

# RECOMMONS EUROPE

MANIFESTO  
FOR A NEW  
POPULAR  
INTERNATIONALISM  
IN EUROPE

# FORE WORD

This text is the short version of the “Manifesto for a New Popular Internationalism in Europe”, which was published on 21 March 21 2019 in English, French and Spanish.

This Manifesto has been drawn up by a group of activists and researchers from a dozen or so countries in Europe who wish to propose a blueprint to be carried out by the popular Left forces. It is part of the ReCommonsEurope Project which was initiated by two international networks, the CADTM and EReNSEP, and the Basque trade union ELA, in order to contribute to the strategic debates taking place within the European popular Left today. It was written in one year by sixteen people active in six different countries (Belgium, Bosnia, France, Greece, the Spanish State, and the United Kingdom); the au-

thors are active in different organisations and movements (trade unions, political parties, activist movements) and bring together diverse and complementary expertise (economics, political science, philosophy, anthropology, law, ecology, unionism, feminism, North/South solidarity, and so on). Three generations are represented. The Manifesto is supported by more than 160 signatories from 21 different European countries, among whom a majority of women. The collection of signatures, as well as the collective reflection and elaboration from which this Manifesto has emerged, are continuing.

We have written a coherent proposal for the commitments, initiatives and measures to be taken by the forces of the popular Left in Europe. The proposals address the main issues

that a people's government will have to face as soon as it comes to power. The Manifesto is intended for political organizations and social movements (trade unions, associations, citizens) fighting at local, national and international levels for fundamental human rights and equality for all, for social emancipation and democracy, and against the destruction of eco-systems.

Our objective is to submit these analyses and proposals for discussion to the social and political left, and to all those activists and citizens of Europe who are convinced that a radical change is necessary if we are to meet the major challenges of the day. Europe is going through a major and prolonged crisis. The European Union is basically anti-democratic and in the service of the richest.

In recent years, several opportunities have been missed, especially in 2015 in Greece. The ecological crisis, violent austerity policies, and the danger represented by the rise of a racist and xenophobic far right, only make it more urgent to define a strategy associating organization from below, social movements and political organizations, in order to make politics serve the interests of the majority.

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Long version of the Manifesto:  
[www.cadtm.org/Manifesto-for-a-new-popular-internationalism-in-Europe](http://www.cadtm.org/Manifesto-for-a-new-popular-internationalism-in-Europe)

# INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade, popular anger has been expressed without interruption against discriminatory and anti-democratic policies in favour of the rich and of large corporations - policies which are implemented by national governments and often coordinated by the European Union (EU). This discontent has been reflected in initiatives by trade unions, but also by new movements such as '15M' in Spain (also called in other countries the movement of the 'Indignados'), the occupation of the squares in Greece and the huge demonstrations in Portugal in 2011, the movements against the "Loi Travail" (Labour law) in France (which led to the 'Nuit Debout' movement) and against the Water Tax in Ireland in 2016, the great demonstrations for autonomy and against political repression in Catalonia in 2017. Feminist struggles have given rise to historic demonstrations in Poland ("Czarny Protest" against

the anti-abortion law in 2017), Italy ("Non Una di Meno" movement since 2016), Spain (feminist general strike of 5 million people on the 8th March 2018), as well as a victory over the political influence of the Catholic Church in Ireland with the legalization of abortion by referendum in May 2018; they are at last succeeding in imposing their centrality in all social struggles. The year 2018 also saw the emergence of new social movements against the dominant economic and political order, with the movement against the "slavery law" (neoliberal reform of labour laws) in Hungary, the demonstration and development of the "Indivisible" antiracist movement in Germany, the Yellow Vest movement in France and French-speaking Belgium against unfair tax policies and the lack of democracy in political institutions. Nor should we forget the climate demonstrations, driven mainly by young people who have gone on strike in many coun-

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tries, including Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Belgium, France and Great Britain. All these social movements, and others, have challenged the austerity measures and authoritarianism of the policies that are implemented in Europe, by posing directly or indirectly the question of a radical alternative social project to capitalism, productivism, ecological devastation, racism and patriarchy. This Manifesto sees itself as an integral part of these movements and shares their objectives : the struggle against all forms of domination, for universal rights, for equality and for a democracy to be invented – a democracy which does not stop at the gates of companies and the threshold of working-class areas, and which is radically opposed to the logic of a capitalist system (whether the latter claims to be 'protectionist', and so against 'foreigners', or 'liberal') which destroys social rights and the environment.

These social movements are inseparable from the social, ecological, democratic and feminist emergencies, as well as a 'crisis of solidarity'. A social emergency because the living and working conditions of the popular classes have continuously deteriorated over the last forty years, most notably since the crisis which affected the continent in 2008-2009. An ecological emergency because the exponential consumption of fossil fuels required by capitalism, and its corollary, the destruction of ecosystems, threaten the very existence of humanity. A democratic emergency because the dominant classes have not hesitated to adopt methods of domination which ignore democratic appearances to an ever-greater degree, and are increasingly repressive, in response to the challenges they have been faced with over the last thirty years. A feminist emergency because patriarchal oppression in all its forms is rejected by millions of women and men. A crisis of solidarity because the closing of borders and building of walls as a response to the millions of migrants fleeing war, poverty, environmental disasters and authoritarian regimes world-wide constitute nothing less than a denial of humanity. Each of these emergencies leads, in response, to mass civil disobedience, self-organization and the building

of alternatives, which represent possible sources of democratic alternatives in Europe.

In this Manifesto, our reflections and our determination to act are solidly rooted in these Europe-wide movements, without limiting themselves to existing borders and institutions: all the challenges and rights mentioned have become global. These take different forms in each country and on each continent, with their own specificities and histories. Social attacks are articulated from the “local” to the “global” depending on the strategies of both multinational companies and their interest groups within national states and the institutions of globalized capitalism, based on the norms of so-called “free trade”. It is this logic which defines the profoundly unequal “partnerships” that the EU has developed with the countries of the south and east of the territory of Europe.

The European institutions play an essential role in the development, organisation and coordination of neoliberal policies at a transnational level. They encourage and sometimes constrain national governments to accelerate the processes of lowering wages and pensions, dismantling laws regulating labour relations and social rights,

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privatizing public services, etc. Of course, neoliberal policies are not dictated by the European institutions alone – countries outside the EU also apply them – but the treaties and institutions are a powerful lever to encourage and impose them. Whatever the various interpretations of the past phases of “the construction of Europe” may be, it is clear that the EU has always been a set of pro-capitalist institutions and, ever since the Treaty of Rome, has been constructed as a vast market for capital and “free and fair competition”, protected from popular and democratic intervention. Recent developments, however, have intensified the unequal and authoritarian nature of European policies. The most recent period has been marked by a considerable

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increase in economic and social inequalities within each country and also between the centre and the internal and external peripheries (to the south and east) of the EU; this period is also characterised by the aggravation of the ecological crisis, with the disruption to the climate and so-called ‘natural’ disasters brought about by the destruction of ecosystems now visible as a significant and continuous process. Yet the European institutions systematically prefer to safeguard the existence of capitalism rather than of humanity.

The response of most governments to the growing protest movements consists of increasing the level of state repression: social and political opponents are threatened in Greece; in France and Belgium laws restricting freedoms follow one another and occurrences of police violence become more and more frequent, refugee rights activists are criminalized, etc. Far-right xenophobic and authoritarian forces

have made considerable progress and even participate in European governments (as in Italy), or shape the political agenda of governments of the ‘extreme centre’ (as in France). The European institutions have never protected capitalist interests so actively and have never erected so many barriers against popular intervention or democratic choice as in the last few years. In Greece, they responded to the electoral victory of Syriza in January 2015 by a policy of monetary asphyxiation (drying up of state liquidity); then, after the success of the “No” vote in the referendum of July 2015, held negotiations behind closed doors with the same government in order to neutralize the will of the people and, with the complicity of the Greek government, impose on them a third austerity memorandum. With the signature of agreements on migration policy between the EU and third-party countries such as the agreement with Turkey of April 2016, these institutions added to the injustice of the Dublin III Regulation and the violence of Frontex (the agency organizing the repression of migrants at the frontiers of the EU) the systematic violation of international law, especially the law of asylum, and direct funding of a repressive policy delegated to third-party countries. Today, the leading pro-

jects for a “reform” of the EU are militarist (increasing the budget of Euroforce), anti-democratic (automaticity of European control of national budgets) and even more neoliberal (projects for generalized privatization of public services). More than ever, as stated in 2015 by the then president of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, from the point of view of the European institutions, “there cannot be a democratic choice against the European treaties”.

Faced with the pro-capitalist, anti-democratic and xenophobic construction which is the EU, what is to be done? Reform through elections at the European level is not a realistic option. A (very) hypothetical majority for a radical left coalition in the European Parliament would not make it possible to impose modifications in the most important treaties and a democratic control on the European Commission and the ECB, which are the two main war machines of neoliberalism in Europe. The Parliament, in reality, does not possess the necessary prerogatives for such reforms, and the ECB and the European Commission, as well as the European Court of Justice and the various European agencies, are completely independent of popular sovereignty. And the simultaneous

election in most member states of governments committed to reforming the EU seems equally illusory, if only because of the different temporality of electoral cycles. The European Union today constitutes not only a vanguard of neoliberalism in the world but also a set of unreformable institutions, which is why a left committed to social transformation can no longer be credible and realistic without placing a complete break with the treaties and institutions of the European Union at the heart of its strategy.

But what forms should this rupture take? We already know that it cannot consist of negotiating a consensus without being in a position of strength faced with the European institutions, as the experience of the first Syriza government in 2015 clearly showed. We also know that political ruptures necessarily rely on social mobilizations on a large scale. Such mobilizations were cruelly lacking in Greece at the beginning of 2015, and they could have created the conditions for the campaign for Brexit to take a different direction from the nationalist and xenophobic one which unfortunately prevailed in the UK in 2016. In other words, breaking with the treaties and the institutions of the European Union will necessarily be conflictual, democratic and interna-

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tionalist. This Manifesto argues that it is necessary and possible to simultaneously oppose the forces and policies of inequality and reaction (which advance under cover both of liberalism and protectionism) at national, European and international levels, relying on both the initiative of citizens and organized social movements and on the action of a people's government committed to defending rights for all.

What is still needed, however, is for what is called in Europe the "radical Left" to raise its game in order to face up to today's challenges. Taken as a whole, its constituent parts so far cruelly lack clarity and courage in their relationship to the European institutions, radicality and ambition in the measures they advocate, and a popular base as a result of their isolation from the social movements which are challenging the existing order from below. It is time, at local, national and international levels, to discuss the measures and realistic and radical initiatives which, if implemented,

would really make it possible to meet social needs, guarantee the fundamental rights of the men and women living in Europe or desiring to do so, improve their living and working conditions, conquer democratic power and begin the process of going beyond capitalism while starting the ecological transition.

The chapters of this Manifesto are designed as proposals to be debated – proposals which arise from reflections oriented towards immediate and more long-term action. They are aimed at citizens and activists of the social, trade union and political left in the different member states or within the orbit of the EU, and submit for discussion diagnoses and proposals which the social movements and left-wing forces which could result in a people's government could defend together. In this shortened version – which does not replace the full version – there is first a general presentation of the Manifesto's outline and then a summary of each of the chapters, focusing on the proposals submitted for discussion and oriented towards action.

**Chapter 1** submits for discussion principles, strategies and tools required to realize these objectives and implement these proposals. It aims to answer this question: What

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should a people's government do in the first days and months of its activity? Like the following chapters, it distinguishes and enumerates immediate, medium-term and more long-term measures to be taken at national or international levels.

The following chapters contain proposals for:

- the public debt, of which it is necessary to cancel the illegitimate, odious and unsustainable part (**chapter 2**);
- the banks, which will have to be socialized within a public banking service providing funds to serve fundamental needs and not the accumulation of profit (**chapter 3**);
- employment and social rights, which must be developed and reinvented to improve living conditions and secure democratic power over the means and purpose of work (**chapter 4**);
- the energy and ecological transition, which must be put into practice urgently to prevent the destruction of ecosystems and invent new forms of sustainable life (**chapter 5**);
- feminist struggles, which must be at the heart of a radical de-

mocratic project and transversal to all social and political struggles (**chapter 6**);

- education and health, which must be defended as fundamental rights, developed and extended to all as public services, as opposed to their commodification and degradation (**chapter 7**);
- international policy and migration, aiming to ensure fundamental rights for all, peace and solidarity between peoples (**chapter 8**)

Like the first chapter, Chapter 9 proposes principles, strategies and tools making it possible to achieve the stated objectives. It sets out to answer this question: What to do in the face of the hostility and constraints imposed by the European institutions? It presents a strategy of disobedience (at all levels), confrontation (including defensive and offensive measures),

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rupture (in different possible forms), and it points to the need to rebuild alliances and constituent processes with a view to instituting democratic forms of international cooperation as an alternative to those of the EU.

Our side must refuse both the unrealistic projects of institutional reform of the European institutions, which in the final analysis only reinforce the status quo, and projects based on a retreat into the nation-state, which end up by merely reinforcing domestic capital. A popular left-wing force which aims at forming a people's government and undertaking the process of urgent social change must commit itself to disobeying the institutions of the EU, breaking with its normal

processes, defending itself against attacks and reprisals coming from the European institutions and big capital, as well as the attempts to block the process by national institutions wedded to the existing order, and working towards new international alliances with partners inside and outside the existing EU with a view to creating new forms of cooperation and solidarity. Popular sovereignty can only be built by confronting the present forms of political institutions at national, European and international levels, and by creating new democratic institutions through organization from below. For that to happen, we must win the argument for the necessity of a clear political break with the national, European and international institutions, which are vehicles for the policies we are fighting, as well as to consolidate the links between networks, forms of resistance and the political, social and trade union movements which share the objectives of progressive and radical change, in particular

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in order to have an influence on a European level. The immediate and urgent task is to reinforce and coordinate the existing initiatives of disobedience, rupture and self-organization, and to initiate new ones, systematically giving them an international dimension, making sure they are clearly opposed to the institutions that serve capital and work in favour of new forms of solidarity between peoples.

By making these proposals for disobeying and breaking with the European institutions, there can be no question of looking towards a nationalist solution to the crisis and to social revolt. As much as in past periods, we need to adopt an internationalist strategy and advocate a European federation of peoples as opposed to pursuing the present course of integration which is completely dominated by the interests of big capital. We should

also constantly develop coordinated campaigns and actions at the continental level and beyond in the fields of debt, ecology, the right to housing, treatment of migrants and refugees, health, education and other public services, the right to work. Struggles must be led to close nuclear power plants, drastically reduce the use of fossil fuels, ban taxation dumping and tax havens, socialize the banks, insurance companies and the energy sector, re-appropriate the commons, defend and extend the rights of women and LGBTI people, promote public goods and services, launch constituent processes. It is more urgent than ever to take action against the ever-increasing authoritarianism of governments and for democracy in every area of social life.

**It will no doubt be objected that this revolutionary way is too radical or too difficult. We reply that any other is a dead-end, and that ours is the only one which makes it possible to start the process of breaking with the existing order, now and everywhere it may be possible, in order to rebuild local, regional, national and international spaces, and beyond that, a world which is liveable, fair and democratic.**

# CHAPTER 1

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## First steps of a popular government

**W**hat should the popular Left do in the case of reaching a national government in Europe? In this chapter we suggest common measures and initiatives – to be implemented in all cases – and two separate scenarios – one of which has to be chosen – on the issue of currency.

### Immediate steps:

**By the first day** of its assumption of office the newly elected popular government should be prepared to promulgate decrees concerning: how to secure deposits (up to a given amount); control banks, insurance companies, etc., also the Central Bank, which should be put immediately under the authority of the government and should be au-

thorized to issue money; a moratorium on the servicing of public debt; capital control; at least one important measure (to be followed by others) to improve immediately and perceptibly the living conditions of the many, for example the increase of minimum wages and pensions.

The priority is to lift austerity. To do so, a popular government should implement a series of economic measures to develop a social agenda. It should in particular: halt the implementation of the Stability and Growth Pact; suspend the payment of the public debt, on the basis of a moratorium or a citizen audit of the public debt, while opting for a selective default, protecting social security funds, pension funds and

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small savers; establish a control of capitals movement to prevent capital flight and tax evasion; establish a control of prices on staple goods and services; take resolute control of the banking system and insurance companies; establish a Progressive Tax Reform (with heavier taxes on profits and wealth) with the priority on the taxation of capital, big business and very high wages, in order to support a new public investment policy; protect the working classes in case of a temporary decrease in national revenue, and make the ruling classes pay for the crisis.

A popular government must launch a vast programme of measures in the field of social rights: increase minimum wages and pensions; extend universal and free public services in the fields of health, education, care of children and the elderly, collective transportation, and a housing policy with a social rent; create high quality public jobs for these purposes, create jobs as part of a change in the production model and an ecological transition; implement a substantial reduction of working time by law as well as a new progressive labour reform in order to limit the power of shareholders, and to move towards more democracy within all productive spaces.

Concerning the strategic sectors of the economy: a vast programme of socialization needs to be developed, which implies expropriating the capitalists as a priority in the sectors of finance (banking and insurance), energy, telecommunications and the pharmaceutical industry in order to put these activities at the service of the population. A popular government must take concrete measures to socialize the entire education, health and care systems, by bringing back into the public domain services that are currently in the private sector (private hospitals, private schools and universities, etc.).

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*The question  
of monetary sovereignty  
is a crucial issue*

Since these policies involve transgressing the European treaties and institutions, the EU will necessarily try to prevent their implementation.

In order to be in the best position to respond to these hostile reactions, a government of the popular Left must immediately initiate public discussions with other governments and address the other peoples of the EU in order to launch international campaigns to support its policies and bring together initiatives for change.

*Choices to be made concerning  
monetary sovereignty:*

The crucial issue related with how to respond to the very probable hostile reaction of the EU institutions is the question of monetary sovereignty. In this regard, several options are being debated within the European popular Left; the Re-CommonsEurope network retains two of them at this stage, in an open process where those involved are convinced that discussions must continue.

**Scenario 1.**  
**Immediate exit from the EMU  
and creation of a new national  
currency.**

A crucial step in the path of a popular government would be rejection of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), under a neoliberal economic structure, as it is now. For the peripheral nations, and especially for the Southern periphery, exiting the EMU is imperative. Getting out of the iron trap is the way to adopt policies that could expand the economy, absorb unemployment through the creation of well-paid jobs and reduce poverty. Exit is certainly not an easy process but by now there is considerable knowledge on how it could be achieved with as little disruption as possible. For the core countries the issue of the EMU is considerably more complex, since it involves dismantling the monetary union altogether and setting up alternative arrangements. The EMU should certainly not be replaced by unfettered competition in the foreign exchange markets. Europe requires a system of stabilizing exchange rates coupled with a system of payments among countries, radically different than those of the EMU. If provoked by popular forces,

*Exiting or short-circuiting the EMU will enable concrete economic policies creating a true basis for solidarity in Europe*

dismantling the EMU could be an important step against the neoliberal regime of the EU.

**Scenario 2.**

**An alternative currency in order to shortcircuit the EMU.**

A popular government could set up a Monetary Authority able to issue an alternative currency to the euro immediately, whatever the future decision may be (to stay in the EMU or to return to a national currency). The political advantage of an alternative currency, even if it is only complementary at first, is that it allows a popular government to respond to several immediate challenges and to defend itself preventively against measures that will inevitably be taken by the European institutions in retaliation for the application of political measures against the European treaties, without needing to get rid of the euro right after being elected. The complementary currency can play a role of transition and of shock absorber, while providing greater room for

public authorities to manoeuvre in. The government will accept the payment of taxes in this currency, which will also serve as a means of payment for a range of services, for increases in the salaries of civil servants, increases in pensions and social benefits. This new currency will, at least initially, have parity with the euro. Such a complementary currency would thus be an integral part of a strategy to short-circuit the EMU's binding power, thus supporting a policy of breaking with the European treaties in order to allow, in the long term, the full recovery of monetary sovereignty, involving an exit from the EMU if necessary.

**Initiatives at the international level:**

Exiting or short-circuiting the EMU, and eventually leaving the EU, if done in order to implement policies supporting labour (irrespective of its nationality) against capital, is not a nationalist step, nor would it represent a return to competing and warring states in Europe. On the contrary, it will signal the emergence of a radical internationalism that draws on the expressed popular demand to reject the dysfunctional and hegemonic structures of the EU. This break,

reflecting a new balance of powers in favour of the popular camp, will enable concrete economic policies creating a true basis for solidarity in Europe, and giving fresh content to popular sovereignty and democratic rights, within or beyond existing borders. It will lead to new forms of inter-state alliances in Europe, or even an alternative model of supranational, democratic and solidarity-driven area based on peoples' cooperation and internationalism, disconnected of capitalist development.



# CHAPTER 2

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## Banks

*Socialization of the banking sector is a necessary condition for a change of social model*

**B**ecause money, savings, credit and the payment system are useful to the general interest, they must imperatively respond to a public service logic (and therefore be used and managed as part of a public service). Socialization of the banking sector (i.e. the public monopoly on the banking activity and the management of the banking sector by the workers together with customers, associations and elected representatives) is a necessary condition for a change of social model. Such a measure represents a major threat for capitalism,

therefore popular support will be a necessary condition for it to be achieved.

Measures to be immediately implemented:

To have room for manoeuvring once in power and to limit the risks of financial asphyxia, a popular government must establish control on capital flow. It must also immediately implement a new banking regulation which will impose: to significantly increase the banks' ratio of equity in their balance sheets, which ought to be above 20%; to force banks to clean up their off-balance sheet commitments; to separate investment banks from retail banks and to prohibit credit relations between these two types of banks, as well as to prohibit socialization of losses, securitization, High Frequency Trading, over-the-counter financial markets, and any connection between banking

institutions and shadow banking as well as tax havens; to put an end to banking secrecy; to systematically prosecute managers responsible for financial offences and crimes; to establish a real financial responsibility of the major shareholders, in particular in case of bankruptcies; to increase taxation on banks. A popular government must also recover control on its central bank, with a view to resuming control on its monetary policy and financing conditions.

*Towards a socialization of the private banking system:*

Within the popular Left as well as within the **ReCommonsEurope** network, the discussion must continue until a unified position is reached. At this stage, two options are being debated: **either socialize part of the banking sector with the creation of a public pole conceived of as a stepping stone towards the socialization of the entire sector (scenario 1), or proceed from the outset to the socialization of the entire banking system, including the financing and investment banks as well as the insurance sector (scenario 2)**. While the use of nationalization can lead to confusion with the takeover of banks by the ruling elites within the framework of ca-

***Implement a new banking regulation and recover control of the central bank in order to have room for manoeuvring once in power and to limit the risks of financial asphyxia***

pitalism, socialization refers more explicitly to a form of collectivization in which workers make decisions and exercise control, together with customers, associations' representatives and elected representatives. A popular government should compensate small shareholders (who do not take part in banks' decisions), while it could decide to pay only a symbolic euro to major shareholders and recover the cost of reorganizing the bank from these shareholders' assets.

**Scenario 1:**  
**A public banking pole**

If the choice of immediate socialization of the entire banking sector is not shared by all the forces gathered in the setting up of a popular government, the public banking pole could represent a compromise solution and give this government the means of its policy.

In terms of governance, each ins-

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titution would retain its operating autonomy and its own management bodies in this public pole. However, these institutions would operate within a common framework defined by a national steering body that would ensure overall consistency. The national steering body would consist of national and local elected representatives, heads of institutions and representatives of workers' and citizens' associations (including trade unions). If a private banking system is to be maintained, what would emerge is a tripartite banking system: a public financial pole, including the socialized banks and other public institutions, would coexist along with the private banks and a cooperative sector. Personnel representatives might be granted the right to information and veto rights over the projects that will be financed by the bank. Socialization requires a fundamental revision of boards of directors and the way

in which their members are appointed.

For all banks that do not belong to the public sector, a "banking law" would redefine the missions of all banks as well as the membership and the appointment process of their boards of directors, regardless of their legal structure.

### **Scenario 2:**

#### **Full socialization of the banking system**

The full socialization of the banking system means expropriating without compensating (or compensating by one symbolic euro) major shareholders (small shareholders will be fully compensated); granting a monopoly of banking activities to the public sector, with one single exception: the existence of a small cooperative banking sector (subject to the same fundamental rules as the public sector); defining, with citizen participation, a charter covering the goals to be attained and the missions to be carried out, which sets the public savings, credit and investment entities at the service of priorities defined by a democratic planning process. Socializing the banking and insurance sectors into public services will make it possible for citizens and public authorities to escape the influence of the financial markets; to finance projects of



citizens and of public authorities; to dedicate the activity of banking to the common good, with among its missions that of facilitating the transition from a capitalist, production-intensive economy to a social, sustainable and environment-friendly economy.

With the socialization of the banking sector, private banks will have disappeared: following their expropriation, their personnel will be reassigned to the public banking and insurance service, with guarantees of their seniority and their wages and with an improvement in working conditions. Local branches will grant credits at no risk to individuals, households, SMEs and private local entities, associations, local governmental bodies and public entities. The local projects to be financed will be defined democratically with maximum citizen participation.

**No matter which of the two scenarios is chosen**, recovering control on the central bank is indispensable.

# CHAPTER 3

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## Debt

*Challenge the legitimacy of sovereign debt that has been incurred to bail out private financial institutions and accumulate private capital*

**A**ny popular government must challenge the legitimacy of sovereign debt that has been incurred to bail out private financial institutions and accumulate private capital, as well as reject the principle of balanced budgets. Such process must start with the suspension of debt payments and the implementation of capital controls in order to put forward an audit, that is an exercise of transparency and sovereignty that will allow the new government to clarify what debt is illegitimate and should be repudiated or unilaterally restructured.

Given the potential for conflict with creditors that this implies, it is very important that such processes be carried out with popular support.

*Challenging the legitimacy of public debt*

The legitimacy of much of the public debt of EU member states must be challenged. The need to radically reduce the amount of debt is not only due to the large burden that interest payments impose on public budgets, but also because austerity policies imposed by the supranational institutions as a requirement to comply with its payment generally have disastrous consequences for the debtor countries. The implementation of these policies must be stopped immediately by a popular government that wants to put forward a progressive agenda. Most likely a progressive political party

that wants to confront creditors and lift austerity will take office in the middle of great market turmoil. We witnessed this in Greece in 2015. In this context, the need for capital control is immediate, in order to prevent massive capital flights out of the country (by capitalists fearing for their vested interests or openly sabotaging the efforts of the progressive government) and help prevent banking instability and collapse.

*Public debt audit as a tool to take unilateral measures against illegitimate public debt*

In order to argue and to gain popular support in favour of unilateral measures against the burden of public debt, from the suspension of its payment to its unilateral restructuring or to its repudiation, a citizen debt audit must be carried out. The books of public debt should be opened to public scrutiny and an investigation under democratic control should categorize the debts that must not be repaid. As a matter of principle, debts that are considered odious, illegitimate, illegal or unsustainable (following the definitions adopted by the Truth Committee on the Public Debt of Greece) shouldn't be repaid.

***Austerity policies imposed by the creditors as a requirement to comply with the payment of public debt generally have disastrous consequences for the debtor countries. The implementation of these policies must be stopped immediately***

Governments of the popular Left should include debts that other nations have with their states in the audit of the debt. Under the same principles debt that is considered illegitimate, illegal, odious and/or unsustainable must be cancelled.

When public debts are cancelled by a popular government, the latter must protect small savers who have invested in public securities as well as wage earners and old-age pensioners who had part of their social security contributions (old-age, unemployment, disease or family benefits) invested in institutions or bodies that run the same kind of securities.



***Odious,  
illegitimate,  
illegal or  
unsustainable  
debts shouldn't  
be repaid***

*Reduction of private debt*

A government of the popular Left should implement a programme of private debt relief, reducing or cancelling debts of individuals and families, whose amount has greatly increased as a result of the neoliberal

offensive against employment, wages, public services, etc. These emergency measures should be accompanied by policies aiming at reversing this neoliberal offensive.

# CHAPTER 4

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## Work, employment and social rights

A radical change in employment policies and social policies is necessary to guarantee fair employment, a decent life and economic democracy for all.

### Initiatives by citizens and social movements

Citizens and social movements' demands constitute a precondition to move beyond the neoliberal logic. These initiatives should point in particular to the cancellation and reversal of the cuts in social rights, and of the dismantlement of the collective bargaining and labour rights suffered in recent years; the establishment of a reference level for a minimum salary; the reduction of working time (32 hours a week,

*Strengthen social movements' initiatives that point in particular to the cancellation and reversal of the cuts in social rights*

for instance); the guarantee of the right to housing; the right of people to migrate and to be welcomed and receive full citizenship; the dismantling of corporate power and in particular of the power of transnational corporations through their socialization and public regulation; the social, ecological, democratic and feminist transformation of the economic model.

***Break with the  
mechanisms imposed by  
the logic of “convergence  
policies” at the European  
level and democratize  
the economy***

*Immediate steps of a  
popular government*

A popular government should first adopt immediate measures to recover rights which were lost in the fields of employment and of collective bargaining, as well as increase the power of the working class and the unions; reverse the cuts imposed on pensions and increase them instead, as well as unemployment benefits and other social benefits; guarantee all rights to all people who are forced to migrate for economic, social or political reasons; oppose and cancel “new generation” trade agreements.

Next, popular governments should implement measures in all these areas: reduction of the working week to 35 hours as a first step towards a greater reduction, without any wage loss; increase of the minimum wage; abolition of existing restrictions on the improvement of collective agreements

reached in different sectors and territorial areas; prohibition of workers’ dismissals in companies that make profits; abolition of gender inequality at work by making effective the principle of equal wages for men and women with equal qualification; establishment of a significant number of minimum hours that must be remunerated in part-time jobs; democratization of the work centres and enhanced participation of workers in decision-making on the workplace; increase in social protection, with a substantial increase in the share of national income that goes to health, education, social benefits, etc.; fostering of democratic work experimentations: cooperatives, self-organized production of goods and services, social and solidarity economy, etc.; creation of new social rights that facilitate a life worth living: access to social housing, right to work (which is better than a basic income), recognition of dependency situations through a public, universal and free social security system, guarantee of available and free places in a public system of nurseries, creating a “universal maintenance grant” for students, which would allow young

people to fund their studies away from the pressure of the labour market. These measures imply an increase in high quality employment in socially necessary and sustainable sectors.

Medium-term steps of a popular government

Further economic and social policies of a popular government should aim mainly at breaking with the mechanisms imposed by the logic of “convergence policies” at the European level (fiscal criteria, spending rule, and so on) and democratizing the economy: workers’ right to decide over the conditions and organization of their work, and on the means and ends of their activity, must be recognized as a democratic and social right and guaranteed by labour laws. This implies an inalienable right to work, together with the right to education and housing, and a full rethinking of the workplace in order to transform it into a democratic institution.

***Promote initiatives  
at the international  
level for the social,  
democratic, ecological  
and feminist  
transformation  
of work***

Medium-term initiatives  
at an international level

Moreover, at an international level, we should systematically promote initiatives for the social, democratic, ecological and feminist transformation of work. This means that all political and social institutions must be put at the service of changing the modes of production, distribution and consumption, relocating employment in socially and environmentally necessary sectors, and making sure that working conditions are fair. We also need to promote a radical change in the rules of globalization to give priority to human, economic, social and cultural rights. This involves breaking with the logic of the Trade Agreements, which are systems of domination of capital and transnational companies.

Concerning strategic issues at the European level, the priorities should be transnational strikes, in order to confront collectively corporate power from a class perspective; common European or international campaigns of labour unions and social movements concerning the issues previously raised; pedagogy regarding the disastrous effects of the European Union on employment, inequalities and social rights; opposition, disobedience

and struggles against all the institutions of neoliberal capitalism – including the European Union – that prevent the implementation of the social rights of the workers and citizens.



# CHAPTER 5

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## Eco-socialism and energy transition

A consistent environmental commitment cannot be limited to modifying the relationship between humankind and nature in general, it needs to include the demand for social equality, which guarantees the satisfaction of social needs and especially protects the popular classes: we have to preserve an environment which can sustain life (in particular through 58% decrease of global net emissions of greenhouse gases by 2030 and 100% decrease by 2050), and guarantee social equity without productivism. In short, we need an anti-capitalist, eco-socialist, anti-productivist and de-growth programme. In Europe, this implies a radical break with the pro-capitalist EU and its “climate policies”, and particularly with polluting licences,

*We need an  
anti-capitalist,  
eco-socialist,  
anti-productivist and  
de-growth programme*

green bonds and CAT bonds, and more generally with the perspective of a “green capitalism” that the European Commission tries to promote.

### *Immediate citizen initiatives*

The changes that are necessary to address the ecological crisis will only be possible with a great social support, based on a citizenship that is well-informed and willing to pro-

***We urgently need  
a public ownership of  
the energy sector,  
which implies to  
expropriate the  
private energy  
companies and to  
transfer them to a  
socialized public  
sector of energy***

mote and be co-responsible for the needed transformations. Therefore, it is necessary to encourage, protect and develop citizen initiatives that are already oriented towards a socio-ecological transition (cooperatives of public services, agro-ecological farming and consumption, recycling, ecological restoration, industries in the process of reconversion, etc.). We also need to promote awareness-raising and self-organized initiatives functioning as laboratories of experiences that can be reproduced on a bigger scale in the future.

***Emergency measures to be taken by a popular government***

In order to guarantee a democratic programme in favour of the many, we urgently need a public ownership of the energy sector,

which implies to expropriate the private energy companies and to transfer them to a socialized public sector of energy. We also need a citizen control on the means and aims of production in all sectors, which should be exercised by people who are as close as possible to the fields and to the needs concerned. Furthermore, we need a democratic control at the level of the state of key elements such as infrastructures, economic actors, financing mechanisms, strategic planning, and associated industry. If the public sector is to fulfil its function as a catalyst of the transition and to be financed without the pressure of capitalist market, it needs monetary autonomy. For this purpose, the rules of the European Monetary Union should be abandoned and replaced by other forms of financial cooperation in Europe. We must push for a development model that favours local production, reduces the overall socio-environmental impact and generates local prosperity, even without GDP growth.

The magnitude of the environmental problems will require huge socio-economic transformations in a short period of time. Therefore, in addition to the actions mentioned above, the government should implement exceptional emergency mechanisms to promote imme-

diate radical change concerning the conservation of nature and biodiversity, in particular with the control of urbanization and land occupation; the reinforcement of legislation and regulations to reduce pollution and alterations in biogeochemical cycles; reforestation and development of agroforestry. These emergency measures also concern energy and climate, in particular with a nationalization / socialization plan for the means of production in the energy sector taking into account infrastructures, operators and pricing and tax systems; an energy financing plan with criteria regarding the priorities and the redistribution of wealth; the development of a relocated and socialized energy sector and the transformation of every sector of the industrial production on the basis of renewable and non-polluting energy; the prohibition of fracking techniques, the closing down of all nuclear plants and of thermal power plants based on fossil fuels; the promotion of an agriculture without pesticides or synthetic fertilisers.

*Concrete objectives for a popular government*

A popular government committed to ecological sustainability and support for the popular classes must

redefine the main economic sectors. Here are some of the concrete measures to be developed: establish long-term objectives and strategies, either constitutionally or through legislative development; create democratic mechanisms of investment and financing (with the socialization of banks, but also the cancellation of the illegitimate, illegal, odious and unsustainable part of public debt, etc.) of the eco-socialist transition; preserve the key ecological systems (soils, underground water, coasts and seas) through boosting public ownership and/or common management; eliminate the legal barriers to agro-ecological production by small farmers; develop public services with free and easy access for all in particular public transportation in both urban and rural areas; encourage living in rural areas – while preserving areas that are still “pristine”–, which frees up urban spaces; increase the self-sufficiency of cities; organize a comprehensive housing insulation plan as part of a right to decent housing for all; develop a new model of energy management and guarantee the control of energy prices; forbid planned obsolescence; implement a strategy that allows the anticipation of possible local ecological conflicts and their democratic arbitration as part of the re-organization of the economy.

***Trying to solve socio-ecological and energy challenges at the national level is essential, but it is totally unfeasible if these initiatives are not accompanied by international action***

*Initiatives at the international level:*

Trying to solve socio-ecological and energy challenges at the national level is essential, but it is totally unfeasible if these initiatives are not accompanied by international action. This implies the modification of European regulations. A genuine public control requires first to get rid of the European competition rules as well as of the public procurement regulations, the European criterion of stability, the limitation of the public deficit and the current European monetary restrictions; second to introduce restrictive clauses for companies and investors in European biodiversity strategies, particularly concerning the issue of public health (reduction of air pollution, prohibition of polluting and pathogen pesticides, etc.); finally to repeal multilateral treaties (such

as the Energy Charter, the international dispute settlements mechanisms involved in “free trade” agreements, etc.) and every treaty that opposes the stated objectives.

A radical eco-socialist transition plan is needed in Europe, as well as in the rest of the world. Efforts to drastically reduce greenhouse gas emissions will have to be more significant in the countries of the global North, in order to guarantee the countries of the global South a priority right to develop using what humankind can still use of non-renewable energies, until the energy transition is ensured at the global level. Concretely overtaking capitalism is not only a matter of equality and democracy, but also of the survival and reproduction of the ecosystems to which human beings belong. In this perspective, a radical break with the current European treaties and institutions, and their replacement by alternative forms of international cooperation, are absolutely necessary conditions.

# CHAPTER 6

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## Feminism

**A** consistent feminist political position demands that we oppose all forms of exploitation, sexism, patriarchy and all forms of violence that turn the exploited and vulnerable into mutual enemies, while Capital safely continues to divide our common struggles. Our strength lies in the struggles and solidarity of the oppressed, of women, LGBTQI communities, minorities, people of colour and workers against the tyranny of the market and capital and against the EU that imposes austerity.

Popular governments need to bring these struggles together and go beyond mere demands for formal equality to challenge the gendered division of labour and the gendered character of social reproduction as

*Our strength lies in the struggles and solidarity of the oppressed; popular governments need to bring these struggles together*

well as its isolation from the public sphere. We need to socialize the tasks of social reproduction, for example through massive investments in municipal nurseries, restaurants, and laundries with the aim of delivering these as free public services. In this way we create preconditions for the integration of men and women in all economic sectors on equal terms and equal pay. We create the conditions for the end of subaltern women's work

*In enabling women  
to decide freely how  
to lead their own lives,  
the public, socialised  
sector will be a  
lever for wider changes  
in society*

at home and in the waged economy, and in this way transform the gender division of labour into a genuinely egalitarian and emancipatory manner. In the transition period, we will have to use quotas to make sure women, migrant women in particular, are properly represented in the economic fields of their choosing, but in particular in the public sector. In the public sector our aim is to create forms of flexibility that serve not the interest of Capital in having a low cost private reproduction of labour power in the family at the expense of women, but enable women to choose whether they will have children or not, whether they will take time off to bring them up or not, whether they will pursue their careers or not, in short to ensure women's right to reproductive self-determination and to expanding their potential at work and in society. In this way the public,

socialized sector will be a lever for wider changes in society, and our aim is to work with the liberation movements to transform social reproduction from below through the initiatives of self-organized movements.

Thus, social movements should develop campaigns and mobilizations to achieve full equality of all: fight all forms of violence and discrimination based on gender, class, race and age; demand decriminalisation of protests and solidarity actions with migrants and other vulnerable groups; campaign over and demand equal pay for equal work, socializing the burden of social reproduction (investments in municipal nurseries, communal restaurants and laundries), higher citizen's participation in political decisions on local levels, availability of drinking water and all other means of subsistence, reproductive rights and access to reproductive health care; fight big finance, indebtedness and austerity policies; campaign over the issues of migration and opening borders; demand the end of imperialist wars – led in particular by the NATO coalition – which destroy entire societies.

Concrete measures are to be adopted by popular governments in order to impose higher taxes on big capital to fund a massive expansion of the public sector, including employment in areas associated with the ecological transition; expand full time employment of women in the public sector; enforce existing legislation on equal pay for equal work in the public sector and introduce penalties for private sector employers that fail to respect the law; increase the number of communal nurseries, restaurants and laundries; make sure that work in the education, health and care sectors is not feminized, that is there is an equal balance of male and female workers; prevent discrimination against women returning to work after childbirth or child care; enforce and improve laws defending the civic and employment rights of LGBTIQ+ populations; introduce quota legislation to enable migrant populations to find equal pay work in the public sector; supplement equality legislation with public campaigns over, and material support to, communities and movements fighting racism, gender oppression

and discrimination; reform existing legislation to support victims of sexual and domestic violence, including children; support legislation with public campaigns and material support for women fighting back and for youth movements articulating their own demands; increase citizen participation on issues that concern their daily lives and on everyday level through the introduction of self-management mechanisms in all public sector work units and community self-management mechanisms.

The feminism we fight for is not the feminism of a tiny minority of corporate and bank women directors at the expense of working women, migrants, and all those who are vulnerable. We fight for a feminism which struggles against the policies that bring deaths of thousands of women and the exploitation of hundreds of thousands more, a fight based on the awareness that the enemy is capital, and the enemy is always at home.

*We fight for a feminism  
which struggles against  
the policies that bring  
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a fight based on  
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the enemy is capital,  
and the enemy is  
always at home*



# CHAPTER 7

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## Health, Education and Housing

Since the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008, austerity measures implemented across the world and in Europe have plundered social funds, imposed strict fiscal discipline and introduced cuts to what were already declining investments in education, health and care systems, waging a war primarily against those who either earn very little or nothing. This is what we want to change. The struggle over education, health, care and the right to decent housing is part of the struggle to emancipate ourselves and substantially improve the conditions we live in.

Our proposals are aimed at both

*The struggle over education, health, care and the right to decent housing is part of the struggle to emancipate ourselves and substantially improve the conditions we live in*

movements and political forces that could come to power. We believe that the struggle for free and publicly available health and education is the only viable alternative.

### Immediate proposals to social movements

Priority should be given to campaign, on the one hand, for accessible housing as well as free and

***Campaign for free  
and publicly available  
services, the socialization  
of pharmaceutical  
industries and access to  
pharmaceutical products  
via the public health  
system; campaign on  
equal pay and a rise  
of wages, dignity of job  
and in living conditions***

publicly available health, education and care services, on the other for the socialization of pharmaceutical industries and access to pharmaceutical products via the public health system; it should include campaigns on equal pay and a rise of wages, dignity of job and in living conditions. We must demand an immediate stop to any further liberalization, privatization or commodification in any of these sectors that should be equally available to everyone, regardless of their class; promote citizens' audits on Public-Private Partnerships contracts and debts contracted via such PPPs; challenge illegitimate debts contracted via PPPs and demand an immediate moratorium on any further PPPs; stop any further public money investment into private

schools and hospitals; initiate the socialization of education, health and care systems; campaign for the possibility of up to a 12 month maternity leave; demand equal access to free, publicly financed and subsidized education, from early childhood to university; campaign for free meals for every child attending publicly financed institutions; demand quality and not quantity: human beings are not mere numbers.

***Immediate proposals to be  
adopted by popular governments***

Instead of increasing investment in military and defence, a popular government should invest money in education, housing, health and care services so that all citizens benefit from them. It should also restore the dignity and increase salaries of all workers included in the processes of education, health and care; put an end to any further PPPs projects related to public services; question the debts contracted through various forms of PPPs; define housing as an essential use value (rather than as an exchange value); invest in public education, health and care systems instead of promoting private interests based on the ideology of choice; stop any further public investment into private schools, hospitals and other similar private institutions; ensure

that all children excluded from the educational system as a result of disabilities, poverty and other forms of discrimination are included in the education system and that resources are properly provided to facilitate their flourishing; ensure that children with special needs are provided with specialised educational assistance; put an end to income- and race-based segregation in health, care and education; invest in quality instead of quantifying and introducing further measurement tests; reduce the number of children per classroom; reduce the pressure put on public institutions by investing in public jobs in order to ensure that there are enough teachers, doctors, nurses and care workers to maintain high quality and standard.

Medium term programme  
of popular governments

A popular government must socialize the entire health, care and education systems, by returning to the public domain what are now services owned by the private sector. It should promote the creation of a collectively managed public housing stock; expropriate real estate funds when their housing stock does not have a social function or is not within the reach of the majority of the population. It should

also promote and help introduce the self-management of health, care and education institutions by professionals working in these sectors, combined with the participation of the users of social services and citizens in general, as well as local councillors; favour direct involvement of citizens in decisions concerning health and education through their right to participate in the relevant self-management assemblies; make available fully free and universal medication, care and education; ensure fully free higher education and maintenance grants for all students; work towards international cooperation in public research, especially in the health system to overcome the fragmentation, monopolization, waste, massive costs imposed by Big Pharma; organise a system of redistribution of wealth from the richest to the poorest countries, targeted specifically at health, care and education sectors; ensure equal citizenship and employment rights for all workers, irrespective of nationality, employed in the now socialized, public sector.

Having, preserving and strengthening accessible housing as well as free, publicly financed and subsidized education, health and care systems is not possible within the framework of the EU and the euro.

*Having, preserving  
and strengthening  
accessible housing as  
well as free, publicly  
financed and subsidized  
education, health and  
care systems is  
only possible if we  
simultaneously grapple  
with austerity and the  
debt-led economy,  
which implies targeting  
the EU and the euro*

Without grappling with austerity and the debt-led economy the chances do not exist. This chapter dealt with health, education and housing issues, but equally important questions linked with public services should be dealt with, such as public transport and other issues questions concerning the demands and needs of local communities.



# CHAPTER 8

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## International relations

**W**e need to simultaneously oppose the inequalities between core and peripheries within the European Union, the “Fortress Europe” policy, which is responsible for the deaths of thousands of migrants, in particular in the Mediterranean, and the neo-colonialism of the main European powers in the rest of the world.

*Immediate citizen initiatives to be launched at the national and international levels, notably by social movements*

The popular Left in Europe needs to participate in and develop the existing social movements challenging the migration policies of Fortress

*Participate in the social movements in favour of opening borders and welcoming migrants with dignity, and opposing economic and military imperialism*

Europe, initiatives such as those providing shelter for migrants, helping them cross borders, denouncing detention centres for migrants, organising mass demonstrations in favour of opening borders and welcoming migrants with dignity. The popular Left also needs to build up links with groups and individuals involved in emancipatory policies outside of Europe.

## *Break with the NATO and commit to global disarmament*

We need to engage in and develop audits of European credits over third parties in order to cancel illegitimate and odious debts claimed by the EU and its member states over third countries, as well as challenge the free-trade agreements signed with developing countries and other economic policies deepening the dependency of subjugated nations. We also need to actively engage in the “Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions” (BDS) campaign against the settler colonialism of the Israeli state. Left-wing groups and social movements in Europe must oppose imperialist and counter-revolutionary wars wherever they come from and actively denounce co-operation between their own current governments and regimes involved in human rights violations.

### *First steps of a popular government at the national level*

In order to signify a radical break in the approach to international policies, a popular government in a NATO member state will leave that organization and cease all co-operation with it. The military command which is the most closely linked with the capitalist state and class will be dismissed and the army will be re-organized under democratic

control. If the state is involved in wars abroad (e. g. Mali), it will initiate a process of disengagement to be achieved as soon as possible and to be replaced with humanitarian support under democratic control of the people concerned. A popular government will socialize the weapon industry and implement a moratorium on arm production and sales abroad. It will commit itself to global disarmament and dismantle its nuclear weapons if it has any.

A popular government should open its borders, organize a secured access to its territory for migrants (in particular by sea) and ensure freedom of movement and settlement for all. Detention centres for migrants will be abolished. Equal rights, including free access to health care and to public education as well as access to a decent housing, should be ensured; anyone settling in the popular government’s jurisdiction should be given full civic rights, including the right to vote at all levels of the jurisdiction. Any financial participation in European common budgets for border control (e. g. Frontex) will be cancelled. If the state owns a Navy military force, it will be disarmed, put under democratic control and used for humanitarian action (e. g. in the Mediterranean Sea).

*Open borders,  
organize secured  
routes for migrants  
and ensure freedom  
of movement and  
settlement for all*

A popular government will implement a moratorium on the reimbursement of its own credits until the findings of an audit with citizen participation are known. All credits over subjugated nations outside and inside (e. g. Greece) the EU will be cancelled. All illegitimate and odious credits will be cancelled. A popular government will stop its financial participation to the international financial institutions which contribute to the subjugation of dependent countries such as the IMF and the World Bank. It will disobey the rules of the WTO, step out of any free trade agreement it is party to which is unfavourable to less developed countries, and instead propose fair trade to those countries. It will enforce penalties against corporations which are active in its own jurisdiction and which violate the national and international laws abroad. It will forbid transactions with tax havens and take sanctions against them. It will transfer useful technologies free of charge to subjugated nations.

A popular government will recognise the destructive role played by colonization, including slavery, colonial wars, wars of extermination and colonial mass murders; it will initiate a process to determine financial compensations to be paid to

its former colonies if it had any and it will give them back the cultural goods which were stolen from them.

A popular government will take sanctions against regimes that violate international law and fundamental human rights, paying attention not to further endanger the populations in those countries. It will actively support oppressed nations and ethnicities (e. g. Palestinian, Kurdish, Sahrawi, Rohingya) through humanitarian and diplomatic help. It will assist populations whose lives are directly threatened, including through measures to prevent criminal regimes from committing mass crimes.

Medium term steps of  
a popular government and  
of social movements

A popular government will need to break its isolation through mass mobilizations against counter-revolutionary threats from within and from abroad. It will call for international mobilizations for peace, solidarity and social justice. It will make public

***A popular government  
will need to break  
its isolation and call  
for international  
mobilizations for  
peace, solidarity and  
social justice***

the constant blackmail and threats used by pro-capitalist governments inside multilateral institutions and negotiations. In order to break its isolation, a popular government will need to establish new bilateral and multilateral co-operations with pro-capitalist governments abroad. It will do so by making clear the distinction between tactical diplomatic moves (which would be the motivation behind such co-operations) and strategic political alliances (which could not be achieved with pro-capitalist governments), and under strict democratic control by the population.

***Medium term steps at  
the international level***

Popular governments will establish a common financial institution based on solidarity, offering zero interest loans to dependent countries both outside and inside the EU. They will establish new co-operations in economic, social and ecological fields, implementing the same laws (e. g. in

the fields of labour rights, social security, housing policies) based on the highest existing standards among the group of countries concerned. Popular governments will adopt a legally binding treaty to force transnational corporations to respect international law and will act together at the international level to promote social change and ecological transition. They will establish a strong enough relationship of powers to enter into meaningful negotiations with oppressive powers for the settlement of national issues (e. g. Palestine, Western Sahara, Kurdistan) and protracted civil wars (e. g. Syria).

## CHAPTER 9

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# Social struggles, political confrontations and constituent processes

*Disobey, confront,  
and break with, the  
undemocratic and  
capitalist European  
institutions, and replace  
them with new forms  
of popular cooperation  
and democratic  
institutions in Europe*

**T**he European institutions (of the EU and the Euro area) are structurally neoliberal, undemocratic and unequal. They constitute an obstacle to the satisfaction of the popular classes' needs, demands and rights in each country, as well as to solidarity and equality between the populations of the member States. Against the logics of competition as well as in the perspective of an ecological transition, the European level of struggles and of building of alternatives is of particular importance. We want to turn Europe into our common home, but this is impossible in the framework of the existing European institutions. Our

*Disobey the Treaties,  
diktats and decisions  
of the EU in a  
coordinated manner*

scenario proposes to rely on existing social struggles at the local, national and transnational levels in order to **disobey, confront and break with the undemocratic and capitalist European institutions, and to replace them with new forms of popular cooperation and democratic institutions in Europe.**

*The main features of the “rebellion”  
scenario for a common Europe*

1. We need to immediately implement our alternative social, environmental and political goals through coordinated and cooperation-oriented permanent platforms and disobedience movements: at local, regional, national and European levels, and concerning all matters or specific issues (for example debt, migration policies, ecological transition, neo-colonial agreements with the Global South including “Eastern Europe”, etc.), several political actors should disobey the Treaties, diktats and decisions of the EU. They should make it known that they do it together in order to implement alternative policies and to set up new instituted and long-term cooperation (concerning all or specific matters).

Such disobedience processes can be based on existing struggles and on concrete campaigns (in all fields such as labour rights, monetary policies, anti-racism, etc.) that should as often as possible demonstrate the possible efficiency of the implementation of democratic, environmental and social aims at a European level, in contradiction with the existing Treaties and neoliberal policies. If a political actor is isolated, it can still delegitimize existing policies and institutions, disobey them by implementing alternative solutions and propose openly new forms of popular cooperation and self-organization at all possible levels.

2. Existing struggles at the national level must highlight interactions between the national ruling classes’ policies and the dominant European ideology, political economy and institutions. In order to break with the hegemony of capital, popular consultations and mobilizations should focus on the concrete aims and programme which must be put forward against the EU’s ruling classes and institutions. The confrontation consists also in implementing defensive tools against the counter-threats and attacks of the EU, as well as political offensive initiatives to destabilize the neoliberal block and to bring about a crisis in the legitimacy and the functioning of the European ins-

***Confront the EU's ruling  
classes and institutions by  
implementing defensive  
tools against their attacks,  
as well as political  
offensive initiatives to  
destabilize the neoliberal  
block and to bring about  
a crisis in the legitimacy  
and the functioning of the  
European institutions***

titions. Implementing such tools must be done as soon as possible by a political actor through unilateral measures, like the suspension of debt payment during an audit; a public policy program creating jobs on the basis of a specific taxation; the control of capital flow; or some socializations and/or nationalizations linked to concrete struggles and demands. If a political actor is isolated, it should still implement such tools by itself and, through the call to popular mobilizations throughout Europe (rather than only inside its own geographical area), it should invite other actors to contribute to the de-legitimization process and therefore to a political crisis of the European institutions.

3. Such defensive tools and offensive political initiatives necessarily involve popular governments at a national level breaking with the European Treaties and institutions. All measures taken by a popular government as described previously in the Manifesto require a break, at least at the national level, with the existing European dominant politics and rules. We must demonstrate clearly that what we defend is not based on “national interest” but on political, social, environmental and democratic reasons – which concern all people inside and outside of the current Union. We defend the absolute

need of a democratically controlled monetary system and currency, therefore the need of socialization of banks and of control on capital flow. Those measures are in conflict with the European Monetary Union and the Treaties of the European Union. A popular government can decide to exit the EMU and/or the EU (for instance by using Article 50) or accept the challenge of being expelled from the EMU or the EU.

4. Constituent processes must be initiated at all possible levels in order to build alternatives, aiming at developing a new political cooperation in Europe based on a common Platform against the European and local ruling classes and institutions as well as xenophobic currents, and in favour of social rights for the wor-

*Constituent processes  
must be initiated at all  
possible levels in order to  
create new cooperation, to  
favour the process of rup-  
ture, to dismantle Fortress  
Europe, and ultimately to  
create alternative institu-  
tions at the European and  
international levels*

kers and all subaltern classes as well as of the defence of the environment. The scenario cannot be totally predicted but for instance, an alliance of associations, Rebel Cities, Regions or States could launch a “rebel constituent process” (concerning global or specific functional prerogatives), open even to political spaces not involved from the beginning in the disobedience process. These constituent processes, with various forms according to the situations and levels concerned (from municipal forums and networks to Constituent Assemblies at the national or European level associated to internationalist platforms) are to be launched in order to create new cooperation, to favour the process of rupture of neighbouring political actors who

have not yet taken it upon themselves, to dismantle Fortress Europe, and ultimately to create alternative institutions at the European and international levels. If a political actor is isolated, it should launch this “rebel constituent process” on the territory and/or the function concerned, and propose other actors to join the process.

**Proposals:  
immediate initiatives**

Each of the previous features requires some immediate initiatives. The main requirements concern the collective designing and the popular appropriation of the concrete tools necessary to disobey, confront and launch constituent processes as well as the gathering of the social and political forces that can operate them.

Concretely, for 2019, we propose to all progressive forces (trade unions, political organizations, associations, activist collectives) sharing similar goals: to strengthen jointly their criticism of the capitalist and undemocratic European institutions and specify together their proposals in order to break with these institutions’ hegemony and reconstruct new forms of popular cooperation; to update, share and popularize convergent texts, such as the Altersummit’s Manifesto and ReCommonsEurope’s Manifesto; to encourage the deve-

lopment of all significant initiatives on the local, national and European levels in favour of “rebel constituent processes” such as those that are being developed by some “Yellow Vest” protesters in France; to take advantage of the European elections in order to raise campaigns and launch popular debates about this scenario and its implications, to inform about the existing initiatives and alternative spaces that could take part in this scenario, and to gather social and political forces around it.

*Propose to all progressive forces to strengthen their criticism of the capitalist and undemocratic European institutions, to share and popularize convergent proposals, to encourage the development of all significant initiatives on the local, national and European levels in favour of “rebel constituent processes”, to raise campaigns and launch popular debates about this scenario*

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# RECOMMONS EUROPE

MANIFESTO  
FOR A NEW  
POPULAR  
INTERNATIONALISM  
IN EUROPE