European Social Forum 2008

Malmö, Sweden

transform-network
Seminar 18. September 2008
How to fight against the hegemony of the new neoliberal right
Which strategy for the left in Europe?

The forthcoming elections in Austria and beyond

Peter Karl Fleissner, Vienna, Austria

http://transform.or.at





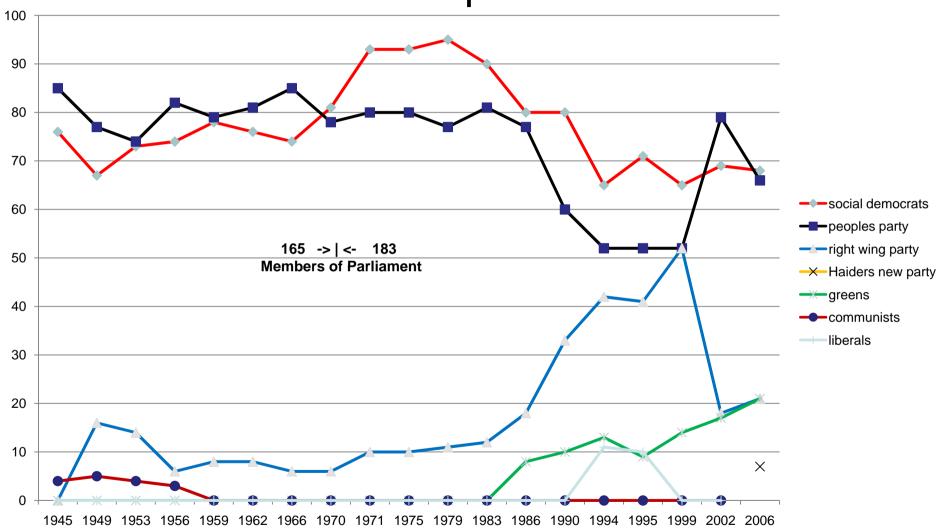
MPs in the Austrian Parliament

Year	social democrats	peoples party	right wing party	Haiders new party	greens	communists	liberals		Total
								others	
1945	76	85	n.k.		n.k.	4	n.k.		165
1949	67	77	16		n.k.	5	n.k.		165
1953	73	74	14		n.k.	4	n.k.		165
1956	74	82	6		n.k.	3	n.k.		165
1959	78	79	8		n.k.	-	n.k.		165
1962	76	81	8		n.k.	-	n.k.		165
1966	74	85	6		n.k.	-	n.k.		165
1970	81	78	6		n.k.	-	n.k.		165
1971	93	80	10		n.k.	-	n.k.		183
1975	93	80	10		n.k.	-	n.k.		183
1979	95	77	11		n.k.	-	n.k.		183
1983	90	81	12		n.k.	-	n.k.		183
1986	80	77	18		8	-	n.k.		183
1990	80	60	33		10	-	n.k.		183
1994	65	52	42		13	_	11		183
1995	71	52	41		9		10		183
1999	65	52	52		14		_		
2002	69	79	18		17		_		183
2006	68	66	21	_	21				183
Sept 2008 %				<i></i>					183
??	26,5	25,5	17,1	7,2	11,7	1,0	5,0	6,0	100%





MPs by Parties in the Austrian Parliament 1945 - present







Year	Government	Percent Numb	er of MPs	Types of
1945	VP-SP-KP coalition VP-SP since 1947	94,4	161	Governements
1949	VP-SP-coalition	82,7	144	in Austria after
1953	VP-SP-coalition	83,3	147	WW2
1956	VP-SP-coalition	89,1	156	
1959	VP-SP-coalition	89,0	157	
1962	VP-SP-coalition	89,4	157	
1966	VP on its own	48,4	85	<u>Legend</u>
1970	SP minority gvmt	48,4	81	
1971	SP on its own	50,0	93	VP: conservatives
1975	SP on its own	50,4	93	
1979	SP on its own	51,0	95	SP: social democrats
1983	SP-FP-coalition	52,7	102	
1986	SP-VP-coalition	84,4	157	KP: communists
1990	SP-VP-coalition	74,9	140	
1994	SP-VP-coalition	62,2	117	FP: right wing party
1995	SP-VP-coalition	66,4	123	
1999	VP-FP-coalition	53,8	104	BZÖ: new Haider party
2002	VP-FP-coalition	52,3	97	
2005	VP-BZÖ-coalition	-	II	
2006-2008	SP-VP-coalition	69,7	134	





Recent tendencies

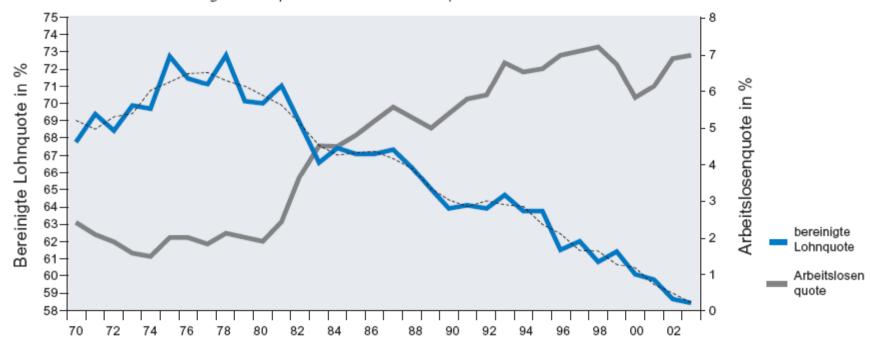
- On 28 Sept (general elections) there is a window of opportunity for new parties
 - In Vienna one can choose from 12 (!) parties
- because of large scale dissappointment with the political process
 - lack of efficiency to control poverty and social inequality
- and broken promises of social democrats.
 - no fees for students, not to buy Euro-fighters, less poverty
- For the time being there is only a very small margin left from social democrats (different from Germany)
 - a Left Party was established recently, but separated from the Communist Party





Wage Rate and Unemployment Rate in Austria, in % of National Income

Bereinigte Lohnquote und Arbeitslosenquote in Österreich



Quelle: WIFO, Statistik Austria

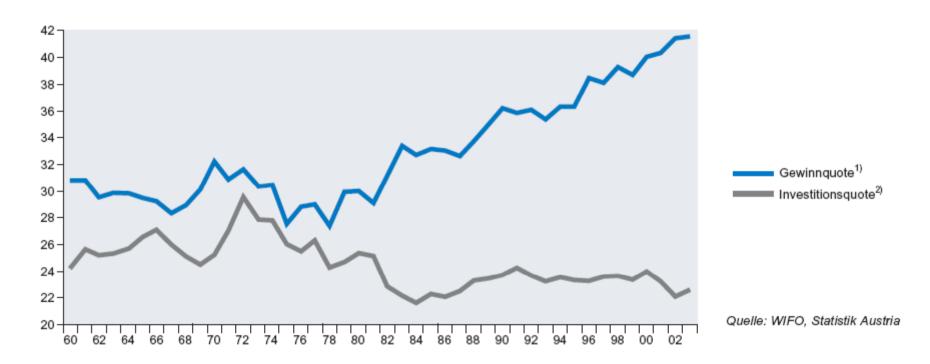
 Source: Bericht über die soziale Lage 2003 – 2004, Bundesministerium für soziale Sicherheit, Generationen und Konsumentenschutz, Wien 2004, S. 260





Profits and Capital Investment in Austria

as a Fraction of GDP



 Source: Bericht über die soziale Lage 2003 – 2004, Bundesministerium für soziale Sicherheit, Generationen und Konsumentenschutz, Wien 2004, S. 263





What to do in such a situation?

- Longer term orientation
 - around the issues of
 - ✓ equality (gender, nationality, sexual preference)
 - ✓ social and educational inclusion
 - ✓ peace, ecological, social and cultural sustainability
 - establishing alternative curricula for education and research
 - working on a strategy for the presence in traditional and electronic media
 - developing projects with possibly large scale participation and agreement
 - □ e.g. a "Left-project", participatory budgeting, reshaping the welfare state, basic income, diversity management, Charta Virtualis….





Example: Charta Virtualis

- should function as a collection of fundamental rights for the cyberspace
- by regulating the behavior of users towards more reliability, safety and security

Proposed contents:

- right to control all information related to oneself (Informationelle Selbstbestimmung)
- Right to encrypt (unbreakably)
- Right to anonymity/pseudonymity of personal and private communication
- universal access to information (e.g. Open Source, free/libre software, GNU, no patents on software)
- Limitation of the terms of Intellectual Property Rights
- Right to participate in the shaping of the cyberspace





Designing and experimenting with new types of organisations

Examples: Targeted Intelligence Networks (TINs)

- "Peer Group Care"
 - complementary structure for the elderly, poor, disabled and other outsiders;
- "Study Circles" *
 - to complement traditional schools;
- "Workers' Health Assurance Groups"
 - to improve the occupational ill-health status, and
- "Intrapreneurial Groups"
 - against alienation on the workplace
- as examples to illustrate how self-empowerment and auto-determination can be trained, based on equal footing and democratic behaviour

^{*} See paper by L. Karlsson & P. Fleissner (ed.) Study Circles in Targeted Intelligence Networks, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies of the European Commission, Seville, Spain 2000. http://www.jrc.es/home/pages/detail.cfm?prs=329



Side conditions for implementation

The examples show that it is not impossible to implement TINs

- It will depend
 - on the level of income,
 - on the amount of leisure time left over after the necessities of work.
 - on the psychological status of the majority of people.
 - on increased experience of crisis symptoms,
 - on increased feelings of anxiety and stress,
 - On the availability of political support
- TINs make possible the more direct experience of the dark side of life, of the destructive tendencies of societal change.





Challenges of Implementation

- Other already existing social activities should be complemented by TINs, not replaced
- Society's responsibility should not be taken away, but increased (in particular financial resources should be available, private—public partnerships)
- Identification of NGOs needed
- Move the pendulum of history away from nationalisation one step further towards socialisation ("Vergesellschaftung statt Verstaatlichung")
- Important issue: how to monitor and control the TINs to create a process of self-improvement
- In real life there are already very successful implementations, even if the use of ICT in these cases is not very strong yet.





Thank you for your attention!

E-mail: fleissner@transform.or.at

Personal Homepage http://members.chello.at/gre/fleissner

Homepage transform!at: http://transform.or.at



