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## **On the relationship with ENDYL**

The congress of the EL welcomes the initiative of ENDYL to work actively together with the EL for the formation of an inclusive and democratic EL youth network of convergence among youth organizations and young activists. Such a network should promote common campaigns and concrete projects on issues that have to do with the major problems and social questions that the European youth is facing today; problems which are becoming even bigger because of the effects of the capitalist crisis and the intensification of precarity as a generalized condition of life.

To enforce this process the EL Executive Board is asked to name a member of the ExBoard as EL Youth contact person. Furthermore the EI will organize in consultation with the ENDYL board EL youth conferences on a yearly base, the first in late spring 2014.

## **The youth of the European Left sends a message of resistance: “We can stop austerity policies”, “We can live differently”**

Young people are in the epicentre of an unprecedented attack, by the authoritarian and ultra-neoliberal EU, which does not hesitate to sacrifice the future of a whole generation (but also of its peoples as a whole), in order to rescue the banks and the system they serve. Austerity policies have caused a sharp rise of youth unemployment and precariousness. 5,5 million of the under 25-years-old are unemployed in Europe.

The limitation of social achievements in education, healthcare, democratic liberties etc. is operated in a systematic way throughout the continent and aims at creating a young generation, which will be forced, in the framework of new “realism”, to learn how to survive with less, and without fighting for more.

Throughout Europe, the youth is experiencing exploitation on a daily basis. From Germany, where thousands of young people are forced to participate in the “experiment” of one-Euro jobs, to Greece where “growth” is realized through programs of “employment vouchers”, precarious short-term contracts and wages of 200 Euros. Long-term work contracts must be proposed instead of “special mechanisms” or “special contracts” for youth, which are often precarious or difficult to be obtained. They allow the capitalists to turn youth into an adjustment variable. On the opposite, we demand that young workers are considered as genuine workers with the same right to a long-term contract and decent wages. We need to fight the oppression of the youth and its containment into precariousness if we want to prevent youth unemployment.

In education, the Bologna guidelines are still enforced and destroy every reminder of public and free education. In high schools, the neoliberal strategy demolishes public structures in favour of private interest, while early abandonment of school is becoming a pan-European phenomenon. The education system at every level favors the reproduction of elites. The right for education is universal : public and free education must be guaranteed for all. Instead of giving entrepreneurship formation which aims at making young people good capitalists. Young people should be informed about alternatives to market such as cooperatives, associations and public and social services.

Moreover, authoritarianism and state repression are becoming a crucial precondition for facing millions of young people who choose to resist and fight for their rights. Such authoritarianism is reinforced by the emergence of nationalism and neo-nazism. Under the same framework, the border army of FRONTEX continues to attack all those who seek for better future in Europe.

We can fight for the defence of democracy. Not a “democracy” of technocrats, Memorandums, and markets, but a real democracy in which workers and the youth will be engaged in the decision making processes and will substantially contribute to the formation of policies which will define the future of present and next generations.

The youth of the European Left sends a message of resistance to all young people of our continent, stating that “We can stop austerity policies”, “We can live differently”. The youth should say no to the paradigm shift from welfare state to individualization of the unemployment problem. Governments are making the young people to believe that they are responsible for being unemployed and that they have to accept to be used as a adjustment variable. We can organised the resistances of young precarious and unemployed workers, of all those who are “invisible”.

The youth of Europe can become the generation of rupture, the generation which will overthrow austerity policies and open the way to socialism.

If we fight all together, we can win!

## **Resolution on public service and public goods in Europe**

**THERE WILL BE NO EUROPE WITHOUT THEM: WE HAVE TO DEFEND, RECOVER AND IMPROVE THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND PUBLIC GOODS IN EUROPE**

The current situation of public services and public goods in Europe is characterized by the strength of the neoliberal assault on the rights in all countries. The goal is to put the public service and public goods on private hands, and leave it to the interests of market and business.

The once called "welfare state", in its various forms all over the EU, who appeared to be a successful management linked to the essence of the idea of Europe, is now in a phase of demolition at the hands of the austerity policies managed by global capitalism, even more aggressive and speculative. This "welfare state" was presented as a result of an agreement between liberals, conservative and social-democracy, and not as a result of the successful struggle of the people in Europe.

Regardless of the precise specificity in each territory, the epidemic of privatization is extended against the people all over Europe and makes the economic crisis even more brutal for the citizenship and profitable for the powerful. EL is completely against of any kind of privatizations of public services and goods.

EL calls for the defense of these essential public services: health, education, social services, culture and other services linked to the social rights.

Public services must be services of universal access, financed from public budget. There must be services of quality, equitable and under democratic control.

Alike EL calls for the defense of public goods, some of them completely basic as human rights like water, and defending public property of them as a common heritage of people.

No back step face to the assault and the loss of our rights! We will recover every one of the public services and public goods that are essential for the development of civilization based on solidarity, equality and justice! Otherwise, there will be no Europe, there will be barbarism.

## **About a European Left – wing immigration policy**

After twenty years, we have the opportunity and the obligation to make a review of the policy of a Fortress Europe, considered as a state of repression and restrictions of immigrants and refugees' free movement within Europe. The review is absolutely necessary to point out not only that this policy is ineffective and the southern Europe countries are under disproportionate financial burdens because of their territorial boundaries, but also that the Rule of Law and the legal culture declined overall in all EU states to the benefit of right-wing and racist parties which enforce their presence and their action by invoking immigration flows in Europe.

In the 20th and the 21st century the migration flows continue unabated. Main causes are prosecutions, civil wars and poverty, experienced by millions of people in various countries. According to the annual figures of the UN High Commission at the end of 2012, refugees were over 45.2 million worldwide, seeking a safe place to stay. In accordance with the data of September 2013, 235 million migrants moved around the world in search of a better life.

Political refugees seeking political asylum, war refugees seeking political asylum or subsidiary protection status under the Geneva Convention of 1951, daily prevented from entering European territory, despite what provide international treaties. And when they enter detained in detention centers and not in open (hosting) centers, expecting, perhaps many years a decision about their admission, which is usually negative. The wars refugees, especially from Syria, treated as junk, so drowned in seas entire families and those manage to survive are detained in appalling conditions, until they obtain a temporary residence permit.

Migrants seeking work in Europe are considered as enemies by EU. Nowadays financial crisis is ostensibly invoked against them, but they were faced the same way before the crisis and unemployment, as the ruling classes intended to the illegal work in order to depress wages and labor relations. "They don't care to restore order, but to manage the disorder. "

Thousands of immigrants living for many years in an EU member state are illegal, because the government doesn't provide any opportunities for their legalization. Others they want to go home, but cannot return because the repatriation's program isn't generous. The European Left Party can't remain a spectator in the migration issue or even more leave the Ministers of Public Order of EU Member States and the neo-fascist parties across Europe conducting the migration issues undisturbed.

Respect international treaties on asylum, the removal of the Dublin II, the proportional distribution of refugees between EU countries, legalization of undocumented immigrants who live and work in Europe and have gained biotic and social links with their countries of residence, realistic way in dealing with immigration, as an international and permanent issue, the assumption of European Union responsibilities on poverty and wars in the countries of origin of refugees and migrants, generous incentives for the repatriation of migrants who wish to leave EU states, might provide a sufficient framework in single action of the Party of the European Left and the citizens of Europe, achieving a European left - wing immigration policy

## **The evolution of the situation in the Mediterranean**

The events taking place today in the Middle East and the Arab world demand from us great attention and a commitment to peace and democracy throughout the region.

Over the last two years we have seen an acceleration of extremely important events, with the continuing Arab revolutions, the major crisis in Syria, the pursuit of Israeli colonization to the detriment of the rights of the Palestinian people, the resumption of negotiations on Iran's alleged nuclear program and the consequences of the war in Libya on West Africa and Mali.

What took place in 2011, from Tunisia to Yemen via Egypt, is a real historical tipping point. The popular uprisings for democracy and social justice brought down dictators; they revealed the condition of these societies and their relationships of political forces. They highlighted the limited but real influence of the forces of political Islam and the weakness of the progressive forces. But nothing will be as it was before. For these peoples who have taken hold of the political debate and who today have not at all abandoned their hopes, as in Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen.

However the international relationship of forces still determines the limits of these movements. Firstly, on the economic level the existing systems in these countries have not changed and are still dominated by Western powers and their interests. Secondly, political Islam, through its various parties, is trying to break out of its isolation and use its power to impose a creeping Islamization of these societies, which refuse it.

The movements of democratic transformation are determined to a great extent also by the international issues at stake. This can be seen in particular in the interventionist strategies of regional and international powers on the economic, but also the military levels.

Among the causes that led to this uprising of the Arab peoples, there are also, and this counts for a lot, the policies of the European Union and the major European powers. By the neo-liberal policies that it wants to impose, through free trade agreements, the EU bears a heavy responsibility for the exacerbation of the social and economic crises and the suffering of these peoples.

The EU and the member states must recast the meaning of their relations with the Arab world and end their neo-colonial policies. Solidarity with the progressive forces in the Arab world must be strengthened and amplified; this is especially true for Tunisia and Egypt, so that these peoples may reject political violence and any installation of authoritarian rule and find their own voice in the democratic and social transition.

This is also true for the Syrian people, by supporting any initiative, such as Geneva 2, which makes it possible to put an end to the civil war and which engages a political process between the various forces of the opposition and the regime and to end the violence. This means refusing any military intervention or threat whatsoever. And leaving the Syrians free to choose their democratic destiny.

Finally, in the process, of which we are part, of elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere in the world, everything must be done to make the Middle East a nuclear-free zone, as decided by the General Assembly of the UN. This includes countries like Iran, but also Israel. This requires on our part the strengthening of our links with all the political, trade-union and civil society actors who want as we do to create the

conditions for the peoples of this region, in conformity with their choices, to finally experience an era of peace, democracy and social justice.

For all these battles, the Party of the European Left aims to organize regular "Mediterranean conferences of the Left" with the left forces of the South and East Mediterranean.

## **Motion concerning the situation in Palestine**

The Party of the European Left demands the EU to push Israel towards peace. Condemning words by the EU against the settlements or the human rights violations made by Israel are not enough. Israeli politicians do not take these words seriously as long as the economic cooperation is expanded and widely accepted.

The Party of the European Left opposes the ongoing peace negotiations as long as Israel is expanding the settlements. Settlement construction also affiliates with other elements disturbing the life of the Palestinians living in the West Bank: separate roads, the wall, checkpoints and destroying the Palestinian housing especially in East Jerusalem are just few examples of actions that complicate the everyday life of the Palestinians in the West Bank. The European Left supports a just solution to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict with the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital and a full right of return for the Palestinian refugees.

Taking advantage of the natural resources in occupied territories is against the international law. Israeli companies continuously dig the minerals from the Palestinian side of the Dead Sea and harness the limited water resources to Israeli use only. Garbage dumping done by Israeli and multinational companies is a serious threat to the environment. Israel is also planning to start drilling oil in the occupied West Bank.

These actions, including a siege of Gaza, must be strongly condemned by the EU. Hand to hand with a verbal condemnation must be the freezing of the joint EU-Israel Association Agreement. The Agreement must be frozen until Israel stops the occupations, siege of Gaza and agrees to respect human rights agreements and UN resolutions. Those who have violated human rights and international law must be brought in front of the International Criminal Court.

The Party of the European Left will deepen its relationship with the Palestinian leftist parties and continues to support them and the equitable solution they pursue. The Party of the European Left congratulates the two Palestinian parties PPP (Palestinian People's Party) and FIDA (Palestinian Democratic Union) which have decided to unite as one leftist party. The Party of the European Left looks with favor on other Palestinian leftist parties to increase mutual cooperation to strengthen the Palestinian left and a democratic alternative in Palestinian politics.

## **Colombia: Joint statement in support of the Colombian peace process and against human rights violations committed against the opposition**

It is with great aspiration that the European Left is following the ongoing Colombian peace process, which hopefully can lead to a democratic solution to the conflict that has afflicted the Colombian society for more than 50 years.

We declare our full support for a democratic and peaceful solution to the conflict and urge that the Government and the FARC-EP continues the peace talks.

We support the Colombian civil society and the demand for a peaceful solution based on social justice, where the voices of the public and the civil society are included in a profound transformation of the Colombian society.

We condemn the systematic and brutal repression of the opposition and call for the Colombian state to respect and guarantee the human rights including the right to protest, assemblage, and associate, as well as the freedom of expression.

Violations of the human rights and persecutions of the opposition cast doubts on the Colombian states commitment to a democratic and peaceful solution to the conflict.

We call for the immediate release of all political prisoners, and we condemn the appalling living conditions in the overcrowded prisons, where the inmates are denied access to clean drinking water and health care.

## Put the Reorganization of Care-Work on the Left Agenda!

### Women and Crises

The deep crisis that is shattering Europe hits the EU-states to varying degrees and along different time lines. Despite all cross-national divergence, the overall trend for women is characterized by badly paid or no jobs, no reasonable livelihood, growing poverty, now or in old age. People without papers live under even worse conditions.

The current European crisis of the financial system, economy and society superimposes the crisis of survival of the human species, while all over the world, social and ecological foundations of life are being destroyed. Both these threats are rooted in the crises of capitalism and the crises of patriarchy. Patriarchy draws its impact from the organization of economy, meaning the dominance of the production of goods over the reproduction of humankind and nature, which are necessary for the survival of the planet.

Left-wing and feminist alternatives of a sustainable economy cannot consist in maximum rates of profit at the expense of nature and society, not frenzied growth and permanent acceleration of the rhythms of life. The pivotal points should rather be the survival of the human species and its natural environment, deceleration and awareness of a good life. The economy of money and goods has to be related to the care economy.

### Care-work and Solidarity Economy

In capitalism only profit counts, that is why it endangers the survival of humankind and of our planet. We want to stop and avert this disastrous development and introduce analyses and strategies from a gender perspective into the discussion of alternatives to capitalism and its economy.

- We want a **“caring” economy** that cares about society and individuals while preserving and protecting the environment.
- We want a **“caring” state, a true welfare state** in many and diverse democratic forms with strong redistributing policies, public institutions and affordable and accessible social services for everybody. The public sector has to be expanded to provide high-quality social services.
- **Institutions of care work** should be public, not run by the churches and not subjected to the neoliberal logic of efficiency. Not to privatization! No commodification of commons!
- Solidarity work is an indispensable strategy of survival & support in the current crisis & can be a nucleus of another economy. Additionally, the root causes have to be tackled. A change of the economic paradigm is needed towards an **economy of solidarity**.

### Redistribution and Revalorization of Care Work, Give Care Work an New Value

In capitalism everything has to pay off. Both the production of goods and services for the market are of central importance, while the “production” of life, giving birth, raising children, caring for old people, minding and cherishing are not valued. Primarily women perform these indispensable services, hidden and unpaid. We bring the different kinds of care-work from the private to the public. We make them visible. They have to be recognized, appreciated and implemented into the national and international accounts.

Through the last decades care economy has mightily expanded. It does not only cover domestic and family work or the activities outsourced from the domestic environment into kinder-gardens, schools and care-facilities but also public and private health-care, education and recreation, consultation and assistance. It includes the crucial commons, including knowledge and water, seas and forests as well as seeds or cultural techniques. In all these spheres predominately women are working. These activities can slightly made more effective. That is why they have little reputation in capitalist societies, the wages are respectively low and the employees are scarcely cherished. **We urgently need a change in perspective: Paid and unpaid work, work for the market and care work has to be radically new valued and redistributed, not at least among the genders.**

- We put the re-organisation of care work on the left agenda! **Care is not private; it is political**, because it is about the survival of each society. We go beyond the industrialist and masculinist concept of labour. Policies – not women – have to reconcile social reproduction/care and production.
- Care work and social reproduction have to be appreciated and **revaluated**.
- Unpaid care work should be entitled to social protection.
- Defeminise care! Unpaid and paid care work has to be **redistributed** and shared among men and women, among individuals and the collective/communities.
- Full labour rights to paid care workers, including migrant workers. No to precarisation and low payment!
- **Right to care taking**, meaning: Paid time-off for all works, men and women, right to parental leave and educational leave, e.g. maternity and parental leave equally shared.

## **Sustainability**

In capitalism, goods are produced for mere profit while care-economy as the production and steady reproduction of humans and nature serves useful purposes. We want to generalize this logic of practical value. We want production and services to fulfil their real purpose: satisfaction of needs, usefulness, quality, beauty and attentiveness.

- Production and consumption are based on renewable energies, sustainable use of resources and the protection of the commons. Knowledge cannot be patented; land-grabbing is to be prohibited.

- Instead of trading in pollution and waste, we want to achieve **climate justice** between the global North and South.
- Environmental and social costs are included into an equitable pricing.
- In contrast to the production of profit which is dominated by the exchange value, we establish an **economy of use value**. We withdraw the products and services from consumerism and the race of cost- and wage-dumping and give them back their original purposes: the satisfaction of needs, usefulness, quality, attentiveness, beauty.
- **All education**, from the nursery to the university, general and vocational education is to be public and free of charge.

### **For All This We Need**

- Strict **regulation** of the financial market.
- **Fair taxation** instead of austerity: tax the rich instead of dismantling social services. Investment in the social infrastructure instead of privatization.
- The introduction of a **social protection floor** for everybody. Social security for everybody, not charity. Welfare not workfare. Further debates on a basic income are needed.

**It is an important task and challenge of the European Left to stand up for these goals. The reorganization of care work and the values of a Solidarity Economy are universal approaches. They have to become integral part of the strategic and political work of the European Left and all its member parties.**

**Let us start to discuss this matter today and on this party congress!**

## Motion for an EL FEM Assembly resolution

The EL Fem Women's Assembly which was held in Madrid on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 2013, in the context of the 4<sup>th</sup> EL Congress, put in its agenda the impact of the economic crisis on women, as a matter of high priority.

After discussing all aspects of the issue, the EL Fem Assembly reached the following conclusions:

Europe is facing an unprecedented financial crisis mainly affecting the southern countries, who are now experiencing a deep humanitarian crisis.

Women are affected stronger than men, in many areas, such as unemployment-in particular to young women it is ejected to more than 60%-uninsured work, unpaid or badly paid work, while they are more vulnerable to flexible forms of employment or to precarious labor.

In addition, the dramatic cuts in social spending imposed by the austerity policies, as well as the lack of effective gender equality policies have led to further relegation of women's lives-migrant women being the most vulnerable-and to the deepening of inequalities between men and women.

The crisis also brought again at the forefront some patriarchal standards of women's position in the family and society, such as the perception that women should return home and remain closed within the family walls, to take care of their children and the elderly and not seeking work in the labor market.

There is also a significant increase and even an upsurge in domestic and gender-based violence due to economic social deadlocks causing by the imposed austerity measures.

Considering all the above:

**We**, the representatives to the EL-FEM Women's Assembly, **express** our deep concern about evolving humanitarian crisis which has brought a serious blow to women's rights and to the progress towards equality which had been achieved by the feminist movement.

**We declare** our solidarity to women and to peoples in Europe mostly affected by the crisis and **we support** their struggles.

**We call on the EL:**

**To take the initiative** to organise and strengthen solidarity networks, either national or regional, as a collective effort to tackle poverty, in contrast to the perceptions of individualism or charity.

**To conduct** a European awareness campaign about the crisis which will allow us to bring at the forefront the tragic consequences experienced by many peoples in Europe.

**To emphasize** the need of fighting against fascism and neo-nazism that recently have begun to threaten Europe again.

**To encourage** its members to coordinate their actions and work together to create a European front, starting from the southern part of Europe which is the most affected, against austerity policies to combat crisis and to look for a left alternative.

For this purpose, as a first step in this context, the EL-FEM Assembly decided that the next EL FEM meeting will organise a debate on how to coordinate the actions of the European Left's women to dealing with the humanitarian crisis, mostly affecting the peoples of the European south.

### **University in danger in Europe**

Knowledge plays a more and more important role in our communities, in our economy and in the democratic working of the states.

Instead of meeting these needs, university system enslaves production and spread of knowledge to the short term targets of the markets: the university system in the service of the economic war, the maximum production in a minimum time.

Specialisation is pushed forward, made like a separate world and not as a link and integration in the social reality, in relationship with the citizens, with their country and the world.

Indeed, universities are moving away more and more from their targets: to turn out the students with research methods, good critical analysis of the problems and the social practices, with research of results in the scientific field with an autonomous and free from any dogma thinking, researching the common welfare but also personal opening.

A policy destroying the social cohesion, demolishing public services, increasing xenophobia and individualism can be seen now.

And the academic thinking plays a sharp role in the planning of the other channels of the school and also the turnout of what can be called the "common sense".

The ways of governing the universities nowadays are defined by the "Horizons 2020" program which justifies the subsidy, the cooperation of the private sector and the companies.

Research programs are linked to the available financial offers and are transformed in a competition for the well-presented project rather than the one which would be useful for improving knowledge. These programs select some services, preferring the practical application and ignoring the human sciences. (\*)

Budgetary restrictions, beyond the influence on academic research, have as consequences the precariousness of the teachers, of students of the 3th cycle, academic staff and also increasing fees for students and, very serious problem, closing of some departments.

We condemn this policy which:

- gives up the university in the hands of the markets ;
- let's no more to the university research the freedom to explore, what is necessary for any discover ;
- pushes forward competitiveness between teachers, researchers and departments ;
- Evaluates the universities (and the teachers) according to productiveness and the international audits, according to standardized models.

We demand:

- complete financing of universities by the State ;
- an adequate salary for the teachers so that they could be completely involved in their tasks ;
- the safeguard encouraging the free academic research without obligation and as a service for the whole community;
- the evolution of university practices and their consequences depending on the aims of the university itself and not those of the markets
- Free access to the formation for the students.

(\* field of research not compatible with immediate profitability)

## **For the quick construction and activation of a European Network of Culture**

A cultural network shall arise, which is not strictly bound on the member function of the member parties, but is developed also with artists of the left who are no party members and which (the work of network) should already be engaged for the European elections.

Firstly, the following genres shall be included, without excluding in the mid-term view genres like Theater, Film, Literature and sculpture:

- Rock Groups, songwriter und street musicians,
- Graffiti and poster artists as well as caricaturists,
- Cabaretists and satirists.

These party officials who have a „feeling“ with the handling of such aesthetic productions should be named for the network and come together already for a first meeting on the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of January around the Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht commemoration in Berlin.

Out of the budget for the election campaign 25.000€ should be initially reserved for this network which will in turn, in consultation with the ExBoard, help the Party of the European Left to increase its popularity in their main thematic axes through targeted public actions. After the European elections an evaluation shall be made regarding the results these actions produced.

The treasurer of the Party of the European Left, who at the same time has his roots also in the European cultural field, has taken this proposal up after talks together with Pierre Laurent, Gregor Gysi and Mikis Theodorakis as well as with the mayor of Milan Giuliano Pisapia and shall take responsibility for this until further notice.

### **Reasoning and argumentation:**

In single cases (e.g. the cultural events in Berlin around the ExBoard meetings and the Luxemburg-Liebknecht commemoration events, but also through the two caricature posters) against the „EU-Casino“ and the „EU-Monopoly“ have encouraged us to increase artistic and other cultural events. The Party of the European Left is still far away from creating possibilities to intervene on the European level regarding trade unions, as well as to create coordinated parliamentary initiatives and politics which would be suitable to overcome the neoliberal permanent crisis. In the artistic field it is different: Here fast results are possible which could also have their own character and charisma in connection with the Party of the European Left. Against the empirical background of the occasionally successful initiatives, which are also largely supported by the federal committee of DIE LINKE in its in its meeting on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October, a careful approximation of left art and party can take place – under the explicit artistic freedom and independence. This has to be done with a lot of sensibility as we don't want to exploit left artists and art as such but to approach them as equal comrades, within a space which is at first closed for the party strategy and where we take their existential and economic worries into consideration, in order to unfold the metabolism between organised political work and organic-artistic work.

## **The Party of the European Left (EL) for common Blockupy protests in Frankfurt / Main and throughout Europe**

The programs of austerity and privatizations of the Troika determine the lives of millions of people in Europe. The German Agenda 2010 was just an archetype for what now is enforced especially in Southern Europe to an even more dramatic extent. The further dismantling of social and democratic rights is imminent. The so-called rescue packages are not intended for the people of Europe, but serve the banks and rich investors.

Together with the people in Europe we say: „Don't owe, don't pay! “and resist the rehabilitation of capitalism on the backs of employees as well as unemployed, retirees, migrants and the youth. We reject any cooperation with the austerity policies of the Troika, which only has disastrous consequences for the living conditions of people in Europe.

- The Party of the European Left expresses its solidarity with the many fights in Europe against the austerity policies of the Troika.
- The EL welcomes the Blockupy protests in Frankfurt / Main (Germany) against the European Central Bank (ECB) and expresses its solidarity with the planned demonstrations and blockades in 2014.
- The EL stands in solidarity with the international alliance "Blockupy 2014" and calls to participate in the planned protests in May and autumn 2014.
  - The EL calls on its members and observer parties to participate in the international week of action, May 15<sup>th</sup> -25<sup>th</sup> 2014 with the aim of decentralized actions on a local level, as well as in the centralized action day, May 17<sup>th</sup> or 24<sup>th</sup> 2014.
  - The EL calls on its members and observer parties to mobilize, within the limits of their possibilities, for the mass blockade of the European Central Bank in Frankfurt / Main in autumn of 2014 and to participate in the alliance "Blockupy 2014".

## No to Port Package III

The European Dock Workers Unions succeeded two times against the European Commission in the battle of Port Package I&II.

The EU commission does not accept this and tries once more to deregulate the port services in general. In connection with the concessions directive the commission offered a “Regulation on market access to port services”. (Port Package III).

As the European Transport Workers Union (ETF) and the pilot organizations the Congress 2013 of the Party of the European Left rejects this proposal in general.

The proposed regulation is **unlikely to deliver the outcomes specified in the impact assessment**- in terms of investment, growth, jobs and competitiveness – but will **certainly impose additional burdens on many ports** and further enhance the market power of shipping lines and other port users (whose interests pervade the proposed Regulation and distort the considered choice of policy options).

There is an **insufficient protection of employment and workers social conditions**, most notably in relation to the transfer of port undertakings, the potential impact of proposed rules on market access on cargo handling services, and the failure to differentiate between and protect the different nautical services that are essential for the safety and security of European ports.

### Attack against the right to strike

The communication of the EC-proposal (point 3.4) and the regulation (art.8.6) contain more or less veiled **attacks to the right to strike and industrial actions**. We would like to remind here that industrial action is one of the fundamental means available to workers and their organizations to promote their economic and social interests.

We ask all member parties of the EL to support dock workers unions and pilot organizations in the resistance to the Port Package III.

## **Climate: act quickly for peoples' involvement!**

From Copenhagen in 2009 to Warsaw in 2013, the conferences of Heads of State on Climate succeed each other without result to counter the effects of climate change. Even worse, with Warsaw we see setbacks. In Paris in 2015, it is the inaction of Heads of State that has to retreat!

It is urgent for humanity! Thus the conclusions of the fifth pre-report of the IPCC, presented last September in Stockholm, confirm worsened global warming perspectives by 2100, given the weakness or lack of measures and actions, domestically and internationally, to fight against global warming.

If nothing significant is done immediately, global warming could reach 5-6°C. Thus the curve of greenhouse gas emissions is now installed above the worst-case scenario of the scientists. CO<sub>2</sub> production reached a record level in 2013 while there is a strong evolution of the concentration of methane in the atmosphere (gas 21 times more harmful to the greenhouse effect). To preserve the future one must cap emissions as soon as possible.

Nobody can really question the results of studies of the IPCC on global warming as well as the responsibility of human activities in this evolution. Consequences of GHG emissions are known: multiplication and increased frequency of extreme events increase of droughts and desertification of lands, gradual drying of lakes, rising sea levels due to melting ice caps... We are witnessing the emergence of a new category of population: "climate refugees" whose number could reach 150 million by 2050 according to experts.

While the climate situation worsens, heads of state in rich countries avoid their responsibilities. Once again, in Warsaw, no legally binding agreement has been signed. Beyond the USA, clinging on its refusal of any binding agreement despite the speech of Barack Obama, Canada left the Kyoto Protocol and Australia decided to remove any reduction target. Japan has even announced the reduction by 25% of its previous commitments. The EU tried to have "good conscience", usually presenting itself as leader of the negotiations. This time the EU refused to state any ambitious goal for after 2020 until others express their commitments. In addition, its "European Union Emission Trading Scheme" (EU-ETS) is a failure in the fight against global warming as just announced by the Ministers of the Environment. The EU neoliberal response, the stock exchange listing of "rights to pollute" is unable, even counter-productive, to meet the challenge of a reduction in greenhouse gas emissions. In fact, climate protection does not mix well with his liberal policies.

While COP Warsaw was supposed to be that of funding, liberal states entangled in their austerity logic and lowering labor costs, waive their financial commitment in creation of funds (long – term financing, Green Fund, adaptation Fund, losses and damage due to mechanisms of extreme events) towards the South and the most vulnerable countries. The least developed countries are demanding 60 billion per year by 2020 and 100 billion after this date. They got "peanuts" for existing development funds.

There are even more worrying signs. The major international capitalist companies in the absence of real policy await any space left vacant by the States to embark on the conquest of new markets for Climate and there reap lucrative profits. They say their availability for the creation of Public/ Private Partnerships whose bill is subsequently sent to people.

**Paris 2015 for a broad citizenship and solidarity campaign.**

Progressive forces in Europe and the world with their activists and citizens may act jointly to influence the negotiations of Heads of State who will meet in 2014 under the auspices of the UN, and in 2015 in Paris under COP21.

At the initiative of the EL, we could commit ourselves to engage immediately with citizens, unions, NGOs, associations, civil society, great political campaign in order obtain, in Paris in 2015, a legally binding and differential agreement on emission of greenhouse gases, covering all major emitters, limiting warming to no more than 2 ° C, and the creation of essential financial funds dedicated to the support of the South, the least developed countries and the most vulnerable countries, in their project of sustainable human development.

A first international stage could be held in Paris upstream on the initiative of the Party of the European Left.

## **No to the Transatlantic Free Trade Area / Partnership Transatlantic Trade and Investment**

On 14 June 2013, the European Commission received a mandate from all Member States to negotiate with the United States on Transatlantic Free Trade Area / Partnership Transatlantic Trade and Investment (TAFTA/ PTTI).

This agreement seeks to create a vast market of free trade between the European Union and the United States, going beyond the WTO agreements, as the treaty which is currently negotiated with Canada

The draft TAFTA is the dismantling of remaining duties, including in the agricultural sector, and more importantly, the removal of "non-tariff barriers". If it were implemented, it would promote unbridled competition and prevent the relocation of activities. It would lead to a race to the bottom in social norms, economic, health, cultural and environmental, as well as Europe and the United States. Some regulations of public procurement and finance in the United States could be made low. This agreement would be a way for multinationals to eliminate all public decisions that could constitute barriers to the expansion of their market share.

This project could introduce an "investor - state" private arbitration mechanism, which would replace the existing national justice courts. Private investors could thus circumvent the laws and decisions that interfere. Such legal architecture limit the already weak states to maintain public services capacity to protect social rights, ensuring social protection, and to maintain social and cultural activities free from the control of multinationals in the extractive sector, or to invest in areas of public interest such as energy transition.

Beyond trade goods, TAFTA would finish the opening to competition of intangible exchanges. By its section on "intellectual property" and control of trade on the internet, he would return through the back door the deceased ACTA (Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement), refused in July 2012 by Parliaments, under the pressure of a broad mobilization of European citizens.

Quietly, powerful European and transatlantic lobbies are already maneuvering to develop a possible agreement of 2015 with the European Commission, sole authority in charge of negotiations on behalf of all Member States.

But citizens, social movements, and MEPs do not have access to information on the ongoing negotiations. Secret draft also limits the capacity of developing countries to intervene, although such an agreement would the legal and social implications for the entire world. At the same time, the United States develop their system of mass surveillance in Europe.

TAFTA reached unprecedented fundamental democratic principles. It would worsen the commodification of the world, with the risk of major social, environmental and political regression. We managed to defeat the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) in 1997 and the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) in 2012, which included the same dangers.

We now want to stop all together TAFTA and appeal to the widest and most diverse mobilization possible, in line with other European and American movements to compel governments and the European Union to stop these negotiations.

The Party of the European Left launches an information campaign and mobilization to defeat this agreement.

## **Resolution on public service broadcasting in Europe**

European citizenship is attending a serious threat on the independence of the media in the continent in recent years. It concerns, in particular, the role of public service broadcasting (PSB), essential for information, education and the development of culture and entertainment. An independent PSB is essential for the freedom of speech and the freedom of information, as well as for the democratic participation of citizens.

The threats to the PSB and its employees are constantly increased in Europe, as a result of neo-liberal management of the economic crisis by the Troika and the servile national Governments. The closure of the public radio-television ERT in Greece, of the Radiotelevisió Valenciana and the threats to other regional television stations like Telemadrid in Spain, the budget cuts that threaten the PSB and their jobs in Hungary, Italy, Portugal, Iceland, are the most critical examples. But the situation of precariousness by reduction of public resources affects the more consolidated public audiovisual media as the BBC.

The Party of the European Left proposes as an alternative:

- Sufficient funding to enable the PSB to fulfill its tasks, the commitment with the citizenship, also in the field of Internet, social networks and mobile devices, as well as its essential task for the functioning of democratic society.
- The independence of all media professionals, protected and regulated by professional advice and independent of political power and powerful economic corporations.
- Working conditions of the media workers to develop their profession and produce audiovisual contents of quality, diversity and independence in the field of information, culture and entertainment.
- We are against the closure of public service broadcasting stations as ERT in Greece and RTVV in Spain, and we strongly support its continuity as a public service through a negotiation with workers and their unions that will allow the viability of the PSB.

**WITHOUT PUBLIC MEDIA THERE IS NO DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE!!**

## Motion regarding the political situation in Central and Eastern Europe

1. The political situation in CEE requires a careful attention and thorough evaluation by EL. We therefore propose to start an analysis of the political developments and to create for this purpose a network (or WG) with participation of Parties both inside and outside the EL. As part of this effort, we propose to organize a EL seminar devoted to the region.

2. The "CEE region" is defined not only geographically, but politically in the first place, being composed by countries which were formerly part of the Soviet bloc or of the Soviet Union itself. We consider it fruitful to include/invite at least also the parties from neighboring countries.

3. These countries share (with all respect to their differing national identities) many common political, social and cultural features, which are unique to this group of countries, and which may be determining for their future political development.

In particular:

a) After 1990, the national economy of these countries has been profoundly changed both in terms of the leading principles and of its orientation, but also in its very substance. The leading factories and businesses were "transformed" and as a result, they are now dominated by foreign owners much in the semi-colonial manner. This has strengthened the sentiments of nationalism and xenophobia.

b) The former political system in the respective countries (one-party rule, tight control of the political life) left deep socio-cultural impact on the populace, on the political Left, and also on the position their population takes towards politics in general. One of the results is also the lower threshold for possible development to some form of authoritarian regime. Another common point is the militant anticommunism in large parts of their society.

c) The common features of the recent history have created some sort of "different culture" in the CEE region, persisting even after more than 20 years since the regime change (as the example of former GDR is showing most strikingly).

d) Geopolitically, the region used to be dominated by the USSR, often equaled to "Russia". This created a lot of anti-Russian sentiments in many countries in the region, resulting often in provocative gestures. On the other hand, the region is bordering Russia and an acceptable and sustainable *modus vivendi* towards Russia has to be found and elaborated.

## **Respect and Equal Rights for Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals, Trans and Intersex Persons**

In the current context in which, on a European level, LGBT people are being targeted under the premise of conservative discourses about health and family models reinforcing submissions to the patriarchy and the heteronormative system of dominations, denied different health treatments, as well as being physically attacked with the complacency of the authorities, the European Left needs to react. The European Left strives for equal rights for everybody regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity. We refuse every form of homo- or transphobia and actively work for equality of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, intersexuals and transsexual and transgender people (LGBTI). The member parties are asked to support and initiate every necessary initiative to promote these aims.

That means in particular:

- **Protection of life and physical integrity.**  
LGBTI people must be efficiently protected against homophobic attacks. Authorities must prosecute and try every kind of hate crimes against LGBTI people. It is not acceptable that offenders do go unpunished.
- **Protection against discrimination.**  
Any kind of discrimination against LGBTI is not acceptable for us, be it in penal or civil law or personal status. Stop special laws targeting LGBTI people and especially laws prohibiting so called “gay propaganda”!  
We demand not only the abolishing of all these laws but the explicit prohibition of discrimination, and the implementation of plans to prevent it from happening. We are not alien to all other issues which affect discrimination in the heterosexual and/or cisgender population. In the case of migrant LGBT people or lesbian or bisexual women we have cases of double or triple discrimination we have to abolish.
- **Freedom of assembly and freedom of association.**  
We support the self-organisation of LGBTI people and their commitment for their rights. We will stand against any attempt to ban LGBTI organisations or demonstrations.
- **Freedom of speech.**  
We refuse any attempt to hinder information and education about LGBTI issues. The protection of children must not serve as pretext for such attempts; children must be educated in the value of equality, not of hate.
- **The right to gender self-determination.**  
We demand the immediate de-pathologization of transsexual and transgender identities and the right to free gender self-determination without compulsory sterilization. We struggle to end the compulsory assignation of a binary and normative gender identity and against gender stereotypes dictated by the patriarchy domination in the society.
- **The right to freely choose a partner and the way of living together without discrimination and the right to start a family.**  
We want every institution of living together, including marriage, to be open for everybody and no way of living together to have more or less rights than another. We want the right to adopt children for everybody under the same conditions regardless marital status and sexual orientation. This permits also to protect the legal rights of the children, regardless the marital status and the sexual

orientation of their parents We want the right of artificial insemination for women regardless marital status and sexual orientation.

- **The inclusion of our realities in public programmes.**

We demand that all public services and programmes, whether they are related to education, health or working rights, include an LGBTI perspective and deal specifically with discrimination. Special attention must be paid to sexual health, and we demand the end of discrimination against gay men as a “risk group”. We demand special programmes against STDs and the end of the stigma HIV+ people suffer. The implementation of such public programs needs public subsidies which are reduced because of the economic austerity and budgetary cuts dictated in all the European Union.

**Respect and equal rights for gays, lesbians, bisexuals, intersex and transsexual and transgender people. It is about love and about the rights. The struggles for civil rights equality and those for socio-economic equality are linked in the same project of the emancipation of the working class in the society. It is a Left issue.**

## Motion on Ukraine

### **Let the Ukrainian people decide its destiny!**

The situation in Ukraine is worrying. As in 2004 the population is very divided. Beware of simplistic presentation of the Western media: the protesters are "pro-European Union" the government is "pro-Russian". We must not forget the trouble game of the nationalist extremist, even fascist, party "Svoboda" which is playing the "policy of the worst". President Yanukovich has initially accepted the agreement together with the EU before removing his signature.

The European Union wants to enlarge its economic influence in the Eastern Europe but puts very little on the table. Russia has the monopoly on the gas and oil market and practices a blackmail raw material prices.

Behind these bargains, there are also geo-strategic divergent interests. The enlargement of the influence of the NATO on one side, maintaining a friendly buffer zone on the other side. Moscow or Brussels? That seems to be the alternative. The real challenge of the conflict is: will Ukraine become a "wall" or a "bridge" toward the Russian Federation.

The choice between the association with the EU or the Euro-Asian agreement cannot be done without a deep debate and without the expression of the people through a referendum. This is the meaning of the petition initiated by the Ukrainian communist party, that has already collected 3,5 million signatures.

The EL reaffirms its support to the fundamental right of peoples to protest peacefully. We call for a stop of all foreign pressure, regardless its origin. The Ukrainian people are sovereign. It must express itself democratically.

## **On Women's Right to Abortion, the Right to Decide**

In Europe women are under constant threat as we see advances in backward and reactionary policies against our sexual and reproductive rights which intend to exert control over women's right to decide upon their lives and bodies. An example of this is how the Estela Report was blocked in the European Parliament.

Obviously women's lives – their physical and psychological health and well-being - will be affected by the fact of being obliged to continue with a non-desired pregnancy and their freedom to decide must be respected. In the 21<sup>st</sup> Century it should be assumed as a basic human right.

The intention of controlling women's bodies, their sexuality and their lives is framed in a general economic, political and democratic crisis and is part of a patriarchal and neoliberal offensive. Inequality, oppression and exploitation of women are the basis of these attacks on our human rights. We must highlight that sexual and reproductive rights are universal human rights that must be defended all over the world.

The UN Council on Human Rights, in its resolution 11/5, 2009, says that "Human rights cannot be subordinated to structural adjustment policies and financial reforms established due to debt". In a framework of the cuts affecting essential public services like health assistance, legal initiatives against sexual and reproductive rights are a violation of basic human rights.

For all these reasons, the Party of the European Left demands:

- A total rejection of restrictive policies and measures against women's right to abortion.
- Decriminalization of voluntary abortion.
- Support of women's capacity, including younger women, to decide on their lives and bodies.
- The right to abortion to be covered by public health systems.
- The elaboration of a common legal European framework that protects and guarantees the sexual and reproductive rights of all women.

## **Motion on Venezuela**

Taking advantage of the confusion and pain suffered by the Venezuelan people after the death of the President of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela Hugo Chávez, the capitalist opposition, with the tactical, financial and media aid of the United States and many other countries with neo-colonial interests, has radicalized its activities aiming to destabilize and overthrow the government of Nicolás Maduro who was democratically elected to lead the Bolivarian revolution.

Since the beginning of its mandate, the Venezuelan government has been attacked on all strategic fronts with the aim of creating a suitable environment to enforce the intervention of the capitalist forces with its known “national salvation plan”.

Maduro's government has spent months fighting boycotts and sabotage orchestrated by the power of national and international capitalist oligarchy that has always rejected the peaceful revolution of the Venezuelan people.

This situation is not new in Latin America, but this one in particular seems designed to repeat the tragic, violent and inhuman military coup that 40 years ago cruelly ousted Chilean socialist President Salvador Allende.

All these policies and trickery are directed to make a dent in the poor population of the country, the population which the Bolivarian revolution led by Hugo Chávez provided with an environment for human and social sustainable development and a solidarity space. Now the reactionary movements want to return the people of Venezuela to a life of being neglected and discriminated.

The European Union makes no effort to denounce the neo-colonialists and interventionist policies that Venezuela is suffering.

Therefore, the 4th Congress of the Party of the European Left supports the emergency economic measures approved by President Nicolás Maduro. The Party of the European Left denounces and expresses its total rejection of the brutal campaign of economic and political destabilization organized by the Venezuelan reactionary opposition with the international financial and media aid of the U.S. and its capitalist cohorts, which includes many members of the European Union.

## Motion on Cuba

The Cuban people have realized, for nearly three years, an extraordinary effort to update its economic model. This update of Cuban socialism is the result of a long process that saw millions of Cubans engaged in a discussion about their vision of the future of the country and its revolution. In Cuba socialism and sovereignty are part of the same process: the triumph against dictatorship in 1959 was also the conquest of independence.

The debate that took place in 2008 was embodied in a series of measures that had the goal to strengthen strategic sectors that remain under State control and the development of a social economy and self-employment sectors which are called to new job-creating dynamics.

The Cuban people want to preserve and strengthen the gains of a half-century revolutionary process: Cuba is one of the few countries that have achieved the Millennium Development Goals. That is to say that Cuba has eradicated extreme poverty and hunger, has brought to its population universal primary education and has reduced significantly infant mortality.

Significant progress has been made on gender equality and women's access to political responsibility and leadership. For example, 45% of seats in the People's Power National Assembly are occupied by women and nine of the fifteen Provincial Assemblies are headed by women. Cuba shares its progress with the countries of Latin America and the rest of the world in developing its cooperation in the field of health, education and sport. "Operation Miracle" has benefited tens of thousands of people who were able to recover the use of vision thanks to the Cuban doctors.

Progress are recognized in the world but the task ahead is enormous for a country that has lived under the pressure of an economic, commercial and financial blockade that prevented it from developing in normal conditions.

Blockade increases the cost of transportation of its exports and imports, prevents Cuban access to credit and financing under normal conditions for any State. The human cost is considerable: lack of access to technical and scientific progress that would allow the Cuban health system to treat some diseases with less suffering for patients.

Last 29th of October, as it has been for the last 22 years, the Cuban government has submitted to the vote of UN General Assembly a resolution calling for a condemnation of the blockade. This resolution, once again, got a massive vote: 188 countries voted in favor of this resolution. Only the U.S. and Israel voted against.

This vote shows the isolation of Washington's policy towards Cuba.

All Latin American countries, not just those governed by progressive forces, maintain cooperative relations with Cuba and gave the place that she deserves by giving to Cuba the presidency of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC).

The blockade imposed against Cuba, a flagrant violation of human rights, has a difficult cost to bear for any country<sup>1</sup>.

The Party of the European Left has been repeatedly expressing its solidarity with the Cuban people and its Revolution. This solidarity was reiterated during the visit of an EL delegation in March 2012 which laid the

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<sup>1</sup>The estimated cost is 1157 billion dollars. The shortfall in foreign trade was 2.4 billion dollars in April 2013 and represents 78% of revenues of the island.

foundation for more regular cooperation with Cuban comrades.

The Party of the European Left reaffirms its strong commitment to end the criminal and anachronistic blockade on the people who dared to challenge the U.S. domination and wanted to build a new society free of capitalism. The release of the four Cuban citizens imprisoned in U.S. prisons after a politically manipulated trial, would be one of the first political actions that the Obama Administration should make for a relationships based on respect and non-interference, as claimed by the Cuban government.

The Party of the European Left will continue to mobilize against the "common position" adopted by the EU in 1996 which can no longer be the basis of relations with Cuba. Nothing justifies that Cuba is the only country in the world to which the EU imposes such a policy that conditions all cooperation to the abandonment of its sovereignty and renunciation of the will of an entire people.

The Party of the European Left supports the Cuban people in their efforts to go further in the construction of its own socialism and will continue to act in favor of a relationship of respect and cooperation

## **Resolution on Western Sahara**

The 4th EL Congress reiterates its active solidarity with the Saharawi people in its unfinished process of decolonisation.

Western Sahara, one of the non-autonomous territories of the world under auspices of United Nations, which has not concluded its decolonization process, is military occupied by the Kingdom of Morocco. The occupying power brings Moroccan settlers in order to attempt against the population and the cultural integrity of Saharawi people and permits the plundering of their natural resources.

The EL forces we must report in all our countries the criminal repression against the Saharawi people and we must demand the Spanish government to fulfil its responsibility in the administration of the decolonization process. Therefore, the EU must assume an active role in the vigilance and accompaniment of this process.

We denounce the silence of the Spanish government and the EU in view of the violence exercised by the occupying Moroccan force in the occupied territories. We demand to the occupying force, the Kingdom of Morocco to allow access to the occupied territories to the media, the international observers and European public representatives.

We urge the European Council to freeze the Association agreement EU- Morocco and to withdraw the Advanced Status as the Kingdom of Morocco has not complied with its clause 2 referring to human rights.

We denounce the illegal Fisheries agreement EU-Morocco approved this week by the European Parliament as it includes the Saharawi territorial waters, in clear violation of International Law, as these waters do not belong to Morocco.

We demand the establishment of an international mechanism to monitor human rights in Western Sahara.

The EL Congress unanimously and urgently demands the fulfilment of UN Security Council resolution 1514 to celebrate the referendum of self-determination of the Saharawi people.

The EL Congress reiterates its commitment with the fair fight of the POLISARIO Front for the right to self-determination of the Saharawi people, in the demand of the liberation of all the Saharawi political prisoners and in the demand to ask for penal responsibilities to the King and Moroccan government by the criminal acts committed in the occupied territories.

**“Sarajevo 2014” European and Balkan Action Plan**  
**for Peace and International Solidarity**

The year 2014 will mark the centenary anniversary of the outbreak of World War I. To commemorate this tragic occasion, international peace movements have scheduled many events in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is also an opportunity for the forces of the European Left to mobilise and promote a new vision for Europe to the benefit of peace all over the world. In this direction we will endeavour to:

- Further the relations of the European Left with the forces of the left and social movements throughout southeastern Europe.
- Promote the idea of a culture of peace, anti-fascism, anti-militarism and non-violence in our own societies and throughout Europe and all over the world, and oppose the imperialist policies of “divide and rule”, as well as all forms of national chauvinism.
- Demand that NATO be abolished, that foreign bases in European countries be abolished, and that all Europe becomes free of nuclear weapons and military alliances.

## Towards a European food and agriculture policy for the 21st century

“All progress in capitalist agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the worker, but of robbing the soil; all progress in increasing the fertility of the soil for a given time is a progress toward ruining the more long-lasting sources of that fertility.” Karl Marx, *Capital*

The European Left is a unifying framework for many different traditions: the environmental movement, the international farmers’ movement (Via Campesina), one world groups, Marxists, Social Democrats and people motivated by ethical and religious beliefs all contribute to the wealth of experience residing within our great party. Where European agricultural policy is concerned, we are united: we believe that food sovereignty must be at the heart of Europe’s farming and food policy for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Food sovereignty does not mean self-sufficiency or an anachronistic renunciation of world trade, although we do want a new set of rules for global trade. Food sovereignty means that all the world’s people can define their own agricultural policy, respecting and in harmony with nature. The European Left believes in agricultural policies that allow farmers to earn a decent living from their labour. Farming in the 21<sup>st</sup> century must preserve the plant and animal gene pool, protect the right to **save and multiply seed, and adopt organic arable farming and livestock husbandry** as its guiding vision. Food sovereignty means that farmers decide what to grow and consumers decide how their food is produced.

We need a new agricultural paradigm – without genetically modified organisms (GMOs), but with strong regional economic cycles for inputs and value-added. We need a farm sector which plays its part in mitigating climate change and produces healthy food. And we need a European food and agriculture policy which protects the EU from speculation-induced volatility in the farm markets, safeguards farmers’ incomes and means of production, and supports the transition to less intensive, more environmentally friendly forms of farming.

The food scandals of the last few years show that the industrial model of agriculture is incapable of satisfying consumers’ needs for healthy foods. The European Left is a firm advocate of more robust consumer rights. We believe in responsible, solidarity-based consumer behaviour and fair trade, and we support strategies to reduce food waste and harvest losses.

The EU’s payments to farmers under the CAP are not price-dependent. If prices rise, the consumer pays twice: not only Instead of global trade, we want to strengthen regional value chains. For example, public sector institutions – from school canteens to elderly care homes and hospitals – should make it a priority to purchase local produce. The European Left believes in local markets, not the world market.

The European Left takes a holistic, solidarity-based, global view. Our demands therefore also apply to organizations beyond Europe’s borders, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). However, the European Left’s a focus primarily on the EU.

The EU has now set the course for the Common Agricultural Policy for 2014-2020. Our main criticisms of the European Commission’s decisions are as follows:

- The aid from the EU is paid per farm and does not depend on the type of production.

- The abolition of all market measures (the planting rights system in the wine sector, milk quotas, sugar quotas) is a done deal and will lead to further liberalisation of agricultural markets despite the substantial differences in the positions of market actors.
- The provisions on “greening” (ecological priority areas and crop diversification measures, which would oblige farmers to grow at least three different crops, with the largest crop covering no more than 70% of the farm’s area and the smallest no less than 5%) do not go far enough.
- Not enough measures are proposed to make Europe more self-sufficient in proteins for animal feeds.

We are committed to a decent work agenda for the farm sector, as well as to ecologically sustainable, animal-welfare-oriented agriculture. Food should not be treated as a commodity. For us, this means:

#### 1. Campaigning against food speculation:

The extent to which speculation has an effect on volatility in the farm markets may be a contentious issue, but our position is clear: **speculation on food** prices must end. It is unacceptable on social and ethical grounds. A reform of WTO policy is essential. Agriculture should be removed from the scope of the WTO Agreements. We are particularly opposed to the Doha Round. Free trade agreements must be reviewed. And we reject the conditions imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on agriculture in the countries of the Global South.

#### 2. Promoting decent work in the farm sector

Only a farm sector that is socially sustainable should receive public funding. The CAP funding should be used solely to support family farming and it’s restructuring in line with social and environmental principles. In the capping of direct payments, farms’ employment potential should be taken into account. Capping should therefore apply to farmers’ cooperatives and producer groups. Land reform could be an important step towards achieving more food sovereignty and realising the right to food. The EU must set minimum prices for producers and maximum prices for consumers. Labour regulations and minimum wage requirements must be implemented in the farm sector as well. The working conditions of seasonal workers and slaughterhouse employees are often unbearable. We are working for mandatory Europe-wide social standards.

#### 3. Promoting animal-welfare-oriented farming

Animal welfare must become an integral element of the CAP. Investment should only be supported if it improves animal welfare. The EU needs a specific Regulation on animal welfare. Animal husbandry and the transport of livestock should be subject to more stringent rules and more democratic control. Limiting the duration of **livestock** transports within the EU to four **hours** would not only improve animal welfare. It would also increase value-added in the regions via a decentralized network of abattoirs and meat-processing facilities.

#### 4. Ecologically sustainable farming

We need resolute measures against the sealing of soils. Of course people cannot survive without encroaching on nature. However, these interventions should respect, and not simply exploit, the natural environment.

The European Left is committed to farming that is free from genetically modified organisms (GMOs). GMO imports must be banned. Agro-genetic technology is a high-risk technology whose consequences for people and nature are both unpredictable and irreversible once GMOs are released. The research carried out to date shows that GMOs offer only short-term economic

benefits and are likely to cause major ecological problems. What's more, farmers who rely on genetic technology will become even more dependent on seed companies than they are already. Intensive farming can have major adverse consequences for nature and the environment. Intensive use of pesticides and artificial fertilizers cause pollutants to leach into groundwater. In cleared landscapes without field margins to provide habitats, species which were once common, such as the European hare, the grey partridge and the Eurasian skylark, are becoming increasingly rare. And as well as displacing nature, agro-industry puts small and medium-sized farms out of business. We believe in land-related animal husbandry, in other words: locally produced animal feed, and local use of manure and slurry. By importing animal feed, the EU is indirectly "importing" an area equivalent to France's total farmland. This land is no longer available for food production in other countries. We object to this situation, especially as the animal feed is often grown under ecologically and socially disastrous conditions in these countries.

The EU's fisheries policy must prioritise the conservation and regeneration of fish stocks in Europe's seas. This is an urgent necessity, not only for ecological but also for economic reasons. Furthermore, fish should be weighed when caught, not at landing. This is the only way to avoid by-catch, which is highly detrimental to species conservation. The EU must prioritise artisanal fishing over industrial fishing, for artisanal fishing is an important resource for development and quality of life in Europe's coastal regions.

A substantial increase in agricultural research funding is also required in the interests of organic farming. The European research and licensing authorities, e.g. for pesticides, genetically modified crops and nanotechnology, must become more transparent and subject to better democratic controls. This applies to the European Food Safety Authority (EFSA), for example, which has drawn criticism from watchdog organizations for years on account of its inadequate authorisation procedures and the lack of transparency in its working methods.

We want subsistence farming to have a future in Europe. We also support modern forms of subsistence farming such as urban gardening. However, subsistence farming cannot be a sustainable economic model for food and agriculture policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Producer groups have a role to play in safeguarding the economic survival of smaller farms. Cooperatives promote solidarity-based farming. It must be possible to remove the obstacles to these forms of ownership and to achieve the widest possible diversity in land tenure.

A European food and agriculture policy for the 21<sup>st</sup> century must break with the concept of never-ending economic growth and intensification. We believe that food sovereignty must be at the heart of a new European agricultural policy. Innovative concepts of sustainable farming are needed. There are no easy solutions to some of the challenges that lie ahead, however.

We seek for a radical reform of the CAP in order to: - Increase budget for agriculture and redistribute subsidies in favour of small and medium scale farmers and farmers' cooperative schemes. - Cancel the suspension of funding for rural development which is imposed by the EU macroeconomic conditionality rules. - Link payments to production and product quality and increase the percentage of coupled support. - Strengthen the role of agricultural policy as a tool for regional development.

So we want to engage in dialogue with all stakeholders – farmers, consumers, trade unions, NGOs, interest groups and other social movements. This paper is an invitation to that dialogue.

## Motion on ecological issues

Europe has been thrown into a deadly crisis, particularly for Southern European countries, which have seen their unemployment and poverty rates go through the roof, in proportions that remind us of the worst moments of the 20th century. The European Commission, the neoliberal and the social-democrat governments in power throughout the EU consider that the only way to get out of this crisis is for us to return to a pattern of economic growth based on supply policies. We do not agree with this productivist vision: producing only for production's sake, without any concern neither for social needs, nor for environmental consequences.

European leaders and Brussels' technocrats serving the financial interests are obsessed with only one thing: to put the capitalist growth-seeking system back on track at all cost. However, this policy is precisely what is weakening the whole planet and threatening our biosphere: ever more natural resources spoiled to produce ever more consumption goods that do not fit real human needs anymore. Alternative industrial and agricultural models which would not be based on environmental predation are not even studied.

This lack of consideration for both the biosphere and human living conditions is epitomised in the capitalist solutions to the crisis, that favours "green growth" and the return to extractivism of conventional and unconventional forms of fossil fuels (coal, oil, natural gas, deep-sea oil, shale gas...) as well as harmful large-scale, multinational renewable energy projects, wind, solar and biomass, which degrade landscapes, agricultural land and forests. Just as worrying is the nuclearisation of the continent, like in Turkey where new plants are built in a very sensitive seismic zone. Will we soon get a European Fukushima?

The European Left knows that human emancipation cannot be achieved through never-ending economic growth. GDP is far from being a well-being indicator. Anyway the limits of our ecosystems will not allow it to grow forever. The rise of sea-levels in Northern Europe, drought and fires around the Mediterranean Sea, climate change and floodings in Central and Eastern Europe are evidence that our continent is under the threat of environmental risks due to contradictions in our system. This forces us to reconsider our production and trading system, and generally speaking our entire social and political organisation.

Our thoughts and political actions must be radical: they must go to the roots of the problem. We therefore think that we should fight the system's driving forces: consumerism aimed at the accumulation of material goods which widens social inequalities, the whole growth-oriented system which exhausts our biosphere's resources, the globalisation of the economy based on social and environmental dumping. We want to point to the real culprits: the financial oligarchy, and the ideologists who advocate for "free and fair" competition and trade.

Ecosocialism, meaning socioecological transformation, is at the junction of anti-capitalist ecology and productivism-free left movements; it is a project that raises the possibility of an alternative society of hope. This is no utopia with which reality should comply, but a rational human response to the double dead-end of social-liberalism and capitalism.

Our environmentalism is a social one, related to the Left's historical battles. It is incompatible with economic liberalism which, under the guise of sustainable development, perpetuates the search for maximum profit, imperialist dynamics and short-term logics. It refutes the social democrat dead end that requires economic growth as the first condition to redistribution. There IS wealth out there, no need to wait before we can redistribute it! And this infinite expansion model leads to the suicide of human

civilisation. Therefore, we are neither expecting growth at all costs, nor any "benefits" from austerity, we believe in neither.

Rather, our project involves an economy in the service of social needs: one that breaks away from economically-liberal orthodoxy. It implies disobeying the directives from this free-market Europe and involves the overhauling of the production system aiming at the "4 Rs": relocation, re-industrialization, industrial restructuring and redistribution of work. To overcome the limitations of the GDP index as an instrument to measure "well-being", it introduces a "green rule" as a systematic factor of the environmental imprint: Ecosocialism is an international and universal struggle which recognises the ecological and social debt caused by quick industrialisation and its effects on the climate, the plundering of natural resources, land grabbing, and the accountability rules imposed by the Troika.

We defend commoning, ie. peoples' activity in connection to the commons, material resources or immaterial ideas, to produce cooperation and redefine "wealth" and "productive" tasks more autonomously from capital and its control.

We must reach a "new and original compromise between working classes and concerns for the planet". Employees fighting for their rights carry alternative projects with a great potential, hinting at the principles of environmental planning: consideration for the long-term logic, control by workers and users and public ownership.

Ecosocialism, meaning socioecological transformation, is a new synthesis to face the challenge of both social and environmental crisis - which have the same roots. It is the way to allow a shift in the economic model and to come out of the present system dead-end on top. It implies the use of practical radicalism and measures that we call environmental planning, based on the redistribution of existing wealth and a radically different productive system that will take into account environmental limits, on the rejection of all kinds of domination and oppression, and on popular sovereignty within democratic, republican and secular states.

## **For Peace and Social Justice! Against the Militarization of the EU!**

The heads of state and government of the EU bank on further militarization. In response to the economic crisis of all things the armament industry is to be strengthened. An expansion of armaments research, promotion of arms exports and several common arms projects are planned. Also, the foreign assignments of the EU are to be augmented. This means, in future even more money is to be spend on pointless and dangerous interventions in the framework of the Common Security and Defence Policy. Institutions of the EU, as the EU Commission, the European Armaments Agency and the civil military European External Action Service promote this militarization subserviently. Those armaments efforts are tightly interlocked with NATO.

A European security strategy aims at the access to markets and resources. Authoritarian regimes worldwide are supported with neo-colonialist methods and numerous military advice and police missions as long as they prove to be submissive, as the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The EU also has set itself to support imperialistic wars for global power projection, as in Afghanistan. Political conflict solutions are widely pushed to the background. Even the share of the European Development Fond provided for military purposes is growing steadily.

In future national parliamentary reservation against EU military interventions are supposed to be further undermined, by reducing the parliamentary reservation to a right to return during missions of the Common Security and Defence Policy. A foundation for the ongoing militarization of the EU was laid in the Lisbon Treaty with the obligation to military buildup, contractual deployment of EU battle groups and institutionalized interlocking with the NATO.

**The European Left** campaigns together with the peace movement against a militarization of the EU. It banks on the termination of EU foreign assignments and on the prohibition of arms exports. Instead of on a further expansion of the EU as military power we rely on social, peaceful, and civil European cooperation. This means also that the Party of the European Left campaigns for compliance with the ban on violence in international relations as incorporated in the UN Charta.

We oppose „humanitarian“intervention war against Syria. They do not protect human rights but are part of massive of human rights violations by EU and NATO states. We want political solutions, no new wars under participation of the EU or EU member states. We demand to immediately stop military advice missions and police training as a support for authoritarian regimes, as in Afghanistan. The costly deployment of EU intervention forces and EU battle groups, having nothing to do with territorial defense is a terribly wrong way. Instead of the expansion of the armament industry we bank on conversion. The EU Armaments Agency, promoting Europe-wide advances towards monopolization and military buildup efforts, has to be

abolished. Precondition for a demilitarization of the EU is the termination of the security cooperation with the U.S. as well as the withdrawal of single EU member states from the military structure of NATO.

The Party of the European Left is in favor of the dissolution of NATO and the promotion of disarmament and anti-war activities.

The Party of the European Left advocates the closing of U.S. military bases in the EU since they are used for massive violations of fundamental rights by e.g. reconnaissance, wars against international law and CIA torture flights and thus represent a factor of permanent insecurity.

We further focus on a termination of the military and secret service cooperation with the U.S., including the cancellation of the respective agreements. Democratic sovereignty is the basis for the security of the peoples of the Europe. We want a Europe free of weapons of mass destruction. The EL thus opposes a new atomic arms race in Europe, as a part of which the establishing of the missile defense system by the U.S. has to be criticized. We demand an immediate stop to the building of the missile defense system by the U.S. in the EU. We also oppose the NATO missile defense system. This positioning endangers the security of the peoples in the EU and leads to a new atomic arms race in Europe. Not least, we oppose an instrumentalisation of the victims of both World Wars for the expansion of EU great power policy, EU armaments, and the fostering of EU militarism. On occasion of the centenary of the First World War there can be only one lesson learned from all devastating wars all together, which were also waged in the name of Europe: No more war. No more Fascism! For Peace and Social Security! For a socialist Alternative!

## **For a public, secular, free School accessible for everyone**

Education is a fundamental right for humanity and a decisive conquest for the development and emancipation of the person, in one's collectivity.

Formation begins since infancy and continues, after the studies, all through the life.

The public authorities have the duty to provide universality and gratuitousness at all levels.

School has to enable the individual to become the free promoter of his formation to responsabilize himself being educated.

Education in Europe will no longer correspond to these ideals/criteria.

Educational systems and apprenticeship belong to the neo-liberal process: managing of school is submitted to the rules of the New Public Management.

Academic research has to answer the economy requests. It is mainly linked to the available financial offers and to the service of the economic war of the international market.

Everything is included in the "Horizons 2020" program, accurate engagement from the EU in an education policy in which is affirmed the need for a youth's formation able to work for the most dynamic economy possible and the most competitive in the world.

School becomes a source of profit and its sponsoring by the private sector becomes a reality. Upheaval is deep because the State is no more the only one financing the school: there is a breaking in the principle of public service.

The person becomes a "human resource" and a "human capital": so are integrated rationalizations and saving in all the fields of life inside the human being himself. Young people are formed for individual responsibility, competitiveness, individualism.

International organizations prescribe standardized tests, erasing any local cultural and linguistic consideration and any reference to the social way of life. We go from a national responsibility to a European transfer, prescribed by the top and without democratic control.

### **Public school**

#### **NO to:**

- a school policy favoring the interference of economy into the educational systems at all levels and in all its forms ;
- the obligation to pursue targets of knowledge which ignore the cultural context and local culture which have to answer only the markets' requests ;
- the decrease of financing the public education by the State ;
- the managerial managing of schools.

**YES to a public school which:**

- is free, secular, co-educational, multi-cultural and open and which is a place for opening out differences ;
- completely lead by the State, without financial restrictions ;
- pushes away interferences of the market on the content of knowledge, on the standardized evaluations and managing of the staff ;
- helps young people to feel and become responsible and standing together citizens.

**University****NO to:**

- a university in the hands of the markets ;
- the closure of faculties because of the lack of subsidies ;
- the evaluation of universities and teachers according to productiveness and international audits according to standardized models ;
- competition between teachers, resources and schools.

**YES to a university:**

- completely financed by the State ;
- which evaluates the work of the universities and its consequences according to the targets of university itself, pure research, practice of critical thinking, and not according to those of the market
- which encourages and provides free academic research, liberated from obligation and as a whole service for society, for a sustainable development economy based on a democratic and collective determination of the basic needs to be satisfied ;
- which gives free access to the education of students.

**Education through the life****NO to:**

- a policy of austerity which prescribes inhuman life conditions for an important part of the population, which throws it into the impossibility to satisfy the vital needs and which destroys the conditions of apprenticeship ;
- to an education all through the life only limited to the demands of the company and the professional career.

**YES to:**

- an education which opens horizons to young people and enables them to get instruments for a critical autonomous in relationship with the world ;
- a school which creates conditions for women and men could manage their work and life place and could develop globally their personality ;
- a public school which teaches young people to feel citizens of the world and consequently able to question all trough there life and to get the will to answer the questions ;
- an education to a cooperation spirit and to solidarity.

## **The ARAB SPRING is Not Over**

### **- Supporting Democratic and Left Forces in Egypt**

Since the beginning the European Left has expressed its strong support of and hopes in the aspirations of the "Arab Spring".

The "revolutions" or uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia in the beginning of 2011 were the start of a popular movement aiming to create economic and democratic transformation of their societies and inspiring populations in the whole of Northern Africa and the Middle East.

This movement is under pressure but it still exists. As could be expected there would not be a calm transition - the progressive and left forces were unorganized and financially weak from the beginning with powerful enemies: In Egypt, the adherents of the old Mubarak regime, the Egyptian Army and the Muslim Brotherhood - allied with different sections of the Egyptian ruling elite.

In Egypt - there is at present in an extremely dangerous situation.

Extensive mobilizations against increasing suppression and islamization policies by the Mursi government backed by the Muslim Brotherhood ended on 30 June this year in a huge uprising all over Egypt and on 3<sup>rd</sup> July in a military takeover by the Egyptian Army.

These mobilizations surpassed the uprising of January 25, 2011, which was mainly concentrated in Cairo. This time over 20 million Egyptians had signed a petition for President Mursi to step down and allow for new democratic elections and inspired huge demonstrations all over Egypt. Despite being elected democratically - but by a narrow margin, the Mursi government had used the victory to impose their own policies disregarding seeking consent or cooperation with other political forces and at the same time increasing suppression - of women in particular. Neoliberal policies and poverty continued. By doing so Mursi also lost considerable support among those who had voted for him in the presidential elections.

The Egyptian Army used the mobilization of popular forces in order to remove Mursi from power, leaving progressive and left forces in a dire dilemma, as they witnessed the army doing what they had demanded - removing Mursi - , but on the army's terms. The Army had and has its own power struggle with the Muslim Brotherhood, who the Army aims to repress and marginalize.

Democratic forces in Egypt are still in a dilemma - as they are opposed to the return of Mursi and are watching supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood attempting to sabotage their way back to power.

At the same time the intentions of the Egyptian Army are clear: These are to keep everyone down - including any popular reaction and opposition to increasing repression.

## Motion Rejected by the 4th EL Congress 2013 in Madrid

As a tool of the Egyptian ruling classes the Egyptian Army aims to suppress and quell the movement of the Arab Spring.

The European Left wishes to see a return to a more democratic situation in Egypt and an end to military rule. We demand democratic elections and an elected civilian government as soon as possible, which will open up for a democratic process leaving room for all political forces - all in society - to participate. The movement of the Arab Spring and the Egyptian left is crucial and necessary in this process to help forward the aspirations for political and economic change of Egyptian working class people and women.

The European Left supports the efforts of the Egyptian left and the democratic forces to unite and strengthen their position in Egyptian society and in the coming elections. We express our solidarity with the Egyptian people for social justice and democracy.

Motion Rejected by the 4th EL Congress 2013 in Madrid

**Motion with the intention of creating a working group “Women's rights/ Feminism” within the Party of the European Left.**

This working group will not substitute the EL-FEM network. On the contrary, it will reinforce it so that the Party of the European Left puts feminism as a human emancipation force in the center of its transformation project for Europe with a greater determination.