



4-8 OCTOBER, 2017 - MADRID

Organizing for a Left Hegemony

Strategies, Struggles & Social Rights



CHALLENGES OF THE LEFT

The left in Europe, whether it is organized in parties, movements, activist groups, NGOs, collectives or otherwise, is united by similar developments that shape our political struggles. Caused by decades of neoliberal restructuring and austerity policies, inequality is rising in our societies. Social divisions become more entrenched, social rights once taken for granted have been further and further undermined and curtailed. Insecurity and fear of decline are shaping the lives of many people. The financial crisis and the crisis policies of the EU have aggravated these developments. The most prominent case being Greece, which has become a laboratory of EU austerity policies.

However, the economic and social crises that are creating political ruptures and opportunities are shaped in very different and specific ways in different localities and political contexts. The lock-in of neoliberal politics in the EU state-apparatus limits the possibilities for left wing politics or even anti-austerity governments. But the room of maneuver and the conditions for transformation differ from country to country. The last years have shown the creation of new social and political movements – and their limits. Among them the movements »of the squares« that led to new or transformed political parties, as well as a new focus on anti-austerity. Attempts of a renewal of social democratic and left parties. Or the revival of left-wing municipalism and successes of new urban coalitions and left-wing local/regional governments, which seem to one way to open up alternatives.

THE THIRD POLE

In many European countries the rise of the far right and authoritarian politics pose severe challenges to the left. Right-wing populism on the one hand and (authoritarian) neoliberalism on the other are increasingly shaping the political landscape in Europe. A progressive alternative, a »third pole« to these two, however, needs to become more visible, politically effective and bigger. In order to counter neoliberalism and authoritarianism from above and from the right and to develop and defend solidary alternatives, we need a left that extends far beyond the existing elements of the left. We need to come up with renewed and wider forms of organizing those who are most affected by austerity and neoliberalism. We need strategies to match the development of diverse class realities with a new class politics. And we need organizations that reflect our approach of connecting different strata of people, of voters, of the working class.

Many people that joined and led the protests and re-organization of the left over the last years are predominantly young, rooted in urban struggles and often highly educated. Politics of class don't come naturally to many of them (us). In contrast, the right wing tries to expropriate and reclaim class and to »defend the working class« against assumed enemies at the bottom (refugees and unemployed) and at the top (politicians). Therefore, the left needs a change of perspectives: A new class politics that builds on the variety of interests and the diversity within the working class. It needs to connect to racism, gender relations, social issues, ecology and global inequality that are inextricably interwoven. It needs to build real connections to the popular classes, especially in marginalized areas, to create structures of solidarity, and thereby to broaden and root the social base of the left.

THE EUROPEAN SUMMER SCHOOL 2017

The summer school wants to contribute to these discussions on the strategic challenges and possible approaches of organizing, campaigning, gaining ground for the left in Europe:

- ▶ How can left parties renew and re-organize? Which parts of the new composition of class and conflict can be connected? How does the left relate to the crisis and the attempts to renew social democratic and left parties? How can we, for example, deal with the differences and dialectics between »left-populism« and »new class politics«?
- ▶ What are the different strategies and experiences of »transformative (community) organizing« as a form to build a broader base and to build leadership among people and communities affected by austerity and neoliberalism? How can we renew union politics and organizing and build strategies addressing the transnational organization of capital as well as being able to win better wages and fighting back precarious working conditions?
- ▶ How can we learn from each other in order to develop innovative strategies and reflecting the specificity of social and political conflict in each country? How can we reach and organize more people who are not yet involved in movements and organizations? How can we address the current disparities between left parties and organizations and the lack of campaigning abilities especially on a European level?
- ▶ What could be a connecting transnational strategy of the left in Europe for a rupture with austerity and a radical transformation in Europe? How can we deal with different positionings within the neoliberal architecture of economic and political power in the EU?

AGENDA (as of 29 September 2017)

WEDNESDAY, 4 OCTOBER

18:00	<p>Opening of the school Introductory talk with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Bernd Riexinger (DIE LINKE) – Boris Kanzleiter (RLS Berlin) <p>Goals and topics of the school</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Wenke Christoph (RLS Berlin) 	Moderation: Johanna Bussemer (RLS Berlin)
18:45	<p>World Café: Political introductions & expectations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – What organizing/campaigning activities have you been involved in recently? – What organizing/campaigning question(s) would you like to discuss during the school? What would you like to learn from others? – What would make this summer school a successful event for you? 	Moderation: Wenke Christoph, Franziska Albrecht (RLS Berlin)
19:45	<p>1) Short reports/reflections from the world café tables 2) Agenda and logistics 3) Exhibition & scouts <i>Q&A with Wenke Christoph, Franziska Albrecht, Vera Bartolomé Diaz (RLS Madrid)</i></p>	
20:15	Dinner	
21:15	Briefing for moderators & scouts	
22:15		

Activist Exhibition: The summer school will convene about 80 activists from at least fifteen countries and from various contexts: Members and leaders of left parties, movements, campaigns, left-wing institutes and foundations, members of parliaments and city councils, organizers and unionists. We want to harness this diversity of experiences and knowledge in the discussions and workshops. But you can only take part in a few workshops...

Therefore, we'd like to ask you to present your political activism in a different way as well: We will provide space for an exhibition of your activism and would ask you to bring a small presentation of one recent activity, political initiative or campaign. You could bring a couple of photos with explanations, posters, leaflets, or campaign material or another form of visual presentation and of course it would be nice to include the key information on your organization/party. You'll find a pin boards and tables at the venue – please use them to present your praxis and please provide a way to contact you during the summer school in your presentation (e.g. name, photo, email).

THURSDAY, 5 OCTOBER

ORGANIZING

9:30	<p>KEYNOTE Rooting and connecting the left. Strategic situation of organizing against austerity and neoliberalism – Christina Kaindl (DIE LINKE)</p>	Moderation: Boris Kanzleiter (RLS)
10:30	Coffee break	
11:00	<p>PANEL Rooting left politics in everyday struggles: Anti-austerity politics and organizing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The building of Ahora Madrid – a feminist perspective Nieves Salobral (Ahora Madrid, Spain) – Organizing for the 99% - from Occupy to #FeeltheBern Winnie Wong (People for Bernie Sanders, US) – Fighting the new right & for social rights Alena Krempaska (Human Rights Institute, Slovakia) – Building anti-austerity coalitions David Gibney (right2water, Ireland) <p>Caused by decades of neoliberal restructuring and austerity policies, inequality is rising in our societies. Social divisions become more entrenched, social rights once taken for granted have been further and further undermined and curtailed. Insecurity and fear of decline are shaping the lives of many people. The lock-in of neoliberal politics in the EU state-apparatus limits the possibilities for left wing politics or even anti-austerity governments. But the room of maneuver and the conditions for transformation also differ from country to country.</p> <p>The last years have shown the creation of new social and political movements – and their limits. Among them the movements »of the squares« that led to new or transformed political parties, as well as a new focus on anti-austerity. How can we combine the strengths of different organizing models to find the stamina we need for the battles that lie before us. And at the same time: how can we build organizations that are rooted in peoples’ struggle, that gives them ownership over their organizing and their politics?</p> <p>How have current left movements and parties developed and propagated anti-austerity policies and with what success? How can anti-austerity policies be connected with renewed and wider forms of organizing of those who are most affected by austerity and neoliberalism?</p>	Moderation: Boris Kanzleiter
13:00	<p>Short visit of the exhibition</p> <p>Lunch break</p>	
15:00	<p>WORKSHOPS (1) European austerity transforming our cities: Organizing beyond preaching to the choir</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Bob Abbott (PAH, Spain) – Ana Vračar/Jelena Miloš (Zagreb je naš, Croatia) – Moritz Warnke (DIE LINKE, Germany) <p>On a political level, many of the recent approaches of urban organizing and coalition-building in European cities have had a strong focus on building resistance and alternatives to austerity policy – not the least, because neoliberal policies have seriously affected urban livelihoods. Most importantly, these struggles deal with the right to housing and the fight against gentrification. They defend cities as a common, de-privatized and de-</p>	Moderation: Hannah Schurian (RLS Berlin)

	<p>marketized space. Besides housing, the decline and limitation of access to public and social infrastructures such as health, education, mobility are becoming centerpieces of organizing against austerity. On an organizational level, urban movements such as municipalism and the movements of the squares show new models of building broad political coalition-building and organizing in neighborhoods and communities. Building on experiences of urban coalitions in Spain, Croatia and Germany, the workshop will discuss experiences been with organizing on an urban/neighborhood scale. What forms are urban struggles and movements taking? What are the practical, ideological and political potentials and limitations of organizing against austerity on the urban scale? And how do we link the cities facing so similar problems on a larger scale of common struggle?</p>	
	<p>(2) After social democracy: Re-organizing the left and left parties</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Marta Tycner (Równanie Foundation, Poland) – Jakob Migenda (DIE LINKE, Germany) – Artūras Rudomanskis (Demos Institute of Critical Thought, Lithuania) – Javier Moreno (Fundación Europa de los Ciudadanos, Spain) <p>Since the late 1990s and especially in response to the 2008 financial crisis most European social democratic parties implemented austerity policies: Bailing out the banks, and tightening fiscal policies and advocating for austerity policies that have been disastrous, particularly for Southern Europe. Of course, social democracy’s neoliberal turn of the “third way” is an older phenomenon, but the crisis policy has made the underlying ideological choices ever more visible.</p> <p>These have led to widespread electoral defeats of center-left parties. This is an issue for the radical left, too: Either because they might be received as being part of the social democratic bloc and thus be weakened. Or because they are able or should be able to pick up the votes the social democrats have left behind. How can the left operate in a political space where its distance to center-left parties grows even further or where social democracy may even collapse? What are the strategies for renewing and transforming center and radical left parties – and not to be taken over by centrist politics ourselves? How can we develop political and organizational alternatives that challenge the dominant neoliberal paradigm?</p>	<p>Moderation: Piotr Janiszewski (RLS Warsaw)</p>
	<p>(3) One door at a time: Using canvassing to expand and root left campaigns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Joe Dinkin (Working Families Party, US) – Marion Wegscheider (DIE LINKE, Germany) – Emine Ibrahim/Jonathan Lansman (Momentum, UK) <p>The election campaigns of Bernie Sanders or Labour, particularly Momentum, have managed to mobilize an impressive number of “ordinary people” around left-wing demands. The campaigns were able to win support outside social movements’ and the left’s usual suspects. An important organizing element of these campaigns was the use of canvassing - the systematic initiation of direct contact by knocking on doors or making phone calls. Canvassing is not necessary common in European electoral campaigns. How can left parties and organizations use this technique not only to mobilize voters, but to expand their campaigns and their organizations and get people involved and excited about left politics?</p>	<p>Moderation: Steve Hughes (Working Families Party)</p>

	<p>WORKSHOPS (4) Fight against the new right. Taking back social issues & class representation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Matiaž Razdrih (Levica Slovenia) – Peter Weisenbacher (Human Rights Institute, Slovakia) – Daniel Anton/Ronda Kipka (DIE LINKE, Germany) – Djordje Kuzmanovic (La France Insoumise) tbc <p>The surge of right wing populism and neoconservative movements in the last year has shocked many. Parties like the Front National, AfD, PiS as well as right-wing populist movements are increasingly able to attract people disillusioned with (neo)liberal politics, many of them workers and unemployed. In times of growing economic and social uncertainty, the right's promises to "take back control" and to defend hard-working people and the nation are heard by many.</p> <p>This wave of anti-establishment anger, however, can also be addressed by the left. By no means, this can include taking over arguments or demands of the right. But antifascist work should also put a stronger emphasis on socio-economic issues without negating or treating the differences within the popular classes as secondary contradictions. How can the left address class politics and a social and socialist agenda and regain voice and credibility among the working class? How can we confront and push back the rise of the right in Europe?</p>	<p>Moderation: Krunoslav Stojaković (RLS Belgrade)</p>
	<p>(5) Transformative organizing in low-income communities and neighborhoods</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Tony Pohl, Hannah Bruns (DIE LINKE, Germany) – Mat Hanson (Working Families Party, US) – Giorgio Nugnes (Centro Sociale „Je so pazzo“, Italy) <p>How to empower poor people and strengthen and organize those who are most affected by neoliberal politics is a strategic question for the left. Many feel disenfranchised and ignored by "politics". Transformative organizing puts the people at the center and offers strategies to overcome individualization. By organizing residents around a pressing issue or to achieve a certain goal, success can be organized and lead to empowerment. But it does not stop there: Transformative means to start small but create links to a broader societal transformation. For left parties, it can be a way of both reaching out and activating their own membership. How does transformative organizing relate to new class politics? What are the changes we need to make within left parties and organizations to start serious organizing efforts? Which experiences can we learn from?</p>	<p>Moderation: Sarah Nagel (DIE LINKE)</p>
18:00	Coffee break	
18:30	<p>LECTURE Building and rooting the local left</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Nelini Stamp (Working Families Party, US) 	<p>Moderation: Sarah Nagel</p>
20:15	Dinner	

9:30	<p>KEYNOTE <i>Hegemony & transformation – experiences and approaches from Spain, Latin America and Germany</i> – Raul Zelik (DIE LINKE)</p>	Moderation: Johanna Bussemer
10:30	Coffee break	
11:00	<p>PANEL <i>How do we push for change? New class politics & coalition-building from the left</i> – New class politics, feminist class politics and left parties Lia Becker (DIE LINKE) – Transforming left party politics Emine Ibrahim/Jonathan Lansman (Momentum, UK) – Addressing austerity in parliaments and social coalitions Luka Mesec (Levica Slovenia) – Andrzej Mikołajewski (Równanie Foundation, Poland)</p> <p>In order to counter neoliberalism and authoritarianism from above and from the right and to develop and defend solidary alternatives, we need a left that extends far beyond the existing elements of the left. Many people that joined and led the protests and re-organization of the left over the last years are predominantly young, rooted in urban struggles and often highly educated. Therefore, the left needs a change of perspectives: A new class politics that builds on the variety of interests and the diversity within the working class. It needs to connect to racism, gender relations, social issues, ecology and global inequality that are inextricably interwoven. It needs to build real connections to the popular classes, especially in marginalized areas, to create structures of solidarity, and thereby to broaden and root the social base of the left.</p> <p>What can be the strategies to match the development of diverse class realities with a new class politics? How can we transform our organizations and parties in order to reflect our approach of connecting different strata of people, of voters, of the working class? How can left parties on the one hand and trade unions on the other renew and re-organize?</p>	Moderation: Johanna Bussemer
13:00	Lunch break	
14:30	»Two years later« Documentary about Barcelona en Comú	
15:00	<p>WORKSHOPS <i>(1) Local struggles & the challenge of larger scale and coalition-building strategies</i> – Raul Sanchez Cedillo (Fundación de los Comunes, Spain) – Danijela Dolenc (Zagreb je naš, Croatia) – Lise Kula (DIE LINKE) – Beata Maciejewska (office of Robert Biedron, Poland)</p> <p>The discussion around the concept of “new municipalism” starts from a significant political fact: the results of the Spanish local elections in May 2015, which saw successful emergence of “citizens platforms”. Iberian citizen platforms, and their current experiences in government, inspire a Europe-wide re-thinking and translating into other attempts of broad coalition-building on the urban level. However, if in Europe today we want to put democracy and social equality on the agenda again, we need to scale up these struggles and</p>	Moderation: Federico Tomasone (RLS Brussels)

	<p>develop multi-scalar strategies. Moreover, in order to confront and expand the legal and institutional, financial and economic constraints that influence every choice in city government, there is a need to develop models of networking among “rebel cities” or “cities of change”.</p> <p>What can activists and politicians from left learn from the current experiences of movement-building and urban governance in Spanish cities? What are conditions of success, what are potential pitfalls of building broad coalitions on the urban scale? How can left-wing city governments deal with the severe limitations of urban policy-making and help to expand and multiply possibilities for emancipatory change?</p>	
	<p>(2) Leading successful campaigns – on the national & European level</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Agnieszka Dziemianowicz-Bąk (Razem, Poland) – Lucía Barcena (Ecologistas en Acción/Spanish TTIP-CETA-TISA campaign) – Mandy La Combre (Repeal the 8th, Ireland) – Martin Konecny (Seattle2Brussels Network) <p>Neoliberal, neoconservative and authoritarian politics in Europe have been challenged by broad movements and campaigns. One among many examples are the protests and campaigns in Poland and Ireland against restrictive abortion legislation and for reproductive rights. The black protests of October 2016 mobilized tens of thousands of Polish women took to the streets in over 140 Polish cities and villages.</p> <p>However, on the European level very few examples of successful campaigns exist to date. The most important one being the campaign against TTIP, TISA and CETA, that managed to build broad alliances of NGOs, trade unions, political parties and other actors. In more than a few European countries people have signed petitions and taken to the streets and over 2.100 local and regional governments have declared themselves TTIP/CETA-free.</p> <p>How did these campaigns develop, and to what extent have they been successful? Which experiences and examples can be translated into other contexts? How can the left use experiences from the TTIP campaigns in order to connect mobilizations across Europe in the future?</p>	<p>Moderation: Ana Veselinović (RLS Belgrade)</p>
	<p>(3) Just transition: Connecting the social and the ecological question</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Maria Campuzano (Pobressa Energetica/Alliance against energy poverty, Spain) – David Gibney (right2water, Ireland) – Dimitris Mouzakis (Dock Social Solidarity Economy Zone, Greece) <p>Neoliberal politics have commodified, financialized and privatized common resources, whether public goods and services or natural resources such as air, water or land. The increasing power of markets and finance capital is shaping the governance of natural resources in dangerous ways. In many localities, the access to resources such as water or energy, but also the access to social services and infrastructure such as education or mobility, is increasingly restricted by one’s income. With rising fossil fuel prices, declining incomes and cuts in public services, energy poverty is estimated to already affect more than 50 million EU citizens already.</p> <p>The diverse struggles against energy poverty or the privatization of public goods and natural resources are placing the notion of the commons back at the heart of broad-based popular struggles. In this way, these struggles connect to other organizing and mobilization efforts such as around common spaces/urban commons, or self-managed cooperatives and solidarity economy. What is the role and potential of “the commons” as a concept for connecting the various on-going struggles? How can we address the class dimension of environmental destruction and energy politics under the conditions of climate change and neoliberal politics? What are examples of a</p>	<p>Moderation: Deniz Remberg (DIE LINKE)</p>

	successful connection of the social and the ecological question – especially in regard to organizing and coalition-building efforts?	
	<p>(4) New class politics or left-wing populism?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Emine Ibrahim/Jonathan Lansman (Momentum, UK) – Federico Severino (Instituto 25M, Spain) – Claire Sandberg (People for Bernie Sanders, US) <p>The rise of right-wing populism has fueled a debate about “popular” politics from the left. Parts of the left refer to ideas of democratic “populism” as a discursive strategy for mobilizing discontent against the ruling elite. The successful campaigns of Bernie Sanders, Jeremy Corbyn and Mélenchon have contributed to this debate. We want to learn from these campaigns from a strategic point of view and discuss how and how far a “popular” strategy of discourse can contribute to a new class politics. There are several questions to discuss: the articulation of antagonism (and the reference to concepts like “the people”, “the many”), the challenges of a popular and anti-racist, feminist class politics, the role of charismatic leadership and democratic organization.</p>	Moderation: Lia Becker (DIE LINKE)
	<p>(5) Refugees welcome: Developing emancipatory narratives and policies to migration & flight</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Pedro Arce (Caravana Abriendo Fronteras, Spain) – Mizgin Cifci (DIE LINKE) – Lucia Amorosi (Centro Sociale „Je so pazzo“, Italy) <p>The long summer of migration 2015-2016 and the rifts within and obstacles to a common European migration policy that it revealed are at the core of the post-Brexit debates concerning the future of the European project. The mass arrival of refugees and migrants in Greece and their subsequent movement towards Central and Western Europe that found its preliminary end in February 2016 with the closure of the so-called Balkan corridor have led not only to open conflicts on migration policy within the EU. They have also led to a rise of right-wing and racist movements and mobilizations as well as xenophobic violence in most European countries.</p> <p>On the other hand, the summer of migration brought to us Europeans the realization that we are not living in a protected island. Moreover, the movements of people across Europe were and still are supported by a huge number of activists and supporters, practicing not only charity but developing new forms of sociality and citizenship, especially at the city/neighborhood level. How can the left build on these experiments and struggles around migration in order to develop emancipatory counter-narratives, organizing models and policies? What would a left migration policy need to be based upon?</p>	Moderation: Daniel Kerekes (DIE LINKE)
18:00	Coffee break	
18:15	<p>PUBLIC EVENT</p> <p>New class politics in Europe</p> <p>RLS Madrid office opening</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Sol Sánchez (Izquierda Unida) – Juan Carlos Monedero (Podemos) – Ramón Gorri (Comisiones Obreras) – Bernd Riexinger (DIE LINKE) 	Moderation: Irene Castro Spanish-English-German interpretation
20:15	Finger food / drinks / informal talks	

SATURDAY, 7 OCTOBER

SELF-ORGANIZED WORKSHOPS

Self-organized workshops and exchanges: This is your opportunity & space to bring in discussion topics you are dealing with in your political practice, or to deepen and follow up discussions and exchanges from the first two days. You might want to focus more on practical and methodical aspects, tools or learning from specific campaigns or actions. You might want to exchange experiences on controversial or often neglected issues of political work (e.g. dealing with growth & change, how to take care of ourselves, how to deal with conflicts). Or you might want to present and discuss questions of strategy and tactics that concern you with other activists in similar or different context.

This space is your opportunity! Feel free to suggest workshop topics in advance by writing a short proposal/description on the pin board at the summer school venue. The earlier we know about your ideas, the easier it is to organize collaborations and build an interesting and diverse workshop program!

9:30	<p>Plenary: Introduction into the self-organized workshop day</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introducing goals & workshop formats - Presenting & discussing workshop proposals - Building the schedule 	<p>Moderation: Wenke Christoph, Johanna Bussemer, Franziska Albrecht</p>
10:30	Coffee break & moving to the workshops	
11:00 - 13:00	<p>Self-organized workshops and exchanges</p> <p>Workshop suggestions we have received so far:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Constructing the collective through practices and experiences - Organizing precarious workers / transformative left union politics - How to start new locals/local parties - How to organize left youth - Canvassing 101 - Limitations & chances of socialist local politics / local parliamentarism - How to involve young people in election campaigns - Left perspectives between central state & separatism/autonomy - The role of political education in socialist organizations 	ca. 5-8 parallel workshops
13:00	Lunch break	
14:30 - 16:30	<p>Continued:</p> <p>Self-organized workshops and exchanges</p>	ca. 5-8 parallel workshops
	Free afternoon/evening in Madrid	

9:30	<p><i>Open Plenary Debate: Connecting our struggles</i> What could constitute a connecting transnational strategy of the left in Europe? How can we connect beyond the different political and socioeconomic contexts that shape our everyday political work and opportunities? How can we connect beyond different organizational logics and limitations and improve the strategic and organizational capacities of the left in Europe?</p> <p><i>Introduction:</i> Political challenges for the left in Europe & experiences of connecting on the European scale – Boris Kanzleiter, Christina Kaindl, Wenke Christoph</p> <p><i>Plenary debate, inviting contributions from workshops and discussions of the previous days, and inputs by:</i> – Connecting social movements, parties and other actors from the left Marga Ferré (IU, Spain) – Connecting beyond the center-periphery divide Vladimir Simović (Left Summit of Serbia) – Connecting Eastern and Western European politics Igor Stokfiszewski (Krytyka Polityczna/DiEM25, Poland) – Connecting for a socialist Europe Bernd Riexinger (DIE LINKE)</p>	Moderation: Christina, Boris, Wenke
12:00	Coffee break	
12:30	<i>Evaluation & closing of the summer school</i>	
13:30	Lunch break	
14:30	Departure	

READING SUGGESTIONS

On new class politics:

Mario Candeias (2017): A Question of Class. A New Class Politics – A Connective Antagonism.
<http://www.transform-network.net/de/blog/article/a-question-of-class-a-new-class-politics-a-connective-antagonism/>

On the connective party:

Bernd Riexinger (2017): The Connective Party. <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/08/die-linke-social-democratic-party-spd-trade-unions-germany>

Jan Rehmann (2013): Connective Party or Return to a «War of Maneuver»?
<https://www.rosalux.de/publikation/id/7098/>

On transformative organizing

Jon Liss & David Staples (2010): New kids on the historic bloc. Summary & Postscript:
<http://www.organizingupgrade.com/index.php/modules-menu/community-organizing/item/97-jon-and-rishi-new-kids-on-the-bloc>

Steve Williams (2013): Demand Everything. Lessons of the Transformative Organizing Model.
<http://www.rosalux-nyc.org/demand-everything/> (also in German & Spanish) & Organizing Transformation.
Best Practices in the Transformative Organizing Model (2015). <http://www.rosalux-nyc.org/organizing-transformation/>