Hungarian. Before the European Social Forum in Istanbul the first edition of the journal *transform!* in Turkish has been released.

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

To **order 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) in English

■ Since 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 2009/10 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-network.net/uploads/media/Detje_FinancialCrisis.pdf

■ 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 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-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>

■ Strategic Perspectives of the European Radical Left (2): “Meaning, Subjects and Spaces of Transformation”

On 29-30 May 2010 an international workshop by *transform! europe* co-organised with *transform! Italia* was held in Florence. The workshop constituted the second element of the project

“Strategic Projects of the European Radical Left”.

A **documentation** containing texts and video files is now available. Please refer to:

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

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