



European**LEFT**

7<sup>th</sup> Congress

Vienna

Dec. 9–11, 2022

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# DOCUMENTS

 European**LEFT**

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# POLITICAL DOCUMENT

# 7th EL Congress - Political Document

## THERE IS A LEFT ALTERNATIVE

1 Europe is more than the European Union, yet EU politics affect substantially the entire  
2 continent. The EU has been in a deep crisis for many years – economically, socially,  
3 ecologically, democratically and politically – caused by its neoliberal principles, rules,  
4 treaties and policies all aimed at sustaining a capitalist economic system based on the  
5 maximisation of private profit and not production for the needs of people and the  
6 planet. First the pandemic, now the war: both exacerbate the already existing multiple  
7 crises. The Russian invasion of Ukraine, which caused the war, has had an enormous  
8 additional impact, as well as the energy crisis, the speculation on gas prices and the  
9 risk of a nuclear escalation – all threatening the present and the future of the Europe-  
10 an peoples.

11 In economic terms, the crisis is expressed in weak growth and macroeconomic imba-  
12 lances between European countries with big trade surpluses and those with high  
13 levels of public debts, causing considerable problems for European economic  
14 development. The prices for energy – and also for food – are skyrocketing. This is  
15 certainly an effect partly caused by the war, but it is also caused by the liberalisation of  
16 the energy market, and by the control of the agri-food sector and the non-energy  
17 industrial goods by the large corporations: this leads to the contradiction that, on one  
18 hand, energy prices are skyrocketing, and on the other hand big energy groups are  
19 making extra profits. High energy and food prices lead to further economic and social  
20 problems pushing Europe's economy into recession and increasing inequalities. The  
21 neoliberal treatment of inflation with monetary tightening, amid the total crisis, is  
22 leading Europe to austerity and recession for years to come.

23 The people in Europe experience these problems in their daily lives, which are reflec-  
24 ted in a health crisis revealed by the Covid pandemic (both for the citizens as well as  
25 the personnel in great suffering), and then in the energy crisis and the accompanyin-  
26 high and increasing inflation. For the people, for our societies, these multiple crises  
27 have led to a massive increase in precarisation of working and living conditions. The  
28 inflation caused by capitalist speculation and war illustrates the temptation of the  
29 European (and international) ruling classes to make the people pay for the crisis,  
30 forcing prices up and maximising profiteering while real wages are falling, and social  
31 and economic inequalities are increasing dramatically: according to the 2022 World  
32 Inequality Report, the richest 10% of adults in the world own around 60-80% of  
33 wealth, while the poorest half have less than 5%.

34 Moreover, the climate crisis, which comes from the emission of greenhouse gases,  
35 has already resulted in heat waves – which, in Europe and around the world, create  
36 great problems for nature, with extended forest fires, draughts and low levels in the  
37 rivers, as well as being a threat to the productivity of agriculture. We are confronted  
38 with ecological challenges like climate change and the loss of biodiversity, which  
39 fundamentally call our way to produce and consume into question. However, the EU  
40 and European governments are not able to adequately address these challenges: the

41 measures taken to combat the climate crisis are by far insufficient.

42 The democratic crisis is also deepening; political crises of regimes shake the Europe-  
43 an countries. Brexit and the high abstention in elections across Europe are the most  
44 evident expressions of the political crisis. The rise of the far-right in recent years in  
45 many countries in all corners of Europe is also an alarming sign. These deficits are the  
46 consequences of contradictions inside capitalism, of the neoliberal austerity policy,  
47 and of the EU's strong democratic deficits - represented by the exercise of power by  
48 unelected technocratic structures with no democratic mandate, and by the direct  
49 influence exerted by lobbies representing big businesses at the top of the EU.

50 We are thus facing deep economic, social, ecological and political upheavals. The  
51 peoples of Europe are facing existential challenges which raise the question of how to  
52 get out of a liberal capitalist system that, by exacerbating competition, increases  
53 inequalities, environmental disasters, and international tensions that lead to wars.

54 The European Left (EL) must therefore propose valid and viable alternatives to this  
55 distorted system. The EL strives for a democratic, social, ecological and peaceful  
56 Europe that buries patriarchy.

## 57 ***Wars and our commitment to peace and disarmament***

58 The war in Ukraine is escalating and becoming a worldwide threat. The Russian invasi-  
59 on of Ukraine has already caused the death of thousands of people and forced mil-  
60 lions of people to flee, mainly women and children. The systematic destruction of vital  
61 infrastructure is leading to skyrocketing prices of energy and food worldwide, which  
62 hit particularly the poor and those working and living under precarious conditions.

63 We condemn Russia's military aggression against Ukraine, which is a crime under  
64 international humanitarian law. There is no justification for war. We consider the inabi-  
65 lity of the European Union to enforce the Minsk agreements to be a serious problem  
66 and we express our deepest solidarity with all the people who are suffering the  
67 devastating consequences of a conflict that has lasted for more than 8 years, and  
68 which has been made worse with the Russian invasion. We stand firmly against this  
69 aggression that directly violates human rights, and express our solidarity with all  
70 people in Russia and Ukraine who are resisting this war and suffering from anti-de-  
71 mocratic political systems.

72 There is a nuclear threat and a risk of a generalisation of the conflict: this war must  
73 stop immediately. We believe that the next steps to stop the war would be:

- 74 - a return to the negotiating table,
- 75 - a ceasefire,
- 76 - a withdrawal of all Russian troops from Ukraine.

77 We oppose the Russian annexation of four regions of Ukraine, a decision that repre-  
78 sents an escalation of the war and makes negotiations between Ukraine and Russia  
79 even more difficult. Furthermore, any annexation of Ukraine's land by Russia is a viola-  
80 tion of the UN Charter and of international law.

81 We want to build a Europe of peace, cooperation between peoples, democracy and  
82 progress, with zero tolerance for any resurgence of Nazi or Fascist organisations,  
83 because only a collective security architecture - based on the principles of human  
84 security (as described in the UN Charter), on the well-being of all peoples, on the right  
85 of all peoples to self-determination, on the respect for sovereignty and for the rights  
86 of minorities, on neutrality, and on democracy, human rights and international law -  
87 can guarantee peace, in Europe as elsewhere. We fight to overcome the "double  
88 standard" on human and people's rights in the EU (e.g., considering the precedents  
89 of Kosovo and Yugoslavia dissolution) and for common criteria balancing international  
90 law, people's right to self-determination and minorities' rights.

91 A more just and peaceful world must be built on political agreements, and not on  
92 military alliances. NATO has violated its own commitments concerning its expansion  
93 towards the east: this transforms the European continent into a battlefield between  
94 global powers. We reject the presence of US troops on our continent and oppose any  
95 further NATO expansion, as it can bring neither security nor peace to Europe. The EL  
96 reaffirms its fundamental and principled criticism of NATO and its position of  
97 non-alignment with NATO and the USA.

98 The Russian invasion and the reaction of the United States and most European gover-  
99 nments demonstrate that this military conflict is also determined by geopolitical inte-  
100 rests. The US uses it to strengthen its hegemonic position in competition with Russia  
101 and China. We campaign for an EU and a Europe emancipated from US hegemony,  
102 for an independent policy of promoting peace and respect for international law.

103 The EL remains committed to peace and to global and multilateral disarmament. The  
104 Russian invasion of Ukraine is a catalyst for the ongoing militarisation processes of the  
105 EU that have been going on for decades. The EU is being weakened economically by  
106 being pulled into ever greater military spending: we must not allow the democratic  
107 deficits of the EU institutional structure to result in the further militarisation of interna-  
108 tional relations. The dramatic increase in military spending everywhere in Europe  
109 needs to stop.

110 However, the war in Ukraine is not the only war in the world, and the EL recognises  
111 that the people's right to live in security is inalienable, everywhere. Together with  
112 other progressive forces and the global peace movement, the EL will be strongly  
113 involved in the debate on a new collective security architecture, for a world of peace  
114 and cooperation. We also strongly oppose the global increasing arms race: this  
115 money is painfully lacking for addressing the social needs of the people and the eco-  
116 logical challenges caused by climate change.

117 Therefore, the EL launches a broad appeal to all political, social, citizen and pacifist  
118 forces who share the idea that urgent initiatives must be taken to break the spiral of  
119 war, to commit to:

- 120 - The holding of an international conference under the aegis of the UN for a global  
121 cease-fire and the creation of a new international order based on the principles of  
122 collective and global security, which will render military alliances such as NATO obsolete.
- 123 - The discussions on a new collective security architecture. This initiative will also allow

124 the launch of an annual Peace COP.

125 - The resumption of multilateral and global disarmament negotiations, notably  
126 nuclear, including the restoration of the INF treaty, the banning of intermediate-range  
127 nuclear weapons on the European continent and the signature by the EU of the  
128 UN international treaty banning nuclear weapons.

129

### 130 ***Lessons from the pandemic: we need to improve and expand public services***

131 For more than two years the pandemic, caused by Covid-19, has been determining  
132 working and living conditions in Europe. The economic and social consequences are  
133 even more dramatic after decades of neoliberal policies, with their cuts and privatisa-  
134 tions of public services and education. The social infrastructures and especially the  
135 healthcare sector are systematically neglected and sabotaged, leading to the outsour-  
136 cing of public resources to private profit.

137 The pandemic showed us the problems of having outsourced our industry and not  
138 having public control over strategic issues such as the research and production of  
139 pharmaceutical products as well as medical supplies. The oligopoly of pharmaceutical  
140 companies has profited enormously from this pandemic without granting universal  
141 access to vaccines and medicines. For this reason, we continue to demand free  
142 patents for vaccines, and have supported clearly the campaign "No profit on pandemic".

143 The EL reacted very early to the Covid-19 crisis, presenting five axes of comprehensi-  
144 ve proposals: protection of the population, economic recovery and ecological-social  
145 transformation, democracy, disarmament and peace, and European and international  
146 solidarity.

147 We request a European Public Health and Drugs Pole, which coordinates the activities  
148 in this sector in the public interest. The pandemic, which made evident the deficits of  
149 the healthcare sector, illustrates the urgent need not only to improve the healthcare  
150 sector but also to improve and expand public services in general, put the pharma-  
151 ceutical industry under public control, and ensure our production capacity.

152 The pandemic exacerbated the huge inequalities that already exist. It made the rich  
153 even richer and the poor even poorer. It affected women more than men. It has chan-  
154 ged our way of working and our relationship with the workplace forever, and strict  
155 regulations must be put in place to ensure that this does not result in abuse by emplo-  
156 yers. In that sense, we call for the regulation of telework and the right to disconnect.

157 Women are the first to suffer from the weakening of public services, they are those  
158 who work the most in education and health. The EL supports the feminist movement  
159 in its fight against patriarchy and for equal rights for women in terms of pay, working  
160 conditions, professional progression and social participation at all levels. This includes  
161 the defence of reproductive rights, including abortion, which are under heavy attack.

### 162 ***Social-ecological transformation is key***

163 We are not only confronted with war and the pandemic. We are facing profound

164 economic, social and political upheavals caused as well by the ongoing climate crisis.  
165 We need urgently to implement effective measures to tackle this crisis on a European  
166 level, with a clear goal to achieve carbon neutrality by the end of the decade.

167 It is essential for our lives to preserve biodiversity and ecosystems; we must think of  
168 new relationships between humankind and nature. The way we produce and consu-  
169 me must be therefore put into question: we need large transformation processes in  
170 order to attain a level of production which is sustainable for the planet and adjusted  
171 to our real needs. Our resources are finite and therefore and must be used accor-  
172 dingly to ensure a fair distribution of all of them. Our production capacity must be  
173 used to respond to the population's actual needs, including a liveable planet.

174  
175 We need to change the current neoliberal energy model of the EU, with a drastic  
176 reduction of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions: production based on fossil energies has no longer a  
177 future, and we need a new European industrial policy focusing on a green industry.  
178 This includes, among others, a new energy policy, based on decarbonised energy,  
179 including a high potential for renewable energies and a new mobility policy with a  
180 focus on collective mobility concepts such as public transport.

181 In order to achieve these goals, all energy producers and suppliers must be put under  
182 public control. Big energy groups must be expropriated, nationalised and socialised.

183 Unfortunately, the EU and its Member States are doing the opposite of all the above:  
184 they are replacing Russian hydrocarbons with others, whose environmental and  
185 human rights record is in any case no better; and they are not taking the necessary  
186 measures to reduce the use of energy, in order to keep the short-term interests of big  
187 business intact instead. Continuation of the current policy would have disastrous  
188 consequences. A radical change is needed. The debate on the energy sources to be  
189 developed in order to meet the necessary climate commitments and to achieve a  
190 de-carbonised energy must be deepened.

191 Neoliberal austerity policies must be abandoned. A fundamental and systemic trans-  
192 formation is required which transfers the control of the productive forces of society  
193 into democratic public ownership that enables a planned production for people's and  
194 the planet's needs, and not for profit.

195 The Recovery Fund "Next Generation" represents a change in European financial  
196 policy, and opens new contradictions to be pushed in order to pave the way for radi-  
197 cal changes in European policies. But it is not enough. The Recovery Fund must not  
198 be linked to the European Semester and the financial means for the different coun-  
199 tries must not be bound by restrictive, anti-democratic conditions. These plans need  
200 not be transformed into new agreements. The Growth and Stability Pact must be  
201 abolished and not only suspended, as well as the European Semester. The Growth  
202 and Stability Pact must be substituted by a new pact focusing on democracy, cohesi-  
203 on, economic convergence, social transformation and sustainable development.

204 This is an opportunity to move forward on two important proposals of the EL:  
205 - a European ecological and social development fund for public services and employ-



206 ment, financed by the ECB's money creation at zero or even negative interest rates, as  
207 Article 123.2 of the Lisbon Treaty allows, and with democratic governance;  
208 - selective refinancing by the ECB of bank loans to businesses at rates that are all the  
209 more lowered the more they favour material and research investments, which create  
210 jobs and training, and reduce CO2 emissions - and at higher rates the more they  
211 reduce employment, increase carbon emissions and relocate.

212 The goals and policies of the European Climate Law and the European Green New  
213 Deal are insufficient to tackle the burning tasks of climate change and ensure the  
214 planet's survival; the liberal logic of the European energy market and the competition  
215 in the energy sector are fuelling the crisis. The current policies are dictated by the  
216 interests of capital. But it is the same capital that created this catastrophe: we need to  
217 respond to the ecological urgency by engaging in a transformation process that puts  
218 people and their needs first. We need public investment programmes focused on the  
219 environment, public services and job creation.

220 For the left, the combination of ecological and social needs is essential. There is no  
221 doubt that a green industrial revolution is necessary. But equally, workers affected by  
222 these changes must be protected.

223 The concept of "Just Transition"\*, as promoted by the trade unions combines ecologi-  
224 cal transformation with social protection. Workers and citizens must not only see their  
225 rights strengthened in this transformation process; they must also be directly invol-  
226 ved. Employment and training must be secured. Acting to maintain employment and  
227 income implies that measures should be taken to change the selectivity of banks'  
228 credit policy towards companies. This selectivity would be based on precise criteria  
229 and conditions: securing income and maintaining employment. Furthermore, means  
230 of industrial cooperation must be developed in an environmental and social reconver-  
231 sion, through non-capitalist cooperative agreements, and the balanced distribution of  
232 production in all EU countries. This implies elements of technology sharing.

233 From a leftist perspective, therefore, the connection of the Green New Deal with  
234 economic democracy is paramount. This also distinguishes it from other concepts,  
235 because to participate as an organised citizen is to co-decide: to be heard, to be  
236 taken into consideration and to exercise the power of intervention and control.

237 Democratic control is crucial in order to prevent a purely capitalist modernisation that  
238 is barely green at all. We need public investments in infrastructure, social services  
239 such as healthcare, affordable and quality housing, sustainable transports, education  
240 and culture, as well as in the protection of the environmental commons: water, air,  
241 climate, forests, etc. These vital needs of all people must be protected under the  
242 democratic control over institutions, companies, and banks.

243 We therefore call for a systemic change, for a Left Green New Deal: this must be a  
244 comprehensive transformation concept that combines ecological and social require-

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\* *"Just Transition means transforming the economy in a fair and inclusive manner to ensure the main-  
tenance and creation of good quality jobs". (IndustriAll, Just Transition Manifesto)*

245 ments, the protection of the planet and the direct involvement of the workers in indus-  
246 trial policies. It breaks with neoliberal European policy and goes beyond the limits of  
247 capitalist development, gearing towards the common good. It should ensure the  
248 alignment of the European peoples to the best, and the respect of the sovereignty  
249 of their choices.

250 A Left Green New Deal demands strong public control of the banking sector in order  
251 to lead a process of a sustainable economy. Public investments, by virtue of their  
252 origin and public nature, must have as a priority a 100% public destination for services  
253 of social and ecological interest, not for profit. The European Central Bank (ECB) must  
254 be put under democratic control, and public money and super-profits must be redi-  
255 rected to the benefit of public services and the ecological transition. Financial flows  
256 must be taxed. Tax evasion and fraud must be effectively fought by establishing a  
257 genuine list of tax havens, some of which exist in the EU itself, by introducing a with-  
258 holding tax on the profits of multinationals and banks, by establishing a status for  
259 whistle-blowers, and by convening a global tax COP under the auspices of the UN.

260 A Left Green New Deal must go hand in hand with the expansion of workers' rights.  
261 This can be linked to the EU Pillar of Social Rights: it contains 20 principles regarding  
262 equal opportunities and access to training as well as to the labour market, fair working  
263 conditions, social protection and inclusion. With an action plan, these principles  
264 should be turned into concrete actions to benefit citizens.

265 However, these social rights must be binding, in form of a Social Progress Protocol in  
266 the EU Treaties. This must include equality of rights of women in terms of wages,  
267 workings conditions, professional progression, and social participation at all levels.  
268 Neither economic freedoms nor competition rules shall have priority over fundamen-  
269 tal social rights and in case of conflict the fundamental social rights shall take prece-  
270 dence. This is a clear demand also by the ETUC, and the Trade Unionists Network  
271 Europe (TUNE), which the EL is part of, has been campaigning for a long time for it.

272 The Pillar of Social Rights and the Social Progress Protocol are just a starting point. At  
273 the same time, we need strong trade unions with strong collective bargaining power.  
274 This is the basic condition for getting decent working conditions and wages that one  
275 can live on. The increasingly precarious conditions of workers are most visible in the  
276 process known as "uberisation", which we must oppose, insisting on making rights  
277 and obligations equal for all employers and employees, including those of online  
278 platforms.

279 To combat the precariousness of working conditions, we support social struggles for  
280 the creation and increase of a minimum wage, in those countries where the workers'  
281 movement fights for this. More broadly, we support the struggles for wages, collective  
282 agreements, the reduction of hours of work without reduction of wages and the  
283 improvement of working conditions in all countries.

284 We oppose any attempt to worsen working conditions, such as the suspension of  
285 collective agreements and the reduction of workers' rights. We support the trade  
286 unions in their endeavours to reach agreements to secure quality jobs. We demand

287 the strengthening of social protection, starting from public childcare up to retirement  
288 programmes. Systems already destabilised through decades of neoliberalism need to  
289 be repaired and extended to include new working realities. We support the proposals  
290 and mobilisations that aim to strengthen workers' rights to oppose stock market  
291 layoffs and relocations.

292 We oppose the neoliberal labour market reforms which intend more flexibility, less  
293 protection against dismissal and in particular the priority of company agreements  
294 instead of collective agreements negotiated by the trade unions.

295 We need strong unions collaborating with social movements and NGOs, women's  
296 organizations, citizens' initiatives and left parties. We support extending the legal  
297 enforceability of collective agreements negotiated by trade unions. "Fair Work" poli-  
298 cies agreed upon by social partners at the national or regional level should be given  
299 legal backing.

### 300 ***Democracy and human rights***

301 In Europe we are increasingly confronted with authoritarian tendencies. Very often the  
302 need to fight the pandemic was used as an excuse to limit democratic rights. There is  
303 an ongoing backslide concerning rule of law and fundamental rights and freedoms,  
304 not only in countries like Poland and Hungary which are governed by the extreme  
305 right, but also in others where the mainstream right is embracing a racist rhetoric and  
306 attacking long fought-for rights and freedoms.

307 The European Union is unable to answer these problems because of the democratic  
308 deficit it has itself. The current European treaties are not a basis for a new social and  
309 democratic European construction. We therefore call for the revision of the treaties to  
310 ensure a process of regional integration which is truly democratic and based on  
311 cooperation to ensure the rights of the population and tackling together common  
312 problems such as climate change - not on neoliberal principles. Popular sovereignty  
313 must constitute the foundation of a new European construction respectful of the free  
314 democratic choice of the sovereign peoples.

315 The EL defends democracy and human rights. For us, equality of rights for all in  
316 Europe is a central objective. Any kind of discrimination, whether based on gender,  
317 origin, racialisation, nationality, religion, sexual orientation or disability, must be elimi-  
318 nated.

319 From Iran to the USA, and in Europe and everywhere, women are rising to fight for  
320 their rights to decide for themselves and their own bodies. The European Left sup-  
321 ports the feminist movement everywhere, always and completely. Fighting patriarchy  
322 and all violence against women must be a priority in all European countries, using all  
323 necessary means: we need a feminist transformation of our society.

324 We support as well the LGBTIQ+ communities in the fight against any discrimination,  
325 and for the full recognition of their rights in terms of equality and legal gender  
326 self-determination, equal pay, working conditions, professional progression and  
327 social participation at all levels.

328 The ongoing war in Ukraine caused another ethnical group of refugees who found  
329 themselves rushing at the borders with their neighbouring countries. Fortunately, the  
330 Ukrainian refugees were immediately accepted by the host countries and provided  
331 with care and protection.

332 Meanwhile, hundreds of refugees from other war-torn or fragmented countries are  
333 still drowning in the Mediterranean, facing Europe's closed borders, fences, violence,  
334 pushbacks, trafficking, and prison. Fortress Europe has made Mediterranean Sea the  
335 deadliest migrant route in the world.

336 People in danger, wherever they come from, cannot be perceived as instrument of  
337 propaganda, or political and diplomatic manoeuvres. No life is subordinate to ano-  
338 ther, no human being is illegal. EU Directive 55/2001 which makes humanitarian pro-  
339 tection more immediate and generalized, already applied to Ukrainian refugees, must  
340 be extended to anyone fleeing war, persecution, dictatorships, and climatic or econo-  
341 mic disasters.

342 War in Ukraine reminded us that anyone, anywhere, can become a refugee. Europe's  
343 future is not militarization, xenophobia, racism, indifference to the human fate, and to  
344 the victims of multiple crimes for which European political and economic elites often  
345 bear an enormous responsibility.

346 The only acceptable policy is that of safe and legal entry passages into Europe, equal  
347 distribution of refugee populations among all European states, immediate rejection of  
348 closed borders practice, elaboration of common policies of reception, protection,  
349 support, relief of human needs, respect and inclusivity as well as substantial support  
350 of the countries that bear the pressure of first receiving refugee populations. An iden-  
351 tical approach has to be applied to immigrants, so that they can live with dignity,  
352 equal rights, safety, and acceptance.

353 We urgently call for a reform of the European Asylum system and Dublin regulations  
354 and for an end to the current laws enforcing the detention of migrants or asylum  
355 seekers.

356 Supporting refugees and immigrants equals support for Democracy, ideological,  
357 cultural and humanitarian European legacy – a huge step towards the emancipation  
358 and progressive development of European societies.

### 359 ***Stop imperialism with international solidarity***

360 Europe is bigger than the EU, and the world is much bigger than Europe: a lot of our  
361 problems haunting us are global in scope, and we shall seek solutions on an internati-  
362 onal level.

363 War is a ghost haunting many places: in Africa, in Yemen and in the Middle East – just  
364 to name a few. The tensions in the South China sea and around Taiwan are a threat as  
365 well. The current global armament race makes the risks even bigger.  
366 The climate crisis is global, and though the reason is mainly the emission of green-

367 house gases benefiting the rich Global North, the Global South is hit the worst.  
368 The reality of inflation is global, all countries are affected in one way or another, and  
369 therefore it should be dealt with globally.  
370 Racism is a ghost where right-wing forces everywhere want us to believe that we can  
371 save ourselves by keeping others out of our countries or by denying them equal  
372 rights. We stand for solidarity with all humans.  
373 Inequality is growing on a global scale and the richest one per cent has as much  
374 wealth as the poorest 50%. We stand for a redistribution of wealth so that everybody  
375 has enough and nobody too much.

376 All these problems are part of the same global system, which has a name: imperialism  
377 - and the European Left is an anti-imperialist party so it will fight this system in Europe  
378 and everywhere, because international solidarity is a key element of the strategy of  
379 the EL.

380 We work for a future of global justice and solidarity, and not a future of national divisi-  
381 ons - dictated by capitalist and military interests. We reaffirm our overall solidarity  
382 with the peoples fighting for their rights and liberties. In the Mediterranean, we sup-  
383 port the Palestinian people in their struggle against the Israeli occupation, and their  
384 self-determination within the framework of their own sovereign state based on the  
385 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as the capital; we support the Kurdish people in  
386 Rojava, and we call for the decolonisation of Western Sahara.

387 We support the left, democratic and progressive forces in Latin America and the  
388 Caribbean, with whom we intensively cooperate within the Foro de Sao Paulo. We  
389 strongly support the people of Cuba for the lifting of the US-imposed blockade. We  
390 also express our solidarity with the North American left in their struggles against the  
391 reactionary, ultraliberal and racist right-wing, especially about women's rights.

### 392 ***The political offer of the EL and the building of new political and social majorities***

393 Our political strategy and activities focus on building a more democratic, social, eco-  
394 logical and peaceful Europe. The outlined axes will guide us over the next three years.  
395 At the upcoming European elections, we will present ourselves as a strong European  
396 left force.

397 The EL considers itself a tool at the service of its member, observer and partner par-  
398 ties, to help the evolution of the balance of power in Europe for the benefit of the  
399 peoples.

400 The annual European Forum of Left, Green and Progressive forces is a platform for  
401 political dialogue and joint initiatives, and a step forward towards building the Europe  
402 we want. The Forum shows that in Europe there is a wide range of forces available to  
403 work on an alternative project for the peoples of Europe. The associated discussion  
404 on the direction and content of common policy axes benefits the strengthening of the  
405 forces of the Left in Europe.

406 We will continue with it and make it even stronger and broader. The EL calls for the

407 continuation of this initiative, its reinforcement, its enlargement and its development  
408 into concrete lines of demand and action between the forums. The cooperation with  
409 the trade unions has also improved a lot. In light of the enormous challenges and the  
410 risks like the rise of the far-right, a strong Left in Europe, cooperating with other pro-  
411 gressive forces, is needed. The Forum must be a space to also debate positive  
412 examples of cooperation between left-wing and progressive forces in different coun-  
413 tries and to exchange experiences between leftist organisations both in the oppositi-  
414 on and participating in national governments.

415 The EL encourages the initiatives taken to deepen the necessary debates within the  
416 left and the relations with the trade unions and the social movements, in order to  
417 concretise the aspirations for the unity of our social and political camp on the basis of  
418 popular demands and with the objective of constituting a new social bloc and new  
419 political majorities.

420 A radical change in European policies is necessary. The main elements are:

- 421 1. A comprehensive social-ecological transformation oriented on the welfare of  
422 the peoples, combining ecological and social needs: we support the demand  
423 of the trade unions for a "Just Transition".  
424 A production based on fossil energies has no future: we need a new industrial  
425 policy, including a new energy and mobility policy.  
426 The neoliberal austerity policy must be abandoned, and the Growth and Stabi-  
427 lity Pact abolished in favour of an economic policy in the public interest.  
428 The ECB must be democratically controlled, and we oppose Free Trade  
429 Agreements that establish unequal and unbalanced trade relations.
- 430 2. A sustainable ecological and social development cannot be achieved within  
431 capitalistic structures. Economic democracy is a crucial element of this pro-  
432 cess: the workers themselves must play an active role in the process of trans-  
433 formation. Economic democracy requires also active participation and new  
434 rights of intervention by workers in the organisation of work, management,  
435 investments and strategic orientations of companies.
- 436 3. Decent living conditions for all: housing and energy are common goods and  
437 basic human rights, not market commodities. We cannot leave the necessary  
438 transition to the market. Public investments and democratic control are neces-  
439 sary for both sectors to fight speculation. We need: progressive taxation of  
440 multiple and vacant housing; rent caps and limits to house sharing (such as  
441 Airbnb) to protect local housing costs; extraordinary taxation of extra profits of  
442 the energy companies; and public control of big energy producers and sup-  
443 pliers. The revenues coming from those measures should be channelled into  
444 public housing and energy programmes for all.
- 445 4. The expansion and guarantee of improved social rights in form of a Social  
446 Progress Protocol. We demand decent working conditions and wages you can  
447 live on. We support the trade unions in strengthening their power of collective  
448 bargaining, and for all projects to secure employment and training.

- 449 5. The expansion and improvement of public services: we need public invest  
450 ments in health care, housing, education, and culture.  
451 We request: a European Public Health and Drugs Pole, to coordinate the acti  
452 vities in this sector in the public interest; democratic control of the pharma  
453 ceutical industry; and free patents for vaccines.
- 454 6. Ending all types of discrimination, based on gender, origin, racialisation, natio  
455 nality, religion, sexual orientation or disability, etc.  
456 Racism, xenophobia, and discrimination against women, LGBTQ+ people and  
457 migrants must be banned.  
The protection of all human beings and their rights must be ensured everywhere.
- 458 7. The defence of democracy, popular sovereignty and rule of law, in Europe and  
459 elsewhere, under truly democratic structures and against neoliberal and  
460 far-right structures and policies.
- 461 8. The commitment to peace and disarmament. The war in Ukraine must stop.  
462 We demand a return to the negotiating table, a ceasefire, a withdrawal of all  
463 Russian troops from Ukraine.
- 464 9. An intensive debate about a collective security architecture is necessary. We  
465 launch a broad appeal to all political, social, citizen and pacifist forces to take  
466 urgent initiatives to break the spiral of war.

467 ***This way we would leave our young people and all the next generations a better***  
468 ***planet and more equal societies: peace, equality and solidarity will save our***  
469 ***planet.***

# EVALUATION AND EVOLUTION



# Evaluation and evolution

## *Introduction*

The last 3 years have been characterised by the pandemic and its consequences for organisations across Europe and the world. The European Left (EL) has not escaped.

However, the EL has not ceased its activities, based on the Evaluation & Evolution document approved by the previous Congress. On the contrary, the Party has been able to maintain and deepen its relations with other forces to the point of expanding its ranks. The identity and public importance of the EL in Europe in providing common responses to the ever-increasing challenges facing the peoples of Europe remain weak.

Regarding communication and possible campaigns, there has been a strong commitment, particularly from the office, to improve external communication, although difficulties remain in the development of a strong and united European campaign.

Working Groups (WGs) have expanded their policy discussions by increasing the number of online meetings. The EL continued to strengthen its relations with other political and social forces at the European and international levels, with election observation activities and important delegations. It was also possible to increase alliances with other social organisations, notably through the Women's Working Group, which was created after the 6th Congress and made it possible to expand alliances with other European feminist-anticapitalistic organisations.

## *Note to the Evaluation & Evolution report:*

*The document is based on the responses of 12 parties (over 42 that currently compose the EL). In view of the VI Congress of the EL held in 2019, the parties who contributed to the Evaluation & Evolution survey had been 22. As most of the parties raised during the last Executive Board, held the past November in Berlin, the EL parties are in a self-assessment phase, aimed at reflecting on how to reorganise internally, mobilise and face the multiple crises characterising this period. This resulted in less availability for EL activities (including filling in the questionnaire).*

## *1. Relations between the EL and its member parties*

Although for some members the day-to-day work prevents greater involvement, the EL is still considered an important instrument as it allows parties to dialogue and learn more about the political situation, experiences, and challenges in other European countries and elsewhere. It also allows smaller parties to be part of a broader political spectrum.

Concerning how to link the EL activities with those of the member parties, the general view is that both the parties and the EL could benefit from a more active and consistent participation of members of the EL Presidency in the activities of the EL parties, through greater cooperation from member parties. The EL must be present in most of the parties' important moments, support them and promote the exchange of infor-

mation. One party proposes that the EL takes an active role in cross-party communication, for example by collecting and translating political documents that are essential to the life of its member parties (such as political programmes, manifestos, etc.). Furthermore, it would be useful for EL representatives to occasionally visit national territories by setting up events and conferences and discussing with their counterparts on the national territories. This would help greatly the national parties that do not have representation in Brussels.

The involvement of the EL in the day-to-day activities as well as in the main campaigns of the national parties on topics where the entire EL has a common approach, would help the EL obtain greater visibility and gain an important place of recognition among the members of the national parties. It is therefore useful to send speakers to online or in-person events organised by parties at the national level. Also, the EL should take advantage of the knowledge and contacts of the parties at the national level, consulting them in advance before engaging in relations with organizations in the territories in member party.

Expand Networks/WGs (trade unionists, feminist, culture, environment, among others) to help strengthen relationships with members of national parties.

Organise annual, European mobilisations and campaigns to which all components of the EL contribute significantly.

Coordinate the political initiatives and action programme of the EL with the agenda of its national member parties.

Face-to-face meetings at least once a year.

Promote greater participation by the observer parties.

## **EL presence at parties' festivals**

The presence of the EL at festivals is very important and it is evaluated positively.

Think about organising an EL festival, which would be held in turn in the different European countries.

Strengthen the co-organisation of debates between local parties and EL on key issues.

Avoid the overlapping of the dates, so that the EL can be present and give a European dimension to each festival.

Annual evaluation through a short questionnaire of initiatives happened during the previous year.

The EL has political representation in many national parliaments and in the European

Parliament. We need to benefit from this representation to increase our political visibility. It is important to promote the work of elected representatives unless there are contradictions with the policy decision in the EL.

## 2. Campaigns

The participation of the EL in the struggles and campaigns already in place at the European level continues to be an important point but most of the parties that responded to the questionnaire agree that the EL should be more involved in the struggles and campaigns of its member parties at the national level. This could not only enrich the campaigns, but also enhance the role and visibility of the EL. Campaigns should be chosen for each party to implement in its country, thus recognising the importance of coordination and participation of national parties in the planning of the EL campaign programme. For their part, parties must commit to better implementing EL campaigns at the national level, strengthening them through actions in the EP and national parliaments. It is also proposed to organise bilateral meetings, between two congresses, to discuss European issues with the parties and see with them how to integrate them into their own action programme. According to one member, it is very difficult to have an impact at the pan-European level because member parties mainly focus on the national level. For this reason, it is advisable to focus more on how to support the parties themselves. A party advises proposing an annual joint campaign bringing together all parties.

### **Suggestion of campaigns for 2023 (+ how many parties proposed them)**

Global peace and collective security models (5)	2% of the GDP of EU member countries to culture (1)
Energy and climate crisis (3)	Democracy in the EU, denouncing the role of lobbies on EC policies (1)
Defend public services (2)	Anti-austerity (1)
Expansionist policies of NATO and USA (2)	Discriminatory policies against minorities and refugees (1)
Antifascism and women's rights (3)	Right to housing (1)

**No Pasarán conference:** the overall assessment is very positive. The rise of the far right is still ongoing, and the conference should continue to be a priority for the EL as it is part of this broader concept of peace advocacy. It is essential to continue to engage with popular movements on this theme and understand the political importance of the unity of the left to defend democratic values and human rights, and defeat the far right electorally, taking for example the alliance between PCF and La France Insoumise.

**Political messages:** Two parties affirm the importance of defining clear, radical, and forward-thinking positions on crucial issues, such as war, the role of NATO, the welfare state, the wage crisis, and the energy transition. Given the different positions of the member parties, one party suggests that this clarity be achieved by questioning the

very functioning of the EL: favouring a qualified majority and not only by consensus, at least on certain crucial points. For the EL to become an active member in the most crucial struggles of our time, it must be able to lead fights throughout the continent, while focusing on specific issues (taking the example of the Left in the EP) and overcoming the inconsistencies between the real needs of our time and the internal reality of the party. One party raises the issue of external communication of the EL, which still seems to be a weak point.

### **Areas to be improved:**

Fight against the far right

Climate crisis

War and role of NATO

Economic crisis

Energy crisis

Democratic deficit

Women's rights

Strengthen the links between anti-fascist movements and social movements that mobilise against neo-liberal policies.

Developing responses to the challenges affecting the working class.

Expand the organisation of No Pasarán to other green and progressive forces (as for the European Forum).

Focus on crosscutting topics, relevant for all the EU Countries to ensure engagement of national parties.

Annual evaluation through a short questionnaire of initiatives happened during the previous year.

### *3. External relations*

**Relations with The Left in the EP group:** Most parties consider as a key priority for the EL to strengthen relations and cooperation with The Left. Such coordination means giving greater visibility to the work done in the EP, in particular by MEPs elected from among EL member parties. Many EL parties have elected MEPs and the EL could help communicate their political activity while associating itself with their message. Bridging the gap between the two entities, while respecting each other's space and responsibilities, is of utmost importance.

Initiate closer contacts to have the capacity to analyse and better influence the decisions taken at the European policy level, by carrying out studies and research

**Collaboration with Transform!europe:** all parties have evaluated the collaboration as extremely positive. It must continue like this.

Establish an informal group for the sharing of information between EL, transform! and the Left in the EP.

**Relations with social movements, NGOs, and trade unions:** The expansion and consolidation of relations should not stop only at political parties, but should also include social movements, migrants/refugees' organisations, trade unions, and NGOs working on the themes of peace, environment, social issues, health, etc.

The EL's links with social movements and trade unions are positive but can be improved. Although the EL has links with more traditional movements, it still seems difficult to approach the new movements. The EL plays a useful role in the European peace movement as it provides financial support for events, but its political impact still seems limited to the commitment of individual EL members involved in the movement.

Identify and create a large database of social movements, trade unions, and NGOs in Europe, to be shared with member parties

Identify key partnerships in each country to establish regular contact.

Highlight the European Forum and organise meetings with the European socialists, progressive groups, and NGOs working on human rights, feminism, and ecology.

**The European Forum:** Widely considered a political space of the utmost importance, the Forum should continue and be strengthened throughout the year, with joint campaigns that implement the commitments made at the end of each edition, such as the fight against the extreme right, energy as a public good, defending workers' rights and equality and peace in women's lives. The face-to-face format of the 2022 edition, the rich programme, the increased presence of trade unions and feminist organisations at European and global level was very welcome.

Engage more with other political families, both in the organisation phase and in the attendance.

Devote more space to debate. Specifically, the Feminist Assembly demanded a greater availability of time. In fact, the advance of the right and the extreme right in Europe and the crisis derived from the war, increased women's vulnerability and urge a reflection on strategies to avoid setbacks and continue to advance in the acquisition of rights.

Try to transform common reflections into initiatives and struggles. For example, the EL should endorse the initiative to convene a feminist meeting in Rome for February 2023, which should serve as a lever towards a combative 8 March.

Strengthen synergies ahead of the European elections in 2024.

Plan well in advance, in order to have a complete programme 6 months before.

**Enlargement:** The expansion of the EL is considered a key and essential political priority, in order to bring together as much as possible the left and progressive forces of the EU and beyond. The sum of very small groups is positive as these can benefit from greater support, but we may not achieve significant changes in Europe. Two parties suggest the need to establish communication with, and propose common campaigns to, those larger and stronger parties with which the EL still does not have relations, as well as to successful left-wing formations such as in Poland, Croatia, and the Balkans. This would increase the political effectiveness of the EL and have a more significant impact on its collective work. A more active and visible EL, with flexible functioning, could attract more political forces. Nevertheless, the party, since the last congress in 2019, has been able to maintain and deepen its relationships with other forces to the point of enlarging its ranks (Member parties: Radnička fronta, Croatia; Observer parties: La France Insoumise and Gauche Républicaine et Socialiste - France; Partners: Socialists for Independence - Scotland; Links - Austria; Solidarnost - Serbia. The last two are to be confirmed at the Presidents' meeting on 30 November 2022). The enhanced relations established with Sinn Fein are considered very positive.

The Enlargement Commission should be broadened and more aware of the sensitivity of relations with political forces that are in the same territories as the other constituent forces of the EL, with which they often have practical and theoretical differences.

Decide in advance and collectively which parties to approach.

#### *4. International relations*

International activity and relations are an important feature and quality of the EL, which have been consolidated over the years and need to be continued and strengthened. The activity is very broad and positive, particularly in Latin America and the Mediterranean region. In the MENA region, try to focus on emerging political movements. Nevertheless, international relations are still unbalanced and without multidimensional strategic planning.

**International political spaces:** Visiones Compartidas (in cooperation with the Foro de Sao Paulo) and the Mediterranean Conference are very important because, like the European Forum, they represent a space for dialogue with the left from all over the world. It would be important to extend this type of space for dialogue to other continents (Africa, Asia, and North America), with specific conferences for these regions.

**International Commission:** Most parties consider this an excellent innovation of the last Congress, and it represents a very important body of the EL. Its work was appreciated, and it should continue, either internally by supporting the WGs, or externally by building relations with left-wing, progressive, and non-aligned forces (namely outside Putin's sphere and NATO subordination). One party proposes that the Commission carry out new studies and analyses on the expansionist policies of the United States and NATO.

## 5. Working groups/Networks functioning:

*Respondents are members of the following WGs/Networks: Latin America and Caribbean, Middle East and Northern Africa, Asia, Public Services, Education, Culture Network.*

The functioning of WGs is likely to be unbalanced because it is linked to the political and strategic choices of the member parties. There is a need to take corrective action and improve their presence and align it with the priorities and overall strategy of the EL. Improve communication and exchange among groups and between the groups and the Executive Board. A youth section could be created, which would be very important to be able to organise and grow on the youth side. It also gives access to the possibility of financing activities via the European Institutions.

**Coordinators meeting:** For most respondents, a concrete effect on the functioning of the WGs was not felt or they were not aware of it. Nevertheless, most responses indicated that this was a good decision and that it would be useful to improve synergies between groups on cross-cutting issues. In addition, these meetings have allowed us to learn more about some of the groups' political activity, which is not very visible elsewhere. However, for one party, the meetings initially provided better coordination of work and broader-based guidelines and information. Coordination and exchange of information have made the discussions and work of the groups more comprehensive and harmonious.

**Representation of parties in the WGs:** Geographic WGs => between 5 and 8 parties per WG, with about 14 parties/organisations composing the Middle East Extended Coordination Group of the Mediterranean Conference. Thematic WGs => between 6 and 10 parties per WG.

**Focus of the WGs:** For thematic WGs (e.g., education and public services), theoretical and policy issues must go hand in hand. It is proposed that the WGs take political positions based on studies specifically carried out for this purpose and to promote the sharing of experiences and good practices in all EU countries. In the case of Public Services, it is not easy to reduce the scope for political action, but it is possible to improve by focusing more continuously on certain central and useful issues for all parties, to take after consensual decisions and follow them up. For the geographical WGs, it was necessary to narrow the scope of action in some discussions and work. For example, in the Middle East WG, Palestine was a high priority. It would be useful to improve coordination between WGs covering different geographical areas.

**Evaluation of geographical WGs:** The WGs Latin America and Middle East received a very positive average rating (very good/excellent for LA and very good for ME). The work of the Africa and North America WG is considered as good. The Asia WG is to be strengthened.

Proposal to strengthen the international work of the EL through the geographic WGs:

Build a precise and articulated development plan among the five WGs

Focus on issues of peace and climate and environmental crisis as they affect millions of people and lead to mass migration.

Increase the number of meetings where all WGs are present.

Occasionally receive reports from other WGs.

Start stronger dialogues with local left-wing forces, increasing cooperation through more field visits and the organisation of seminars/debates.

Focus on more specific topics.

### **The Feminist Working Group is more than a working group:**

Despite the efforts to set up and make the WG work, the participation of party members has been rare. Feminism is an ideological pillar of the Party of European Left and must mainstream all its political strategies and actions. It is, therefore, incomprehensible that the women's working group is isolated on a day-to-day basis. The coordinator of the women's group should be a permanent guest of the Executive Board meetings, to propose feminist or gender perspective campaigns and encourage this transfer of this perspective into the debates that emanate from the executive board.

### **Suggestions to improve the functioning of the WGs:**

Involve more than one member per party to increase synergy at the national level and ensure that they meet more often.

Develop concrete transnational projects (which could also help to have more human resources if they are supported by different EU programs), to strengthen the network effect and a better knowledge of reality.

Ensure that as many parties as possible participate in WGs.

Organise longer and face-to-face meetings, in the form of small conferences, after which develop common political positions followed by communication strategies. Necessary elements:

- *Concrete and focused thematic agendas.*
- *A specific theme analysed by country/region.*
- *Participation of external experts.*

Do not focus on the national level nor on issues where the EL does not have consensus.

Facilitating contacts with parliamentarians and other public figures.

Support the achievement of synergies with other groups.



Cooperation in the organisation of events.

More information and testimonies from the field and access to reliable data.

Continuous training is needed among the activities of the WGs.

### **How to increase participation:**

Amplify the role of coordinators so that they become more autonomous. For this, we need coordinators who are available and committed.

Enter into closer relations with certain NGOs.

Focus on initiatives and relationships that strengthen and qualify the EL.

Assess the availability of WG members before convening a meeting.

Combine online and in-person meetings.

Better publicise within the EL the existence and work of WGs.

### *6. The EL towards the European elections:*

It is widely accepted among the parties that the European elections are strongly influenced by the national context. Therefore, above all, the EL should support the member parties with initiatives that highlight the work done together, and thus show how we are able to bring about change and present common proposals in and for different countries. It would then be necessary to coordinate our actions through a common platform of political positions, and agree on a common strategy and programme, focused on 2/3 concrete issues, in close coordination with The Left in the EP. Create a logo to be adopted by all member parties.

### *7. Communication*

**External communication:** It has, in general, improved. However, it needs further improvements that must go in parallel with the strengthening of the political strategy. Speed and accessibility should be further enhanced by establishing links with the communication department of national parties, as well as by supporting the exchange of relations between newspapers and activist media directly or indirectly linked to member parties. It is important to highlight what we have in terms of media in the different countries, to create moments of meeting and public debate, and to seek forms of financial support for publishing – for example with the translation of articles and by following the Transform!europe project "Media alliance". Parties should play an important role in disseminating, at the national level, the actions and campaigns of the EL. Value more the external action and less the bureaucracy.

**Social media:** The functioning of the EL social networks can be expanded and improved, and powerful political messages can be disseminated more frequently, but the

question is also how to reach more people and organisations who would be receptive and interested in the work of the EL. Overall, engagement and visuals should be improved with a more modern approach, especially when it comes to social media channels, as they are the main way to reach the general public and young people.

**Website:** It should be fed more often. Improving the website would help the whole social media package, as it would allow links to articles, activities, etc.

The website should include a space where one can find all the information of the different parties, including the main documents and the visuals of their campaigns. The EL could allocate part of the budget to the translation of these documents.

Publish more frequent and timely articles.

Reactivate the Communication WG and establish coordination between the managers of social networks and electronic platforms of the national member parties.

Experiment with a discussion forum on the site.

**Internal Communication and newsletter:** Mailing lists work well. As for the newsletter, it is a very positive and necessary initiative, but parties tell us that the timing is not correct because often the events have already taken place.

The newsletter should be available on the website, perhaps in the form of beautifully illustrated individual articles as well as a link that can be shared.

Be present on more platforms that people use daily, to receive information on their mobile phones through specific channels.

Engage member parties more in national distribution.

### **Suggestions to better disseminate the EL events at the national level:**

Update the website with information on member party activities and campaigns.

Provide faster information about events and less outdated registration methods.

Develop more modern visuals and more engaged communication.

Close communication between the EL and the national event/press offices on various issues, not just in state capitals.

Member parties must inform their own members in their own language.

**EL magazine Quistioni:** the cooperation with the press of the member parties is very useful and positive and there should be a commitment to disseminate and enrich

it. For some parties it is not possible to promote it because the members do not know foreign languages or because it is not easy to find it on the website. It could include news pages from member parties and global resistance movements.

## 8. Role of ruling bodies

### **Presidency, Council of Chairpersons, Executive Board, Political Secretariat:**

In general, the work of the Executive Board is evaluated positively because it has been able to address the most important topics, despite the fact there is little room to develop a debate. Although it is often seen as slow and cumbersome, as it is a body that rightly represents all members, it is essential to ensure transparency and party representation within the EL. On the possibility for the members of the Executive Board to join the WGs: ensure they are aware of this possibility and become more involved in the work of the WGs. There should therefore be a serious directive of delegation of responsibilities to all members of the Executive Board of the EL.

One party points out that the EL, being still a party that relies mainly on its ruling bodies, risks lacking relays with the parties' grassroots level.

The Council of Chairpersons, which at present is not really a meeting of party leaders, should have a fixed annual date and be prepared well in advance, in order to guarantee the presence of party leaders and become what it is supposed to be.

Could the Executive Board meet one more day on a specific subject of study, an opportunity to form management groups in a homogeneous way?

Members of the Executive Board should take on specific responsibilities.

**Specific tasks of the Political Secretariat and Vice-Presidency:** many parties that responded to the questionnaire are not aware or do not know enough about the different tasks of the members of the Political Secretariat. As far as the WGs are concerned, respondents agree that the Secretariat makes every effort to ensure the smooth functioning of the WGs and is seen by all parties as a very useful support. It made it possible to feel more anchored to the party and to feel the consideration of the work done.

The initiatives taken by the Secretariat should be brought to the attention of the Executive Board and the WGs.

Rather than changing responsibilities, the question should be how these responsibilities and functions can be carried out more quickly and effectively.

## 9. Management of the EL annual budget

**Calendar Sub-Group (elected among the Secretariat):** The sub-group, nominated to deal with party events, has developed satisfactory methods and is considered as

very useful.

Clarify a priori the co-financing criteria, not only concerning the budget, but also the Europe-an character of the initiatives.

Given the difficulty and complexity between assessing event proposals submitted by parties and comparing them with the available budget, there should be stricter rules for the submission process and clear priorities for issues to which the EL will contribute financially be re-quired, as the amount available is limited.

**Role of the treasurers:** inputs from the treasurers of the various parties are very important and, for most responders, it would be useful and important to involve them as often as possible. Nevertheless, as mentioned by one party, the distribution of the budget is a political decision, and the final decision must be taken by the political bodies of the EL. The distribution beyond central expenditure should be discussed strategically after the proposals have been submitted by the parties, avoiding duplication of initiatives, and reinforcing common political messages.

Review the budgets of major events such as the Summer University and adapt them to the local reality.

Organise them in advance to reduce costs.

Reflect on the working languages of the EL and the high expenditure on interpretation.

**Treasurers WG:** The majority made a very positive assessment of the treasurers' WG as well as of the regular reporting. One party tells us not to be aware of the existence of this WG.

## *10. Brussels office*

Most responses indicated that the Brussels office is doing indispensable work, adequately and effectively supporting the working groups and the EL activities in general, although most of the parties agree there is an overload for the staff. For some responders, the support of the Brussels office is as good as it can be – and often goes beyond its resources. A party suggests to reduce the number of WGs, if human resources remain unchanged.

More staff, but also less separation between the different WGs.

Appoint a political officer in charge of coordinating the office.

Allocate a percentage of the budget to ensure good working conditions. Spread the tasks in collaboration with the Political Secretariat.

Keep the same reference person for a WG, who should feel like an active

member.

Make sure to provide the members of the WGs with 2-3 options before scheduling meetings.

Support in the organisation of the Mediterranean Conference.

### *11. Balance between online and in-person meetings*

All responders agree on the best quality of work and political exchanges in face-to-face meetings. Nevertheless, everyone mentions the advantages of having online meetings (travel prices, time and money savings, etc.). Most of the parties that responded to the question agreed that a balance is needed: meetings of ruling bodies should be held face-to-face, while WG meetings can be held online. Only one party, which has a no-fly policy to help address the climate emergency, is calling for the hybrid option to be always provided.

***A party suggests improving the Evaluation and Evolution survey methodology with more closed-ended questions (with options) to facilitate a more objective analysis of the responses. A mix of closed and open-ended (complementary) questions could make the analysis and results more comparable - also in terms of evolution.***

# ADOPTED MOTIONS

# MOTIONS

## Adopted by vote at the 7th Congress of the Party of the European Left (2022)

Motion Directive 2001/55/EC must be applied for every human being

- *Rifondazione Comunista*

Motion Free Julian Assange - *Die Linke*

Motion Human Rights are non-negotiable! - *Die Linke*

Motion On the situation in Ireland - *EL Executive Board*

Motion Fighting the Far Right: building and strengthening the movement

- *Fighting the Far Right WG*

Motion Latin America is still in dispute - *Latin America WG*

Motion The programmatic priority concerning the right to housing

- *Housing Network*

Motion Solidarity with the people of Cyprus - *AKEL, YKP & BKP*

Motion In solidarity with the Sahrawi people - *EuiA*

Motion Seminar on real acts to solve the climate and environmental crisis is needed - *SKP*

Motion on Uranium - *Rifondazione Comunista*

Motion Path to the European Parliamentary Election - *Die Linke*

Motion Supporting the Republic of Cuba in the fight to lift the US blockade and sanctions - *Die Linke*

Motion Industrial Policy - *Die Linke*

Motion Creation of an European Observatory of public services - *Maite Mola*

Motion 20 years walking together - *Transform!europe*

Motion Youth Network (ELYN) - *Youth Network*

Motion For a European pole of public research to break the pharmaceutical oligopoly - *Rifondazione Comunista*

Motion Fight pedocriminality, gender-based and sexual violence

- *Feminist Commission of PCF*

Motion On the international situation - *Maite Mola*

Motion Solidarity with the Palestinian people - *Middle East WG*

Motion Solidarity with Kurdish People - *Rifondazione Comunista and SYRIZA - Progressive Alliance*

Motion on Iran - *Motion Commission*

Motion Culture - *Jean-Pierre Michiels*

Motion Stop the war: cease-fire now! - *Rifondazione Comunista*

# **Motion - Directive 2001/55/EC must be applied for every human being**

*Proposed by Rifondazione Comunista*

Considering that on March 2, 2022 the Council of the European Union, on a proposal from the Commission, ascertained the existence of a massive influx of refugees from Ukraine.

Considering that as written in the Article 5 of Council Directive 2001/55/EC of July 20, 2001, which has as its effect the introduction of temporary protection, the Council considered that this should be applied to any Ukrainian citizen who applies for it.

Considering that until then these directives had never been applied, even though there were enormous humanitarian crises with arrivals of refugees and asylum seekers in Europe.

Considering that there are many areas of conflict that continue to cause the flight of people and especially vulnerable people.

We, the representatives of the parties attending the 7th Congress of the Party of the European Left (EL) in Vienna, Austria, on 9-11 December 2022, pledges to mobilize, in each of the member states and with each of its constituent parties, to ensure that Directive 2001/55/EC is applied fairly for every human being fleeing invasion, persecution, and dictatorship.

Indeed, the proper application of the directive is a valuable first tool to save lives by actually taking them away from traffickers, to ensure safe channels of access, and to commit all member states to offer welcome and refuge.

It cannot be the origin, the color of the skin, the culture of origin that determines whether or not one has access to the guarantees offered by the European Union.

There cannot be refugees to be welcomed and refugees to be rejected.



# Motion - Free Julian Assange

*Proposed by Die Linke*

The European Left Party calls for the immediate release of journalist and Wikileaks founder Julian Assange and the prevention of his extradition to the United States.

If extradited to the US, Assange will face 18 charges under the 1917 Espionage Act and a potential sentence of 175 years in prison for "crimes" that include great pieces of journalism relevant to the whole society since they tell the truth about war, like the Iraq War Logs, the Afghan War Logs, Cablegate and the collateral murder video.

The Assange case is one of the most important press freedom cases of a generation. Its implications for civil liberties and fundamental rights are far-reaching and serious.

It is with hope that we observe voices and initiatives from all over the world calling for Julians release and have been condemning the treatment of him in jail. United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, Nils Melzer, reported that Assange showed "all the symptoms typical of victims of prolonged psychological torture". He continued: "The case is a huge scandal and represents the failure of Western rule of law. If Julian Assange is convicted, it will be a death sentence for freedom of the press."

We welcome recent initiatives, like :

- The nomination of Julian Assange among the finalists for European Parliaments' Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought.
- "Publishing is not a crime" by big media groups (The New York Times, The Guardian, Le Monde, Der Spiegel, El País) appealing to the administration of President Joe Biden to drop the charges.
- Latin American state leaders Petro and Lula showing their commitment and support for Julian Assange's freedom.

The member, observer and partner parties of the European Left will continue raising the issue in their respective countries by:

- Organizing events, rallies, hosting film screenings (tbc) of "Ithaka", a powerful documentary following the campaign to free Assange ahead of the extradition proceedings
- Trying to exert pressure on parliament members and governments.

#AssangeCase #FreeAssange #JulianAssange

# **Motion - Human Rights are non-negotiable! The European Left Party stands in Solidarity with Refugees!**

(on the occasion of the International Human Rights Day on 10 December 2022)

*Proposed by **Die Linke***

On December 10th people around the world celebrate the international Human Rights Day. It serves as a reminder of the principles that should govern both our politics and everyday lives. In times of global turmoil and disturbance, the right of all people to choose their place of residence, equality and non-discrimination are more important than ever. The European Conventions on Human Rights set out these principles and proposed the guidelines for the European Court of Human Rights, which is tasked with enforcing the latter.

Currently, many people have to leave their habitat and flee to other countries in fear of persecution and their livelihoods. Since 2014, more than 25,000 people have drowned in the Mediterranean Sea. Each number represents a person, with a name, a family, and hopes for a better future in Europe.

The European Border and Coast Guard Agency Frontex has been violating fundamental human rights for years. We condemn the agency's involvement in, and covering up of, illegal pushbacks and we take accusations of misconduct and irregularities serious.

European countries in particular have a responsibility to guarantee refugees a fresh start, whether they seek refuge for political, economic or other reasons. We stand up for human rights - and for all the people who have been victims of Frontex's human rights abuses.

One of the frightening examples currently in the spotlight is Qatar. Since Qatar won the hosting rights for the 2022 FIFA World Cup in 2010, it exemplifies the corruption of the FIFA-system. Many migrants live and work in Qatar, most of them come from South Asia, and human rights violations can be observed in their everyday lives - particularly during the preparations for the World Cup. There have been an enormously high number of deaths on the construction sites for the soccer World Cup in Qatar, the estimates are at least 6500. This event was supposed to be a celebration of the world coming together over sports. In reality, it has shown us the violation of the rights of migrant workers, as well as the discrimination against women and LGBTIQ\* community within the hosting country.

For the European Left, human rights are non-negotiable - not on ships crossing the Mediterranean, not in the woods at the Belarusian-polish border and not on building-sites in Qatar. We stand in solidarity with all those whose fundamental human rights are under attack, be it by border regimes or exploitative and harming working conditions!

# Motion - On the situation in Ireland

## *From EL Executive Board*

This 7th Congress of the Party of the European Left (EL) recognises:

That the Irish people have the right to self-determination;

That Brexit has been a catalyst for constitutional change in Ireland, with successive opinion polls underpinning growing support for Irish unity;

That increasing numbers of citizens across the island of Ireland, from wide and varied backgrounds, accept partition has failed;

That the Good Friday Agreement provides the democratic means to achieve Irish unity and end partition in Ireland;

That support for a referendum on Irish unity is growing across Europe and more widely;

That the aspiration to a new Irish constitutional democracy, based on equality, social justice, citizen rights and respect for diversity, is a legitimate democratic objective.

## ***The EL notes:***

Recent initiatives taken within Irish civic society which have broadened the discussion on constitutional change in Ireland;

The establishment of Sinn Féin's 'Commission on the Future of Ireland' as a constructive initiative designed to encourage the wider conversation on Irish unity.

## ***The EL urges:***

To the Irish Government to convene and resource an all-island Citizens' Assembly on Irish unity, to plan and prepare for constitutional change;

To the Irish Government to use its international diplomatic resources to secure a date for a unity referendum;

to all progressive political and civic forces to support the process of constitutional change and achievement of Irish unity across Europe, and within the European Parliament;

And we pledge the support and resources of EL to these ends.

# Motion - Fighting the Far Right: building and strengthening the movement

*Proposed by the Fighting the Far Right Working Group*

**Congress notes** that as the world faces multiple crises – war, pandemic, climate catastrophe and economic crisis – the conditions exist for a major surge in support for the far right. We live in a context where the far right is the "new normal" of the right in the global north, and increasingly, also, in the global south.

**Congress believes** that the Party of the European Left must renew and strengthen its commitment to defeating the far right wherever it emerges and in all its forms.

The Fighting the Far Right Working Group believes that part of this commitment comes through the organisation of the "No Pasaran" conference.

In March 2022, an in-person edition of the "No Pasaran" conference took place the initiative of the Party of the European Left and the transform!europe Foundation. With the event taking place in Berlin, Germany, the organization counted with the decisive participation of Die Linke.

From the European Left Fighting the Far Right Working Group we make a positive balance of the Conference, which brought together more than a hundred social activists, from anti-fascism to feminism, from the rights of migrants to the LGBTI+ community, from the trade union movement to anti-racist movements, leaders of European and Latin American left-wing parties, and academics who study the phenomenon of the far right from different countries. The more than 10 panels allowed an exchange between people who live in the most diverse countries of Europe, from east and west, north and south, about how we characterize the new far right we are facing, what should be the tactics to confront them.

## **In light of this success, this Congress supports:**

the biannual organization of the "No Pasaran" Conference, with the next event to take place in 2024;

building on the links already made through the "No Pasaran" conferences to date, to extend the political and social reach of the "No Pasaran" preparatory process, with an inclusive approach to movements and communities.

## Motion - Latin America is still in dispute

*Proposed by the Latin America and the Caribbean WG*

In a world with significant advances of right-wing forces and a global offensive against the living conditions of the people, it is worth following Latin America and the Caribbean situation in Europe.

The events unfolding in the continent speak directly to us, especially regarding the ongoing conflict between a strict application of the neo-liberal project on one hand and the different popular alternative projects on the other. In some cases, these envisage a form of "socialism of the 21st century".

Since our last Congress, there have been important changes in the political geography of the region, with a "progressive" wave and new governments who embrace a range of different policies, focused on the responses to the new challenges. But all of them have, as their central goals, social improvements for their populations and a strengthening of cooperation in Latin America and greater autonomy from the US. At the same time, in the face of the climate crisis, these new governments can implement new policies with a concerted effort to improve the situation in the Amazon region.

However, from the point of view of "progressivism", the situation is far from stabilising. The imperialist strategy and offensive are slightly different from the past: so far, it has not been that of "old style" military coups of the Pinochet type. Apart from the case of Bolivia, the path chosen has been that of "**soft coups**" through "lawfare", attempted assassinations (against Nicolás Maduro, Cristina Fernández), the massive use of **Big Data** (not only for elections), the strengthening of reactionary sectors of the churches, with the reorganisation of the fascist extreme right with "new manners" and political models, with some popular support. Moreover, the right-wing is coordinating internationally with a global strategy, and with the support of European fascists.

Blockades and sanctions by the USA and EU play an increasingly important role, from the historic blockade to Cuba and Venezuela, to their political use against more countries, while forcing the entire West to follow their policies.

The fight against "unilateral coercive measures" is one of the priorities of the common

agenda between European and Latin America left.

In the global neo-liberal agenda, the "Free Trade Agreements" pushed by the European Union also play an important role in the recolonization of the region, with very damaging effects on social rights and environment.

The European Left is a much sought-after political interlocutor. Our collaboration has taken various forms, with interesting results: joint seminars, speaker's cross-invitations at events, mobilisations on both continents, and support from parliaments of citizen's battles against the Free Trade Agreements of the European Union (EU-Mexico, EU-Mercosur, EU-Central America, EU-Chile). In addition, the European Left was present as an election observer in Peru, Ecuador, Honduras, Bolivia, and Colombia. Parallel to our bilateral relations (parties, trade unions, feminist and environmental mo-

vements, human rights organisations, etc.), the European Left has had a privileged relationship with the forces of the São Paulo Forum, in the defence of the democratic State and social conquests, as well as in the confrontation with fascism and coup d'état.

For the progressive governments of Latin America, it is of great importance to diversify their international relations. The struggle for democracy, the sovereignty of the peoples, human and social rights, and socialism, are slogans still in force for many Latin American and European countries. To expand constructive relations, the left forces in Europe and Latin America need to develop broader and more concrete partnerships.

The Congress of the Party of the European Left commits itself to develop the following **Action Plan:**

To deepen the common battle for peace on both continents.

To unify the campaign against blockades and unilateral coercive measures, for the respect of the sovereignty of the peoples.

To set up election observation missions, which will also monitor the electoral processes after the elections against any external interference.

Hold a seminar and campaign against the EU's Free Trade Agreements with Latin America.

Continue the joint EL-São Paulo Forum seminar on "Shared Visions".

Hold events against lawfare together with the São Paulo Forum.

Develop campaigns aimed at the protection of the Amazon.

Attend meetings of the EUROLAT body of parliamentarians from both continents.

Hold events on the 50th anniversary of the coups d'état in Uruguay (June) and Chile (September).

# Motion - The programmatic priority concerning the right to housing: emergency and structural policies

Proposed by *the the Housing Network*

Europe (its working class) has been experiencing a severe housing crisis for more than a decade now, worsened by the pandemic, war, energy crises, and skyrocketing prices of real estate. Simultaneously, there are millions of vacant properties. The housing crisis is a consequence of EU and member-states neoliberal policies: liberalisation and financialisation of the housing market, cuts in public spending, and in particular public housing investment. The results are: increased precariousness of housing conditions, rise of evictions, foreclosures and homelessness, and gentrification of neighbourhoods. If real estate values are kept this high, no government will be able to stabilise the market with meagre public investment. We lack some much-needed public investment.

This housing crisis exposes social inequalities, and is a mass and popular issue. Insecurity affects more than 20% of the total population in Europe: inhabitants are forced to choose whether to pay rent, mortgage, bills, or food. The working classes are unified in this battle, claiming housing as a social right, against policies based on housing as a commodity and financial asset. Moreover, urban housing stocks significantly affect the urban environment - regeneration and reduction of land consumption is a priority for climate neutrality.

The EL thus decides to mobilise (both directly and through political and social alliances) to guarantee:

**Housing as a right:** Housing security is a right, no one should be left homeless. In the face of a systemic crisis, individuals have no responsibility, and the public sector and banks must bear the risk.

**Public interest:** Privatisation, financialisation, and liberalisation have failed. The general interest calls for radical and integrated interventions.

Through urgent policies that ensure:

Public intervention that regulates and stabilises the private market, strengthening tenants' rights.

Structural intervention and investment in public housing, starting with the use and reuse of existing housing stock, including the conversion of public buildings (like empty military complexes and hospitals).

Progressive taxation on housing and property, reversing interventions that subsidise expensive properties.

Reversing financialisation of the housing market and securitisation of housing debt.

## **Methodology**

### **A. Political**

1. Promote common and unifying messages and vision.
2. Share good practices and forms of popular resistance.

### **B. Institutional Measures**

#### *Emergency*

1. Restructure housing debt, with debt cancellation.
2. Legislative instruments to prohibit evictions and foreclosures, if adequate alternative housing that respects human rights is not offered.

#### *Structural*

1. Implement available instruments:
  - a. Put the European Pillar of Social Rights into practice (Art. 19 and 20)
  - b. Implement the European Parliament Resolution of 21 January 2021 on access to decent and affordable housing for all (2019/2187(INI))
2. Demand new legislative/institutional instruments:
  - a. European regulation of the private market sector, starting with short-term rentals.
  - b. Exempt housing public funding from the internal market and competition regime (considered state aid).
  - c. Use of European funds for the development of public housing.
  - d. Link housing policies to A) social cohesion; B) energy saving; C) ecological transition



# Motion - Solidarity with the people of Cyprus

*Proposed by AKEL, YKP & BKP*

## **The participants of the 7th Congress of the Party of the European Left held in Vienna, Austria on 09-11 December 2022:**

Remind that the Cyprus problem is a result of foreign interventions and imperialist aggression.

Regret that the illegal occupation by Turkey of 37% of Cyprus territory is ongoing and that the Cyprus problem remains unresolved.

Regret that the people of Cyprus continue to suffer the division of their common homeland and constant violation of their human rights.

Underline that in the current international conditions of exacerbated militarisation of international relations, the sidelining of international law and the UN Charter, the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem becomes even more urgent.

Emphasize that the status quo is not static nor can it represent a solution; on the contrary, the status quo and the continuing stalemate serve Turkey's long-term hegemonic objectives against Cyprus and the permanent division of Cyprus and its people.

Stress the need for the international community to face decisively Turkey's illegal actions in the Exclusive Economic Zone of the Republic of Cyprus contrary to the Law of the Sea, as well as its illegal plans to settle Varosha further to the continuing illegal settlement of the northern part of Cyprus and changing the demographic structure of the northern part of Cyprus, along with the intensifying militarisation of the occupied areas by the further transfer of military equipment including combat drones which are causes of extreme concern for the present and the future of Cyprus.

Call for the early resumption of a substantive dialogue, from where it was left in July 2017, as this is a matter of urgency, in order to achieve a comprehensive solution on the agreed basis of a bizonal bicomunal federation with political equality, as this is prescribed by the relevant UN resolutions, with the withdrawal of all the Turkish occupation troops and termination of the Treaty of Guarantee. This constitutes the sole viable option for Cyprus to be freed of the illegal occupation by Turkey and for the country and its people to reunify.

Reaffirm that the agreed basis of the solution, that is the transformation of the internal system of governance into a federal one, is the only way to reunite Cyprus and call upon Turkey to abandon its separatist position for a 'two-state solution'. We declare that we will never accept any 'solution' that may jeopardize the true independence of Cyprus, bearing on its single sovereignty, single international legal personality and single citizenship, and whereby no third parties will be able to intervene and the human rights and freedoms of all Cypriots will be restored in accordance with interna-

tional law and the principles upon which the EU is founded.

Express their solidarity with and support to the struggle of all Cypriot people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, for the reunification of its country, and consider that the peaceful comprehensive solution of the Cyprus problem will contribute positively to the demilitarization, building of peace and prosperity for all peoples in the troubled region of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East.

The EL greets the bicomunal peace initiatives of the Cypriots which promote the spirit of co-existence and equal rights against divisive and nationalist practices.

# Motion - In solidarity with the Sahrawi people

*Proposed by EUIA*

The Sahrawi population has been forced into exile for more than 40 years; the permanent diaspora and the impossibility of returning to their land or living without subjugation. The Sahrawi have been subjected to human rights violations in the face of the passivity of the United Nations and other international actors.

The cruelty in the application of torture has increased alarmingly, and all the reports that have been drawn up on Western Sahara coincide in denouncing Morocco's systematic and continuous violation of human rights.

It is necessary to remember that Western Sahara is considered by the United Nations a territory pending decolonisation.

On the other hand, the action of MINURSO (United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara) has been clearly ineffective, not only failing to achieve the objectives for which it was created, but also giving Morocco room to exploit the natural resources of Western Sahara and to ensure control and population replacement.

Faced with these facts and having the international legality and the force of reason, the Sahrawi people continue to be humiliated and silenced, not only by the Moroccan government that exploits and occupies it, with the complicity of the media; it seems that it is only the civil society that is very clear that until the decolonisation process takes place, it must continue to fight to break the wall of silence.

In view of these facts, the Party of the European Left wishes to state the following:

Our total condemnation of Morocco's military interventions in the SADR area.

Our rejection of the Alaouite occupation of Western Sahara, an imperialist display of exploitation of natural resources and national oppression.

The concern about the inaction of the United Nations and MINURSO for the effective resolution of the conflict, which passes, as agreed and demanded by the Sahrawi people, through a binding referendum on self-determination.

The concern at the change of position of the PSOE in Spain, not listening to the will of its partner in government, of the Parliament and of the majority of Spanish citizens.

We denounce the complicit role that the French government has played with the Moroccan occupier all this time.

We express our absolute and firm solidarity with the Sahrawi people, the institutions of SADR, the Polisario Front and the UJSARIO.

## **Motion - Seminar on real acts to solve the climate and environmental crisis is needed**

*Proposed by The Communist Party of Finland*

We are in the middle of environmental and climate crises. The capitalist system worsens the crises through its continuous growth and over-spending of natural resources. Wars and the arms industry make things even worse by spending non-renewable natural resources.

Scientists have produced information and proposed solutions and acts, but politicians are unable to make real decisions or implement the decisions they have made. COP27 once again proved it. Therefore, new actions are needed.

The Communist Party of Finland proposes that the European Left and its Environmental working group will organize in cooperation with Transform!europe an environmental seminar during the period 2023-2025 to bring together experts, scientists, left, green and progressive parties, and peace and environmental activists.

We organized the "No Survival Without Peace" seminar in Tampere, Finland and online together with the European Left and Transform Europe. We hope that it was a starting point for a new, strong and effective work to save our planet.

# Motion - On Uranium

*Proposed by Rifondazione Comunista*

On 24 March 1999, NATO, without any UN authorisation, launched a carpet-bombing campaign on Serbia and Kosovo, indiscriminately targeting civilian infrastructure of all kinds and causing the deaths of 2500 civilians. This was a blatant violation of international law and military actions were carried out which, according to the UN Charter, can be construed as war crimes.

As in other illegal NATO wars (Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya), depleted uranium munitions were used extensively (in an officially estimated quantity of between 12 and 16 tonnes). The use of the heavy metal in bombing caused an ecocide that triggered a veritable 'cancer pandemic' that continues to claim thousands of victims twenty years later.

Thousands are also the military victims, i.e. NATO soldiers themselves who have contracted very serious cancer pathologies as a result of exposure to the heavy metal not only in the theatres of war but also at military firing grounds. The environmental devastation does not only affect the countries affected by the bombings but also the territories of NATO countries that host training facilities where these weapons are tested and used.

In Italy there are at least 8000 sick veterans and about 400 of them have died.

In the Italian courts over 300 service cases won by veterans who were victims of depleted uranium against the Italian Ministry of Defence have produced case law establishing the causal correlation between the onset of serious cancer pathologies and exposure to depleted uranium. This jurisprudence has been used by a pool of lawyers to initiate compensation cases against NATO at the Belgrade High Court, but NATO has officially claimed immunity for the crimes for which it has been called to account.

War crimes are not time-barred.

The Party of the European Left pledges to bring the issue of civilian and military victims of depleted uranium to the attention of the European Parliament and to identify a path that can commit Parliament to the path of truth and justice for all victims and to the banning of these weapons inside and outside the EU perimeter.

# Motion - Path to the European Parliamentary Election

*Proposed by Die Linke*

“Our political strategy and activities focus on building a more democratic, social, ecological and peaceful Europe. The outlined axes will guide us over the next three years. At the upcoming European elections, we will present ourselves as a strong European left force.” (EL political document draft 2022).

To reach the goal concerning the EP - election, we ask the board and secretariat to establish a working group as soon as possible for the preparation of the EP-Election. The working group, among other things:

- Should aim to agree on common “corporate design” elements, which should be used by all our parties in the EP election campaign.
- Should develop cross-country-formats (conference, workshop, symposium, presentation etc.) to make our national elections campaign a truly European one.
- Should agree on a few central topics, that we will recommend to include in our national elections’ platforms in equal wording additionally to an EL election platform and in consideration with the Presidency of the EL.

# Motion - Supporting the Republic of Cuba in the fight to lift the US blockade and sanctions

*Proposed by Die Linke*

The European Left welcomes the overwhelming result of the vote at the UN General Assembly on 3 November 2022 on the resolution on the "Necessity of ending the economic, commercial and financial embargo imposed by the United States of America against Cuba":

For the 30th year in a row, almost every country (185) on Earth voted to oppose the six-decade unilateral blockade which violates international and human rights and is, according to the Charter of the United Nations, a "warlike act". The only countries that supported the illegal blockade were the United States itself and Israel. Brazil and Ukraine abstained. So far, the US government has ignored this powerful vote and continues to act against it.

The Party of the European Left (EL):

Calls on governments and the EU to take concrete steps against the US blockade, in particular effective measures against the extraterritorial effects in Europe, as well as the end of the financial blockade, which is illegal under EU-law (Council Regulation (EC) No 2271/96 of 22 November 1996), but where European banks bow to US pressure.

Urges the European Commission to lodge a complaint with the WTO against the ongoing violations of international trade law by the US blockade and sanctions against Cuba and Venezuela.

Demands the European Commission to fully implement the agreement on political dialogue and cooperation between the EU and Cuba.

Protests against any measure that violates the sovereignty of states in the Latin American region, aiming against the right of peoples to self-determination, including coercive economic measures, particularly affecting the population.

Calls on all progressive forces worldwide to protest against the blockade and enlarge the solidarity movement. The EL and its member parties have a high responsibility as far as the European area is concerned. Via civil society and parliamentary initiatives against the blockade we have to increase the pressure in the EU Parliament and in the national parliaments.

A concrete idea for the near future, probably after the next EU elections, is a "tribunal", involving solidarity groups, parliamentarians, recognized

personalities, lawyers, scientists, trade unions, foundations. The intention is to reach a larger public in order to denounce the illegal nature and violation of human rights in Cuba and its people.

The EL together with Cuba is involved in the struggle for Peace and against imperialism and we also have as a common objective the preservation of the environment. We also consider fundamental the dissemination of the reality of the Cuban situation and the enormous effort made by Cuba and its government in favor of international solidarity. We will support all actions against the blockade, not only at the European level but we will promote them at the level of national parliaments and we will participate in all activities that will take place in Cuba at the international level with young people, intellectuals and feminists, as well as with international political organisations such as the Forum of São Paulo.



# Motion - Industrial Policy

*Proposed by Die Linke*

The European left stands in solidarity with labour disputes all over Europe and demands coordinated industrial policy

The neoliberal illusion of social welfare created by free market competition, which is enshrined in the founding documents and current institutions of the European Union, has seemingly dissolved into a distant noise in the current debates about price controls and the rationing & distribution of raw materials both among and within member states. The current shift in geopolitical power-relations towards a multi-polar world-system and the disruption and disentanglement that can be observed in various global supply chains have made this evident to a much wider European public. Unions and workers are going on strike, local social movements modeled after the British „enough is enough“ are organizing rallies across the continent. We share their concerns for paying their bills and we stand in solidarity with those struggling for what is rightfully theirs.

What is to be done? We need to confront climate change in a manner that both creates better working and living conditions as well as helps to preserve the planet. We demand active industrial policy and an EU-regulatory framework which would allow :

- to encourage intra-European industrial cooperation, whereas competition policy has been opposed to this, in the name of the abuse of dominant positions,
- to prevent competition between Member States on the basis of the lowest social and fiscal standards,
- to allow state aid, and to impose strict conditions on employment, training, ecological transition and the absence of relocation.
- to establish a selectivity of bank credit in favor of job-creating and ecological projects, and against the support of financial markets.
- To broaden the rights of employee representatives in the European group committees of multinational companies, so that they can influence their strategic orientations.

This will guarantee ensures the fostering of European technological, energy, social and ecological sovereignty as well as single member states will be prevented from arbitrarily taking advantage of other member states in the common market on the basis of their economic power.

Investment and a strengthened European economic position are however not an end unto itself- EU policies aimed at creating it always have to take social justice, ecologic sustainability and questions of ownership into consideration. We oppose the solution to the crises of our time to be raising profits by once again worsening working conditions, cutting wages, dismantling the welfare state and privatizing whats left of the public sector - that would be as economically wrong as it is morally unacceptable. „Competition only“ and „tightening the belt“ have to become political slogans of the past in the struggle for a better future. Next year will have to be a year of solidarity- we expect a wave of strikes for just wages and we demand political steps towards coordi-

nated industrial action.

We declare our full solidarity and support with all strikes, workers and their unions, because not only are they fighting for their legitimate interests, but their actions contribute to a progressive development of their respective societies as a whole. We condemn the enormous handouts to the rich during the pandemic. A system that allows for the rich to become richer even in times of crisis, is rigged. While the vast majority of the European people are experiencing a cost of living crisis, the number of billionaires rose to new heights. In times of economic turmoil, the question used to be 'heat or eat'. Today, it is no longer 'heat or eat', it is 'I can't heat and I can't eat.'

# **Motion - Creation of an European Observatory of public services**

*Proposed by Maite Mola*

The Covid-19 pandemic has highlighted, over the past three years, the serious dysfunctions on the European continent in terms of coordination of public policies in the face of a common scourge. From the start, we observed: the lack of protective equipment, whether for individuals or for carers and hospital staff, the rivalry between states to obtain supplies of equipment and vaccines; then the very great disparity in the organisation of health and economic measures to protect the population; then there were the great differences in the organisation of health and economic measures to protect the population and to continue the education of children; and also the great difficulties in terms of transport, supply and logistics, and finally, of course, the serious discrepancies in the social protection systems of Europeans. All of this made us aware of the unpreparedness of the public services of the European continent in the face of a major crisis. It is a fact that there is no effective tool for coordinating public policies in Europe that can anticipate, organise and manage such a crisis. However, it is very likely that crises of this kind will recur, with obviously unexpected reasons such as climatic, sanitary, environmental, and unfortunately also military reasons!

For more than 5 years, the "Public services" working group of the EL has been conducting a political reflection to create an observatory of public services in Europe.

In the political document of our last congress in Berlin in 2019, we stated: "The defence and extension of public services, at national and European level, are tools to implement a new development policy that takes the opposite direction of the liberal logic. This must be based on a transparent and democratic control tool. An observatory on the deterioration of public services, with common criteria in each country, must be set up.

The crisis we have just experienced confirms the urgency of setting up such an observatory, which would make it possible to take stock of the public resources available on the European continent to better protect the population. It would be the first essential link in the chain for developing and coordinating European public services that could act at the continental level on issues that affect all EU countries. This observatory, an international scientific tool that will bring together all the skills needed to evaluate the public policies of the States, will give everyone a serious perception of the means available to protect the citizens, and of course provide arguments for action. We also note with interest that European trade union organisations are now also working on this subject.

# Motion - 20 years walking together

*Proposed by **transform!europe***

As Transform!europe foundation of the Party of the European Left, we present the following motion:

In 2024 it will be 20 years since the creation of the Party of the European Left, founded in Rome on the 8th and 9th of May 2004. During these 20 years there have been many events, joint works and lessons learned on this path together in the European Left and that is why we believe it is important to commemorate our 20 years of existence.

We hereby propose that the 7th Congress of the Party of the European Left:  
- approve that the new leadership structures coming out of this Congress propose a **joint working group with Transform!europe to organize activities, events and publications on our 20 years together**, which we will celebrate in 2024.

# Motion - Youth Network (ELYN)

## *Proposed by the Youth Network*

We live at a time where thousands of people get stripped of their basic human rights, one of those rights being access to education. The increased privatization across the entire educational spectrum, combined with racism forces people away from the path of knowledge and the development of critical thinking. The path we set forward should be an anthropocentric approach to education. We stand for an idea of education that breaks away from the doctrine of a utilitarian education that focuses solely on immediate economic needs. Education should prepare citizens for the future and be free of bias based on ethnicity or gender. It should combine the transmission of both knowledge and skills. The EL Youth Network (ELYN) is committed to fighting for free, democratic, and public education while supporting university occupations/student strikes and activism as well as their anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist demands, thereby strengthening its links with the left.

School should be public. Public Schools should be free of charge, secular, and free from the influence of private or religious interests. Universities and research institutes should be freed up from economic pressures. We reject the Bologna Process, which mainly promotes the privatization of higher education, either by imposing extremely high tuition fees on university studies or by forcing students to pay huge amounts for housing or material needed to cope with their studies. We demand the establishment of state-provided affordable housing for students and young workers. In addition, we consider extremely important to introduce gender inclusivity (feminist movement, equal pay, LGBTQ+ rights etc.) and sex education in the school curriculum. Legislation proposals that would fit the aforementioned ideas would include: anonymous exam papers to prevent biases and gender studies in every curriculum. From kindergarten to college, education should be accessible to all minorities and immigrants in Europe.

To promote the idea of a free-of-charge and public education for all young people in Europe regardless of income, gender, sexual orientation, and immigration status, the ELYN proposes to the EL Congress 6 main axes which the Party should include in its scheduling and budgeting:

1. Events discussing the student movements in different countries, and establishment of student solidarity action days (ex. Solidarity with Iranian Women, Palestine, Western Sahara, etc.)
2. Investment in pilot programs that introduce gender equality, sexual orientation, and sex education in public schools and universities.
3. Workshops with immigrant populations raising the issue of underrepresented minorities in education which will help ensure access to free education for all refugees at kindergartens, schools, and universities and stop their deportation/ pushbacks.

4. Introduce to the EL programme not only climate change but also the topic of fighting climate and science denial in schools and universities (critical thinking).
5. Link the ELYN with the EL Housing Network to promote affordable student housing.
6. EL-funded campaign to get out the young vote.

# **Motion - For a European pole of public research to break the pharmaceutical oligopoly**

*Proposed by Rifondazione Comunista*

The Covid pandemic dramatically highlighted the commercial nature of the pharmaceutical lobbies at the expense of the people who paid a huge price in terms of deaths, crisis in national health services, worsening of general health, and lack of vaccines for the global South. Although researchers have been predicting the development of coronavirus epidemics for about 18 years, the pharmaceutical industry has not invested in vaccine research, nor has it developed research into antiviral drugs that can prevent the progression of the disease once the infection has occurred.

Pharmaceutical industries only engage in research when the market looks geographically large and sustainable. For example, research on infectious diseases and vaccines is much more limited compared to other drugs.

The biomedical research system is sick and completely diverted from its mission of defending the health of humanity and is instead tilted solely towards the centrality of maximum profit for the pharmaceutical oligopoly, which receives substantial subsidies from governments, but accepts no limits.

For this reason, the European Left, following the campaign on the suspension of patents on vaccines, is committed to developing in the most effective way a struggle for the creation of a European public pole - a large centre that intervenes in the whole cycle of medicine: research, production, development, and distribution, that makes the fruit of its research available to the world - medicines, technologies, and vaccines at affordable prices for the benefit of humanity.

# Motion - Fight pedocriminality and gender-based and sexual violence

*Proposed by the Feminist commission of the PCF*

In France, a ground-breaking Senate report has highlighted the link between the criminal porn industry, pimping networks, and the trafficking of human beings, including minors.

Landmark trials are underway involving owners of criminal porn sites for human trafficking, acts of barbarism, torture, racism...

Today, pedocriminality and pornography are linked: pedocriminal content circulates on pornographic sites. As the lawsuits against You Porn have shown: Three quarters of pornographic content contains pedocriminality.

The platforms hosting this industry have to take clear standpoints against sexual violence.

The criminal pornography industry makes profits on pedocriminality violence. on the insecurity of its victims. Young girls who have come from child welfare services and/or who have been subjected to domestic violence (including sexual and incestuous violence) are prime targets for these networks, in a continuum of violence, exploiting their precariousness and social fragility.

These pornographic sites are used by pedocriminals as relays for sexual violence.

Europe is the cradle of pedocriminality: 62% of pedocriminal content on the net originates in Europe. In Europe, the detection, reporting, and removal of such content are subject only to the "voluntary" action of providers and hosts. At the beginning of 2024, this interim minimum legislation expires.

We propose that the EL:

Fights for strengthening European legislation on the prevention and protection of minors against pornography and child pornography.

Fight gender-based and sexual violence including pedocriminality especially on digital platforms.

Ask to the European governing and the European Parliament to take the necessary measures in the fight against the dissemination of pedophile content hosted by pornographic sites in particular, also considering our demands in the field of digital politics.

Launches actions in 2023 against cyber-violence, pedocriminality and porn-crime; and to prevent it among young people as well as among parents and



professionals in contact with young people, in order to change the European legislation.

Creates a working group in the European Left about the pornographic industry

# Motion - On the international situation

*Proposed by Maite Mola*

The plurality and diversity that exist in the assessments and analyses of the international situation that we have within the European Left oblige us to make an effort to find common points that allow us to act jointly on the international scene in line with the values that the EL has defended since its constitution - among others, the unconditional commitment of the EL to peace, disarmament and the defence of international legality within the framework of the Founding Declaration of the United Nations.

As EL we consider vital the need for multilateral international relations based on solidarity cooperation of mutual benefits among all nations, joining wills and efforts so that all the inhabitants of the planet have the right to a dignified life, and to fight together against emergency situations such as the one humanity is experiencing today.

The EL urges the countries that possess nuclear weapons to negotiate treaties that limit their production and deployment, and to advance towards the goal of achieving global nuclear disarmament that entails their elimination with environmental guarantees.

In this sense, we defend the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons to confront the logic of the blocs, and we defend the logic of collective security on the basis of the development of the role of the OSCE and the Council of Europe, and the prospect of a pan-European conference and treaty on collective security with Russia.

The EL is involved in the struggle for a new international order based on new principles, new values and new forms of representation of the international community. This leads us to propose the re-foundation of the UN with a new distribution in the participation of all the states of the planet, and a new dimension of its international agencies (which are regularly attacked by the current US government), as well as rethinking the configuration and role of the economic institutions that have been the pillars on which the domination of big capital over the planet's economic resources, raw materials and natural resources has been built, imposing neoliberal policies that have destroyed all the public elements of social protection.

In coherence with our historical position of support for the recognition of the rights of the Saharawi people through the holding of the referendum of self-determination, we criticise the pressures that try to bend the resistance of this people through all kinds of aggressions and we demand that the Spanish government assume its responsibility as a decolonising power to enforce the agreements of the United Nations.

We reiterate our support for the peoples of Turkey and the Kurdish people who are confronting the Erdogan regime and we demand the withdrawal from Syria of the foreign troops that still occupy an important part of its territory.

The European Left reaffirms its solidarity with the Palestinian people who continue to struggle for the development of a peace process and to allow the return of those who were expelled from their land. We demand that the International Community ensures the existence of a viable Palestinian state within the 1967 borders with East Jerusalem as its capital.

From the EL we salute the electoral successes that have led to the constitution of multiple progressive governments in Latin America, which can lead to the reactivation of a process of territorial integration of the continent and allow the exploitation of the multiple resources and wealth of the region for the benefit of the improvement of the lives of its peoples.

We demand once again the lifting of the unjust and illegal blockade suffered by Cuba and all sanctions against all countries by the US government and its cronies, and we denounce the imperialist aggressions that try to subjugate the Latin American, African, Mediterranean and Asian peoples who fight for their rights and freedoms.

From these points of view, the EL must lead a debate to help the construction of a "broad alliance" of social and political forces that will allow us to move from words to action, leading to a global mobilisation capable of challenging the ideological and political hegemony of those who endanger the future of humanity in the face of a future of peace and progress in harmony with nature.

# Motion - Solidarity with the Palestinian people

*Proposed by Middle East WG*

Solidarity with the Palestinian people - the European Left condemns the continuing Israeli expansion of the occupation and colonization of the West Bank and promotes dialogue between all peace-making forces in region.

The European Left reiterates our strong support of the rights of the Palestinian people to their own state and land, with East Jerusalem as its capital, and for the return of the Palestinian refugees.

WE condemn the Israeli aggression with the expansion of the illegal occupation and settlements in the West Bank, the escalating attacks on the towns and villages in the West Bank, as well as the Israeli embargo and attacks against Gaza.

We note that there has been no US, EU, NATO or any Western sustainable attempt to stop the Israeli violations of the rules of international law, exposing their double standards.

Today over 760,000 Israeli settlers are living in the occupied West Bank and in East Jerusalem - thus violating the rules of the Fourth Geneva Convention prohibiting an occupational power to transfer its population to an occupied territory. The UN General Assembly has adopted resolutions (i.e. 242 and 338) denouncing the Israeli occupation, declaring it to be illegal and calling for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. Again in 2004 a UN General Assembly resolution underlined the right of the Palestinian people to their territory. The occupation of the West Bank is furthermore referred to as illegal by the International Court in the Hague. In 2012 the UN recognized Palestine as an observer state of the UN.

With the election of a new far-right government in Israel promising even more aggression and bloodshed in the Palestinian territories there is a dangerous risk of increasing the already mounting violence to full scale conflict.

These aggressive expansionist policies of Israel are detrimental not only to the Palestinian people but also to ordinary Israeli citizens, who can all anticipate a never-ending conflict and war for many years to come, including the possibility of renewed war with neighbouring countries.

The European Left calls for a just solution to the conflict, to be initiated by a total withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories in keeping with UN resolutions. To obtain this we recommend:

The EL stress that the EU-Israel Association Agreement is, according to its article 2, based on the fulfilment of human rights and emphasises these as a guiding principle; calls for suspension of the Association Agreement until there no clear guarantees of an ending to the systematic violations of the human rights of the Palestinian population.

The labelling of goods from the Israeli settlements in the West Bank.

We call for a stop to the special Israeli relation to NATO.

We reiterate our support of a just peace based on the UN resolutions with a Palestinian state on the 1967 borders and with East Jerusalem as its capital and with the return of the Palestinian refugees. A two state just solution based on equal security is the only viable one.

We call for the recognition of the Palestinian state by the EU member states – and by as many countries and institutions as possible, which is an important step in that direction.

We denounce policies which criminalize peace and solidarity activists, including left and peace forces inside Israel. We greet Israeli youth objecting to doing their military service in the occupied territories, fighting against Israeli occupation of Palestine and demanding a free and independent Palestinian State.

It is more than ever important to commemorate the long protest and struggle of the Palestinian people, who for decades have fought Israeli aggression and occupation.

We assure the Palestinian people and the civil forces of Israeli Society fighting for dialog and peacemaking of our continuing support and solidarity.

# Motion - Solidarity with Kurdish People

*Proposed by Rifondazione Comunista and SYRIZA - Progressive Alliance*

We unequivocally condemn Turkey's attacks and invasion of Kurdish areas in Iraq and Syria.

With these attacks, Turkey is violating International Law, while at the same time blowing up the foundations of the peace process in Syria.

We express our solidarity with Kurdish people facing the Turkish attack and call on the EU vice president and High Representative for foreign policy to take a clear stand and oppose Erdogan's expansion in the wider region.

Kobane became a global symbol of resistance to ISIS jihadists in 2014, was one of the targets of the Turkish army, and as a result dozens of civilians were killed.

The airstrikes destroyed a hospital, a food silo, a power plant as well as military infrastructure.

The unprecedented model of Rojava, where there is no discrimination between men and women has been a rampart against obscurantism and a salvation for thousands of citizens from jihadists, seems to be bothering Turkey and President Erdogan who is killing innocents in order to do petty politics for the votes of the far-right public in Turkey ahead of the presidential elections. The coexistence between peoples in the region is a reality and could be a model for the entire Middle East.

We, the representatives of the political parties attending the 7th Congress of the Party of the European Left (EL) in Vienna, Austria, on 9-11 December 2022, express our full solidarity with the Kurdish people, once again under the bombs of Erdogan's regime, and we denounce the total silence of European media and Institutions.

We demand:

The immediate termination in arms trade to Turkey.

For the immediate and unconditional release of Selahattin Demirtaş, in accordance with the 2018 judgement of the ECHR, confirmed by the judgement of December 2020; demands the dropping of all charges against Mr Demirtaş and Ms Figen Yüksekdağ, former co-chairs of the opposition HDP party, as well as the other currently imprisoned members of the party; stresses that the Turkish authorities must allow these people to exercise their democratic mandate in complete independence, without being threatened or hindered.

To take actions in order to defend human rights of Kurdish people on risk of extradition.

We reaffirm our support for all those who continue to work to put an end to all manifestation of pure injustice, and to put Turkey back on the path to full democracy.

# Motion on Iran

## *Proposed by the Motion Commission*

For more than three months, Iran has been engulfed in a truly nation-wide, mass uprising in the name of "Woman, Life, Freedom". This uprising is for life, for democracy, for human rights, for gender equality and for equality of each individual Iranian, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation.

Escalating repression has served only to embolden and massively strengthen the determination of this movement.

This movement erupted following the death of a young Kurdish woman at the hands of Iran's notorious Morality Police, Iranian women have been at the forefront of this movement, and are proving to be Iran's unifying agents of social and political change. Their unswerving determination to force change has enormous implications and set a precedent worldwide.

Iranian youth all over the country have joined the movement taking the streets and continuously developing new, ingenious non-violent ways to confront the regime.

This struggle is a direct result of the despotic's regime own policies, which have resulted in deeply rooted hatred for the Islamic Republic. This uprising is determined to remain united in the demand for democracy and to put an end to despotic imposition of religious diktat.

The authorities have responded with extreme brutality, shooting or beating to death hundreds of demonstrators. More than 18.000 demonstrators have been arrested, some of them "enemies of God and corruption on earth". Widespread persistent reports have emerged of prisoners being subjected to horrific torture and rape. Summary trials have begun, with demonstrators already being condemned to execution.

The Islamic Republic is trying everything to divide the movement. Military units have been brought to control areas as Baluchistan and the northwest of the country where Kurdish people live.

At the same time, the regime is repressing peaceful demonstrations, where all ethnic backgrounds and religious groups are taking part, calling for democracy and equal rights in Iran.

The 7th Congress of the Party of the European Left:

- condemns the repression and violence by the regime and demands the immediate halt to executions and freedom for all those arrested in the demonstrations
- expresses its wholehearted solidarity with the courageous and determined Iranian mass movement united under the slogan "Woman, Life, Freedom"

# Motion Culture

*Proposed by Jean-Pierre Michiels*

Just as air and water are essential to life, culture is essential to living together.

Thus, the covid crisis has shown how necessary culture and the arts are to cross this difficult course.

Culture and the arts can also be a factor of peace and rapprochement between peoples. It is not acceptable for World Heritage cultures to be ostracized because of admittedly reprehensible policies or actions committed by some governments.

Culture, both in its diversity and its universality, has contributed to the unification of Europe.

## **This is why the EL:**

Disapproves of the measures of prohibition and censorship against Russian culture and artists who have nothing to do with Putin's war.

Expresses its solidarity with the artists who, at the risk of losing their freedom, oppose this war.

Supports the resolution voted by a large majority by the European Parliament for the EU to devote 2% of its GDP to support artists and culture.



# **Motion - Stop the war: cease-fire now!**

*Proposed by Rifondazione Comunista*

We condemn Russia's military aggression against Ukraine, which is a crime under international humanitarian law. There is no justification for war and although no statement is sure in wartime, the hypotheses are that casualties, including civilian, are hundreds of thousands, along with millions of refugees and people without homes, and territory destruction.

The bombing of civilian infrastructure and the electricity grid poses enormous problems for the survival of the population during the winter season.

In this framework the countries of the European Union have decided on an increase in military spending, which means starting a new arms race and a reduction to social spending.

The risk that article 5 of the NATO Agreement is activated is every day closer to becoming a reality (as after the accident of the Ukrainian missile falling in Poland), which will mean an escalation until a nuclear war.

With the Minsk Agreement of 2014, a possible solution to the crisis in Ukraine had been undertaken. The governments, the European Parliament and the European Commission are not playing a mediating role as they should.

The European Union must work to stop the ongoing massacre, and seek a peaceful and lasting resolution based on the principles of international law, and the need to guarantee mutual security: we speak of "diplomacy not arms!"

Last November 5th in Rome, 150.000 people responded to the call of "Europe For Peace Network", which brings together hundreds of pacifist and nonviolent associations, trade unions, the Catholic world, personalities of culture and solidarity, and clearly demonstrated that they don't accept war as a solution to the current crisis.

Pope Francis also continues to propose the path of ceasefire and negotiations to stop the massacre.

We, the representatives of the parties attending the 7th Congress of the Party of the European Left (EL) in Vienna, Austria, on 9-11 December 2022, join our voice with the many others that struggle for asking an immediate ceasefire, now, in order to start negotiations.

We are committed to the development of the movement for peace, disarmament and stopping the increase in military spending, throughout Europe.

**PEOPLE DON'T WANT WAR.**

# INTERNAL AUDIT REPORT

# Internal audit recommendations

## 7th Congress of the Party of the European Left (EL)

Brussels 29.11.2022

Report of the members of the Internal Audit Group regarding the audit of the Party of the European Left (EL) regarding the finished fiscal years of 2019,2020,2021.

We as Internal Audit Group, elected at the 6th EL-Congress in December 2019 fulfilled our obligation by controlling the financial and administrative data of the fiscal years of 2019, 2020 and 2021. We decided not to audit the available data of 2022 as that financial year had not finished yet at the time the audit took place when we met on November 10th and November 29th of 2022. This audit report has been collaborated on and agreed by all the internal audit group members.

Before reporting our findings, we would like to stress that the global political situation in which the EL operates nowadays is not making things easier for the EL's financial and administrative bearings. In times of precariousness, austerity, neoliberalism, pandemic, wars and rise of extreme right forces across the continent and globally, the EL also has to cope with the results of the last European elections and the subsequently weakened left political group in the European Parliament. Having this in mind, we believe that financial and administrative coherence, stability, and transparency is of utmost importance for the EL in order to be able to deal with all political challenges that lie ahead.

In this spirit, we worked in our audit with the goals of:

1. Detecting whether previous recommendations have been dealt with or not;
2. Mentioning improvements where applicable;
3. Putting forward recommendations where we see improvements necessary and/or possible

These goals are reflected in the different results put forward in this report.

We were presented with the full documentation (namely the audit reports, information on income and expenditure given by external auditors, the invoices and receipts in detail) which were tidily digitally filed in chronological order. Wherever further information was needed the EL Finance responsible and representative of the EL-Treasurer, Daniel Sheffer, provided all necessary answers in order to clarify all enquiries.

We could see that the general state of the financial and administrative file of the EL has improved since the last internal audit. We would like to underline the significant improvement on the presentation of the files that was possible due to a change on the accountability procedures, that already from the year of 2020 with the support of a digital platform that improves the procedures of managing the processing of all

incoming and outgoing invoices. Additionally, we detected a more widespread use of travel agencies, there were no more big discrepancies between planned and implemented event budgets like in previous years and there is a significant improvement on the tendering procedures, all reasons that led to the last big deficit.

At the same time, we saw some areas where the European Left financial administration, also including our work as internal audit group, can further grow and improve its performance. Those recommendations we would like to put forward in this report are related to both levels: technical/organizational and content/political. We also underline that for each level we will start to mention the progress done related with recommendations already signed at the last audit report from 2019.

### **On the technical level we recommend:**

- In order for us as internal audit group to improve our own work and increase our efficiency, we need to firstly meet on a yearly basis and not once every 3 years. We also think that we should be invited to participate in the EL treasurer meetings as well as receive important financial updates about the EL's financial situation whenever possible, because being aware of it would enable us to be better prepared for our annual audit meeting. This is a recommendation from our last report that unfortunately, due to the pandemic context that multiplied the demands for online meetings and resulted in a very difficult articulation of agendas, wasn't fully accomplished and that we must underline for the next cycle.
- A pro-forma invoice should never be the final document triggering a payment. In case of a pro-forma, a final invoice should always follow. In the last report we mentioned that this principle was already followed but should have been enforced more regularly. The current internal audit acknowledges that indeed this recommendation is almost fully followed and a very low percentage of proforma invoices remains.
- The same goes for having original receipts/invoices/tickets etc. attached to reimbursement forms. This is a recommendation that again has significantly improved since the last internal audit as the digital accountability procedures also helped for it. The pandemic context led to a lot of problems with the postal deliveries. With the digital reimbursement claim all the claims came together with digital proofing invoices creating very positive results in terms of eligibility of expenses but also in terms of cost saving and giving a small contribution to saving the environment with much lower need for printing.
- In times of rapid climate change as well as austerity curbing public services in many countries, we recommend increasing the sensitivity on preferring trains and public services to taking planes and driving cars wherever possible regarding claims for reimbursement. We must say that due to the pandemic context that affected the years in analysis this is a recommendation difficult to analyse. But we underline that the significant increase of the online meetings is also acknowledged within all the EL activities that have more and more concerns to find a proper balance between presential and online events.
- We would also recommend providing a better and more consistent link between the invoices and the event they correspond to in order to have a clearer

overview over the expenditure of the events. This recommendation from the last report has indeed improved, also due to the introduction of the digital accountability procedures that allow a specific labelling of the invoices that makes its classification more transparent.

- The political events calendar the EL produces every year should be updated more diligently, as we saw that somewhere around mid-year the updates stop even though until the end of the year new events are sometimes carried out as well as some which were agreed are pushed back to a later date. These all-year changes should be reflected in the calendar accordingly. We acknowledge that this reporting recommendation has been followed since the recruitment of a new administrative responsible allowed the possibility (since 2021) for a monthly update of the EL Calendar that is shared with all the EL ruling bodies, member, observer, and partner parties. Also, the recruitment of a communication responsible will soon show its impacts since it's planned a restructure of the EL Events calendar at the EL website.

### **On the content/political level we recommend:**

- We realized that there is a sizeable problem of no-shows when it comes to hotel bookings for EL-financed events. No-shows are now rigorously detected and interpreted by the external auditors as ineligible expenditure. While we are fully aware that booking the exact number of rooms for events can be a very tricky organizational task, we recommend that the EL financial administration should be more stringent in this topic (planning-wise and vis-à-vis the respective participants) in order to avoid extensive ineligible expenditure. We must conclude that the recruitment of a new administrative responsible showed results for this recommendation together also with the pandemic context that resulted in an increasing recognition of the importance to analyse and negotiate the cancelation policies.
- Considering personal data protection, mentioning especially the GDPR on a European level, we recommend the EL administration, in cooperation with those in charge for communication as well as the contracted IT company, to exercise a more extensive analysis of its performance on this topic and subsequently implement necessary measures to improve it. This is an area that still has some room for development although in all contracts GDPR aspect has been included.
- Auditing the existing contracts of EL staff we strongly believe that we as a left party should take special care of how we are employing people working for us. In this respect, we have detected several areas we would like to draw attention to:
  - There is no collective agreement in place
  - While the EL staff is working many hours during the weekend organizing and assisting to various EL events there is no regime in place to have an additional remuneration regarding weekend working hours
  - There are no clauses for an automatic/fixed yearly wage raiseWe believe that these points make the contracts pertaining to EL staff precarious contracts which we as a left party strive to abolish. Therefore, we recommend correcting this situation and improving in this area.
- We understand that improving the above-mentioned points on precarious

contracts requires more funds. At the same time, we have already seen the positive results after you, the EL leadership, have heard our recommendation in the last congress and recruited two new positions in communication as well as for administration - and thus we recommend keeping this attitude. We believe that every investment we make in people will be exponentially beneficial to our work. Thus, we would recommend that the leadership elected at this congress support any initiative which, while financially feasible, supports this logic of improving the working conditions of our employees.

- We would also recommend to the next presidency that Communication and International Relations responsible work together on a communication strategy namely related with the support given to international media channels in order to promote the best results possible on the dissemination of the EL work all over the world.
- Already in the last internal audit report we mentioned the worrying trend of received membership fees decreasing and falling under 15% as well as the need of more discipline in this regard including the possibility of sanctions for parties who are not able to fulfil the agreed duties. During the current years in analysis the situation of the membership fees hasn't developed positively. We must not forget the political context of the significant raise of the far-right forces all over Europe that weakened the left forces in a multidimensional way. Within this impact is included the lower financial resources that our member left parties have available and, consequently, their lower capacity to financially support the EL. Despite this, the upcoming European elections are a very strong opportunity to raise awareness within our parties of the importance of their international and European dimension. This, in our mind, must be indeed an important moment for our parties to prioritize their financial compromises with the EL, also because the increase in their membership fees will allow EL to submit higher budget proposals to the EP and consolidate more all the EL work and of its members.
- Lastly, we agree that good financial planning should always include saving funds in the initial planning in order to react upon changes and new necessities coming up during the year. On the other hand, we recommend that whenever these changes mean that a considerable additional sum shall be spent, the diligent financial planning and agreement of the EL treasury is not enough, and a further body of the EL leadership should be included in the decision-making process. We must acknowledge that the work of the EL Subgroup Calendar in the last years improved this recommendation taking some important decisions on EL financial support to our party's activities to discussion within our ruling bodies. In this context, we would add an extra recommendation mainly regarding the international delegations. We recommend that the EL international responsible, within the international commission, present every year a budget proposal for their activities detailing it with different items as, for example, travel, collaboration, and communication costs.

Having given all these recommendations, we would like to stress again that we evaluated the current financial and administrative performance of the EL improved, compared to three years ago, and we believe that it is in a positive way. Therefore, thanking you for your trust in us, we would like to recommend to the congress to

discharge the current outgoing Executive Board of the Party of the European Left from its work.

Lastly, we would like to thank the treasurer and its staff for their work during the last period and we look forward to strengthening our cooperation in the future.

Thank you for your kind attention and best regards,

The internal audit group

# STATUTES





# Statutes of the Party of European Left

The non-profit association for which these statutes are written up was founded on 01.07.2004 by:

Bertinotti Fausto, viale Regina Margherita 151 Rome (Italy), born on 22/03/1940 in Milan (Italy)  
Masset Campos Pedro, calle Princesa 3 Murcia (Spain), born on 11/09/1941 in Valencia (Spain)  
Scholz Helmut, Regensburger straÙe 21 15738 Zeuthen, (Germany), born in Berlin on 21/06/1954  
Frutos Grass Francisco, Avenida Albufera 69 Madrid (Spain), born on 25/01/1939 in Barcelona (Spain)  
Núñez José Luis, Calle Alustante 6 Madrid (Spain), born on 18/09/1940 in Ourense (Spain)  
Della Valle Gian Luca, Via del Notario 3 San Marino, born on 01/04/1968 in San Marino  
Pappas Stylianos, L Manolipi 139 Kesariani Athens (Greece), born on 09/03/1945 in Lamia (Greece)  
Losa Myriam. Avenue victor rousseau 58 1190 Brussels, born on 07/07/1967 in Brussels (Belgium)  
Giaculli Paola, Via Gi Mercuriale 14 Rome (Italy), born on 16/08/1961 in Empou (Italy)  
Migliore Gennaro, Via Castagna Coop. vette F 51 800026 casoria (Italy), born on 21/06/1968 in Naples (Italy)  
Mascia Graziella, Via Imperia 19 Milan (Italy), born on 03/09/1953 in Magenta (Italy)  
Schubert Katina, Siegweg 22 Bonn 5 (Germany), born on 28/12/1961 in Heildeberg (Germany)  
Gehrcke Wolfgang, Ryke straÙe 39 Berlin (Germany), born on 08/09/1943 in Reichan (Germany)  
Gohde Claudia, DiefknbachstraÙe 584 Berlin (Germany), born on 11/09/1958 in rotensburg (Germany)  
Polycarpou Vera, Ezekias Papaioannou 4 Nicosia (Cyprus), born in Afoula (Israel)  
Theodorakopoulou Anastasia, Agathoupoleos 49 Athens (Greece), born on 01/10/1954 in Athens (Greece)  
Balaure Cornel Florin, Vd Mihai Bravu 6 Bucharest (Romania), born on 17/10/1952 in Bucharest (Romania)  
Cretu constantin, Chilia Veche 8 Bucharest (Romania), born on 17/10/1949 in Valea (Romania)  
Fritz-Klackl Waltraud, Hintere ZollamtstraÙe, 11/7 Vienna (Austria)  
Meyer Pleite Willy, Dehesa de Pagollano 11550 Chipiona Cadiz (Spain), born on 19/08/1952 in Madrid  
Garnier Gilles, Rue de Merlan 28 93130 Noisy le Sec (France), born on 11/02/1959 in Paris (France)

Founding members of the European Left as member organisations were:

Communist Party of Austria  
Party of Democratic Socialism, *Czech Republic*  
Estonian Social-Democratic Labour Party  
French Communist Party, *France*  
Party of Democratic Socialism, *Germany*  
Coalition of the Left, the Progress and the Movements - Synaspismos, *Greece*  
Workers-Party, *Hungary*  
Communist Refoundation Party, *Italy*  
Socialist Alliance Party, *Romania*  
Communist Refoundation, *San Marino*  
Communist Party of Slovakia  
Communist Party of Spain  
United Alternative Left of Catalonia, *Spain*  
United Left, *Spain*  
Swiss Party of Labour, *Switzerland*

The association was registered under legal person number 866441216.

The undersigned, representing the Association, and in accordance with the decision of the General Assembly held in Brussels (30 September 2018), are presenting the amendment of the Statute as follows:

## **Statute**

Statute of the Party of the European Left

(Full text of the Statute, as it was adopted at the Founding Congress of the European Left in Rome, May 9, 2004, with the amendments approved by the 2nd Congress in Prague, November 2007, by the 3rd Congress in Paris, December 5, 2010, by the 4th Congress in Madrid, December 14, 2013, by the 5th Congress in Berlin, December 18, 2016, by the General Assembly meeting in Brussels, June 24, 2017, by the General Assembly meeting in Brussels, September 30, 2018 and by the 6th Congress in Benalmadena/Spain, December 14, 2019, General Assembly meeting in Brussels, October 11, 2020, General Assembly meeting, October 9, 2021, and by the 7th Congress in Vienna, December 10, 2022)

### *1. General Provisions, Name, Seat and Term*

#### **Article 1 (Preamble)**

The "Party of the European Left", abbreviated here to "European Left" (EL) is a flexible, decentralised association of independent and sovereign European left-wing parties and political organizations which works on the basis of consensus.

We unite democratic parties of the alternative and progressive Left on the European continent that strive for the consistent transformation of today's social relationships into a peaceful and socially just society on the basis of the diversity of our situations, our histories and our common values.

Therefore we refer to the values and traditions of the socialist, communist and labour movement, of feminism, the feminist movement and gender equality, of the environmental movement and sustainable development, of peace and international solidarity, of human rights, humanism and antifascism, of progressive and liberal thinking, both nationally and internationally. We work together in the tradition of the struggles against capitalist exploitation, ecological destruction, political oppression and criminal wars, against fascism and dictatorship, in resistance to patriarchal domination and discrimination against "others".

We defend this legacy of our movement which inspired and contributed to securing the social certainties of millions of people. We keep the memory of these struggles alive including the sacrifices and the sufferings in the course of these struggles. We do this in unreserved disputation with undemocratic, Stalinist practices and crimes, which were in absolute contradiction to socialist and communist ideals.

The political and economic developments in the capitalist societies at the beginning of the 21st century create the necessity and the possibility for parties of the Left, for democratic movements and alternative social forces, when working out and realising social alternatives not only to take into account all aspects of globalisation and internationalisation. Europe as a new space for the integration of more and more countries in East and West, in North and South is both an opportunity and a challenge to regain the political initiative for Left forces. We want and have to most closely combine our

work on this political level with the social activities of members and sympathizers of the party organisations within the communities, regions and nation states.

We are doing it in sharp rejection of and developing an alternative to capitalism and to the financial hegemonic groups with its worldwide attempts of pushing through neo-liberal policies into the daily life of the peoples by the so-called political and economic elites.

And we want and have to do so being not a force free of contradictions, having differing views on many issues. But we are united in resisting political incapacitation and taking part in common struggles for an alternative that has freedom, equality, justice and solidarity as its goals.

*With this international approach we declare:*

The Left is willing to take on responsibility in Europe and the world for the shaping of our societies, to work out political alternatives, to promote them among the public and to win the required majorities.

Liberal internationalisation and globalisation are no phenomena of nature but the result of political developments and decisions. Therefore we stand consequently against the neo-liberal policy of dealing with these challenges, against war and militarization. Just now courage and confidence must be given to the people that the world is not a commodity, that a new world of peace, democracy, sustainability and solidarity is possible.

## **Article 2 (Name and seat)**

The non-profit organization uses the name "Party of the European Left", or in its abbreviated form "European Left" (EL). The name is always preceded or followed by the wording „European Political Party“ or acronym „EUPP“, indicating that it is founded in conformity with the Belgian law ("Loi sur les associations sans but lucrative, les associations internationales sans but lucrative et les fondations"; hereinafter referred to as "the Law" or "the Belgian law") and that it does not pursue any profit goals. The EL follows its objectives, executes its activities and is organized and financed in conformity to the conditions laid out in the regulation (EU, EURATOM) 1141/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council concerning the statute and financing of European political parties. The party of the EL gets an official name in each of the official languages of the European Union as well as in the official languages of the states where EL member parties exist.

*The names are:*

"Partit de L 'Esquerra Europea" or "Esquerra Europea" or "EE" in Catalanian

"Strana evropské levice" or "Evropská levice" or "EL" in Czech

"Party of the European Left" or "European Left" or "EL" in English

"Euroopa Vasakpartei" or "Euroopa Vasak" or "EV" in Estonian

"Parti de la Gauche Européenne" or "Gauche Européenne" or "GE" in French

"Partei der Europäischen Linken" or "Europäische Linke" or "EL" in German  
 "Κόμμα της Ευρωπαϊκής Αριστεράς" or "Ευρωπαϊκή Αριστερά" or "EA" in Greek  
 "Európai Baloldali Párt" or "Európai Bal" or "EB" in Hungarian  
 "Partito della Sinistra Europea" or "Sinistra Europea" or "SE" in Italian  
 "Partido da Esquerda Europeia" or "Esquerda Europeia" or "EE" in Portuguese  
 "Partidul Stîngii Europene" or "Stînga Europeana" or "SE" in Romanian  
 "Európska ľavicová strana" or "Európska ľavica" or "EL" in Slovakian  
 "Partido de la Izquierda Europea" or "Izquierda Europea" or "IE" in Spanish  
 "Partidul Stîngii Europene" or "Stînga Europeana" or "SE" in Moldovan respectively in Romanian languages,  
 "Avrupa Sol Partisi" or "Avrupa Sol" or "ASP" in Turkish language,  
 "Партыя Еўрапейскіх левых" or "Еўрапейскія левыя" or "EL" in Belarusian language,  
 "Europese Linkspartij" or "Europees Links" or "EL" in Vlamish language,  
 "Европейската лява партия" or "Европейската левица" or "EL" in Bulgarian language,  
 "Euroopan vasemmistopuolue" or "Euroopan vasemmisto" or "EV" in Finnish language,  
 "Europæisk Venstreparti" or "Europæisk Venstre" or "EV" in Danish language,  
 "Stranka evropske levice" or "Evropska levica" or "EL" in Slovenian language,  
 "Europeiska vänsterpartiet" or "Europeiska vänstern" or "EV" in Swedish language.  
 "Europako Ezkerraren Alderdia" or "Europako Ezkerra" or "EE" in Basque language.

The juridical seat of the EL is in 1000 Brussels, the head-office is located in Square de Meeus, 25, in the Brussels judicial region, and might be moved to another place in Belgium after decision by the Executive board.

### **Article 3 (Term)**

The association is created for an undetermined term.

## *2. Aims*

### **Article 4**

The EL aims to:

- contribute to common political action of the democratic and alternative Left in EU member states as well as on the European level;
- promote the social, emancipatory, ecological, peace-loving as well as democratic and progressive thinking and acting of the parties, their members and sympathisers, and therefore to reinforce the parties' actions to develop emancipatory, democratic, peace, social, ecological and sustainable policies which is essential to transform the societies and to overcome today's capitalism;
- use democratic forms to struggle for overcoming contemporary capitalist relations;
- consolidate the co-operation of the parties and political organisations at all levels;
- promote the confrontation of their analyses and the co-ordination of their orientations at the European level;
- co-operate with other political organisations at European level pursuing

- similar targets;
- promote a "European public relations work" that actively supports the development of a European identity according to our values and aims;
  - co-operate in the preparation of the European elections and in referenda in the European scale, in full compliance with limitations laid down in the Regulation (EU, Euratom) No 1141/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council, in particular with the articles 21, 22 (hereinafter called "Regulation No 1141/2014");
  - initiate, prepare and support Europe-wide initiatives of the EL and its parties - together with other parties, party-networks and NGOs (acting in full compliance with the above-mentioned Regulation 1141/2014);
  - all decisions concerning choices and attitudes of EL member parties or political organizations in their own countries remain strictly under the sovereignty of national parties.

The EL supports fully gender equality in all areas of daily life. Feminism, gender-mainstreaming and gender-democracy are basic principles for the functioning and development of the EL.

### *3. Membership*

#### **Article 5**

Founding members of the EL are socialist, communist, red-green and other democratic left parties of the member states and associated states of the European Union (EU) who are working together and establishing various forms of co-operation at all levels of political activity in Europe based on the agreements, basic principles and political aims laid down in its political programme (manifesto). Agreement on the European Left's Statutes is prerequisite for membership to the Party of the European Left.

Membership to the EL is open to any left party and political organisation in Europe that agrees with the aims and principles of the political programme (manifesto) and accepts these statutes. Their membership is granted by decision of the members.

Other parties and political organisations may apply for observer status or might be invited by the members to become observers to the EL.

Number of member parties is unlimited, but the minimum number of full members is three. Should the number fall below this threshold, the Association is obliged to start procedures for its dissolution.

#### **Article 6**

The European Left consists of:

- Member parties and political organizations with full rights;
- Observer parties or political organizations;

- Individual members;
- EL partners.

## **Article 6 (List of actual members)**

The member parties of European Left are:

- Bulgarian Left, Bulgaria,
- Communist Party of Austria,
- Communist Party of Finland, Finland,
- Communist Party of Spain,
- Communist Refoundation Party, Italy,
- Dei LENK, Luxemburg,
- Die LINKE, Germany,
- Estonian United Left Party, Estonia,
- Sol Parti, Turkey,
- French Communist Party, France,
- Left Alliance, Finland,
- Left Bloc, Portugal,
- Left (Levica), Slovenia,
- Left Unity, United Kingdom,
- Partie Communiste Walonie-Bruxelles, Belgium,
- Party of Communists of Republic of Moldova, Moldova,
- Levice, Czech Republic, ((GA2020))
- Radnička fronta, Croatia ((GA2021))
- Red-Green Alliance, Denmark,
- Romanian Socialist Party, Romania,
- Swiss Party of Labour, Switzerland,
- SYRIZA - Progressive Alliance, Greece, ((correction to actually used name))
- The Belarusian Party of the Left „Fair World“, Belarus,
- United Alternative Left of Catalonia, Spain,
- United Left, Spain,
- Workers-Party 2006, Hungary.

The observer parties of European Left are:

- AKEL, Cyprus,
- Altra Europa con Tsipras, Italy,
- Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, Czech Republic,
- Communist Party of Slovakia, Slovakia,
- France Insoumise, France ((GA2021))
- Gauche Republicaine et Socialiste, France ((GA2021))
- Left Alliance, Finland,
- New Cyprus Party, Cyprus,
- Sinistra Italiana, Italy
- Sortu, Spain
- United Cyprus Party, Cyprus,
- Demain, Belgium,

## EL- Partners:

- Táncsics - Radikális Balpárt, Hungary ((GA2020)) ((a typo corrected))
- Democratic Left, Scotland ((a typo corrected))
- Der Wandel, Austria,
- Socialists for Independence, Scotland ((according to the list, presented to ExB. 10/11/22))
- Links, Vienna, Austria ((provided approval by CoCH 30/11))
- Solidarnost, Serbia ((provided approval by CoCH 30/11))
- Ensemble, France,
- Marxistische Linke, Germany,
- République et Socialisme, France. ((GA2020))

### **Article 7 (New members, admission and suspension)**

1. A member party or political organisation of the EL with full rights and duties can become any left party or political organisation that is represented in the European Parliament, or in the National parliaments or in the Parliaments of regions resp. in regional assemblies within the EU member-states.

In EU member states with no regional level it will be sufficient for a party or political organisation to have representatives on the municipal level, if a municipal parliament represents at least 20 percent of the country's population.

Parties or political organisations, coming from EU member states or non-EU-member states, can become members of the European Left with full rights, irrespectively if they have parliamentarian representation on different levels.

2. Membership in the EL does not prohibit the membership in other associations, including outside the European Union if their acting is not contrary to the aims and principles of the EL. The structure of the EL allows political organisations which are politically close to the EL to take part in its activities in a flexible manner. If desirable for both sides, EL can establish a cooperation protocol for this purpose, and the respective organisations are entitled the designation "EL partner". The main criterion here is the political consent with the basic positions of the EL; the decision-making process inside the EL on this issue follows the rules for decision about membership issues.

3. Applications for membership in the EL are discussed and decided by the Council of Chairpersons on a basis of proposals from the Executive board, and ratified by the General Assembly on suggestion of the Executive board on the basis of the application, the rules and political programme presented by the applicant. The decision by the Council of Chairpersons has to be based on consensus.

4. The temporary / provisional suspension from participation in activities, or the cancellation of membership in the EL in case a member party or political organisation seriously violates statutes and political aims are carried out through the same procedures as the admittance.

5. The applications for observer status is decided in the same way, except for the

need of ratification. Observer parties or political organisations take part in the meetings, to which they are invited, as consultants. They can make proposals to the Executive board for examination and decision making.

6. Member parties or political organisations that want to leave the EL have to declare this officially; the same procedure applies to observers and individual members.

### **Article 8 (Individual members)**

The EL introduces the opportunity of individual membership as a contribution to its future development. In countries where full-right member parties or political organizations exist each member party or political organization is free to decide to carry out this opportunity and to adopt - for its own country - the most convenient approach and practical methods. According to that approach women and men residents of an EU member state can become individual members of the EL. In countries where full-right member parties or political organizations exist they can form friendship circles associated to these parties of the European Left. Citizens of other European countries associated to the EU can also apply for individual membership. They can join or create a national group of individual members applying for observer status in the EL.

### **Article 9 (Political foundation)**

The political foundation on European level Transform!Europe is affiliated to the EL.

### **Article 10 (Rights and duties of the member and observer parties)**

The full members (Member Parties) exercise the rights assigned by law, namely:

- the right to access the decisions taken by the General Assembly, by the Executive Board and by all other organs of the EL, the accounting records and the list of members;
- the right to convene the extraordinary General Assembly on condition that at least one fifth of members request this;
- the right to propose an item on the agenda on condition that the proposal is signed by a number of members equal at least to one twentieth;
- the right to participate in the General Assembly and in the Congress or to be represented there;
- the right to vote at the General Assembly and in the Congress;
- the right to a specific procedure in the case of expulsion;
- the right to request dissolution or liquidation of the Association should it seriously contravene its statutes or the law or public order;
- the right to call for an act of the Association to be invalidated;
- the right to request the court of first instance to decide the mandate of the liquidators;
- the right to initiate proceedings before a court of first instance against the decisions of the liquidators in relation to the use of assets insofar as the statutes so allow;



- the right to withdraw from the Association.

In addition, full members have the following rights:

- right of participation in the meetings and voting about all issues;
- right of initiative in proposing the documents and positions of the EL Party;
- right of proposing common activities of the Party.

The Observer Parties and Individual Members have the same rights except for the right of voting. The same applies to the EL Partners.

The Member Parties have following duties:

- duty to observe the valid documents (Statute, programmatic documents) of the EL Party;
- duty of paying Membership fees;
- duty to be in contact with the leading organs of the Party.

The Observer Parties and Individual Members have the same duties except the duty of Membership fee payment.

#### *4. The organs of the EL and the decision-making process*

##### **Article 11**

The European Left has the following organs:

- the Congress;
- the General Assembly;
- the Council of Chairpersons;
- the Executive board;
- the Presidency;
- the Political Secretariat.

##### *Mode of work*

##### **Article 12**

The work of the EL organs has to be performed openly and transparently, all political documents adopted are to be published. The EL documents and materials are supplied to all member parties and political organisations. Personal data can only be made public when the Belgian law and/or regulations by the European or Belgian authorities stipulate to do so.

For the concrete mode of work of all bodies as well as regulations concerning the decision-making process rules of procedures have to be worked out and to be adopted by these organs on proposal of the council of chairpersons.

*When the external conditions do not allow for meetings in person (travel or meeting*

*restrictions by the national governments or EU organs), meetings of all EL bodies might, based on the decision of the Secretariat, be arranged in electronic form with the necessary adjustments of the process rules mentioned above. ((GA2021))*

Respecting the values of gender democracy the share of women in all organs (except the Council of Chairpersons) must be 50%.

Being a pluralistic association, proceedings of the EL have to be chosen that guarantee the rights of different sensitivities.

### **Article 13**

The EL is striving to cooperate closely with parliamentary groups of the Left in other European bodies and networks.

The EL will establish forms of cooperation with youth organisations of the European Left - both representing national or regional organisations as well as European structures and other international networks.

*The Congress*

### **Article 14**

The Congress has all powers of the General Assembly, in addition to that it

- elects the EL chairperson and Vice-chairperson/s on the basis of a proposal by the Council of Chairpersons following a rotation principle;
- elects the treasurer on the basis of a proposal by the Executive board;
- elects the Executive board consisting of two members of each party in accordance to the nomination by each respective member party;
- elects at least three and odd auditors.

### **Article 15**

The Congress shall hold at least one session every three calendar years. *However, when the external conditions (travel restrictions, limitations to the size of in-person meetings) make it impossible for the Congress to be held, the General Assembly might decide to prolong this period by one year. ((GA2021))*

It is convened by the Executive board, which can also decide on convening an extraordinary congress. In the year, when the Congress is convened, it fulfils also the duties of General Assembly.

The Congress takes place alternately in different member states of the European Union or in European states where EL member parties or political organisations exist. A Congress can be convened at the request of at least 25% of its delegates.

### **Article 16**

The Congress consists of:

- 12 delegates of each Member party, who have the voting rights. The key for the number of delegates might be changed by every Congress for the next Congress.  
The delegates are elected by their parties with respect to the gender equality, i.e. with at least 50 % of women.  
Parties do not have to use the full number of delegates.

The Congress can only take decisions if at least half of the members are present or represented, its decisions are taken by the majority of delegates present at its session. Delegates, representing the Member Parties, have full voting rights, each delegate one vote. The proposals it decides upon have to be based on the principle of consensus as stipulated by Article 1 (preamble) of this Statute.

All other participants are observers without the right to vote: i.e.:

- Representatives of the observer parties resp. organisations;
- Members of the Executive board, not being delegates;
- Invitees and guests, including members of the Parliamentarian groups of Left parties in the European Parliament, the National Parliaments or in other European bodies resp. networks.

## **Article 17**

In addition, the Executive board is permitted to invite representatives of other parties or organisations to the Congress.

### *The Council of Chairpersons*

## **Article 18**

The Council of Chairpersons is meeting at least once a year.  
Members are:

- the Chairpersons of all member parties
- the EL Chairperson and Vice-chairperson/s

The Council of Chairpersons can invite other representatives of EL bodies or from EL member parties resp. political organisations to participate in its meeting.

## **Article 19**

The Council of Chairpersons has, with regards to the Executive board, the rights of initiative and of having objection on important political issues.

The Council of Chairpersons adopts resolutions and recommendations that are passed to the Executive board and the Congress.

The Council of chairpersons decides about applications for EL membership.

The decisions of the Council of Chairpersons are adopted by majority of the members present with the respect for the consensus principle (Art. 1 of this Statute); it can only take decisions if at least half of the members are present or represented.

### *The Executive board*

## **Article 20**

The Executive board consists of:

- the Chairperson and Vice-chairperson/s
- the Treasurer
- further Members elected on the basis of a key of two persons from each member party by the Congress at a gender-quoted basis.

## **Article 21**

Executive board meetings take place at least two times a year.

The convening of a meeting of the Executive board can also be asked for by a member party or political organization.

It can only take decisions if the majority of members are present or represented. Its decisions are taken by majority of the members present or represented, with the chairperson or his/her replacement having the casting vote, should the vote be tied.

## **Article 22**

The Executive board carries out the decisions on the basis and orientations of the Congress and General Assembly and in accordance with the Council of Chairpersons

The Executive board is responsible for organizing the daily work of the EL. It is responsible for the creation, composition and functioning of the Political Secretariat. The Executive board has to adopt the rules of its own work, as well as the rules of the work of the Secretariat.

It determines the political guidelines of the EL between the General Assembly meetings. It proposes, plans and convenes political initiatives for the EL, convenes conferences or thematic meetings. It sets up permanent or ad-hoc working groups, whose responsible staff are chosen by, and whose tasks are fixed by the Board.

The Executive board convenes the Congress and General Assembly meetings, fixes the proposals for time-table and venue, and suggests the standing orders and agenda.

The Executive board is also authorised to name ad-hoc working groups etc. on special political issues and questions in accordance with the plan of action established by the Congress in accordance with the Council of Chairpersons.

### **Article 23**

The General Assembly is composed by the members of the Executive board and by the members of the Council of Chairpersons. When convening the General Assembly, the Executive board can decide to include more delegates from the Member Parties, but the principle of equal representation of all parties should be respected.

### **Article 24**

The General Assembly meets once a year, with the exception of the years, when the Congress is convened; in these years the Congress meeting replaces the General Assembly meeting.

The General Assembly is convened by the decision of the Executive Board, by the chairperson or his/her replacement, at least 60 days before the date of the meeting unless in case of emergency. In the latter case, the period may not be less than 30 days. Invitations must be sent by e-mail or by regular post and must give the agenda as well as the day, time and place of the meeting.

It can also be convened by a request addressed in writing to the chairperson by at least one fifth of the members.

Any member of the General Assembly unable to attend can be represented at its meeting by another member from the same Member Party, to whom s/he must give written authority to act (letter, fax or e-mail). The authorised representative may not hold more than two authorisations valid for the same general assembly meeting.

The General Assembly may only deliberate an issue if half the members are present or represented.

### **Article 25**

The authority of the General Assembly is determined by Law. The proposals it decides upon have to be based on the principle of consensus as stipulated by Article 1 (preamble) of this Statute.

It decides the following by majority:

- modification of the statutes;
- nomination or removal of Presidency or its members;
- nomination or removal of auditors and determining their allowance on condition that the statutes so allow;
- approval of the budget and the accounts;
- dissolution of the Association;
- exclusion of a member;
- transformation of the Association into an association with a social aim;
- all other cases where the statutes provide for its decision.

The General Assembly:

- determines the political guidelines of the EL between the Congresses and adapts decisions of the Congress to the current political situation;
- adopts the annual agenda of the EL;
- determines political platform and strategy of the EL for the elections to the European Parliament;
- comments on the report of activities for the preceded period and on the program for further work presented by the Executive board;
- proposes discussions of and/or within member parties or political organisations on political developments or special questions.

Changes of these statutes and the Manifesto are decided by the Congress after a thorough debate on the issue within each member party. If, due to changes in European legislation, a conflict arises between this Statute and the valid European or national regulations in the time between two Congresses, the General Assembly is entitled to adopt, on the basis of proposals made by the Executive board, provisional changes to the Statute which will bring it to correspondence with the European regulations. These changes are considered temporary, and their validity or rejection would be decided by the next EL Congress.

*The Presidency*

## **Article 26**

The Presidency consists from the Chairperson, Vice-chairperson(s) and the Treasurer. It fulfills the role of "conseil d'administration" according to the Belgian law, representing the EL legally, financially and administratively.

The Presidency members are appointed by the General Assembly for a period of three years and can be dismissed by the General Assembly at any time.

If the General Assembly has not replaced the Presidency at the end of their mandate, they shall continue to exercise their mandate while awaiting the decision of the General Assembly.

Their mandate only expires in the case of death, resignation or dismissal.

If a position is vacant, a member can be appointed provisionally by the General Assembly. In that case the member will carry out the mandate of the member s/he is replacing. Outgoing members are re-eligible.

If the Chairperson is unable to attend, his/her functions shall be carried out by the vice-chairperson or the oldest member of the Presidency present.

The Presidency shall meet at the instance of the Chairperson or of two members of the Presidency.

It may only take a decision if the majority of its members are present or represented.

Its decisions are taken by majority of voters present or represented; should the vote be tied, the Chairperson has the casting vote.

## **Article 27**

The Chairperson is elected by the Congress. A candidate for the EL Chairperson is presented by the Council of Chairpersons until and including the next Congress. The candidacy should follow a rotation principle.

On a proposal of the Council of Chairpersons the Congress elects one or more Vice-chairpersons on a gender quota basis.

## **Article 28**

In case the post of the Chairperson becomes vacant before the next ordinary Congress, the Executive board can name a Chairperson ad interim until the next Congress.

## **Article 29**

The Chairperson represents the EL in the public sphere in the contacts with representatives of organisations and institutions, including the EU authorities, Trade Unions, non-governmental organisations and associations:

The Vice-chairperson/s support/s the Chairperson in fulfilling his/her duties.

### *The Political Secretariat*

## **Article 30**

The Political Secretariat carries out the decisions of the EL organs. It is lead by a coordinator. It consists of the members elected on the basis of proposal by the Council of Chairpersons by the Executive board (with the respect to gender equality). The Secretariat fulfils the duties of a CEO, being tasked with the daily management of the Party including the authority to take the decisions needed for this task.

In particular it is responsible for:

- supporting the Presidency;
- running the regular business and preparing the meetings of the Executive board;
- executing the decisions and respective orders of the Executive board;
- maintaining close relationships with the whole prime executives of the member policies;
- maintaining contacts to the member and observer parties and political organizations;
- supporting the EL working groups;
- maintaining relations to the media in cooperation with the Presidency;
- maintaining the contact of the EL with the Parliamentarian Groups in which there will be deputies of Left parties in the EP and other European /

- international institutions etc.;
- running the archives;
  - securing transparency of all political work;
  - guiding the work of the EL office;
  - reporting on its work to each Executive board meeting.

## 5. *The Finances of the EL*

### **Article 31**

The EL is financing itself by membership fees, contributions and public subsidies. The financing is based on transparency, in particular in terms of bookkeeping, accounts and donations, privacy and protection of personal data, in accordance with the Regulation No 1141/2014 of the European Parliament and the Council, in particular its Article 23.

The Treasurer prepares the annual budget, which has to be approved by the General Assembly after its adoption in the meeting of treasurers of the member parties. The budget has to be prepared and approved in accordance with the regulations and rules regarding the funding of the political parties on European level. The Treasurer also prepares the annual accounts which then are verified by the group of elected internal auditors. The annual accounts are then approved by the General Assembly.

The (annual) membership fee is set by the general assembly. The membership fee may not be less than one (1) euro per year, and shall not exceed the maximal values according to the Regulation No 1141/2014 of the European Parliament and the Council, Article 20.

## 6. *Dissolution of the EL*

### **Article 32**

The dissolution of the EL requires a decision of the General Assembly. The General Assembly can only pronounce dissolution in the same circumstances as those for modification of the statutes of the Association. The General Assembly which pronounces the dissolution of the Association shall appoint liquidators and shall determine their authority. The assets, after the discharge of any debts, must be transferred to an association, an institute or a foundation that follows the same goal as this association, by decision of the general assembly.

### **Article 33**

Anything not explicitly provided for in these statutes shall be regulated by the Belgian law ("Loi sur les associations sans but lucrative, les associations internationales sans but lucrative et les fondations"), and by Regulation (EU, Euratom) 1141/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council on the register and funding of European political parties and European political foundations.



## **Article 34**

These statutes have been drawn up in French and English. Should there be any discrepancy between the two linguistic versions, the English version shall prevail.



[european-left.org](http://european-left.org)