

# The economic, political & social impact of imperial- ism's dictates

**PHILIPPINE COMMUNIST PARTY-1930**

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→ **GLOBALISATION** is the present stage of the imperialist drive for global hegemony, which came in the wake of the dismantling of the USSR and of the socialist community in Eastern Europe around one and a half decades ago. It is characterized by the penetration of imperialist finance capital everywhere, particularly in the former socialist and socialist-oriented countries, as well as in the non-aligned countries, all of which formerly resisted imperialist dictation and exploitation at the time when there was a strong socialist system that was a counter-balance to imperialism.

This stage is also characterized by the imperialist drive to tie-up or reign-in together the international community not only as an expanded investment area, but also as a supra-national market for transnational products and services, as well as a borderless source of raw materials. Absent the alternative example of the former socialist community where social responsibility was paramount, globalisation today means unbridled imperialist profiteering at the expense of social services and job security, of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, of the lives of whole peoples, and of world peace and security.

**THE PHILIPPINE EXPERIENCE.** The economies of most of the developing countries are constrained by the dictates of imperialism, as concretely set in the policies of deregulation, liberalization and privatisation laid down by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. In the case of the Philippines, which has a neo-colonial system where the government acts as the caretaker for imperialist interests, the bureaucracy is run by agents of imperial-

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110 ism, with the central bank, the monetary board, the finance and other departments having to do with the economy being administered by members of the Filipino elite who have previously been employed with, or have trained under, the WB/IMF and/or the WTO.

Also permanent fixtures in other executive departments as well as in legislative offices are US and other imperialist advisory and consultancy firms, as well as their related foundations and “non-governmental organizations”, inflicting themselves on our country by dishing out prescriptions and recommendations to further deregulate and liberalize business activities, and to further privatise or even abolish the remaining state sector of the economy, as recipes for national progress, even as continued compliance with such dictates over the past decades has only resulted in consistent economic decline.

The continued economic decline of the Philippines, in comparison with other developing countries, is usually explained only as the result of local corruption or lacklustre compliance with WB-IMF-WTO dictates, however, the masses of our people are more and more realizing that our economic under-development is precisely the result of the long chain of WB-IMF-WTO dictates.

**DEREGULATING THE ECONOMY.** Based on the experience of the Philippines, the major imperialist dictates related to the policy of deregulation are the following:

- Keeping the economy open to foreign economic penetration, and granting

investment incentives to foreign investors (which incentives are not even extended to local entrepreneurs).

- Allowing foreign investment in almost all business areas (including areas where foreign capital could compete with, and even overwhelm, local entrepreneurs).
- Allowing local borrowings by foreign investors -from banks and other financial institutions, and even through the local floating of stocks (public offerings at the stock market). It is tragic that instead of directing foreign investments toward selected industries that need development, it is the internal savings of the Filipino people that are being harnessed by foreign capitalists for purposes determined solely by their selfish profiteering interests.
- The granting by the government of contingent liability guarantees, or the so-called “sovereign guarantees” on the foreign debt of the private sector. With the business failure of these private borrowers, the responsibility for the payment of their foreign borrowings is transferred to the government, and therefore becomes the burden of the masses of the Filipino people.
- The automatic appropriation of funds in the national budget for the payment of at least the interest on the government’s foreign debt.
- Allowing the full repatriation of profits and even capital from the local operations of transnational corporations.
- The disregard for safeguards to protect the environment, whenever im-

perialist countries would want to transfer certain hazardous industries. An example of this was the transfer to the Philippines of the copper sintering plant which was originally used in Japan to treat its copper ore imports from Australia. When the sintering plant's waste discharge into the sea caused the "Minamata disease", the whole plant was transferred to Mindanao Island in the Philippines with the blessing of the Philippine government. In another case, tailings from a copper mine operated by a Canadian-based transnational corporation (Placer Dome) in the island of Marinduque caused the poisoning of two rivers and the adjoining sea in 1996. Instead of undertaking corrective measures and giving compensation to the people affected by the carcinogenic discharge, the transnational corporation simply abandoned the site immediately after the disaster. And just last month, tailings with dangerous levels of cyanide from a gold mine operated by an Australian-based transnational company (Lafayette NL) in the island of Rapu-Rapu caused the poisoning of 2 creeks and the adjoining sea, and thereby destroyed the livelihood of the fishing communities in the island.

**IMPORT REGULATION.** Regarding the imperialist policy of liberalization, this continues to be enforced with particular severity in the area of import liberalization, which resulted to two (2) major

economic disasters for the Philippines:

- the closing down of many industries and handicraft factories which cannot compete with low-priced non-agricultural imports; and
- the ruin of farmers and livestock growers who cannot compete with low-priced agricultural imports.

Industry closures have led to higher unemployment and the reduction in the membership and clout of unions in general. In the agricultural sector, hard hit were rice and corn farmers in view of the removal of previous production incentives, and the freezing of support prices to levels of over a decade ago. Our local livestock raisers and vegetable farmers are also heavily hit.

«Import liberalization is also an anti-industrialization scheme under which developing countries are consigned to consuming imported finished products, diverting their attention away from the goal of developing their own internal capacity to manufacture their needed products.»

In the Philippines, import liberalization has led (on the one hand) to the closure of more job-sustaining factories, and (on the other hand) the mushrooming of supermarkets, department stores and shopping malls selling imported goods.

**PRIVATISING THE STATE SECTOR.** Regarding the imperialist policy of privatisation, this was first introduced through structural

112 adjustment loans extended to the Philippine government by the World Bank in 1980. In the wake of the collapse of the socialist governments in the former USSR and in Eastern Europe, privatisation was even more forcefully enforced. The fall of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986, which was responsible for the expansion of the state sector of the economy in the Philippines (through debt-financing) in the 1970s, became a chance for imperialism and its Aquino puppet regime to undertake large-scale privatisation.

Government television and radio stations, airlines, telephone companies, iron and steel mills, ship repair facilities, fertilizer plants, local waterworks and electric plants, light rail transit systems and expressways, petroleum companies and military camps were privatised, with most of the proceeds from privatisation simply disappearing. A few years ago, the country's biggest water distribution system (that in Metropolitan Manila, the national capital region) was privatised, with US and French companies financing the take-over. The promised decrease in water supply rates and development/expansion of facilities never materialised; the cost of water was simply raised a number of times. Next for privatisation are the national railway, the national power distribution grid, and the national postal service.

The very lucrative government pension funds for private-sector and state-sector workers (the Social Security System, and the Government Service Insurance System, respectively), as well as some warehouses used to store securi-

ty stocks of food grains, plus some hospital and educational facilities, are also being considered for privatisation. There is even a trend to "privatise" the system of justice, with litigants now increasingly being referred to private conciliators and arbitrators, instead of regular courts. As a result of an international arbitration case, the Philippine government continues to pay millions of dollars every year to the Westinghouse Corporation of the USA for an unfinished nuclear power plant, whose contract was marked by corruption so massive as to deserve condemnation in any real court of law.

Practically all public services are being targeted for privatisation under the WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). However, widespread objection among developing countries against this target has led to the collapse of the Doha (Qatar) Round of the WTO negotiations on such privatisation. Unfortunately, this Doha Round is now set to be reopened with the forthcoming WTO ministerial meeting in Hong Kong this December, and we have to mobilize to put mass pressure on the government not to agree to the purpose of this Doha Round reopening.

**THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL** and social impacts of imperialism's dictats In the Philippines, there is greater impetus for the masses of our people, and especially for the progressive organizations, to step us the anti-imperialist struggle, in view of the socio-economic and political crises that has engulfed our country.

Without basic industries, the economy cannot grow fast enough to meet the needs of a rapidly multiplying population. The economy is extremely vulnerable to external conditions, because of its excessive dependence on foreign loans and investments. Even the Philippine currency (the Peso) is vulnerable to speculators and to the whims of western “financial ratings” companies (the US-based Standard and Poor, and Moody’s Investor Services, and the UK-based Fitch Ratings). Portfolio investments usually go to speculative stocks manipulated by market vultures, and investors are not concerned with the long-term development of productive capacity, but only with getting a quick buck. Prices of petroleum products and basic commodities are ballooning way above their real costs. The economy and the government’s fiscal situation are kept afloat by remittances from overseas Filipino workers—earnings made at the cost of sufferings and discrimination, victimization by illegal recruiters and abusive employers, and untold family and social dislocations.

The absence of political stability is due not only to the unabashed corruption and deception on the part of the Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo regime, but also because of the massive poverty and the exclusion of a large number of our people from meaningful participation in the country’s life. Unbridled corruption and cynicism are rampant in both the public and private sectors, and the Arroyo regime can never be able to lead the country out of the present crises.

The electoral system in the Philippines remains one of patronage, with US imperialism as the main source of support for aspirants to national offices, and with local gambling and other vice lords as the main source of support for aspirants to local offices. By manipulating many strings leading to the military, the churches, the business community and several political parties, US imperialism maintains support or destabilizes particular regimes according to its own imperialist interests. US imperialism would have no qualms in deposing regimes (such as those of Marcos and Estrada) which have outlived their usefulness in the service of imperialism. For this reason, puppet regimes in the Philippines have always availed of the services of professional lobbyists in Washington DC who do propaganda work for them in the corridors of power. In the middle of this year, the Arroyo regime availed of the services of Venable LLP, a lobby group which is supposed to drum up US support for Arroyo’s proposal to change the Philippine Constitution. Here is a case of a puppet regime paying a lobby group hundred of thousands of dollars to get political and financial support for a project that imperialism itself would like to foist on our country - a project which would demolish all remaining patriotic provisions of our Constitution.

The present Arroyo regime is increasingly unable to make both ends meet, as indicated by chronic budget deficits and the constant increase in taxes and fees. Further, the government is now also unable to service the public debt without

114 having to take out new loans. All of Arroyo's grandiose plans for job creation, poverty reduction and financial stability remain only as deceptive promises as she continues to do the bidding of imperialism. As a result of the government's bankruptcy, public infrastructure is deteriorating, and the national environment is being degraded. Public morale is declining, as shown by rising rates of emigration.

The neo-colonial system despoils the country's manpower potentials due to limited employment opportunities, and has forced 10% of the country's population to seek employment and permanent residence outside the country. The country sends abroad highly trained doctors to work as nurses, and nurses to work as care-givers, thus sowing the seeds of a future crisis in our domestic health services.

Lacking in employment-generating industries, half of the country's employed manpower works in the service sector. Well educated professionals are forced to work as "customer relations officers" and "product marketeers" in call centres, and skilled teachers as nannies and domestic helpers locally or abroad. The quality of public and private education is expected to deteriorate with the massive emigration of teachers, and this would affect the future of our young people.

The neo-colonial system makes inevitable the demolition of the middle class, and the widening of social disparities within our country. Crime and even terrorism continues to rise because of

glaring inequalities in life's chances and opportunities.

**THE CONTEXT OF THE INDEPENDENT** economy. Independent economies are those which resist the imperialist impositions of deregulation, liberalization and privatisation. The remaining socialist countries (primarily Cuba, Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China) are at the forefront of this resistance. While some socialist and socialist-oriented countries allow some limited capitalist enterprises to develop certain limited areas or fields of investment, however, the engine of growth remains primarily that of the state sector of the economy.

A very promising addition to the socialist and socialist-oriented countries is Venezuela, where the Bolivarian Revolution led by President Hugo Chavez is endeavouring to build socialism. Venezuela is blessed with excess petroleum resources, and the Bolivarian Revolution is primarily relying on this to build up its economy as a whole. With the assistance of Cuba, the Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela is working hard to eradicate the poverty, the lack of educational services, and the lack of health and other social services that are the legacies of Venezuela's neo-colonial past.

The economic independence of socialist and socialist-oriented countries can be safeguarded and consolidated with the ruling parties standing firm on the basic focus of socialism, which is the improvement of the life of the people, the

optimisation of education and culture, the provision of adequate health and social services, and the eradication of poverty; with the ruling parties constantly reaffirming its nature as the representative of the working masses, and not as the caretaker for the interests of imperialism and the native elite.

We are very confident that Cuba and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela will continue to stand firm against imperialist economic pressures, and will stay the course of independent economic development.

«But insofar as non-socialist-oriented developing countries are concerned, is there a possibility of building independent economies in the present context of neo-liberal globalisation?»

The hope lies not in the hands of the stooges of imperialism that are periodically rotated as native ruling regimes in order to present an illusion of "democracy". The hope lies in the hands of the organized masses, the representatives of the working peoples who truly embody democracy. It is the educating, organizing and mobilizing activities of Communist and Workers' Parties, and of the various anti-imperialist mass organizations in these countries, that keep alive the hope of a successful fight-back against imperialist dictates, and for the liberation of the economy from imperialist exploitation.

**THE POSSIBILITIES FOR ECONOMIC** independence. Beyond the rhetoric, the basic questions concerning economic independence for developing countries are the following:

- Can we re-nationalize? Can we resist the pressures for further privatisation? Surely, dwindling petroleum resources and the constant increases in oil prices will compel many governments to re-nationalize the petroleum industry. This is a call of many mass organizations in our own country, and this demand is now being echoed by patriotic elements in the Philippine legislature. Further, there is growing resistance against the drive for the privatisation of hospitals, the food security agency, the government-administered workers' pension and health insurance funds, and the other agencies which are presently mandated to extend socially-necessary services.
- Can we re-impose protectionist measures? Can we resist the continued pressures for import liberalization? In the Philippines, local entrepreneurs have revived the National Economic Protectionism Association (NEPA), which organization is leading the fight for the re-imposition of protectionist measures by way of quotas and tariffs. Organizations of farmers, livestock raisers and even consumers are also active in the struggle against destructive import liberalization, and are demanding that the government renew the extension of production assistance,

and the reasonable adjustment of support prices for vital crops. Another organization, the Fair Trade Alliance (FTA), groups together exporters, other local manufacturing groups, as well as labour groups in industries affected by the flood of imported goods, and takes a united stand against import liberalization.

- Can we refuse to pay the unjust foreign debts? There is a growing call among our people for a thorough audit of the country's foreign debt, and for the repudiation of all those onerous debts which have not really profited the country, but have only gone to line the pockets of the foreign creditors and their local agents at the expense of our people. We know that international creditors will try to enforce economic measures to compel debtor states to pay the so-called "obligations", but at least, the solidarity of debtor countries similarly situated can help ensure observance of the Drago Doctrine in international law, which prohibits any country from declaring war just to exact payment.

**THE NEED FOR SOLIDARITY.** The struggle of developing countries to liberate their economies from imperialist dictates is multi-faceted, but in general, the different aspects relate to the following United Nations' Millennium Development Goals:

- Trade Justice;
- Debt Cancellation;
- Increase in the quantity and quality of aid; and

- Progress in national poverty reduction and eliminate.

To these goals should be added the democratic reform of the United Nations itself. The democratic reform of the United Nations should not be limited to the political reforms outlined in the Campaign for A More Democratic UN (CAMDUN), but should extend to the economic aspects as well. However, this can be realized only with the broadest solidarity and cooperation among countries and peoples.

Going back to the particular case of the Philippines, our most pressing concerns in the economic field are the following: enactment of measures against the forced liberalization and privatisation of public services; ending the dumping of commodities by imperialist countries and transnational corporations; increasing the accountability and transparency of the government in dealing with the WB-IMF-WTO; and a public and transparent audit of all the loans secured by all the past regimes or "kleptocracies", in order to root out and denounce all those odious loans stemming from fraud-tainted deals.

These general and particular issues are expected to entail uphill battles for our Party and the masses of our people, but surely, we have to step up and strengthen the struggle because these issues are intrinsically entwined with the overriding issue of national sovereignty the very issue of maintaining our people's livelihood capability. The success of the Philippine anti-imperialist struggle is intertwined with the anti-imperialist strug-

gles of other developing countries. Our different national struggles give strength to each other, and thus the issue of solidarity is more crucial than ever.

In this spirit, I would end by proposing the creation, by this International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, of a centre, or even of an informal structure or mechanism, for the regular exchange of information on the different methods and ways of combating imperialist economic dictates and exploitative practices. Such a centre or informal structure or mechanism would surely help strengthen solidarity, not only of the libertarian economic struggles of developing countries, but of the broad anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world.

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# Attacking the very heart of capital

**PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY**

**ALBANO NUNES**

→ **CAPITALISM, AS A WORLD SYSTEM**, has long entered into its historical decline. Despite the appearances and all the attempts to portray it as an insurmountable (although perfectible) mode of production, it is undergoing a crisis that is structural and which knows no solution within the framework of the system. What is needed is its replacement by a superior mode of production, that can harmonize the productive forces and the relations of production; that can liberate the enormous potential for social and human progress contained in the scientific and technological revolution; that can overcome the antagonistic contradiction between capital and labour; that can put an end to millennia of societies based on the exploitation of man by man – what is needed is the socialist society.

The requirement to overcome capitalism is not new. Capitalism's entry into its imperialist stage – which Lenin characterized in his famous work "*Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism*" - opened a new epoch of social revolutions. The 1905 Russian revolution, the centenary of which we are celebrating, is already an expression of this reality in the concrete conditions of Czarist Russia. But it was the great October Socialist Revolution that translated the necessary socialist alternative into a concrete undertaking, inaugurating the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It is in this epoch that we live and struggle today.

The defeats of the USSR and of socialism in Europe have given new wind to capitalism.

«In the class confrontation – within each country and on an international level – the revolutionary and anti-imperialist

component has become much weaker, phenomena of liquidationism and reformist adaptation have grown, violent campaigns on “the demise of communism” and “the irreversible decline of Communist Parties” have been unleashed.»

It has not been, and it is still not, easy to resist the tide of obscurantist anti-communism, to defend the truth and the honour of the working-class and communist movement vis- a-vis the campaigns of historical falsification, to keep alive the values and ideals of socialism and communism. But to resist is to win. Although weakened and dispersed, the Communist movement is a reality that asserts itself and that has conditions to recover its place in the front rank of the liberation struggle.

**LIFE ITSELF** has shown that the defeats of socialism have not made the world safer, more humane or just. On the contrary, Capitalism’s intrinsically exploitative and aggressive nature has been revealed in an even more brutal way. Social injustice and inequalities have become greater; the drama of unemployment, of hunger, of disease, has taken on an unprecedented scale; the offensive against the rights and achievements won by the workers throughout many decades of harsh struggles has become widespread; environmental problems are becoming more acute; the number of tension spots has been multiplied and interference in the

internal affairs of the peoples has become even more systematic and brazen; militarism has grown and imperialism has taken war to various corners of the world. At the same time, the centralization and concentration of capital and of wealth, as well as their power, have grown to unprecedented levels, while the financialization of the economy and the growing economic importance of arms and drug trafficking, as well as of other criminal business, have further enhanced the system’s parasitic, decadent and criminal nature.

It is in this context, and inspired by an evident spirit of revenge, that imperialism is seeking to impose a “new order” which, enshrining a balance of forces that favours it, may legitimise its offensive to recolonise the planet. What is occurring is a strong-armed response to the crisis of capitalism and to the acute contradictions that are affecting the contemporary world. The goal is to violently repress the inevitable explosions of social discontent and protest. The goal is to smother the resistance and struggle of the workers and the peoples, and if possible, to destroy in the womb any process of progressive and revolutionary transformation. That is the essence of the so-called “war on terrorism”, of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, in Afghanistan and Iraq, of militarism (which, from Germany and the European Union to Japan is accelerating in a disquieting way), of the growing attacks against fundamental rights and freedoms (from the “Patriot Act” in the USA to the European Union-led security measures),

120 of the criminalisation of Resistance and the promotion of obscurantist and reactionary forces – all this seeking to impose a brutal intensification of the rates of exploitation.

This is where the alpha and the omega of capitalism's crisis lies and of the need to overcome it. The dangerous regressions that are becoming widespread in the contemporary world result from the very dynamics of reproduction of the capitalist system, which is based on the logic of accumulation and on the realization of maximum profits. Scientific and technological progress, with the growing organic composition of capital and the tendency for the rate of profit to decline, enters into contradiction with the interests of not just the working class, but of the overwhelming majority of the population. War and the trend towards commodifying all spheres of social life are jeopardizing Humankind itself.

More than ever, the alternative is for the working class and its allies to take power, undertake profound social and economic transformations (attacking the very heart of capital, socializing the large economic and financial groups that control political power, setting up anti-monopolistic property relations), to create a socialist society where (drawing lessons from past and present experience in building a new society) the bourgeois State is replaced by a profoundly democratic State that can stimulate and ensure the direct and creative activity of the masses of the people in the process of building their own destiny. This task,

which experience has proved to be extremely difficult to fulfil, is nonetheless the central task. Without it, the irreversibility of the process cannot be ensured. The well-known Marxist aphorism “the emancipation of the workers can only be won by the workers themselves” also means this, until the day when, in an as of yet unpredictable fashion and time, the State finally gives way to “the administration of things”.

We speak, of course, of a global and universal alternative to the “globalised” capitalism of our days. An alternative which is not yet on the agenda, but which despite that, is no less necessary and the prospect of which must, in the PCP's opinion, be present in the current battles against capital. An alternative which necessarily requires the struggle on a national level, which is an unavoidable context for the class struggle and the struggle for social transformation. But which, simultaneously – in times when the mechanisms of capitalist domination are increasingly implemented on an international level – requires stronger solidarity and the internationalist cooperation of the Communists, of progressives, of the workers and peoples. Which is aware of the fact that we are still living through times of resistance and gathering strength, and that the path towards alternatives of social progress and socialism requires a persistent work of building the vanguard Party and the many bonds that must attach it to the working class and the masses? But which at the same time – and this can be considered “the thesis of all theses” of our 17<sup>th</sup>

Congress regarding the world view of the Portuguese Communists - considers that in the current situation of instability and uncertainty, imperialism's violent offensive and the ensuing perils for Humankind coexist with a strong resistance and enormous potential for progressive and revolutionary developments. Advances and victories are possible, as in Cuba and Venezuela, and on a different level, as with the success of the French and Dutch "No" votes to the so-called European Constitution. At the same time, we are witnessing important processes of realignment of forces, and realities such as China are asserting themselves and playing a growing role in the international arena and in containing the hegemonistic designs of the USA and of imperialism as a whole.

From the point of view of the objective situation, never before have capitalism's basic contradictions been so acute, has its incapacity to solve the problems of the contemporary world been so blatantly obvious, has its social basis of support been so narrow. But capitalism will never fall on its own, without the revolutionary, conscientious and determined intervention by the masses. That is why it is necessary, in the current phase of resistance and accumulation of strength, to give special attention to the creation of the subjective conditions – ideological, political, and organizational – which are essential for that intervention. This requires an extremely intense struggle of ideas, both against reaction and imperialism and within the democratic camp itself. This is particularly true on the issue of the

decisive importance of Marxist-Leninist theory, on the need for a revolutionary Party, on the role of the working class and class-based trade unionism, on the issues of power and of property in the process of transformation, as well as on the assessment of the working-class and Communist movement's history. The crisis affecting social-democracy as a result of its surrender to the dogmas of neo-liberalism and its transformation into a pillar of capitalism opens up space for the strengthening of Communists.

These are some of the fundamental theses of the PCP's 17<sup>th</sup> Congress regarding the international situation, capitalism's evolution and the Communists' alternative, which we think deserve to be stressed in our Meeting.

They are theses which the Portuguese situation confirms in broad terms.

**ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LEVEL:** an economic stagnation; capital's parasitic and predatory nature, with the scandalous privatisation of the public sector and the State's social functions; the destruction of the productive apparatus and the transfer of key sectors of the economy to foreign capital; an offensive against workers' rights, increased unemployment and poverty, increasingly precarious labour relations, lower wages and income, longer working hours and higher retirement age; a brutal social polarization with the banks and largest economic groups reaping unprecedented profits; a deliberate activity to divide and weaken the class-based trade unions.

122 **ON THE POLITICAL LEVEL:** growing restrictions on democracy and laws which, like the law on political parties, the planned election laws and other measures, are shaping up, in an increasingly disturbing way, to be a veritable subversion of the democratic regime.

**ON THE LEVEL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS:** an uncritical acceptance of neo-liberal guidelines and the impositions of international big business, a submission to the diktats of NATO, of the USA and the EU, and Portugal's involvement in imperialism's strategy of aggression and war.

This is the result of nearly thirty years of policies by the right-wing and by social-democracy, policies which the current Socialist Party government is carrying even further, generating growing discontent and popular protests, which were reflected in the results of last October's local government elections, in which our Party scored a significant victory and, above all, in numerous struggles by the most diverse sectors of Portuguese society and in the great day of action of November 10, organized by CGTP, the Portuguese workers' unity and class-based trade union central.

**THE ALTERNATIVE** which the Portuguese Communists indicate for Portugal is socialism. In Portuguese capitalism's current phase, it is increasingly evident that only socialism can liberate the productive forces, develop the country and give answers to the problems and yearnings of the workers and of the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese people.

However, the analysis of the balance of forces on the national, European and international level results in the PCP's Programme not placing socialism as an immediate task, but rather an "Advanced Democracy" which is simultaneously economic, social, political and cultural and which, incorporating the values and experiences of the liberating revolution of April 25, 1974, places socialism on the horizon. It is true that the Portuguese revolution - which the Party's programme characterizes as an "unfinished revolution" - was defeated, and that the monopolies' economic power (as well as the submission to imperialism) has been restored, with the real threat of subversion of the political regime that emerged from the revolution. But it is not possible to historically erase the depth of its impact.

At present, the Portuguese Communists' struggle is geared to breaking with the right-wing policies that have been implemented for many years now, with shifting alliances and convergences, by the PS, PSD and CDS, and for a left-wing alternative. This requires the permanent defence of the short-term interests of the workers and of other anti-monopoly classes and strata; strengthening the class-based trade union movement and other structures of the people's movement; unfolding the mass struggle as a priority for action, together with the activity within the institutions of Local Government, in the Assembly of the Republic [Parliament], and in the European Parliament. Strengthening the Party and its links with the working class and the masses of the people is, for

us, a requirement for success in the struggle and the key to an alternative. To overcome delays, broaden our ranks, nurture our roots in the companies and other workplaces, in a context of speedy and profound social and economic transformations, is of the greatest importance. On an international level, it is of particular importance to defend national sovereignty; to fight against the European Union's impositions and for a different Europe, of peace and cooperation among sovereign States that are equal in rights; to fight against imperialism's quest for world domination.

The fact that our first responsibility is towards the Portuguese people and the priority given to the national framework do not lead us to view our struggle in a self-sufficient, narrow or "nationalistic" way. On the contrary, we view the Portuguese people's struggle as an integral part of the general process of emancipation of the workers and the peoples, and we view stronger relations of cooperation and internationalist solidarity, first and foremost among the Communists, as not just a duty, but an objective necessity of the struggle against capital.

**GIVING PRIORITY** to the cooperation geared towards action for concrete goals and to international initiatives against neoliberalism and war, the PCP – whilst disagreeing with supra-national forms of organization – has long defended the need for more stable forms of liaison between Communist and other revolutionary parties. But the delays in this sphere cannot be overcome by hasty solutions with a fed-

eralist-style rationale, with "majorities" and "minorities", ignoring the great diversity of situations that exist. Contrarily to what happens with, for example, the "European Left Party", in which the PCP does not participate and in relation to which we have a very critical stance, what is needed are solutions of unity, that respect the sovereignty and identity of all, that bring together and not that create additional difficulties and fractures.

Hence, our positive assessment of the relevance and usefulness of this Meeting, and our willingness to examine new possibilities of joint or converging actions by the Communists and other left-wing and anti-imperialist forces. The struggle against the offensive of exploitation by big business, and to defend workers' rights and social and economic achievements; the struggle to defend democratic rights and against fascist and anti-Communist measures and laws (as is the case of the provocative Report that is being discussed in the Council of Europe); the struggle against war and the active solidarity with the peoples that are victims of imperialist aggression and interference; are important directions of internationalist cooperation that we should explore. The international Meeting that we will host in Lisbon, in March of next year, on the occasion of the PCP's 85<sup>th</sup> anniversary, addressing the topic "Europe and the European Union: realities, experiences of struggle and new opportunities of transformation", is a contribution for the necessary strengthening of our internationalist cooperation.

# Keeping on a course for socialism

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF ROMANIA**

**ALEXANDRU PANTAZI**

➔ **ANALYZING THE CURRENT SITUATION**, we see with surprise that the world economic crisis is getting worse and an offensive of capitalism against the conquests achieved by the labor class is underway.

Romania, which was a socialist country until 1989, has had after that year five reactionary capitalist governments taking turns in the leadership of the country. The Romanian communists believe that those to blame for the catastrophic situation in Romania are the group of sick adventurers, thirsty for power, that organized the military coup d'etat, surrounded by elements opportunistic, hostile and contrary to the socialist régime, who in the last few years undermined the prestige of Romania's working class and plotted against her. This group of renegades betrayed the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution, thus making a pact with the enemies of socialism. Today, the Romanian pro-imperialistic government has more than once requested the establishment of US military bases in Romanian territory, on the border with the former Soviet Union, with no popular referendum to approve it entering into it. The Romanian communists express their confidence that, just like all of them, the whole people will unanimously participate in the struggle against the imperialistic forces, to achieve independence and sovereignty for the country, against imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Romania, for the reestablishment of socialism and of communism on the Romanian land.

**VLADIMIR ILICH LENIN** said that we must hold the helm strongly, keep our course and not allow any influence, provocation or intimidation from the imperialists; communists must display strength and

self-control. The Romanian bourgeoisie and its government have demonstrated their inability to prevent with their own forces the revolutionary assault of the working class, which is able to fight for its right to a better and more decent life, in spite of a police apparatus willing to defend at all times and at any price the interests of the Romanian bourgeoisie. The European reactionary circles have united in the European community, due to the combined offensive against the working class, democracy, national independence and socialism. We appreciate the positive position of the working class of France, Germany, Belgium and other countries that resolutely rejected the bourgeois constitution in the referenda that took place in those countries, and that exerted special influence on the European economy. It is evident that more and more peoples throughout the world are rising up against capitalist dictatorship and the exploitation of man by man. It is unquestionable that nowadays the White House-led imperialistic forces are isolated and will have to withdraw the US military bases from Europe, beginning with those in Germany, which have a huge number of troops (some one hundred and sixty thousand) and where the German population has developed strong propaganda against the United States, resolutely demanding their pull-out. The Communist Party of Romania assures all Communist and Workers Parties that we will demonstrate, in all national liberation fronts, for the consolidation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the

most advanced theory of the international proletariat.

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**RELATIONS AMONG** our communist parties, inspired by the principles of proletarian internationalism and characterized by mutual respect, sincerity and loyalty, represents the best expression of the community of interests of our countries' working class. We are convinced, dear comrades, that in the framework of the unity of the international communist movement, the fraternal bonds among our communist parties will be preserved and strengthened, which is an indispensable condition to succeed in the struggle against capitalism, to accomplish the historical mission of the working class and of Communist and Workers Parties.

To conclude, allow me to wish you complete success in the work of the meeting, which is a major link in the chain of world progress, of socialism, and to express that the day is not far when socialism will triumph completely, when communism is established on the whole planet Earth.

Long live the unity of Communist Parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism!  
Onward toward socialism!

The victory will be ours!

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# The struggle of communists. The example of Russia today

**COMMUNIST WORKERS PARTY OF RUSSIA  
– PARTY OF COMMUNISTS OF RUSSIA**

**VICTOR TIULKIN**

→ **AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS,** our analysis (in general as well as that of the individual parties) demonstrates that contemporary tendencies of capitalism boil down to the aggravation of its aggressiveness, the growth of its scale up to the point of so-called globalization, and the ever-growing domination of the interests of transnational companies and international financial groups over the interests of traditional national bourgeois states. However, we have to deal with the same imperialism described in Lenin's theory. Today US imperialism and Israeli Zionism play the leading role in the system of world imperialism.

The difference in our parties' working conditions can be explained, on the one hand, by national and historical specificities and, on the other, by the contradictions and struggle waged inside the imperialist camp itself. Of course, we should take these specific features into consideration while elaborating the specific tactics for each party's struggle, as well as for determining the general direction of work, the elaboration of model methods and ways of struggle, with prospects of first organizing the coordination of activity and, later on, a joint front for struggle.

In order to understand the development of the general world tendencies of capitalism, it is especially important to observe and understand what is taking place on the territory of the USSR, first of all in Russia, that is, in the former stronghold of the socialist camp worldwide. This is all the more important since the process of the reconstitution of capitalism from socialism is taking place in our country, a process which has not been studied in theory and is being observed in practice for the first time.

**THE ECONOMIC ASPECT.** From the point of view of economic analysis, contemporary Russian capitalism can already be very well characterized as a state-monopoly, and Russia as an imperialist country. Today, according to various estimates, from 70 to 90% of all assets in industry have been privatized, while capital concentration and the degree of monopolization in industrial branches are extremely high and continue to grow. According to World Bank estimates, the highest degree of asset concentration and the highest level of monopolism have been established in Russia. In fact, 23 companies control the larger part of the economy, being the real owners of Russia and its wealth. Today 85% of the national wealth belongs to just 1% of the richest Russian citizens. Only 15% of the national assets have been left for the remaining 85% of Russia's population. But this is not all: just 7% of the national wealth belongs to 80% of the citizens. Meanwhile Russia's economy is turning more and more towards the sphere of raw materials as well as the primary processing industry (oil, natural gas, aluminium, metal-rolling, pipes, timber and timber products and so on). The various branches of high technology play an ever smaller role and have an ever lower technical level: mechanical engineering, electronics, the aircraft industry, the machine-tool industry and so on. For the time being, the Soviet stock of scientific-technical and construction elaborations is being used, the basic foundations of industry and all technological capacities work at

full swing, since there is practically no renovation (for the simple reproduction of said foundations, the volume of investment would have to be increased seven-fold).

The processes involved in the country's changeover to capitalism continue in several directions:

- the privatization of production capacities which had remained state property and of state share packages from different stock companies, as well as of buildings, structures, railways, communication systems etc. is being accelerated,
- the privatization of such fields as health, education, culture and social security etc. is being accelerated,
- a special objective put forward by the government is to make land, forests and water resources of Russia available. Taking our dimensions into consideration, one can imagine the interest which capitalists of the whole world have in this process.

If current state regulation exists in Russia, it is used mainly to speed up the afore-described processes and to direct them in favour of various groups, which are those closest and the most loyal to the authorities.

Russian imperialism is comparatively young, for the time being weak in many ways and dependent on world finance, being at variance with foreign capital; nevertheless, it is a growing capitalism with an appetite for foreign expansion. There is not just oil, natural gas and other raw materials, there is the sale of arms for

128 almost six billion dollars annually, but also Russian capital's wish to take part in exploiting the weakest states – Ukraine, the Central Asian republics, Iran and others.

**THE SOCIAL ASPECT.** From the point of view of the development of social relations in contemporary Russia, first of all one should understand how Russian capital was forcibly formed. In contrast to classic capitalism, which grew in overcoming feudal relations and frequently had a progressive character, contemporary Russian capitalism has been created through the forcible plundering (permitted by law) of commonly owned socialist property.

Nowhere in the world have such large fortunes, estimated at billions of dollars, been created in such a short period of time. It would be impossible for this to have been achieved by means of production (especially as today it stands at 75% of the 1990 level) or commerce, or even speculation or some types of criminal business. It was possible for this to be achieved only by direct plundering. Marx had discovered that the initial accumulation of capital in classical capitalism is always criminal, and one American multimillionaire said apropos:

“I am ready to candidly disclose the origin of my every million, except the very first one”, but as far as Russian capital is concerned, one should talk about its criminal character in general and not only its initial constituent.

As a result, the revenue of Russia from privatization from 1990 to 2003 comprised only 2% of Gross Domestic Product. The revenue from privatization for the same period in China, e.g., was 22% and in Brazil 23%. Meanwhile, neither in Brazil nor in China did a total transfer of state assets into private hands take place. Only an insignificant number of enterprises was sold there.

What kind of resolution of social problems can one think of when such an approach is applied? We are obliged to speak about the improvement in the lives of those one hundred richest businessmen whose total assets exceed 141 billion dollars. All this is true. Even one year ago their joint capital was estimated at 136 billion. Over the course of one year every one of them on the average became richer by 50 million dollars.

And during the year these one hundred people have, in general, seen their assets grow by precisely the sum which the government intends to allocate next year for all the social programmes of the country.

Given that there is a certain stabilization of the situation as regards consumption and salaries, ensured mostly thanks to a highly favourable world conjuncture of oil and gas prices, the determining feature of the process is the continuing increase in the people's social stratification. According to “*Forbes*” magazine, last year Russia rose to second place in the

world after the United States of America as far as the number of billionaires (39) is concerned. Under Putin, since 1999, the coefficient of citizens' social stratification (the income of the wealthiest 10% of people exceeding the total income of the poorest 10%), even according to official statistics, has grown 1,5 times and is now 15. The mortality rate in the country is still 1,7 times higher than the birth rate (in the first half of 2005). During the first eight months of this year, the so-called *natural decrease* of the population in comparison with the corresponding period in 2004 has grown by 51,000 people and during the first half of the current year by 401,200 people.

In the field of social policy, the authorities have chosen the tactics of the forced marginalization of the older generations of people who knew life under socialism, with their place being taken by a generation stupefied by the contemporary propaganda of consumerism, a generation who grew up during the years of reform and whom the authorities have learned to keep like "satiated animals". Which means that guaranteeing them a high income and more or less and exploiting their youth, health and abilities, the authorities form and satisfy their needs through strictly physical consumption, sex, pop culture and various sorts of spiritual surrogates.

**THE POLITICAL ASPECT.** Realizing that huge social stratification always hides a potential for social cataclysm from the political point of view, the Russian bour-

geoisie is moving today's political system towards the absolutism of power with ever-growing prospects of the system's becoming fascist. Thus, the elections of the governors of all 89 constituent parts of the Federation were canceled in Russia (today they are, in fact, appointed by the President), the direct election of Members of the Upper House of Parliament has been canceled (today half its members are appointed by the Governors appointed by the President and the other half by regional parliaments), the law on parliamentary elections has been modified in such a way that the whole process is being controlled and governed by the authorities and determined by financial resources [the total expenses of a party during parliamentary elections today might reach 84 m. dollars (including 14,2 m. dollars centrally and 70 locally)]. Laws have been adopted which, in fact, forbid referendums in the country, while the conditions for holding meetings and demonstrations along with editorial activity are hampered in every possible way by means of legislation. As if closing the spectrum of political pressure on the opposition, the authorities have adopted a new law "on political parties," which demands not only that parties have at least fifty thousand members, but also requires them to submit lists of all party members to these same authorities.

These elements of the Russian authorities' policies are quite well known; indeed, we have already spoken about them at our previous meetings. I think

130 that information about the ideological back-up of the process of transformation to capitalism provided by the bourgeois regime is of great interest, helping one to understand these processes. I should say that this back-up has a character of open and constantly exacerbated class struggle aimed at repressing the very potential for resistance. The contemporary (tricolour) flag of modern Russia itself is the flag of the White army, which fought against the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army during the Civil War. Later the army of the traitor General Vlasov fought under this flag on Hitler's side during the Great Patriotic War. Then the masters were defeated. Today, having taken class revenge and having restored the class of masters and owners, the first thing they did was to change the flag of the state, putting forth their old one, the time-honoured one, claiming it as the historical Russian flag and silencing the history of its participation in class conflicts.

Striving for a shift of reference-points in the social conscience, with the assistance of the parliamentary opposition, they took the music of the national anthem of the USSR to use for contemporary Russia's national anthem. That is why when a flag under which forces that fought on the side of the fascists is raised to the music of the USSR national anthem, confusion is created in the minds of both the older and younger generations.

**IDEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS** are the distinctive pivot points for the coordinates of the social conscience. Understanding this

well, the bourgeois regime's ideologues deal them blows consistently, methodically and with growing cynicism and strength. They canceled the 7<sup>th</sup> November celebration (the Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution) justifying this on grounds of its supposedly obsolete ideological basis (in a period when the contemporary level of production and consumption still comprises only 75% of that in Soviet times and the population has lost about 15 millions people, while extinction continues). On this day, however, authorities celebrate the anniversary of the parade on Red square in 1941. In this way it is as if they were privatizing for themselves the right to assess the victory in the Great Patriotic War. And there and then, by means of a law they passed through the Duma, they removed the hammer and sickle from the symbols on the Victory Banner (these are red flags which on Victory day decorate the roads of cities and villages), leaving the star alone. This results in a flag of a non-existent state which is Jesuitically explained by claiming that that is simple to manufacture.

The specific character of the ideological struggle in Russia described here is that quite often former members of the CPSU and sometimes even former party leaders of different ranks now at the head of the ruling party and in state positions take an anticommunist and anti-Soviet line. They do this with extreme zeal, surpassing even representatives of rightist parties. One deputy of the State Duma, an independent democrat who has never

been a CPSU member, has expressed his attitude towards these people with the following words: "I think that you are moved by two sentiments – hatred and fear. Hatred towards communists, since you were obliged to be members of the party, concealing your genuine convictions and propagating a policy which you so mercilessly criticize today, now fearing that in spite of everything at some point you will have to answer for your duplicity".

These hypocrites and degenerates have mostly concentrated in the ranks of the party "United Russia". They are carrying out their ideological, brain-washing expansion on a wide front using, first of all, the mass media and the so-called creative (corrupt in its essence) intelligentsia. They act in a base way; for instance, on the one hand, they show Soviet movies on TV and they sing Soviet songs, while on the other hand (as if they were actors) they slander Soviet power and pontificate about communism's crimes. They (the authorities) celebrate victory in the Great Patriotic War and shoot new films about the war but in the films there is no longer a victory of the Soviet people and the first state of workers and peasants in the world with their Workers and Peasants' Red Army, but rather the victory of some Russian people in general and even in spite of the Soviet regime, a communist dictatorship, the foolish policy of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief Stalin, who was confused, the gluttonous body of political workers, the criminal People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs etc. At the

same time the attacks, including those launched by officials from the President's entourage, against V.I. Lenin's Mausoleum are becoming fiercer. (One can understand their anxiety, recollecting that their flag, among other fascist banners, was cast to the base of the Mausoleum during the Victory parade in 1945).

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**FROM TIME TO TIME** President V. Putin himself makes openly anticommunist statements. Thus he has declared that today in Chechnya Russian soldiers do their deeds moved by patriotic feelings and love for their motherland, while during the Great Patriotic War soldiers did deeds under the muzzles of the submachine guns of barrage detachments. He also declared that the "Molotov-Ribbentrop" Pact was a personal matter between Hitler and Stalin and did not reflect the Soviet people's mood.

As we can see, all these actions fit in the general direction of the growth of anticommunism in the spirit of the PACE draft report. In this way, an ideological attack is being launched against the very historical memory of the people, in order to suppress belief in the possibility of resistance.

Political methods for waging this ideological war include the whole arsenal known in the theory and practice of class conflicts. The main emphasis is placed on limiting the activity of organized workers' movements. Thus, in Russia, to organize a strike in one individual enterprise, extremely complex procedures taking more than a month are required and the strike

132 must have the support of more than 50% of the workers, while solidarity strikes, branch and regional strikes, transport workers' strikes, as well as strikes of state employees and of other categories of workers are forbidden. As a sort of buffer between the left forces and the workers, the authorities use the official Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (90% of Russia's trade unions) with whose leadership the ruling party has a general agreement on social cooperation and partnership. The small left class trade unions are subject to discrimination and persecution.

Simultaneously, a method already described by V.I.Lenin is applied to the working political parties that operate legally when the bourgeoisie supports that opportunist party which in its phraseology and name is the closest to that of a genuinely revolutionary party. Meanwhile the bourgeoisie, by modifying the laws, tries to exclude orthodox revolutionary parties from the legitimate public arena, leaving in official political life only those who agree (in a weakened form) to confine their endeavours to the framework of a purely decorative parliament. To camouflage its policy, the regime takes steps which sometimes can only bring an ironical smile to the lips of a normal person. For instance, a certain "Public chamber" has been created by virtue of a special law to check the most significant bills that are elaborated and to make sure that freedom of speech is "observed" in the mass media (this public chamber, however, is formed in the fol-

lowing way: 42 people are appointed by the President, then these 42 find 42 more from nationwide public organizations and then together the 84 recruit 42 more from the regions). In this way, the President forms a public council which is under the President in order to check on the line taken by the President.

In this way, the practice of past years confirms our prognosis that Russia is moving down the path of creating a police state merged with the ruling party of the state mechanism (typical for a fascist dictatorship), with the introduction of a system of total control over political organizations and the citizens' personal lives, with the ever more frequent use of repressive mechanisms. For actions similar to the takeover of the Ministry of Finance by Greek comrades, that is, occupying the Ministry of Labour and the President's reception room - forty young people in Russia were condemned to four years of imprisonment.

**IN THIS SITUATION**, our party, along with the other left forces of Russia, is developing tactics to organize and hold street marches, demonstrations and picket lines, passing over to the tactics of civil non-obedience by blocking motorways, railways, etc. In January of 2005 three to eight million people took to the streets, protesting the abolition of privileges and social security.

However the passivity of the strike and trade union movement remains a weak aspect of Russian left forces. For the time being, there has been no radical

change amongst the majority of left opposition forces as regards the necessity of transferring the centre of gravity not simply outside the Parliament's walls, but precisely on to organizing work in factories, plants and among organized workers. This continues to be the main point in our party's programme. (Among the left forces, besides our party, ill-matched groups of Trotskists are active in this direction as well as right social-democrats). So far we have not succeeded in doing much. If 100 years ago, when the First Soviet of Workers' Deputies was born in the strike of Ivanovo-Voznesensk workers more than seventy thousand people took part in it in just one province, today all the left forces of Russia together cannot hold an organized demonstration of this type in enterprises.

The point of view of our party boils down to the fact that in the near future it is necessary for us:

- to radicalize our movement significantly as far as the demands put forward (including the necessity of revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat) and resistance methods are concerned,
- to direct joint efforts to organize the economic and political struggle in enterprises and trade unions.

This task is extremely difficult and we do not expect quick success; however, we are confident that we have chosen the correct course of action and are not going to stop our struggle. I wish success to all of us in our joint struggle!

# The fight is not for oil or for new markets, but for people's souls

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOVIET UNION**

**OLEG SHENIN**

➔ **IN THE LAST 15 TO 20 YEARS**, world capital, for the first time ever after the Great October Socialist Revolution, had the opportunity to carry out a division and restructuring of the world according to their selfish interests.

The Soviet Union, the first triumphant-socialist country, contained right and left extremism for a long time, proposed to the peoples a real alternative to imperialism and considerably limited the possibility of using methods of force in relations among the States.

Objectively, because of the outcome of World War II, where the Soviet heroic people and their Red Army played a decisive role in the defeat of Hitlerian fascism, capitalism had to reduce its spheres of influence and socialism broadened them. But the world's upward revolutionary development was abruptly weakened by the Khrushchevesque revisionism and, with its aid, the second liberal wave –Gorbachevism, one really disastrous for the world-was gradually prepared. (For the sake of scientific rigor, it is more accurate to call it, Yakovlevism). With the perfidious destruction of the USSR, the hands of the fanatics were untied.

**TODAY** a handful of transnational corporations headed by the Zionist United States imperialism are trying to impose their will upon the whole rest of the world.

Investments amid the liberation of the movement of capital, of labor, of goods and services and of increased labor productivity, lead to one outcome: the destruction of the labor potential, increased unemployment, the preferential development of the branches of the economy that guarantee additional super profits;

especially in the production of weapons and drugs, tobacco and alcohol, prostitution, alien smuggling and pedophilia, gambling.

The character of the epoch, as transitional from capitalism to communism, its chief contradiction –between labor and capital—is still in place. In their attempts to refute Marxism, the ideologists of imperialism infiltrate in people’s minds a non class contradiction between the North and the South, and present as the main question the most rational organization of material production and consumption in the framework of a “postindustrial” society. They state that capitalism is everlasting.

The fact that the overseer’s whip has been replaced by electronic monitoring systems does not change the content of exploitation, does not make it more “human.” Because under the conditions of the scientific revolution the object of the increasingly concealed, intense and sophisticated exploitation is not a hungry vagabond, but a citizen with technological a relatively high living standard and education, the illusion is created that the proletariat has disappeared. Living conditions, comfort, skillful propaganda, imposing publicity and fashion turn it into sort of a “middle class.” Thus they seek to eliminate the watchword “Proletarians of all countries, unite.” Capital becomes more disgraceful.

After depleting their own sources of raw materials, the main imperialist countries pass on to living totally at the expense of the neocolonies. Counterrevolution in

the countries of Eastern Europe is an invaluable gift that lengthens capitalism’s life and considerably enhances the chance for its colonial expansion, especially in the USSR. The western “elite” strongly assimilated colonial thought in connection with other countries.

This is expressed in unequal trade, in the appropriation of new economic positions in the developing countries and in the “new capitalist countries”, the exportation of harmful productions and poisonous industrial waste to the neocolonies, the use of technological advantages to intensify exploitation and oppression. One of the greatest dangers is that of a global ecological catastrophe. The anthropogenic load in the Earth’s biosphere has almost doubled its permissible limits.

**THE ECOLOGICAL PROBLEM** is the breaking of historical bonds, of the natural history of the Earth, with Man’s industrial activity, without becoming properly aware of his role in the whole planetary evolution. Capitalism is not capable of solving this problem. In its rush to get super profits, it doesn’t care much about the protection of nature. And nature takes its revenge. An unheard-of number of destructive hurricanes in the Atlantic, very strong tsunamis and earthquakes in Asia, atypical pneumonia, bird’s flu, are threatening wake-up calls for the whole of mankind.

**US IMPERIALISM** tries to artificially strengthen the position of the dollar, subjecting its allies to the stiff NATO discipline of even crushing any insinuation of

136 national independence and dignity of the “third world” peoples.

The US aggression in Afghanistan and Iraq is actually the occupation of these countries, just slightly disguised by the slogans on the fight by “democracy” and against “international terrorism.” The situation around Syria and Iran becomes increasingly tense. The deployment of military bases, the creation of their infrastructure in foreign territories can only be deemed as a partial occupation.

After all, the fight is not for oil or for new markets, but for people’s souls. Neoliberalism subdues them with the shining of the Golden Calf, conformism, the propaganda that everything is permissible and the “freedom” where the vilest instincts are allowed. The forces on stage and those behind the scenes want to push these atomized individuals to war, degeneration, the realization of their Malthusian plans and the reduction of humanity five to six times.

The new computer and electronic telecommunication means ensure transnational corporations more sophisticated forms of domination of the vast majority of the countries and peoples of the planet. Moral degradation spreads all over the world. People, under the influence of the mass media, look for their salvation from the problems of reality in alcohol, drugs, religion, sects, mysticism, cabala, obscurantism.

It is unquestionable that the main trend of capitalism at present is its sheer fascistization. We have before us a neofascism with very marked Zionist-US

traits, in other words, an obvious terrorist dictatorship by the most reactionary, chauvinistic and imperialistic elements of financial capital. Imperialism, unable to continue to maintain the subdued peoples’ obedience by means of bourgeois democracy, uses methods of force. The constant and sharp interimperialist contradictions and antagonisms generate further arms race and wars. Development continues to be unequal in the imperialist sphere. Greece has never been able to “reach” any of the old countries of the European region and continues to be the most backward of all of them. For its part, Russia, the USSR’s most powerful republic, despite its victorious statements on “high growth rates and doubling of the GDP”, falls deeper and deeper into the category of a dependent colony, as the West’s raw material reserve.

**CONSEQUENTLY, V. I. LENIN’S** conclusion on the breaking of the weakest link of imperialism continues to be valid, whereas the argument that socialist revolutions will develop, in one go, in the whole world or nowhere, that the overthrow of the power of capital is impossible with globalization, is false and opportunistic at a national level.

Global capitalism deems the dismembering of Russia as the subsequent stage in the assimilation of the huge Euro-Asian space and the conquest of a comfortable parade ground in the event of an unavoidable confrontation with the People’s Republic of China. But the consequences to the whole world are unpredictable.

*Firstly*, expenses will grow a great deal. The West doesn't have that amount of money.

*Secondly*, despite all the measures to destroy the army's defensive capacity, Russia still has nuclear weapons and honest officers.

*Thirdly*, the Soviet people are alive; in our country, communists and the revolutionary youth are working. This is why it is more convenient to keep the well-fed puppets in power.

**IMPERIALIST MILITARISM** has destroyed peaceful coexistence goals. The bourgeoisie has placed its self-preservation above the conservation of humanity.

The essence of the imperialist policies' double standards consists of increasing and consolidating the technological supremacy of the metropolises. At the same time, the backwardness and dependence of the neocolonies, where intellectual constraints remain and increase, continue.

Hence, policies, especial foreign policies, detach from the economy, because it is governed rather by the aspiration of lengthening the existence of capitalism at the expense of the colonies, and becomes openly reactionary.

Another trend is the integration of capital with the State. Private property, without ceasing to be so, becomes more and more state-bourgeois property. Everything points toward the creation of a single total national monopoly, on the basis of increasing superiority over dependent colonial countries, keeping the

"social peace" in their country and getting the maximum profits from the international proletariat's work.

Finally, it is necessary as never before to oppose the opportunistic viewpoints on imperialism that reinforce the pro-West regimes' policies. The imperialists use the division of progressive forces, particularly differences in the communist movement, as instruments for their expansion and aggression.

**THE PARTIES** of current social democracy have even rejected what is left of the reformist platform and deservedly took up the liberals' place in the imperialistic field. They are in essence, one of the factions of international capital. And a number of parties that still call themselves communist have virtually taken positions that had been occupied by social democracy. Disguised in social demagoguery, their leading bodies are carriers of the interests of capital in the labor movement; they insert themselves preferably in power and in parliamentary work, with an unavoidable diversion of internationalism toward nationalism.

We extend our full solidarity with the meeting organizers, the Communist Party of Greece, in the evaluation and essence of "the European Left Party" that held its congress here recently. We need to be very careful in using the term "left forces", since it does not bear a clear socio-class composition of its members.

**THE ESSENCE OF CAPITALISM** has not changed; it is private ownership, bour-

138 geoisie power, exploitation, plundering the other countries and peoples, the unrestrainable tendency toward aggression. The global contradiction of the class interests cannot be eliminated with any special means other than a socialist revolution. In the centennial year of the First Russian Revolution, the CPSU is working to be worthy of its predecessors.

There is only one alternative: either we die under the blows of ecological and technogenic catastrophes, of wars and terrorist acts comparable to them, or we find the strength to pull down and overcome the obsolete system of capitalist relations and rise to a new, higher level of history that ensures the future progress of society, the conservation of nature, the free multilateral development of every person.

The proletariat's general democratic demands of having free public education and health, social security, retirement age, working day's duration, labor legislation, etc., must be subordinate to the chief political objective: the passage of power to the hands of workers and peasants through a socialist revolution.

The time has long come for moving from "saying" to "doing". It is necessary to begin with the formation of a single coordinating center, on the basis of one of the parties; to achieve the regular and operational publication of an informative bulletin. Not necessarily a printed publication; it can be on an electronic medium. We believe that this party is the CPG.

We uphold democratic centralism as the principle to govern our ranks. The mi-

nority must subordinate to the majority. The document must be approved if the majority voted for it, if there is a quorum.

The delegation of the CPSU believes that to allow in the world scenario countless attacks on the so-called Stalinism, is not only stupid but also extremely dangerous and noxious for the world. To keep silent means to yield to imperialist imposition. In October, the liberals started a new hullabaloo to transfer the body of V. I. Lenin. They even specify the date: January 24. The CC of the CPSU has approved a special declaration in this respect.

We would highly appreciate it if, at an international level, actions are organized for the defense of the V. I. Lenin Mausoleum, a monument historic for the whole of humankind. It would be convenient, on behalf of our meeting, to offer support to the Republic of Belarus and its progressive president, to the Arab Republic of Syria, in view of the direct threats from US imperialism.

Today the criterion of justice, honesty and international solidarity is the level of seriousness with which we coordinate our actions.

# Global policies of capitalism and the communist response

**NEW COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA**  
**BRANKO KITANOVIC**

→ **THE PROPAGANDISTIC, SUBVERSIVE,** economic, political and military expansion and aggression of imperialism, headed by the United States and the European Union, as you all know, is ongoing and growing. Now, the imperialists, with the pretext of implementing “democracy” and “human rights” are focused on continuing to fraction Russia, on the indirect appropriation of natural resources, in particular in the Near and Middle East, on turning the Balkans into their military range, a political protectorate and an economic neocolony. In Eastern Europe and in most of the former Soviet republics, the most reactionary forces have been placed in power. The United States continues trying hard to increasingly strengthen colonial domination in Latin America; but thanks to the progressive forces of this region, the Bush policy suffered a shameful defeat recently, at the Argentina continental conference. The process of the imperialist siege on China continues, but we are firmly convinced that it will also be defeated.

The imperial globalization policy, besides being based on fire and the sword, relies on the use of many exploitation levers, such as the IMF, the World Bank, the European Bank, the World Trade Organization and other military, economic and political partnerships.

**WHAT SHOULD THE COMMUNISTS'** answer be to the challenge of capitalism? Of course, it cannot be of a single type, since communists today act under different conditions, in different States with different politico-economic systems. In seven or eight countries of the world the communists are in power; in some countries, they are part of the state and regional power together with a patriotic bour-

140 geoisie; in many States, bourgeois are represented in parliaments as powerful or small fractions. Regrettably, there is a large group of countries where communists are forced to act illegally or semi-legally. In most countries, though, they exist legally just formally and the prevailing power subjects them to strict or great discrimination.

This is particularly typical for most countries in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and in most of the republics of the post-Soviet space. All these countries are in a total relationship of vassalage regarding the United States and the European Union. Their domestic policy is much worse than that of their masters, and their foreign policy is determined by Washington, London and Berlin. We are referring, in the first place to the republics of former old Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania.

We couldn't receive anything from the former communist parties; all the assets of these parties were forcibly seized by the bourgeoisie. With the exception of the Workers Party of Hungary, all the remaining new parties have been left without locations buildings, without the indispensable administrative inventory or the elementary technical instruments and, of course, without monetary resources. Also, the power imposes very hard financial and legal obligations upon us. Under such conditions, it is very difficult to fight against the vassal power and against its masters.

Nevertheless, we believe that, for example, in the split Yugoslavia (Serbia and

Montenegro), the communists, operating under the most elementary conditions -even at present- have been one of the leading political forces in Parliament.

Nevertheless, we continue the class struggle under the existing conditions. It is clear that you cannot carry out an effective class struggle without a precise Marxist-Leninist orientation and without a mass party that can attract to its ranks youth, certain forces of the unions, the progressive part of the women's movement, the poor and middle-class layers of the peasantry, the antifascist fighters, and the peace movement.

**TODAY, IN THE TERRITORIES** of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, most of the youth is hypnotized by the bourgeois propaganda, which acts through the movies, decadent music and songs, television, computer techniques, through different forms of amusement, a distorted understanding of sports, narcotics, erroneous education and diverse aberrations. Of course, a certain part of youth receives money for its political behavior and activity. Some of them receive large sums of money; for example, the members of the pro-fascist organization "Otpor", that is "Resistance", which the American, English and German agencies used in the coups d'etat in Yugoslavia, Georgia, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan and failingly in Belarus.

On the other hand, 95 percent of the young people in Yugoslavia -and I think that in other former socialist countries- are comparatively worse off than under

socialism. Youth accounts for almost 65 percent of two million unemployed in Yugoslavia (in split Yugoslavia).

**BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA**, consciously and skillfully, with the help of a powerful propaganda industry, seduces young people with deceitful ideas that the bourgeois way of life, allegedly, offers people the possibility to become millionaires. On the other hand, it systematically influences to achieve the loss of national identity, of national dignity, to turn youths into the capitalists' obedient puppets, to distort their points of view and the system of values.

Unfortunately, in the struggle to strengthen the ranks and positions of communist parties in the former socialist countries, they have no help other than verbal support. Without some material aid, the communist parties of this region are not in a position to effectively wage the fight against the vassals of world capitalism that seized power.

We don't have enough support on the media of the socialist countries or in the big parties of the bourgeois countries. Of course, we are thinking of the communist parties. For example, after the counter-revolution in Yugoslavia, the current power, in fact, doesn't allow the communists to participate in the elections. They adopted a law according to which we are supposed to present 10,500 signatures to be able to participate in the parliamentary elections. This is not a problem; we used to gather 50,000 signatures in the past and under the law it was necessary

to have 25,000. The problem is that each signatory is supposed to show up with all their documents before a tribunal in a certain place. But the law doesn't call for the tribunal to send an employee to a certain place to certify the signatures. The time is short and the tribunal justifies itself by saying that it doesn't have enough officials (not for the communists) to do this job.

**TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS**, we have to pay a 15,000-euro tax, in advance, and the tribunal officials come to cover, on average, 10% of the local seats, and the last two times we couldn't participate in the elections. We have informed many of the communist parties on this and other forms of discrimination related to the electoral processes many times, but not one of them has paid attention.

We have stated all this because we believe the support and solidarity from the sister countries should be materialized in a concrete manner, and the fight against imperialism and its vassals should be waged as one.

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# Building a communist alternative to globalized capitalism

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN**

**JESUS ROMERO**

➔ **THE PROCESS OF ANALYZING** early 21<sup>st</sup> Century world events in the framework of Marxist tradition, demands an answer to the issue: what is the meaning of having gone from formal, to real submission of labor to capital in this new world-scope capitalist accumulation process, referred to as globalization?

In our opinion, the answer lies here: it means a new way and extension of exploitation, in the particular space as well as in the specific time dimension.

Regarding the time dimension, surplus value overflows working hours to influence the entire human living time. For that, new ways of learning and communication upgrading have been designed, performing a true “transformation of all values” in which market as well as market promoters rule and condition human behavior. Knowledge and communication have become a priority axis.

The technological revolution joins and makes market deregulation easy, thus introducing drastic changes in capitalist control modalities, turning free speculative capital flow into the most remarkable supporting trait of new globalized capitalism. The working class suffers an acute fragmentation process, along with other emerging economic sectors, stranded from those where workers have traditionally accomplished their political training and reached political awareness.

Thus, emerges a new proletariat, - women and men- radically different workers in terms of skills and behavior, submitted to working conditions particularly precarious in terms of wages, social security, labor stability and work safety. A new worker-subject, or whatever we choose to name him, who, though still exploited in the traditional way, is now exploited in this new way: he’s the im-

material worker. Service and communication sectors – ideology makers, offer what we should wish, think and who should get it for us- join the industrial worker as a new capital's labor appropriation element. Emerging sectors where traditional trade unions have lost mobilization power and political effectiveness are in a defensive position, therefore, presenting us on the left with new challenges and political opportunities not fully explored yet.

As to the space dimension, the over-used "global village" expression, which matches the system and production mode, on the same grounds, adds to it the new concept of dynamic space, meaning, the space filled by human groupings that migrate seeking their essential minimum and fleeing from conflicts. These spaces fully match the flows of capital disowning the poorest to increase the wealth of the richest. This isn't a new element, it's just that the migration spaces and flows are more intense and diverse. It's not a coincidence that the migratory spaces match, in turn, the flows of capital, as it isn't either that both movements remain as virtual realities to public knowledge.

The domination spheres repeat themselves over and over, from the simplest day to day immediate relations of power (as women well know) to wider extents, in a repeated sequence of ruling patterns viewed as normal in virtue of the system's reproduction media geared to impose the ruling class ideology.

The word "biopolitical" brought up by

French post-structuralism, specifically by Foucault, shows an unequivocal fertility to define the exploitation patterns in post-industrial society. A global exploitation, truly evident when we watch the deep ecological crisis on this planet, belies the market as the solution to live in the best possible world, just when the fall of Berlin's wall gave neoliberalism the excuse to proclaim the end of history and the victory of unipolarity thinking. The Market is exactly the issue.

#### **WHAT IS THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK** around this new (old) form of appropriation?

*First*, even if there might be a military center of power (United States), it no longer remains an economic-political center. The power de-territorialization due to global expansion leaves in the air the traditional notion of political struggle and the internationalist aspect becomes particularly relevant. There is also a real and virtual depersonalization of the effective power identification, and though we can refer to it in a more or less vague form, this prevents targeting a specific blow against its spinal axis and makes it more difficult each time to decide where and when to strike. This means that in the place of visible and temporal axis, we are now finding former transcendent entities that now, like it or not, are unreachable and unassailable.

*Second*, and resulting from the aforementioned; nation-states, merely required as military safe keepers of capital's operations, not needing any political va-

144 lidity due to their abstract nature and technocrat traits, watch the loss of their traditional competence. Now, they can only operate along their three co-existing planes: legal, against real opposition; military, to control production resources and economic, to socialize losses and privatize benefits. The nation-state crisis is not detached from the environment or the employment crisis. Stemming from the same system, they demand the same solutions. Economic hardships and environmental issues have a common root: a common production pattern and an unaffordable environmental and social expense.

*Third*, we see a constantly growing gap, between formal and real sovereignty exercise. Mediation and representation processes are taking over an increasingly large space while removing real power from those legally supposed to hold it.

Present representative democracy downgrades social complexity to a few electoral options from which we should vote for one, while becoming an average voter type and a government program, by which right and alleged left forces, share projects and programs, making hardly any distinction, and have no qualms about reaching government agreements, as it happened with the recent German case.

Sometimes they don't think it necessary for the elected representatives to even implement control, direction and supervision functions. Decisions are no longer passed in Parliament, they're taken

through market and wealth appropriation mechanisms, as it happens with the economic policies drawn by the European Central Bank or the International Monetary Fund, which act autonomously without rendering any accounts of their actions to anybody.

All this happens when capitalism has settled permanently into the crisis, fulfilling the Marxist statement on the law of diminishing productivity. It has found a twofold solution to global productivity deacceleration. Internally, it has broken the social contract by raising the profit rate at the expense of wages, public properties and social rights, that is, dismantling the "Welfare State". Externally, a new colonizing process is on the way, seeking new economy spaces where human and environment exploitation takes us back to new forms of pillage and slavery, already lived through during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Throughout the history of capitalism, it has never been so obvious the difference between capitalism's private and society's collective interests. The first, thrives on racism and women's shared work-day, aiming to divide workers and reduce wages; pollutes the planet because pollution costs fall on society; gears productivity increase to financial investments and solvent markets instead of unfulfilled basic needs, stresses food agriculture destruction, malnourishment and poverty.

**BUILDING COMMUNISM.** Considering the afore reviewed issue, that is, the absence of a reference center that will allow us to

target the specific power center, right where and when is needed, rather than jeopardizing specific actions, allows us to be more proficient along the lines of resistance. Paraphrasing Walter Benjamin, we must be alert because any time and any place may be the moment for the revolution. A grid layout will help operations within this framework, without having a permanent high ranking center that could vertically abort or behead our capacity to act. We think the layout of a future international-in-scope communist organization must be set up according to the new production forms, maybe the ancient cell arrangement will be more efficient right now than the rigid territorial one.

The issue around the nation-state is particularly sensitive. Should we be happy to see it lose sovereignty to other powers, states and institutions? I think we should. If the present were a reversible condition and we could return to a strong structure of power, we might regret that loss, but, unfortunately, that's not the case. I don't think we should seek a new Keynesian compromise, along a social democracy style, the alternative can't be old welfare-state-times blues; the attempt to retrieve new forms of mediation, clash against the need for mankind's emancipation. What are the possibilities of replacing it? Maybe a world wide government, a wider and sharper decentralization, or capitalist anarchy? For instance, naïve pretensions of a true world-wide order through Kantian morals already shown by Kelsen, crash against a gloomy reality. All attempts to

establish, regulate and implement it, go against the interests of capital representatives, who are far from showing even hypocrite signs of good faith. A democratic world order becomes a senseless, groundless contradiction. Add to this, the increasingly acute loss of legitimacy by world agencies at the service of ruthless capitalism, bringing wherever they act more problems than solutions, willfully blind to basic human needs.

A true exercise of democracy requires that every one affected by decisions, takes part in the decision making process and that can only happen in close surrounding frames.

Nation-state decentralization and deconcentration is a reality, we just don't know how real. Increasingly less territorial competences are left without the State turning into a plain Army Staff and that's where nationalism reaches its peak reactive power. If we mean to establish a new appointed power capable of constant increase, the very notion clashes with the concept of nation, unavoidably linked to appointed power. They both act as one and the appointed power opposes the least glimpse of changes. This notion necessarily joins coercive power of legal instances at the service of political interests. Legality, allegedly a reflection of the people's will, undermines political-moral issues, in times when Human Rights tend to be downgraded (as with the European Constitution project). We're living in times of positivist oppression where facts are divided from values, marking the first as objective and neutral and the second,

146 as irrational and ideal. Regretfully, those positions have supported the discourse assumed by some left representatives who seem to forget that socialism is made of a series of ethical values which give sense and validity to the revolutionary project. Instead, they bet on an alleged realism (confusing realism with materialism) that designs policies behind citizens' back, thereby playing into the hands of bourgeoisie ethics apostles who hypocritically and cynically erase all reference to ethical values.

It is radically revolutionary to stand for absolute legitimacy of human rights, meaning by absolute, all possible aspects, including, of course, collective rights such as self-determination. That right is the peak of democracy as it not exerted by mere individuals, but by collectives, by the peoples. Far from being the gate or serving as an excuse for secession, it supports the notion of free links, it restores the rule of politics over force imposition, summing it up, it's the refusal to accept appointed power, wagering on new foundational process in which the subjects, men and women, will be effective makers of our future.

Against militarism, extreme pacifism, meaning by pacifism the opposition to capitalist war, not total denial of the legitimacy of armed struggle under oppressive conditions. We must try hard to avoid the international anti-war mobilization becoming an instrument, for instance, like the Spanish Socialist Workers Party did with the still un-finished war in Iraq.

### **FACED WITH SOCIAL-ECONOMIC TYRANNY,**

our goal must be social benefit rather than financial profitableness. Capitalism is the first economic system in history to subordinate the social to the economic, awarding full autonomy to the economy and turning private ownership and capitalism into absolute values. Capitalism has imposed market despotism and competitive dictatorship. Socialism stands against this system as an overcoming alternative, intended to rise above the market by subordinating it to a true democratic society. As always, the capital-labor ratio holds the center of any needed revolution.

Before dealing with the subject of the new forms of public ownership defended from communist stances, we should make sure that circulation flows respond to full coverage of basic and social human needs. Present positivism, unable to find mathematical patterns to quantify social benefit, imposes as the only perspective, that of financial profitability under the naïve (or not so) beliefs that redistribution through tax policy and a re-balance of the market are unavoidable. Obviously, essential needs coverage implies revindication of new international positions and a reversal in the role of traditional economic tools, as well as clear cut changes in ownership structures which should be matched by a new collective public ownership frame, but will it be of a state nature? We believe that necessary economic planning must meet the requirements of a democratic allocation of will-be achieved ends and a democratic control over the means to reach them. It should-

n't done be through authoritarian and bureaucratic state planning. The quest for new forms of social ownership entails implementing control patterns by workers and close users over the produced good or service and public organizations or institutions to guarantee proper financing, in order to erase any trace of capital markets and be capable of implementing the required political control. The path towards a socialist future drawn by Marx leads to direct producers' association instead of state strengthening.

Radical democracy, far from mediations and representations, based on the Soviet model, is the only way to overcome the gap between formal and real independence. The existing electoral legislation, compromises a true representation of the different options within the institutions, rewarding majority parties a questionable view of democracy. Democracy, just as we experience it, is reduced to legitimizing legal agreements, but it's useless to organize and channel citizens interests to build the communist alternative through today's regular strategies. Relinquishment of representation frames means licit and absolute questioning of present patterns of power administration. We must seize control of all existing future institutions, acting as intermediaries of our true social life, from market to enterprises as well as political institutions, going from parliamentary institutions to trade unions and any other introduced by successive mediations.

We should start building a democracy where collective participation takes

shape when it comes to taking economic and political decisions, a democracy capable of going beyond financial profitability to accomplish, in a first stage, at least, a world where we can all live in. We must rejoice in the new experiences in participatory democracy emerging in South America, experiences that must expand and enrich themselves.

Participatory-democracy is both, a moral duty –in order to rescue all potentialities in different individual and organized groups- and a need to increase the efficiency of the society where we live to answer everybody's needs.

The practical-formal democracy gap and the introduction of successive mediations meet along a critical issue: information and communication control. The further subjects get from their representatives the larger the imbalance between information gathering and the capacity to master communications. Radical democracy also means to choose horizontal over vertical communication. We can't allow capitalist pressure groups to enjoy unaware and passive complicity from a big workers' mass whose way of living goes no farther than working, buying, consuming and remaining silent.

Again, the emergence of updated communication tools and the subversion of traditional forms- in order to encourage the exercise of a true "communication democracy" under popular control and leadership becomes an overwhelming need in order to make the change real. Delays are inexcusable within this framework. The alternative society should

148 be capable of offering a communication vehicle capable of reaching everywhere with utmost facility, using both, traditional and non-traditional means. There can't be a revolution without communications.

**A COMMON TASK.** We may be undergoing a stage of bewilderment as we lack a final goal to motivate and drive us to push for new joint spaces where we can reproduce all existing trends for new emancipation projects. We may not be able to find right now, a unitarian scheme, but one thing is true, we can't stop "thinking globally" from the different emancipation outlooks and areas, because by doing so we're able to build common spaces for alternative values to those of the present domination system. Thinking about the socialist project goes along with displaying and consolidating new social resistance to fight global capitalism and will allow us to lay down an accumulation of new experiences and new analysis spaces. We have to consider how to articulate the multiple anti-capitalist organization and struggle arrangements, translating the plurality of the individuals carrying on the resistance.

Ecologist, feminist, anti-militarist, organizations, those fighting for forgiveness the Third World's debt, anti-poverty and anti-unemployment organizations, fair trade and social economy fighters. These and other local social movements, with universal hopes, they are all fighting capitalism. They all set their eyes on the "old" workers' movement and urge us to recover our antagonism to capitalism, to

articulate and reformulate a joint social and political alternative aimed at pursuing the radical democratization of this globalized economy, in a background of new internationalism. If Communist Parties hope to play a crucial and basic role, if we want to change the world, we must do it with them. We're forced to apprehend the whole range of positions and experiences, adding our balance, our experiences with people's struggles and our own outlook on the new realities. And we must do it, fully aware of defending a model, a socialist, morally, social and economically higher model, by adapting our political practice so that this superiority will be consciously, globally and radically assumed by increasing sectors of society, outcasts of capitalists production and redistribution systems. Our struggle can benefit from the recognition of many millions of people, not because our goal has scientific validity, but because it is cemented on values such as freedom, equality and fraternity that must rule the relations between peoples and individuals.

The latest Congress of the Communist Party of Spain, while starting the works on the Manifesto Program, has issued a call for active participation of each and every active member of Party organizations, involving all, men and women, who share with us an anti-capitalist project. This task aims to refound the emancipation project and re-build the Communist Party from the outlook and the need of reformulating, ideas, strategies, and ways of influencing and organizing communist policy.

This task must carry an internationalist dimension, attempting to stimulate an international debate and a reflection leading to new conditions for communists and anti-capitalist left forces. We want to debate and argue around these issues with Europe's change promoter left trends, with Latin America's and with the entire revolutionary forces of this planet. We know that many of you are involved in similar projects, we summon all of you to carry out a common work that will allow us to display again "red banners marching along the boulevards of freedom". It demands hard work, carried out with generosity and courage, imagination and broad minds, with increased spirit of sacrifice, not only because we're fighting against an oppressive exploitation system, but because we're certain the goal can be achieved if we turn to organization and action at the place and the moment when the conditions are present. It demands as much effort from us as it did once from Marx and Engels as well as so many other revolutionaries guiding us with their examples.

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# The strategic aim of building socialism

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF PEOPLES OF SPAIN**

**DIANA BAZO**

→ **CAPITALISM'S CLOSELY** approaching a structural crisis due to the impossibility of closing the extended reproduction cycle. The risk of the world economy collapsing grows bigger every day. The Globalized economy shows that despite the high concentration of capital, profits represent an increasingly lower percentage of the millions moved by big multinationals. Finance Engineering operations that “adjust” the accounts image of big companies are now a regular practice in an effort to hide the situation, but they can’t stop it at all. Capitalism’s facing increasing difficulties in closing its extended reproduction cycle. Highest levels of speculation and resorting to financing not only can’t solve but complicate the picture even more.

That’s why capital must resort to companies relocation, the use of a migrant labor force in semi-slavery conditions, extended working hours and making cuts in worker’s wages and all types of rights in order to overcome the situation. This brings huge problems to families as they watch their purchasing power drop and ends up in economic stagnation. Unemployment becomes endemic as objective living conditions of the working class worsen in an ostensible way. An ever increasingly large fraction of the class, gets dumped into social exclusion. Today, capitalism makes jobs disappear.

With endless voracity, capitalism has no qualms in dooming entire countries and continents to extreme poverty. Such is the case of Africa, where neo-colonial plundering and ferocious imperialism keep hindering all hopes for the future among their peoples, only a change of system will open for them a road to hope. Unequal development, capital’s substan-

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152 tial strategy to maintain its profit rate, makes it possible today for 15% of the world population to own 80% of the wealth on the planet. Imperialism can't allow autonomous development of other countries, as that will seriously throw off balance its domination.

Historically, capitalism has used wars to work out its crisis. Today, capitalism embarks on a "permanent war" as an objective requirement for capital accumulation; that state of war will join capitalism until it disappears as a socio-historical formation. That's why capitalism preys on plundering and pillage as unavoidable methods to seize raw materials and natural resources. The case of Yanqui occupation in Iraq still is the typical example.

This permanent war entails a huge expense on armament and maintenance of armies and secret services. Military expenses get so high that their cancellation will be enough to cause a radical change in the accounts of any country, showing a meaningful positive balance in the GPD, which could be allocated to other priority uses. Nevertheless, on short-term and long term these multi-millionaire expenditures on death tools wont disappear.

Besides, world expansion of capitalist production and market relationships, convey a very high risk of ecological disaster. Today, the amount of debris launched by capitalism towards the atmosphere surpasses the assimilation capacity of the natural cycle. Squandering and exploitation of natural resources, are inseparable in a market with the unavoidable demand to create artificial needs and to produce

superfluous goods. Consumerist society makes it impossible to achieve a capital-nature balance.

**CAPITAL'S DOMINATION STRATEGIES.** In this context, vicious and direct exercise of capital's tyranny is becoming more visible each time (the system no longer needs to hide violence behind "democratic" faces, as in previous decades) therefore, the levels reached by repression against those aware of that violence and responding to it, are, higher than ever before.

Nevertheless, it's also true that the system's domination strategies to maintain and perpetuate the alienation of the popular masses, are very efficient and there's still an overwhelming majority of those who show their incapacity to jump the boundaries and rules of the social system in power, and even go as far as joining it as truly efficient reproducers. Legitimizing mechanisms of the ruling ideology are very powerful and jeopardize the quest for alternatives outside the boundaries of the system That's why we say that the ideological battle becomes a core element in the political struggle carried out by revolutionary organizations. Today, the need for politically and ideologically well-trained revolutionary organizations becomes bigger than ever in history.

The fight-terrorism talk (instead of fight-communism, in the Cold War) comes with extended reproduction of capital, and its aimed to conceal the high violence rate capital needs to maintain its

profit rate. Imperialism, with a high intensity campaign manages to control important social consensus that allow it to legitimate the new freedom and rights restrictions framework all over the planet. Secret services, police control and submission mechanisms for all forms of dissidence, are improving. Formal democracy, until now the “friendly” face of capitalism, gives way to the Police and Military State as a concrete historical expression of the domination system.

**PEOPLES RESPONSE** advances and grows stronger. Despite that, people and relevant sectors of the working class have responded with meaningful strikes and other mobilizations in defense of rights in the labor world. Big sector rallies on such topics as the defense of natural resources and against ecological conflicts; peaceful or armed struggles against national oppression; organized popular movements of students, women, Indians; world mobilizations against the war. The levels of international coordination for these struggles are rising, though the labor movement seems to be lagging behind other expressions of popular mobilizations. In any case, the latest efforts of the World Federation Trade Union, aimed to become a core referent for class unionism gives reasons to be optimistic.

All that, along with settled or recent revolutionary experiences (Cuba, Venezuela, North Korea, Vietnam, China...) should function as a harmonic combination to face the present domination system.

**THE ROLE OF COMMUNIST** trend organizations. These wide-in-scope socio-political movements, developed along a global lines, are propelling the advances of mass awareness in the face capitalist inhumanity. We must join them, in order to guide their actions along the line of anti-imperialist confrontations.

As for worldwide revolutionary struggle, we should be well equipped with a priority program, aimed to organize the masses as well as the class. This program should provide the world with a new model of society. To design it, we must establish collaboration and coordination channels among communist forces throughout the planet. This program will be the outcome of upgrading annual meetings like this as well as the application of the resolutions passed by them (such as the implementation of regional or continental meetings and the proposal of monographic debates to reach joint positions). It will be the outcome of strengthening the task-group approved last year; as well as starting the solidarity fund; the request for joint responses to specific situations. The design of joint documents applying new technologies... All that will open the way for a communist coordination which fits our historical reality, capable of driving onward the fight against world capitalism.

These advances will only be limited by our own organizations. A bold and concrete initiative is what the international working class is demanding from revolutionary organizations.

Some basic mottos about large con-

154 traditions within the system must be the flags for a strong anti-imperialist world movement working with the strategic aim of building socialism as mankind's only alternative for the future:

- Opposition to all military aggressions against the peoples and against the working class.
- Dismantling of the international financial agencies, IMF, WB, WTO, etc. Design of new economic relationships.
- Payment of the age-old debt power countries have with plundered countries (from colonialism as well as from present economic relations). End of unequal trade.
- End of all sorts of exploitation aimed to perpetuate hunger, illiteracy, mass diseases.
- Progressive world secularization, regarding teaching and culture as well as the role played by religions in the political reality. Full political power-religion independence.
- Fight for food sovereignty. Coordination of the world peasants movement.
- For collective ownership of scientific-technological knowledge.
- Environment sustainability.
- For national independence. For people's right to self-determination.
- For a world society with free men and women citizens, equal in all aspects of their lives.

# Change is everywhere: For an alternative to capitalism

**SUDANESE COMMUNIST PARTY**

**FATHI EL FADL**

→ **THE RECENT RIOTS** in France which swept over 300 hundred cities and towns reflects in a way the deepening crisis capitalism is currently facing. No one expected the sheer rage the rioters showed, even in a country used to outbursts and violence. Violence in France said a French journalist, is a tradition, almost a rite of passage for every generation. It is also seen as a legitimate political form of expression. But these rioters are not begging for a change and a reform, they want to burn the whole house down.

People started speaking about the failure of the French model and the Republic and that racial discrimination is the fundamental problem, and that France must be blind not to see that 6 million suffer from endemic racism every day. The critics are right – but only in part. What we see in the streets and the French cities and towns are dissatisfied youth with little education, hardly any job prospects, from poor backgrounds. Their misery is first a social and economic one. They are white, black, second and third generation north - African migrants); they are from Muslim, Christians and secular backgrounds. They are the French people who feel they are not represented by any political party or organization, and especially by the French left. And this is more dangerous than any ethnic minority riots as it constitutes a revolutionary ferment.

The rioters in their own way are saying enough to capitalism, they want more from the Republic and their country more liberty, more “égalité” and “fraternité”. Not less! It is an indication of the failure of the capitalist system in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. This is not only a French crisis – it is an extension of the aftermath of Katrina and the failure of Capitalism to

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156 protect the down-trodden and the poor – the poor in Pakistan who continue to die a month after the earthquake and the hundreds of thousands who are lost to famine, diseases and poverty in Africa, Asia and Latin America – the victims of Capitalist exploitation and local corruption. Yes, this is not a French crisis – all the capitalist countries must heed the flames.

**FROM THE BEGINNING CAPITALISM** was a global system, expanding from Europe into the rest of the world through a relentless process of colonization that also involved slavery and genocide. Merchant capitalism created the beginning of the world market and helped provide the accumulated wealth (from the...plunder of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America) that established the industrial revolution of the mid – eighteenth century. Control over foreign natural resources (in competition with other capitalists and/or other nations) is needed to secure essential materials for production. This policy of exploitation, of protecting so – called national interests has continued till today. The US war in Iraq and its occupation is a part of an attempt to control oil.

During the early years of capitalism, the main capitalist states worked hard to protect their industries and their business from competition from abroad. Now, the great strength of these mature business and their need to penetrate the third world more efficiently has resulted in capital in the centre states, their governments, and the international organizations working in their interest to all joint-

ly promoting “free trade” – while hypocritically still supporting many advantages for “home” industry. In the current wave of global capitalist expansion, with capital having gained a great degree of mobility, goods once produced, in the countries of the centre are more and more produced in the countries with cheap labour and no trade rights.

Capitalism, through a variety of mechanisms – from outright robbery and colonial domination in the early years to the imperialist relations in its more mature version – continues to produce the wealth of the centre and the underdevelopment of the countries of the third world. It also continues to produce and reproduce a class structure in each country – including a subservient ruling class in the developing countries with their foreign bank accounts and faith in US military force.

The production and continual reproduction of a class structure, with an always present army of labour means that their will always be significant inequality under capitalism.

**ECOLOGICAL DEGRADATION** occurs in numerous countries and societies. But with capitalism these is a new dimension to the problem. The drive for profits and capital accumulation as the overriding objective of economic activity, the control that economic interests exact over political life and the many technologies developed that allow humans rapidly to change their environment – near and wide, mean that adverse effects on the

environment are inevitable. Pollution of water, air, and soil are natural by-products of a capitalist system organized for the sole aim of making profit.

Climate change resulting from global warming, not completely predictable, but with mostly negative effects, is another repercussion of unfettered capitalist exploitation of resources.

Reforms can be enacted to soften the social and ecological effects of the capitalist plunder of natural resources and exploitation. Certainly many have occurred, including those that resulted in workers gains in the main capitalist countries, such as weak and limited trade union rights, a government-run social security retirement system, higher incomes and worker safety laws. However, as we are now seeing in all capitalist countries it is possible to reverse the gains that were won through hard – fought struggles of the working class. During the low periods of class struggle, when conditions are decidedly in favour of capital all these gains come under curtailment to push towards minimal constraints and maximum flexibility for capital. At the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war, capital fearing revolution that can destroy the system, promoted a welfare state in much of Europe – paid vacations, better wages and in Germany placed workers on boards of directors. In the United States the welfare state began with Roosevelt's New Deal and new programs were added in the 1960s.

The development and growth of the capitalist economies coupled with its desire to have mass support during its Cold

War are also part of the explanation for increases in social programs. What actually happened also depended on the militancy of trade unions as well as other forms of class struggle such as the riots of '68 in France and some other European countries, the workers' strikes in Britain, and the black movement for political and economic rights in the United States. But with the growth of larger and larger corporations, competition between countries became more intense and these new forces were stimulating the economy to grow.

When economic stagnation developed in the 1970s, capital responded in a number of ways. Investment strategies changed in order to sustain profits – development service sector and speculative world of finance. With stagnation, capitalist societies, as throughout their history in depressions, also shifted the burden of economic stagnation, militarisation, and wars to the working people in the Centre and those in the developing countries. Beginning in the 1980s those at the top have promoted a continuous class war aimed at reducing corporate taxes and taxes on the wealthy. Also capital continued its war to dismantle as many workers rights as possible: attacking welfare programs, making it harder to unionise workers and easier to fire them, decreased pension coverage, privatised bank services (including education, schools, tutorial fees) and attempts to privatise social security.

With the advance of neo – liberalism, counter – reforms are becoming more fre-

158 quent, this will increase as the strength of the capital increases relative to that of labour, and class war from above becomes the norm. But more importantly the evils of inequality, poverty and misery, environmental degradation, using of resources faster than replacements can be found – as well as the imperialist economic, political and military control over the countries of the third world – all flow from the very nature of capitalism

**ALTERNATIVES TO CAPITALISM.** A new society is needed because all evils are part of the capitalist system. Moving away from capitalism really a choice – the environmental constraints and the depleting resources will force a change in society. The future points to limited possibilities – a turn to fascism or the creation of a collective society that can provide the basic needs for all humanity.

In view of the extent of misery and threat, catastrophe and disaster endemic to capitalism, what needs to be done?

Unfortunately, many of us have a simplified view of history and overlook the contradictions on the road to a new social order. The past experience of the Soviet Union accomplished a great deal in terms of full employment, mass education, and medical care for all the people, industrialization, a longer life span and much more. It checked imperialist aggression and attempted to present a more human society. It marked advances on the road to socialism. Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union, lessons can be learned to advance in the future. These questions are difficult,

and we don't pretend to know all the answers.

Most important, in our opinion, is that the departure from the socialist road was not inevitable; rather it was an outgrowth of specific historical circumstances. Perhaps one, if not the leading, lesson of the past experience is the affirmation that socialism can not arrive overnight – the road to such a major transformation of the social structure and people's consciousness is indeed very long. It took capitalism many centuries to develop and prosper. Socialism is no exception. It is also full of pitfalls and mistakes. Mao put it simply and clearly: "Marxism, Leninism and the practice of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries all teach us that socialist society covers a very, very long historical stage. Throughout this stage, the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class goes on and the question of "Who will win" between the roads of capitalism and socialism remains, as does the danger of the restoration of capitalism. (Mao Zedong, *On Khrushchev's Phoney Communism and its historical lessons for the world: Comment on the open letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU,* 1964).

The long transition to fully – developed socialism requires a truly new culture inbred with a new ideology. We live in a society that promotes and often requires selfishness, greed, individualism, and a dog – eat – dog competitive spirit. A socialist society would require producing a new human focused on serving all the people, outlawing inequality, over-

coming differences in status and moving toward full equality.

«New forms of struggle for social justice are emerging in the global South and is drawing the attention of thinkers and communist parties. They vary widely in scope, aims and organization. They may not even use the word "socialism". But in their basic struggle for a fairer distribution of available resources, they embody the main body of socialism, social justice and liberty.»

**THE PEOPLE** with no other road to take have always been at the heart of any substantial socialism movement. Increasingly, large populations in the "third world" are finding themselves squeezed as they are by even greater demands of profit – seeking corporations on the one hand and the corrupt national governments on the other. Direct action is becoming the only way to escape from poverty and exploitation. The new movements are drawing more on local traditions and developing tactics that are suited purely to that local environment. Resistance to India's huge dam project has been influenced by Gandian principles of non-violent resistance. The Ogoni people of Niger Della in Nigeria pursued various non-violent tactics against Shell. Organizations such as the movement for the survival of the Ogoni people were formed and continue to operate after leaders like Kien

Salo – Wiwa were executed. The Zapatistas in Mexico are another example. The Association of Indigenous Councils of Nalleum Cauca in Colombia as waging peaceful struggle for agrarian reform and against free wage agreement with its states. Across Latin America a similarly explosive movements are underway, with indigenous people redrawing the Continent's political map, demanding not just "rights" but a reinvention of the state along deeply democratic lines. In Bolivia and Ecuador they toppled governments. In Argentina when the mass movement outled five presidents in 2001 – 2002, the words of the Zapatistas were echoed in the streets. The same can be said of the mass struggles in Egypt, Sudan, Lebanon, and Ethiopia, demanding democratic transformation, social justice and peace.

Even though these new movements are localized, their struggle is usually in response to conditions resulting from globalisation. In dozens of countries around the world it is the sweeping demands of the international Monetary Fund or the World Bank that bring people to the streets. Globalisation is not new. Nineteenth – century imperialism was an earlier cruder form. The economies of countries like Britain and France went in a relatively short span of time from being depended on local agricultural markets and small – scale artisans to being the hub of a massive global system for expropriating resources from Asia Africa and Latin America sending to the factories in French and British cities and shipping the

160 resulting goods out to foreign markets. Tens of millions of African were taken from their homeland and transported to distant slave plantations and work in factories to support their massive accumulation of capital. Globalisation, indeed capitalist globalisation has wreaked havoc on the world for countries. Its recent manifestation is not a radical departure from the past.

**CONSULS AND ARMIES** have simply been replaced by trade subsidies and structural adjustment programs. If these fail, there is always the option of sending armies under a different pretext. But to African, Asians, West Indians and Latin Americans it is all too familiar. The cry for resistance that echo from the South illustrates this. It is not a cry of outrage at some new phenomenon, but rather of resistance to one more degradation after a century of exploitation.

The capitalist world system of today can therefore be seen as enveloped in an all – encompassing crisis of the future civilization. Not surprisingly in this context, resistance to the system is growing and it's more widespread. In France the spirit of 1968 is still living and has not entirely disappeared. Change is everywhere.

The May 2005 rejection by the French and Dutch people of EU constitution is a landmark in the resistance process. The changes in Venezuela are a great achievement. Venezuela, in alliance with Cuba, is drawing upon and stimulating the discontent in other parts of Latin America. It is impossible to know what

form the alternative will take since it is still in the making.

Based on the experience of the past, one can safely say that a future alternative can only survive only if it transcends not only class divisions that divide those who run the society from those that work mainly on their behalf but also other major forms of oppression that crippled human potential and prevent democratic social alliances. If any lesson was learned from the past it is that class struggle must be inseparable from the struggles against gender, race and national oppression. The alternative can not really make headway unless it promotes and protects the environment. The struggle for human rights and democratic liberties must be at the heart of the new society.

“Rosa Luxemburg insisted that “without general election, without unrestricted freedom of the press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinion life dies out in every public institution, becomes a more semblance of life, in which only the bureaucracy remains as the active element.”»

Hence, the requirement of “socialist democracy”, she insisted “begin simultaneously with the beginnings of the destruction of class rule and the construction of socialism”. The reason for these is not some abstract sense of justice but a law of socialist revolution itself. Such democracy – not longer formal but filled

with economic and social content – constitutes – “the very living source from which alone can come the correction of all the innate shortcomings of social institutions. It thus embodies the active, untrammelled, energetic political life of the broadest masses of the people” (Rosa Luxemburg). Socialist democracy is not to be conceived as applying merely to the political sphere, narrowly conceived, but would have to extend to all aspects of public life.

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# Workers' rights and the single wage within the EU

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN (SKP)**

**PETER COHEN**

➔ **ON 3 OCTOBER 1940**, representatives of the German Industrial Employers' Confederation met in Berlin with Dr. Gustav Schlotterer, a senior director in the Hitler government's Ministry of Finance. The subject of the meeting was the "Europäische Gemeinschaft" – the European Community – that was to be formed after the end of the war. Dr. Schlotterer's remarks included the following:

"The countries of Northern and Western Europe... comprise an economic system that is closely related to our own... with largely similar social and economic structures. They are also closely related to us in terms of culture, civilization and race (!), which means that there exists a foundation between Germany and these... countries for a single market and single levels of prices, incomes and wages. Thus a customs and currency union between these countries and Germany is not only possible but is also desirable from an economic perspective".

Asked "Why do we need a European Community?", Dr. Schlotterer answered "Namely because we want to create a rational division of labor in agriculture and industry, because we want to achieve the lowest possible production costs within Greater Europe, which means that we must discontinue production that is not viable..."

Economic cooperation in the New Europe was to be implemented by "business...in our view the economy of Greater Europe will be generated by the initiatives of the business community. Obviously as a State we can enter into economic agreements...but they will remain abstractions if they are not implemented by business..."

The uniform level of wages to which Dr. Schlotterer referred naturally remained a primary goal for the directors of the European Community that developed in the decades after 1945. But a number of factors made it difficult to achieve this goal. These included the strength of trade unions and Communist parties in Western Europe, and the existence of the Soviet Union and other socialist economies in the East.

Nonetheless a steady decline in real wages in Western Europe began in the late 1970s. This trend intensified after the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the EU. Together with continuously rising unemployment levels, this has enabled capital to exert greater downward pressure on wages. Although over the past ten years labor unions in Western Europe have repeatedly accepted lower wages and degraded working conditions as the price of continued employment, unions are still seen by capital as a major obstacle to achieving a minimal and uniform wage level.

The expansion of the EU in 2003 gave capital new ammunition in its assault on labor unions, wages and working conditions. The issue has come to a head in a conflict in Sweden that has been referred to the EU's Court of Justice in Luxembourg.

**THE LAVAL CASE – DUMPING WAGES** In 2004 a Latvian company called Laval un Partneri submitted the winning tender for construction of a school in Vaxholm, a municipality outside Stockholm. The company set a Swedish subsidiary, brought in

construction workers from Latvia and paid them wages amounting to about 30% of the Swedish union wage. They worked a 56-hour week.

The Swedish Building Workers' Union asked Laval to sign a collective bargaining agreement that would ensure the Lettish workers of Swedish union wages and working conditions as well as sickness insurance and pension contributions. When Laval refused the union organized a blockade of the construction site, which is permissible under Swedish law. Other Swedish unions cooperated, and Laval's subsidiary was forced into bankruptcy in the winter 2004-05.

At the same time, Laval filed a suit against the union in the Swedish Labor Market Court, which comprises representatives of both capital and labor. The company claimed that the union's action was in violation of EU law on two counts – it discriminated against foreign companies, which is prohibited by the Treaty of Rome, and it prevented the free movement of capital and people, two of the cornerstones of the EU.

An EU directive of 1996 governs posting of workers from an EU-country in another member country. In April of this year, the Swedish Labor Market Court decided that this directive is unclear, and referred the Laval case to the EU Court for guidance. This is of course a direct admission that EU law has precedence over Swedish law.

A new directive prepared by EU-Commissioner F. Bolkestein is currently being discussed in Brussels but has been

164 delayed by what the mass media call “political disagreements”. In all probability, the directive is in line with Dr. Schlotterer’s hopes and the disagreements involve its form but not its substance.

In September, the EU’s Internal Market Commissioner Charles McCreevy stated that the Commission supported the Latvian company’s claim.

#### **MARKETING THE EU COURT’S DECISION.**

The EU Court is not expected to issue a ruling on the case until mid-2007. Why does the court need more than two years to decide an issue of such profound and immediate importance for capital and labor in 25 countries?

We believe that the main reason is the predicament of the Social Democrats in Sweden and other countries. There is no question that the Maastricht Treaty is designed to enable Dr. Schlotterer’s uniform wage level, and the Laval company’s position seems to be consistent with the spirit and the letter of the Treaty. It is difficult to understand how the EU Court could rule against it.

When in 2003 the Swedish working class voted against joining the EMU, Social Democrat spokespersons announced on the day after the referendum that the result reflected a “marketing failure”. They had not been able to “sell” the concept of the EMU to their working-class constituency. Their problem now is, how will they be able to market the EU Court’s decision, assuming that the Court rules in Laval’s favor?

In general, European Social Democratic parties strongly support the European Union, and the Swedish Social Democrats are particularly enthusiastic. It was a Social Democrat prime minister who applied for EU membership for Sweden, about a year after an election campaign in which the question was never discussed. During the run-up to the referendum on membership in 1994, the prime minister repeatedly marketed the Maastricht Treaty as “a socialist project”.

The next parliamentary elections in Sweden are scheduled for September 2006. Opinion polls show that a large and growing majority of both working-class and petty bourgeois Swedes are anti-EU. If the EU Court were to rule in favor of Laval before the elections, the Social Democrats would experience a political disaster of enormous magnitude at the polls. Social Democrats throughout the EU would be in a similar situation.

As mentioned previously, in recent years unions in Western Europe have repeatedly retreated in struggles over wages and working conditions, not least in Sweden and Germany, where General Motors pitted Swedish auto-workers against their German counterparts and won major concessions from both. The current status of class conflict within the EU is definitely not favorable to the working class.

It seems probable that the Social Democrats and their colleagues in the EU Commission are playing for time in the Laval case, hoping for two things. One, that the working class in Western Europe

will be at even greater disadvantage by mid-2007 as a result of higher unemployment, continued export of jobs to low-wage countries, and continued dismantling of national social insurance systems within Western Europe, in which Social Democrats eagerly participate. Two, that the new directive from Frits Bolkestein will not be formulated as an excessively brutal confrontation.

Fulfillment of these hopes would make it much easier for both Social Democrats and bourgeois parties to market the EU Court's decision. One of the main themes in this marketing campaign has already been stated. Sweden's leading daily newspaper is currently running a series of articles calling for solidarity across borders, i.e. Swedish workers should allow workers from Poland and other comparatively low-wage countries to share in the general prosperity.

Whether these hopes will be fulfilled is another question. Awareness of the EU as an instrument of monopoly capital is definitely increasing in many Western European countries. For example, in the aftermath of the defeat of the new EU Constitution in France, an opinion poll was commissioned jointly by French public TV and the newspaper *Le Monde* in order to determine the main factors behind the No vote.

The results showed that the main factor was the fear of losing jobs. The second factor was deep and intense dissatisfaction with the EU as a whole. The Swedish Social Democrats described the No vote in France as a chauvinistic reaction to the

prospect of EU membership for Turkey. But the poll showed that this issue was of minimal importance, even among the minority of right-wing No voters.

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**HISTORICAL CONTINUITY OF FASCISM.** The continuity of capitalist plans for a "Europäische Gemeinschaft" under Fascism and the Maastricht Treaty that was devised by the European Round Table is obvious.

As the general crisis of capitalism has deepened over the past 30 years or so, a new and higher form of Fascism has been evolving.

It matches the Fascism that arose in the 1920s and 1930s in substance, but is higher in the sense that it is global and not restricted to 2-3 countries. It shows some differences in terms of tactics and methods, which is only natural given the development of the class struggle since 1945. I would like to underline that the new Fascism is evolving but has not reached maturity. The main points of correspondence are the following:

**ANNULMENT OF CLASSICAL BOURGEOIS** democracy. Under the Fascist dictatorships before WW2 the working class and other class fractions no longer had even a formal legal right to influence management of the affairs of State. And they had no insight into the decision-making process within the government.

In the US the exclusion of a majority of the population from the governing process is a de facto trend. But it has been institutionalized in the very structure of

166 the European Union. The annulment of bourgeois democracy includes massive privatization - a frontal assault on the public sector within the EU and at the global level, implemented by such organizations as the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank.

“The State must be limited to its purely political and juridical functions. Let the State give us police to protect decent people from villains, a well-organized system of justice, an army ready for any eventuality, and a foreign policy to serve the national interest. All the rest, and I do not exclude the secondary schools, must return to individual private initiative. If you want to save the State, you must abandon the collectivist State handed down to us by the force of events...and go back to the Manchester State”.

Although this could have been said by any director of the EU, it was actually said by Benito Mussolini during an election campaign in 1921.

Intensified and widespread integration of the State with monopoly capital, often in the form of joint committees that make vital decisions and formulate strategy.

In Germany, Schröder’s 2004 “reform program” for the German social insurance system was written by Peter Hartz, personnel director of the Volkswagen corporation. In 1935-36, the rearmament program for the Third Reich was written by a director of IG Farben. There is no need to

elaborate on the extent to which monopoly capital has penetrated the State apparatus within the OECD countries.

Intensified expansion of monopoly capital, continued concentration of power and wealth in the hands of less than 1% of the population.

**RUTHLESS USE OF FORCE**, when necessary. Acts of armed aggression that violate international law, treaties and conventions are justified by appeal to principles that transcend them, such as the Nazi doctrine of the supremacy of *das volk*, the requirements of homeland security, or the need to protect against purported violations of human rights in other countries.

NATO forces currently total about 3.2 million men and women. The Fascist army that invaded the Soviet Union in 1941 totalled about 5.1 million and was then regarded as the most powerful military force in world history. Given the tremendous advances in technology over the past 64 years, especially in electronics and aviation, the resulting increase in firepower, and the deployment of nuclear warheads, NATO undoubtedly surpasses the Fascist armies of 1941 in destructive power.

What is the function of this military organization in a world where “Communism is dead”? The function of NATO is twofold – it will be used to keep the EU population in check when necessary, and to counter a resurgence of Communist movements in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

**MYSTICISM.** The ideological flim-flam generated by Fascist movements in Italy, Spain and Germany is paralleled by the current demonization of Islam and the dark-skinned hordes who want to destroy our civilization. Production of this type of propaganda has become a major sector in the Western media industry. Mysticism is also inherent in the use of the term “globalization” – which means imperialism. Globalization has attained the status of a natural law in the mainstream media. It is described as an inevitable development that is beyond our control.

The focus of Fascism old and new is of course intensified exploitation of the working class, which is the essence of capitalism.

This includes increasing use of slave and semi-slave laborers both within and outside the OECD countries, as well as violent attacks – juridical and physical - on trade unions. We believe that the Laval case has become a central component in capital’s efforts to establish a uniform wage level across the EU, and eventually over the entire Eurasian land-mass, just as the directors of IG Farben had dreamed when they built the synthetic fuel plant at Auschwitz. We urge the Communist parties of Europe to launch a coordinated information campaign to publicize the Laval case and defend the rights of the working class.

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# An irrational and immoral system

**SYRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

**YACOUB GARRO**

→ **WE CANNOT DISREGARD** the fact that Capitalism has proven that it has the capability to "renew" itself as it has taken advantage of the achievements of science and knowledge and has used them in the service of its objectives in an attempt to prolong its life duration. But this renewal doesn't mean that it is getting better. Contemporary Capitalism in some of its aspects goes back to more brutal concepts than old liberalism. It attempts to get rid of the restrictions which were imposed on it in the past under the pressure of the great world economic crises of the thirties and the pressure of the international workers' movement which had developed under the influence of the October Revolution. It attempts today to gnaw at the social gains achieved and to weaken and even to eliminate the economic and social protection of the State, and within it, specially perhaps, in the developing countries, among them our country, where the foreign pressures increase to impose a market economy and privatization of the public sector.

As the deterrent Soviet pole collapsed, the capitalist forces strengthened the spirit of revenge against countries of national liberation movements and their regimes which in the past refused to comply with their dictate and who defended their rights to freedom and complete national independence.

In this framework we see contemporary capitalism represented today by the new liberal globalization which presents its most ferocious aspect called the "New World Order" which was governed until now by the lone most powerful pole and the international financial institutions which it dominates, and which attempts to marginalize the international institutions of legitimacy, whenever it cannot

succeed in submitting them to its will totally.

**REALITIES OF LIFE** in the present world confirm the worsening of the various forms of discrimination, exploitation, oppression, repression and aggressiveness, the rise of unemployment, the spread of famine and epidemics and of organized crimes, the resorting to double standards and to the logic of force, to the law of jungle, in place of law and reason. What our world has seen are preventive, destructive, and unjustified wars, and what man and nature are threatened by are new, bigger and worse dangers and catastrophies, all this unmask the barbarous nature of capitalism which denies the claims of Fukuyama who himself was compelled to retreat from his point of view that Capitalism was the best and most perfect system, and that the movement of history had stabilized. This thesis is totally contrary to reality and to reason and therefore is rejected.

*Firstly*, because history doesn't experience tranquility and stasis, it is and will remain in permanent movement and motion, and the quest to find out within this motion what is better, more just, and more perfect, will be pursued.

*Secondly*, because life is the touchstone of every theory or thesis, and confirms every day the justness of the analysis of Marx and his diagnosis of capitalism as an irrational and immoral system whose principal law and driving force is the permanent search for profit and accumulation of wealth at the expense of so-

cial and moral values and the material and spiritual needs of man. 169

Because of this nature, Capitalism holds within itself of its own contradictions and factors of further crisis and destruction. Day after day, the circle of forces which capitalism harms, broadens and this damage, today, is more scandalous and dangerous, and its manifestations become more provocative and insolent.

**THE FIRST TASK OF THE COMMUNISTS** which represent the firmest international force in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism is, today more than at any time before, to encourage and bring about the cooperation and the unity of action of all those oppressed by capitalism and who are ready to fight against it. This can be achieved through assisting these forces to see the common denominator and space which gathers them together, to concentrate on this and to enlarge it. This will contribute to strengthening the common struggle. But, if this unifying task is substituted by the search for points of differences and disparity among these forces, and perhaps also searching, which is more dangerous, for some natural disagreement or points of view and interpretations among communists themselves, and enlarging them instead of relying on dialogue to solve these differences and overcome them, let us be frank, Comrades, this will not be in the interest of the common struggle against capitalism and its savage world international system.

Our sad experience impose on us to learn from now on to rely on unity and to stop relying on division, be it on the local, regional, or international fields.

Everybody sees today that American imperialism, relying on its strength and having stepped outside of international law, allows itself to ignore the world and exercises the most ferocious means of international terrorism, with the aim to implement its plans and to control its needs for oil wealth and its strategic positions to continue domination in a way to prevent a new pole from arising which could compete with it, and could disturb the implementation of its agenda.

Such powerful forces determine at first their objectives and then think about finding the pretexts. They don't hesitate to fabricate events which they quickly use to realize what they have planned previously. So did they when they concentrated on the "liberation of Kuwait" after they encouraged Saddam Hussein to invade it. They did the same when they invaded Yugoslavia, bombarding the capital city, with the pretext of defending the moslem Albanians in Kosovo, and then they implemented their real objective which was to break up the Yugoslav State, to take revenge, and to settle known matters.

Everybody knows now that the plan of the new conservatives to dominate the world, including their invasion of Iraq, was prepared beforehand. They were looking for opportunities, they were looking for pretexts in order to implement this plan. The events of 11<sup>th</sup>

September seems to be the rendez-vous for it.

After the invasion of Iraq, the leaders of the American administration didn't hide their intentions that Syria would become the second objective. Then came the law of sanctions against Syria, after which they started to speak about a law to "liberate" Syria and Lebanon as in Iraq.

**FROM THAT TIME** on it was clear that the objective was to eliminate the serious obstacle which Syria represented to oppose the project of the Greater Middle East which aims to restructure the region in a way that serves the interests of the American strategy and the interests of Israel.

For this reason, it is not strange that the American administration acts like it acted after the event of 11 September. It exploits the blood of former Lebanese Prime Minister in the same ugly way as it did with the American blood after September too implement what was planned. And because Syria knew from the beginning that she was the target, and being sure of her innocence of this crime, and relying on her interests to reach the truth and to the finding of the criminals, she declared her approval of the formation of an international commission of inquiry and declared her readiness to cooperate with it.

From the start the fear was great that the work of this inquiry commission and its results would be used to realize political aims. It was proven that this fear was real and the report issued by the interna-

tional investigator relied on this report to launch accusations against Syria., as if it was proven true, despite the fact that the report was not complete and didn't contain conclusive proof, as Mr.Melise himself had recognized, and despite big juridical gaps. They relied also on this report to pass Resolution 1636 under Chapter 7 with the pretext that Syria won't cooperate with this Commission, which reminds us of what Butler used to repeat every time after returning from Iraq, affirming that Iraq won't cooperate, despite Saddam's concessions.

**DESPITE ALL THIS**, Syria continues to express its readiness to cooperate with the Commission, but in the framework of its national sovereignty. But they want to humiliate Syria and bring her to her knees. Something which will not happen. They propose to her each time a new and unacceptable demand.

What causes one question and disapproval is the scandalous decision in the deeds of the Security Council. The strongest pressures are exercised now to implement what remains of Resolution 1559, and hint at sanctions against Syria by using the 7<sup>th</sup> chapter if decision 1636 is not implemented, when at the same time tens of decisions relative to the Arab-Israeli conflict are put on the shelves, specially Resolution 194, 242, which Israel refuses to implement, despite the fact that the implementation of these decisions will lead, for sure, to the inauguration of a just and comprehensive peace in this inflamed region which will be in the

interest also of peace and world security. But the Security Council has forgotten this task, it seems, which is at the head of the tasks entrusted to it and for which purpose it was created.

The Security Council does not see the effectiveness of exercising pressures and doesn't even make any effort in this direction.

As it is clear, our homeland is confronted by challenges and by serious dangers. We, despite the fact that we are giving priority to the national question and support the resistance of Syria, it is our affirmed opinion that the social problem and democracy rise to the level of the national question. Furthermore it is an indivisible part of it and necessary to settle this national question. Therefore, we submitted long ago our program for democracy and we have demanded a democratic modern law of parties be promulgated to eliminate the state of emergency, to modify the law on democratic elections, to fight against corruption, to construct a state of law and institutions. The 10th Congress of the Baas Socialist Party has adopted many recommendations and important resolutions which contain many of what we just referred to. We have presented many concrete proposals to their projects.

The dominant feeling presently is that the principal factor to defeat what is planned for Syria is to turn towards the interior, to strengthen the unity of all the forces interested in defense of the homeland and to refuse to rely on abroad. This is the position of the overwhelming ma-

172 jority. This is what we are working for. We are calling also for attention to be paid to the living demands of the popular masses, strengthening the public sector which has formed, according to the experience of our country, an essential factor to successfully oppose to the foreign and interior plots. We demand also the broadening of the internal detente and to democratize the political life in order that all citizens take their natural place in this battle. While asserting that the interior factor is the basis, nonetheless international solidarity has always had its role and its effectiveness. Today we are in need of your solidarity, and we attach to it its due importance.

# Globalization and integration: Ways to create new international relations

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF TADJIKISTAN**  
**KARIMOV TUIGUN BAIROVICH**

→ **THE ANALYSIS** of the development trends of contemporary capitalism cannot be complete and objective without examining the globalization process that has had a major impact on the development of the current world. The relationship of this principle is not univocal. Some see it as a process that develops according to the laws of today's world and that it is conditioned by a growing interdependence of the economies of the different countries and by the constitution of a global and international information network. Others see in this process the aspiration of the United States and the developed capitalist countries to impose on the world a new ideological structure geared to realizing their interests with the help of the mass media and communications.

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**WITH THE COLLAPSE** of the world socialist system and the USSR, the leading capitalist country, the United States, was tempted to readily achieve its nurtured dream: the creation of a unipolar world where this nation would play a predominant role; where it would be possible to materialize and reaffirm the United States' role as the only superpower able to keep under its control the development of the world events, of guaranteeing its domination on the whole territory of the globe.

The globalization that is being carried out today is, in essence, a rupture and, at the same time, a strengthening of the standards and procedures set in international relations after World War II and the Helsinki Agreements; the transition to new relations under the conditions of the formation of a single financial

space controlled by big banking centers and of a single information and telecommunications space.

It is self-evident that the ideological inspirer and engine of globalization –a process geared to the world’s domination by the group of the most developed countries, which rely on their military and economic power and the setting-up of a single economic space for the whole world –these are the United States and NATO. Zbigniew Brzezinski, a well-known American political scientist, founded the concept of the unipolar model in a global order in his works *Out of Control: Global Turmoil on the Eve of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (1993) *A Geostategy for Eurasia* (1997) and *The Grand Chessboard* (1997). According to it, only the United States and NATO have the indispensable basis capable of resolving any kind of task relating to defense and the advancement of US interests.

**TODAY WE SEE** with our own eyes how, in order to ensure this global policy, a world military, political and economic expansion toward regions rich in energy sources is being carried out, linked to the world financial system led by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and transnational corporations. All these organizations, in one way or another, are linked to the United States and in the International Monetary Fund, the United States have veto power. These efforts of

the United States are reaffirmed with the growing political-military might of NATO, which, having accepted new members declared its pretense to carry out worldwide actions. It is no secret that the membership and cooperation conditions in NATO are very hard: planning actions and determining the executors is a prerogative of the United States, which –as shown by the latest events- don’t strive too much to take into account the opinions of its allies.

**THE REINFORCEMENT** of the unipolar pattern allows the United States and NATO to dictate its rules in the interrelation among the countries of the world. “The right of force,” the diktat policy and double standards prevail as a domination condition in international relations. The United States and NATO’s military actions in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Iraq demonstrated convincingly where this policy is headed for. And before us are the threats to Iran and the People’s Republic of Korea.

Thus, we have that globalization goes beyond the mere framework of the economy and is interrelated with the policy and ideology of capitalism. Political globalization is largely nurtured by ideology and it is based on the interests and possibilities of the United States and of the group of developed capitalist states that profit more than others from the current globalization processes, mainly in the economic and financial areas. The measures adopted by the West regarding globalization, the concrete forms of their

implementation and development trends show up as an unavoidable universal process that is not to be called into question. In essence, political globalism is the expression and legitimation of the latest wave of capitalist colonization of the world by the “Golden Billion”

The globalization that is taking place nowadays is a new stage in the development of economic links in the world, a new stage of actions and relations that are geared to keep the positions of transnational producers, a new stage of ideological expansion.

Under its pressure, the possibilities for the national governments to control the domestic political situation and its governance are reduced. Some States, when being under the growing effects of the situation on the world market, lose sovereignty over their national economy and are far from being in a position to influence the status quo of the world economy and finance. In view of such a development of the situation, many functions played by the national governments will gradually become competences of transnational corporations.

Therefore, globalization can be defined as a form of contemporary monopolization, the capitalist countries’ monopolization over the control on natural, economic and information resources.

The advantages that derive from the current globalization are, for most countries, absolutely incomparable with the advantages obtained by the transnational companies of developed States. And this process can only be disliked and rejected by the countries that have been forcibly dragged into this whirlpool. As a reaction to the globalization policy, to the imposition of the American way of life and ideas, emerged the international antiglobalist movement, which today comprises diverse social forces, political parties, social, national and religious movements.

**AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY,** the world community enters a new stage of its qualitative development. It becomes increasingly aware that the world is one, that capitalism cannot achieve its ends by means of the methods of pressure already used, brutal confrontation and wars. Today’s world is one in which there are poor and rich countries, some of which advance under the conditions of postindustrial development, while others have not yet entered this stage. The sustained backwardness of these countries, the growing social polarization within them and the terrible poverty of millions will continually push the peoples to conflicts and civil wars. One of the manifestations of this reaction against “US-style” capitalist globalization is terrorism.

Globalization, at large, is a progressive trend of human civilization’s development and opens up new horizons before it, promises numerous advantages to some countries in particular and to some

176 regions, but in turn, as today's realities show, the ways for the introduction and reaffirmation of the principles of globalization under capitalism are geared, basically, to serve developed capitalist countries. The advantages that will be obtained from globalization in countries with a high-tech industry and the corresponding infrastructure regarding the countries whose economy is based, primarily, on the exportation of raw materials and agrarian productions, are incomparable. In the world of capitalist interrelations, one cannot expect other consequences.

What can communists challenge the current globalization trend with? Communists can and must challenge the capitalist globalization trends with a conception of mutually advantageous voluntary integration.

Such integration, as we understand it, is represented by a process of approach and union of the economic, political, social and cultural spheres in the different States, through the mutual introduction and establishment of a close interaction and interdependence that will be realized in a common body of social life that will be collectively shaped up. The first successful approach to such a union for socialist integration was carried out in the USSR and in the countries under socialism, in the framework of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

Today, the most substantial and feasi-

ble integration form may be the integration of the post-Soviet space, a not only of cultural but also economic and political integration. The union of Belarus and Russia was the beginning of the integration process that must show the example of the conservation of the peoples' distinctive cultural features and historical particularities, as well as of economic and political independence of States. This union does not happen in such a simple way; on the road many artificial barriers rise. Nevertheless, there is no alternative to the integration of the post-Soviet space.

After the collapse of the USSR, a new order was established on the globe. The security of that same world and its economic stability became more vulnerable. The United States, convinced of its cause and infallibility after the operations in Yugoslavia and Afghanistan, together with its allies invaded Iraq, where now a civil war of great proportions is taking place. The United States continues to base its hopes merely on the establishment of its presence in the key regions of the world and declaring the regions bordering Russia as national-interest areas.

**IN RUSSIA, THE CONVICTION** matures that the destabilizing aspects in the post-Soviet space –the CIS countries, that is, Georgia, Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaidzhan-and the attempts to destabilize the situation in Belarus, have a direct impact on Russia and damage its national interests.

In response to the expansion of the European Union and NATO, as a result of which a new geopolitical space is shaping up, the process of rapprochement and unification of the former Soviet republics into integrationist structures is strengthening –the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Euroasian Economic Community (EurAsEC), which coordinate their efforts to defend common interests in the post-Soviet space and in the world.

The union of communists in the post-Soviet space, the repositioning of the CPSU and the act of registering the International Social Union at the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Belarus for “the Union and the Communist Party of the Union”, is a moment of joy in the creation of the grounds for a breakthrough toward integration, as well as a substantial contribution to this process.

The purpose of this International Union is “...to contribute to the materialization of the Treaty on the creation of the United State of Belarus and Russia, to the reinforcement and development of the United State, to contribute to the accession to this State by other sister republics of the former Soviet Union, to the rebirth of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The sections of this International Union have already been created and are

working in most of the CIS countries. 177

We understand perfectly well that in the current stage of development of the post-Soviet space, valuable benchmarks of socialism are lost, since bearers of those values depart this life and other politicians are now in power; but this is a temporary phenomenon.

We, communists, are convinced that following the dialectical law of the “negation of negation,” these values will return, but then on a new and higher spiral to win over partisans again and to make up a new army of combatants for the ideals of socialism, friendship and fraternity for the peoples.

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# The scale of the political struggle

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY**

**KEMAL OKUYAN**

➔ **WHEN DISCUSSING** the current trends in capitalism and the communists' alternative, you cannot avoid dealing with the nation state. The question about the role of the nation state in class struggles has been becoming increasingly interesting after the collapse of Soviet Union. This is not only because the imperialist powers started a strong offensive against many sovereign states but also because of the ideological initiative taken by the ruling classes which successfully found a basis also inside the international working class movement.

A widely-held assumption that has gained root among progressive forces is in fact very simple. There is an objective process going on a global scale which can be formulated as the withering away of the nation state. This is taken as granted, as a social law that can by no means be resisted.

It is very interesting to see that among the Marxists who systematically claim that the consequences of globalisation is irreversible, are the ones who were highly critical about the so-called economic deviation inside the 3<sup>rd</sup> International tradition.

**GLOBALISM**, including the political and economic pressure on the dependent states cannot be seen as progress and it should be taken as a general answer of the ruling classes to the crisis. Communists can do nothing but resist and fight against this process which has nothing to do with the natural pattern of social development. Things that we are all facing are a multi-faceted and conscious aggression coming from imperialism.

Let us now deal with different aspects of the thesis that "the time for the nation state is over". Is it so that the monopolies

do not have a national identity? Of course, capital always seek expansion; you can never limit capital on a national scale. However the assumption that capital has totally become multi-national, is a concealed attempt to cover up imperialism as a system. There is a hierarchy in the capitalist system and without any doubt the most powerful capitalists do not come from my country Turkey, i.e. Chile or Argentina but from the United States, from Germany, France and Britain. That is not to have any sympathy for capitalists of any kind but to stress the reality that big monopolies are benefiting from states of their own. Those capitalists cannot do without their “national” states; without the help of the US Marines, McDonalds would face difficulties competing with sish-kebab for sure.

Then why is everybody saying that there is no room for the nation state? The truth is different; the imperialist countries are using their state apparatus more efficiently than ever and increasing pressure on others.

**BUT LET ME CONTINUE...** It is also said that, the axis of the decision making process has shifted from the national scale to the continental or international level. This is true if we don't take into account the leading capitalist countries. In the case of Turkey, like many other countries, critical decisions are more and more taken by international actors rather than by the government settled in Ankara. But when

speaking about international actors, we mean not merely the collective will or international organizations but the imperialist countries. There is indeed a shift but a shift to the benefit of imperialist centres not a shift from the national to the international. I'm not saying that Turkish bourgeoisie has lost all of its capacity to take decisions but she has given a lot to the United States and Germany.

Turkey did face a severe economic crisis in 2001 when the coalition government at that time was getting more and more superfluous for the United States. All right, the conditions for an economic crisis were already ripe but please take into account that it was decided in imperialist circles and institutions to transfer a huge amount of liquid money from the financial markets in Istanbul. That was an action that enabled foreign speculators to earn huge amounts of money in an hour. However this “profit” can only be seen as a bonus for the imperialists as the main consequence of the operation was to weaken the government to open the way for a new one and to further increase the debt of Turkey to a figure that is around 160 billion dollars.

One cannot say that a “secret hand of the global market” caused this. Of course there was an economic rational in the collapse of the Istanbul stock-market which was bloated up artificially. However, the timing of the operation and the combination of politics with economics was coming from the “visible desire of United States”. It was not the abstract market that forced the IMF to give a big loan to

180 Turkey; it was not a spontaneous political process but a well designed political project that led to the formation of the existing Erdogan government.

I can give another example related to the Cyprus issue. You know that the Cyprus Republic has the right to veto Turkey's membership in the EU like all other full members. The fact that Cyprus cannot use this veto is not an evidence of the passing away of a nation state but is a proof to the strengthening of imperialist states. It is United States that is deciding whether a veto can be used against Turkey's membership or not. This was the same when Turkey could not veto the return of Greece to the military flank of NATO in the beginning of the 80's.

The decline in the portion of the state-owned enterprises in capitalist countries is also shown as evidence to the transfer of the political power from national states to global dynamics. Well I'm not discussing the huge impact of the privatization process all over the world. Though we have to clarify what this process really means.

In Turkey as in some other countries, we had to deal with marxists who were in fact liberals that were supporting the privatization process under the pretext that this process was going to weaken the state apparatus!

Without getting into details, we should sort out three related consequences of privatization: It is not the capitalist state but it is the working class that was

weakened; the interference of the state in the economic life on behalf of the ruling classes continued as ever; the role of the imperialist states in the capitalist world increased.

Thus, the main imperialist powers like the United States and Germany keep a very strong state-owned sector in critical industries or services till now not only for economic reasons but for a political rational.

A lot can also be said in a theoretical level about the impossibility of a complete destruction of nation states as they are and will be the basic instrument for the bourgeoisie against the working classes. Plus, ruling classes need not a single global unit but a divided world to compete, to use one another against the gains of the proletariat and to safeguard capital accumulation.

All that I have said above are some of the arguments that we can put forward against the idea that the basis of the class struggles should not be the national scale. We have to take into account that uneven development is still one of the basic laws of capitalism. Although we can speak about global dynamics and trends in capitalism, the crisis which is the objective and inevitable weakness of the rule of capital have an impact on each country after passing through a political, economic and ideological prism. For instance, there are emigrant workers all over Europe. More than 3,5 million are from my country. They are facing with

same problems with different features in each case. The answer to the question why explosion occurred in France should be a complicated one. It is related to the policies of the government, to the class structure, to the segments inside the working classes, to the composition of the emigrants, to the details of the policies that destroyed the social security system, to the political structure and so on... Of course the conflicts in France are not peculiar; they are not isolated but in practice, it differs from any other country.

**ANOTHER EXAMPLE...** Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey are all candidates to enter the European Union in the same region. The first two will become full members soon but this does not mean that the so-called EU reforms are not exercised in Turkey. The accession process is generally the same in each country but its impact is completely different especially in the political life. In Turkey the process is deepening the crisis within the system while in two other Balkan countries it is going on in a more steady way.

If these are the realities, than why are we discussing whether the national scale for political struggle is valid or not? It is the imperialists themselves who are claiming that it is reactionary to insist on the national scale, it is the bourgeoisie that is trying to avoid a face class struggle on a national scale.

No country is isolated. Any change in a country will directly or in some other way affect others. That is obvious. However, the class struggles are still going on the na-

tional scale where economics, politics, ideology and culture integrate to create a specific formation. To deny the national scale we have to deny the class struggle and I'm afraid the ones claiming that it is all over and the global market is the determinant of the human society are denying any kind of class struggle.

**COMMUNISTS** should find way to cooperate, to coordinate on universal, continental and regional levels but to keep away from playing a global game rather than struggling for socialism, We have the base for the cooperation and coordination of the revolutionary forces on the real ongoing struggles that are waged on the national scale.

We can not help but give credits to Leninism that showed this clearly a century ago although some prefer to be ashamed of.

Comrades, it is a critical time not to be ashamed of our true values but to strengthen them in a creative way.

# To raise the party's ability and fighting capacity

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM**

**NGUYEN XUAN SON**

→ **OUR MEETING**, which is discussing a very interesting topic, is being held at a moment when the situation, both in the regions and in the world, is going through a complex development. New factors are accompanied by unfavorable changes for the revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces. We trust that this meeting will allow us to obtain more comprehensive information and evaluations of the tendencies that are developing in capitalism, their influence in the political, economic, social and cultural life, as well as to determine the corresponding roles, functions and actions of communists in this situation.

We believe that in spite of the deep internal contradictions and difficulties that will naturally drive capitalism to its collapse, it has the capacity and power sources so far to continue to exist and develop, trying to adapt to the new circumstances and conditions. Now we can see more clearly than 20 years ago those processes that are taking place in capitalism. From a political perspective, the imperialist forces continue to carry out a policy of imposition and use of force. These forces, for the sake of their interests, were always ready to adopt military actions against sovereign states, to impose political, economic and cultural pressure, to force the peoples of other countries to adopt a system that followed their image and values. From an economic perspective, under the influence of an impetuous development of the scientific and technological revolution, capitalist globalization gains strength; the accumulation and concentration of capital increases and reaches a new and high level with the increasingly strong domination of multinational and transnational companies, by means of the creation of di-

verse forms of high-level regional unification, trying to impose a policy of neoliberalism on every economy of the world. From a socio-cultural perspective, the domination of neocolonialism is carried out intensively, trying to popularize the policy of neoliberalism in the social and ideological spheres for the purpose of forcing the peoples and humanity to lose their ideals, independence and sovereignty, encouraging the ideology of selfishness, individualism, xenophobia and racism, as well as the annulment of solidarity and fraternity.

**THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE** aforementioned trends of capitalism on the political, economic, social and cultural life are very hard. Today we live in a world where a mass world war is not very probable, but it is a world very unstable and full of restlessness due to local wars, ethnic and religious conflicts and the growing threats of terrorist acts. Independence, sovereignty and security of the states and peoples, especially those of small and underdeveloped countries, are continually threatened. The great development of science and technology turned the world into a small village, in which are produced more and more goods that only a small group of people can enjoy, whereas thousands of millions of people live under conditions of poverty and extreme hardships. Humanitarian catastrophes, natural disasters and epidemics constantly happen, the social gap will grow bigger and deeper every day, the social and class contradictions will be sharper.

In such a situation, the revolutionary forces and progressive people from all over the world should be watchful like never before, to strengthen solidarity, to support and help each other against the reactionary forces, and to effectively face up to their negative influence. Our struggle stumbles over many difficulties and tests, but it also has many favorable factors, and we will definitely prevail because capitalism is far from being the last stage of development, and socialism and communism constitute a regularity of humanity's development. We think that in this fight of all, the progressive and revolutionary forces and the communist and workers parties have a great responsibility before the working class, the workers and the people of their countries, as well as before the other peoples of the world. Aware of the aforementioned, the Communist Party and the people of Vietnam dynamically strengthen the cause of multilateral renovation undertaken 20 years ago toward meeting the strategic objective of "a rich people, a strong country, a fair, democratic and civilized society, thus making a great contribution to the common struggle of the revolutionary and democratic forces that fight for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. During the elapsed time, we have obtained great achievements, which have a historic significance, in the fields of the construction and improvement of a multi-structure of a socialist-oriented market economy, of the construction and improvement of a socialist rule of law that belongs to the

184 people, is for the people and for the sake of the people, which ensures economic development indissolubly linked to cultural and social development, economic growth with the social justice, the creation of an advanced culture linked to a strong national coloring, the realization of an independent foreign policy line that tends to the widening, multilateralism and diversification of international relations under the slogan: Vietnam is willing to be a loyal friend and partner of the countries of the world community that fight for the peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.” All these achievements give us the assurance that we are entering a new period of development, a period of accelerated industrialization and modernization, enabling us to get the country out of the situation of underdevelopment. We aspire, according to the current trend, to basically have turned Vietnam into an industrialized country by the year 2020.

**THE PARTY'S 10<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS**, to be held in the second half of 2006 with the slogan: “To raise the Party’s ability and fighting capacity, to strengthen the whole nation’s might, to multilaterally increase renovation, to readily get the country out of underdevelopment” will summarize, complete and perfect the renovation line and determine the chief guidelines and tasks for the 2006-2010 period.

With feelings of friendship and solidarity, the communists and people of Vietnam always follow with attention and support the fight of the communist and

workers parties, of the democratic, national-liberating and progressive forces of the world. We have always been grateful and have attached great importance to the valuable help and support that the sister parties, comrades and friends from all over the world have given and continue to give to the Communist Party and people of Vietnam in their revolutionary struggle for the country’s national liberation and reunification and for the cause of our homeland’s construction and defense. We are convinced that together we will overcome the difficulties and the most diverse tests and provide a substantial contribution to the common struggle of the progressive and democratic forces for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.



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# Algerian party for democracy & socialism

**ALGERIA**
**COUNTRY BRIEFINGS**

→ **THE ALGERIAN RULING CLASSES** organized a referendum last September aiming to legitimate their policy of seeking peace and reconciliation with the most reactionary actions of political Islam, those which have used terrorism, trying to impose a theocratic State. The officially announced results do not reflect reality. They are trumped-up. The ruling power has transformed the important proportion of abstentionists into votes in favour of their policy. The national reconciliation policy which has been set up by the Chief of State 6 years ago has not put an end to the armed activities of the Islamo-fascist gangs. Every month, 50 to 100 civilians, policemen, and soldiers are killed. The danger of entry into power by the islamists is on the decline. The alliance which had been objectively woven in the '90s between large democratic sectors of the society and anti-islamist actions of power has imposed a defeat on the defenders of the establishment of an islamist State by the means of arms.

The military defeat of islamism has increased neither the influence of the progressive currents which convey the aspirations of the workers and of the popular masses in the global battle of wills nor the weight of the forces of lower middle-class or anti-fundamentalist bourgeoisie inside the state apparatus. The centrist currents are those which have confirmed their hegemony in the civilian and military apparatuses. These currents have supported, to a certain extent, the fight against the armed actions of Islamism, and, at the same time, have tried to find a basis of compromise with these actions in a form which allows them to set up together a dictatorship over the popular masses. These currents are those which have asked for the help of the present

Chief of State In 1999 to get the support of imperialist countries and Arabic monarchies. The leaders of France and the USA, in particular, do not look unfavourably on the accession of islamists to the power. The islamist currents had been for a long time precious auxiliaries of imperialism in Algeria. They fought for economic and social patriotic and progressive measures: industrialization, agrarian reforms, etc in the 1970's, when the power was in the hands of the progressive wing of the petite-bourgeoisie. In the 80s, they sent thousands of young people to Afghanistan. This brought them the sympathy of the imperialist countries. This is why these powers had supported the islamists after the interruption of the electoral process in January 1992 by the anti-fundamentalist actions of Algerian power. The anti-fundamentalist actions were agreeing with the set up of a capitalist regime with the liberalizations they had begun to decide. But they refused to let the State drop into the hands of currents which wanted to eliminate them completely under a theocratic regime.

**THE DEFEAT OF SOCIALISM** and the fall of Soviet Union induced a lessening in the influence of forces which fight for socialism. The islamist currents have taken advantage of favourable conditions to extend their political and ideological ascendancy over the masses.

Over 35 years, the communists have lived under repression, clandestinely. In 1955, the Algerian Communist Party was prohibited by the colonialists. After inde-

pendence, the installed government was under the control of different social layers which did not want a legal communist party. These social layers, anti-colonialist bourgeoisie and petite-bourgeoisie, made an agreement to proclaim a one-party regime. Communist activities were repressed. The communists were forced to become clandestine until 1989. But the islamists benefited, during this period, with the support of the reactionary actions of power, by a tolerance which has allowed them to undertake intensive propaganda within the mosques. They have been able to deceive many young people and many workers. They have utilized the popular discontent which had begun to grow in the 80s, when the power had abandoned a progressive orientation, to bring pressure towards acceleration of liberalization measures. Islamism has been an important factor of the "forward flight" in the liberalism and the surrender of widely privileged social layers to the imperialist order.

The present Chief of State has been the spokesman of the most submissive social categories and tendencies facing Islamism and imperialism.

The transformation of the class nature of the State has been sometimes slow, sometimes in leaps. It began in 1980 with putting patriotic, progressive, and anti-imperialist currents which were holding power until Boumediene's death, out of the way. Under the pressure of islamist terrorism, of the rightist forces of the power, of imperialism, of French social-democracy, especially, which has played

188 the card of Islamism, this transformation has led to the domination of the society by the compradore and parasitical categories of the bourgeoisie. The State is ruled by a political “islamo-nationalist” alliance born of the junction of the reactionary elements of the ancient “only-Party” and of the islamist circles which have agreed to come into the “democratic” game and have renounced to the setting of a theocratic State, at least for the moment. This alliance represents and supports the interests of: the compradore fractions of the bourgeoisie, importers and traders which get enormous profits from the recycling of oil money. This money is no longer used for productive accumulation, like in the 70s; the bureaucratic, antidemocratic and parasitical fractions of the State, which get richer by stripping the national resources, the oil money put at their disposal by the public banks, and the lands belonging to the State being used to feed an enormous speculation; the middle class which has grown because of the liberalization of external and internal trade; the ancient feudality which has recovered the lands which had been nationalized in the 70s. The industrial bourgeoisie is developing somehow. It supports the policy of privatization but it is excluded from the power of decision. But the government has just condemned its development by signing an agreement of association of Algeria with the European Union.

These classes exert their domination through a façade of democracy: antidemocratic law on the parties, control of

parties’ activity, muzzling of the press, radio and television.

As they represent a very small minority of the population, and as they are constantly contested by the popular masses, the ruling classes have committed the country to the imperialist grasp. The hydrocarbons have been de-nationalized. The government no longer finances the public firms. They have been abandoned and offered up for privatization. Key sectors are falling under the control of multinational firms: steel, metal, electricity, mechanics, water, port management, etc. The green light has been given for the entry by force of international capital in public banks.

Algeria disposes of “exchange reserves” for an amount of 55 billions dollars thanks to the increase in oil prices. These sums represent three years of importation. The government does not want to orient them towards the productive sphere. They are mainly deposited in foreign banks. The ruling classes grow richer and richer in an unbridled way, while holding the masses in poverty.

From the political standpoint, the Algerian government is an intermediate in the realization of imperialist intrigues: NEPAD, Darfour. It cannot openly abandon the Palestinian or the Sahraoui cause, but it does not do anything which could hinder the imperialist powers. It has engaged Algeria in OTAN networks.

**ISLAMIST BACKWARDNESS**, namely in the popular social layers which had been deluded with illusions, has liberated the

field of social struggle. These last years, struggles have developed on a growing scale to try to stop the ongoing ultra-liberal policy or at least to brake it, to achieve an improvement in the conditions of life of the masses (water and electricity distribution, roads, housing, employment, etc.), to oppose official and police abuses of power, to take back respect for democratic freedoms flouted by the ruling classes under the pretext of an emergency state. For five years now, the country is a theatre of daily public demonstrations, particularly by young people, against the government policy. In spite of arrests and condemnations, the citizens of modest condition are more and more decided to reject the consequences of this policy, even if they are not always aware of the link between these consequences and the policy of liberalization and the application of structural adjustments demanded by the IMF and accepted by the Algerian government since 1994. The supporters of the forward flight towards ultra-liberalism, even in the anti-fundamentalist currents of the petite bourgeoisie, try to utilize the discontent to demand even more privatizations and more concessions to the multinational firms. The workers movement is in rebuilding. During decades, it has been ruled by the only Party. The brutal laying off of more than 500000 workers in the sectors of industry, building and trade, that is one third of the total manpower of the public sector, has weakened it. The workers are fighting more and more, under difficult conditions, against the priva-

tization of their firms. The trade unions movement, freed from the control of the ruling classes, is developing in the public sector, education and health, to get wages increases.

The Algerian communists fight is difficult conditions to build an influential party, rooted in the masses and the working class. They work for orienting struggle in relation with the defense of the country sovereignty, the requirements of its independence and of its economic development, for democratic freedoms and the neutralization of the islamo-fascist danger. While they rebuild their party, they initiate the forms of fight and of unity able to allow the formation of a popular front to safeguard independence, democracy, and social progress.

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# Worker's party of Belgium

**BELGIUM**
**COUNTRY BRIEFINGS**

## → SOCIAL FACTS IN BELGIUM

- Total area: 30,000 km<sup>2</sup>
- Inhabitants: 10 million
- Unemployment: officially 9,2% (underestimation)
- Income PC: 19380 €
- Economy: metal, chemistry, textile

**IN ITS CAPITAL**, Brussels, the European Parliament and NATO headquarters are situated. Being a member of the European Union, Belgium is implementing the Lisbon-agreement, that aims to make the EU the most competitive imperialist power, by curtailing social security and by privatising public services. This determines the agenda of social struggle in Belgium.

In Belgium, 90% of the workers are member of a trade union. The two important trade-unions are:

- the Social Democratic Trade Union Federation (Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique or FGTB, with more than 1.3 million members)
- the Christian Democratic Trade Union Federation (Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens or CSC, with almost 1.6 million members).

## CLASS STRUGGLE IN BELGIUM

**GENERAL STRIKE ON** October 7, 2005. Belgium witnessed a 24-hour general strike-the first in more than 12 years. Workers opposed the prolongation of their employment by 5 years (as demanded by the EU, government and employers)-thus limiting access to early retirement schemes. The general strike in Belgium is part of a long series of workers' struggles in Europe: France, Germany, the Netherlands, Greece, Italy, Spain,

Portugal, etc. Through the issue of early retirement, the people also question the entire capitalist system. It is not possible to work until the age of 60, let alone 65. The workload is too heavy, productivity is too high, people feel burned-out. Why then can't the older workers retire while the young contribute to social security through genuine jobs? "600,000 unemployed; why work longer?"

The strike was a resounding success. Although the Christian democratic trade-union had not called for a strike, a large part of its members joined their comrades of the FGTB in their strike and protest actions. The port of Antwerp, the second port of Europe (after Rotterdam), was blocked. Arcelor, the steel giant, was paralysed, and so was the car industry: General Motors, Ford, Volkswagen, Volvo. The same was true for Caterpillar, the chemical and petrochemical industry, the steel industry, the retail sector, the food sector, the textile sector, etc. Public transport came to a standstill and large parts of the postal services and the education sector were paralysed. True to tradition, and to the irritation of the employers, flying pickets went to industrial parks in order to block strategic roads and to encourage the workers of small enterprises to join.

WPB members had distributed 130,000 fliers before the strike. On October 7, they visited many pickets and were touched by the warm reception. WPB is the only political party to support without reservation the strikers and the demand of making possible early retirement at 55 years for everyone, WPB-

members sold the party's weekly newspaper *Solidaire* and a pamphlet on the retirement issue and social security. In this struggle, communists have to instil revolutionary conscience and reinforce the Party

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**GENERAL STRIKE** and national demonstration on October 28, 2005. In a historical demonstration 100,000 workers, coming from most of the country's factories, marched through Brussels last Friday, October 28. More than just a rally, Brussels saw a real social movement take shape, defending the right for older workers to benefit from early retirement, and the right of the unemployed youth to get a job.

Belgium's workers hadn't taken to the streets in such large numbers since 1986. The current mobilisation is larger and more profound than the movement against the anti-worker 'global plan' of 1993.

The Belgium-from-below had started a strike movement ten days earlier, culminating in the Brussels demonstration on October 28. That day a second general strike was held. The first one took place on October 7.

Even as many trade union militants and shop stewards were present, tens of thousands of common workers from all major industrial plants came to demonstrate in Brussels last Friday, many of them for the first time.

The current movement is showing that there certainly exists a clear class opposition between the world of the work-

192 ers and the world of capital. And the October 28 demonstration has been a milestone for the Belgian working class to show its solidarity and its strength. The working class is already getting organised for the weeks ahead, and will thus contribute to the unity of the workers movement in Europe, united against the imperialist European Union.

**BELGIAN WORKERS** march together: for wage increases, against flexibility. The federal government of Belgium is a coalition of Liberal and Social Democratic Parties. In October 2004, Prime Minister Verhofstadt formulated the anti-social plan of the capitalists and the government. First, imposing a cap on wages: for the two years to come, maximum wage increase would be limited to 4,5%. 3,3 % is already needed for the automatic adjustment of salaries to the cost of living index and the scale-related increases, that do not even take into account the rise of oil prices. So only between 1 and 1.5% would be left for wage negotiations in sectors and companies. Go and tell that to families, who, day after day, have to bear a higher and higher cost of living. Second theme of the multi-sector agreement: flexibility. The capitalists want a 40 hour week (to replace the 38 or 36 hour week) as a first step to the abolition of the 8 hour day and the 5 day week standard. One week, one would work 45 hours, or even more, and the following week, one would stay home without any extra pay. The government tried to impose this plan as a Multi-Sector Agreement.

Last December 21, 2004, more than 50.000 workers from big and small enterprises, from the public and the private sector, from all towns of Belgium, marched in the streets of Brussels to protest this anti-social plan. The trade-union FGTB rejected the Multi-Sector Agreement. Sectors and enterprises went on strike, and in the Food Sector workers got more than 5%.

**105-DAY STRIKE** at AGC-Fleurus (SPLIN-TEX). Last December 1, 2004, the 840 workers of the AGC-plant (near Charleroi, producing windows for cars) went on strike. They refused – as a matter of principle – to accept that 284 jobs would disappear. The strike lasted not less than 105 days, in spite of political pressure of the regional social democratic government, classist judicial system. On January 17<sup>th</sup>, the court condemned four trade-unionists to pay a penal sum of 5.000 €, for each day the picket line blocked the plant entry and prevented someone from working. WPB-lawyers contested this decision as anti-constitutional and defended the strikers in court. From all parts of Belgium solidarity delegations came to the picket lines: chemistry workers from Antwerp, glass workers from Glaverbel Zeebrugge, metal workers from Caterpillar. There was even a delegate from the Communist Youth of Cuba, and a European MP from the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

**CAMPAIGN FOR RATIONAL** drug policy and cheap, quality medicines. ‘Doctors

for the People,' a group of progressive physicians in Belgium, recently launched a campaign for another-rational-drug policy. Medicines are much too expensive in Belgium because of the super profits of the pharmaceutical companies. Moreover, the Belgian system is chaotic and huge amounts of money are being wasted.

In a country like New Zealand, on the other hand, a system of public bidding ensures that the best product is available at the lowest possible price. Moreover, medicines are free for the patients who need them. Such a system would save the patients in Belgium 1 billion euro per year while the health insurance system would save 1.6 billion per year. This money could be put to good use to support the first line of health care, upgrade the hospitals, or provide better care for the elderly. Doctors for the People supports any bill that could help realize this and has launched a signature campaign for an alternative, and rational, drugs policy. This campaign is confronting monopoly capital in the pharmaceutical sector.

**METRO-BUS DRIVERS,** rail workers, postmen, nurses, metal-textile workers. The opposition against the impossible living conditions under capitalism is expressed by the many strikes and demonstrations in Belgium. At the end of 2004 the Brussels metro and bus drivers went on strike six times in three months. Lack of material, dirty drivers' cabins, unbearable time schedules and lack of personnel were the issues. Last November 10,

2004, employees of the postal service organised a national strike against the Georoute system, which makes them work up to 3 hours more a day, demanding the 36 hours working week and to maintain the post as a public social service. Last April 18, 2005, the metal workers went on strike in 150 plants against the wage caps. And 60.000 workers from all European countries took to the streets in Brussels on March 19, 2005 against the Bolkestein directive (which imposes privatisation of public services, and undermines national laws protecting labour conditions). They also protested against the antisocial project of the European constitution.

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# Communist party of Britain



## COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

### ➔ 2005 GENERAL ELECTION

	per cent of vote	seats
Labour	35	356
Conservatives	32	198
Liberal Democrats	22	62
Other parties	10	30
Including		
UKIP (far right)	2.2	0
Scottish Nationalists	1.9	6
BNP (fascists)	0.7	0
Respect (SWP+)	0.3	1
Scottish Socialist P	0.2	0
Labour Majority		66

**THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.** The 2005 general election cut the government's majority from 167 to 66. Blair has indicated his intention to intensify his implementation of neo-liberal policies and to extend privatisation further into education and the health service. He remains committed to keeping British troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, to renewing Britain's nuclear alliance with the US and pursuing the joint Anglo-American neo-liberal project in the EU.

However, he is now facing much stiffer resistance from the Trade Union movement, from the Labour Party membership and from among Labour Party MPs. The government suffered its first ever defeat on 9 November when parliament rejected a key part of its anti-terror bill by a majority of 33. 49 Labour MPs rebelled. It is likely that the government will face much bigger rebellions on its programme for privatisation in education and health and also on the renewal the Trident nuclear programme. Whether the government is again defeated will depend on the position taken by the Conservative and Liberal parties.

**THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.** The TUC remains the single trade union centre for the British trade union movement with 7 million members. Its individual affiliates have almost all moved significantly to the Left over the past four years. Its 2005 Congress saw the TUC adopt policy to oppose the EU Constitution and the Services directive, to campaign for the restoration of free trade unionism in Britain and for the reversal of privatisation in transport, to oppose all further privatisation and to call for the withdrawal of British troops from Iraq. The threat of combined strike action on pensions has already forced a government retreat on extending retirement age for public servants from 60 to 65.

**THE LABOUR PARTY.** The 2005 Labour Party conference defeated the Party leadership on trade union rights, pensions and its programme for further privatisation. The Labour Representation Committee, established last year to reclaim the Labour Party for Left policies, is continuing to strengthen its position.

**KEY CAMPAIGNING ISSUES FOR THE LEFT.**

The Communist Party of Britain together with the daily paper, the Morning Star, see the following as the key campaigning issues of the current period:

- Withdrawal of British troops from Iraq
- Cancelling Britain nuclear weapons programme and stopping Trident renewal
- Halting any further privatisation and ending support for the Services Directive and the EU Constitution

- Restoring trade union rights and especially the right to take solidarity action
- Defeating the government's anti-terror legislation and fighting against racism

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# Communist party of Bohemia & Moravia

**CZECH REPUBLIC**

→ **THE CZECH REPUBLIC** is a few months before the parliamentary elections. According to the results of last election, our government is a right-left coalition and consists of social democrats (they have in Parliament 70 MP's out of 200) and 2 small parties in coalition – Christian democrats and right orientated Union of Freedom (31 MP's). In opposition are 2 parties – right orientated Civil democratic party (58 MP's) and the Communist party of Bohemia and Moravia (41 MP's, 19.5%).

## **THE REAL POLITICS OF THIS GOVERNMENT**

are based on the privatization of the remaining national property (telecommunication, energy and distribution enterprises), on social cuts, increasing prices of public services and on the strong support for the EU (the including the European constitution) and NATO. The basic social network is implemented with these steps, but not enough and the level of social help is decreasing every month. Many social democrats have similar or the same solutions to propose for the future like the right politicians. Now we are facing an increase of prices for power, gas and other necessary living basics. The rate of unemployment is 10%. The gap between the rich and poor is increasing.

According to public opinion, the Communist party of Bohemia and Moravia should get in the elections 20-25% of the votes. The Civil Democratic Party will win with 30% and the Social Democrats should have 20%-25% and Christian Democrats about 10%. For the winner, it is possible to make a so called "Big coalition" like in Germany. An other possibility, but I hope not accepted by the CP, is a red-pink coalition of social de-

mocrats and communists or a government of social democrats supported quietly by the communist party. I think this last case is the only possible solution for our communist party.

The biggest change is with the so called big coalition. This coalition could open the eyes of many people, it could destroy "the human image" of the social democrats.

The main priority of the Civil democratic party is "the Blue chance" program – a total liberalisation of all services, individual payment in the education sector, health care, destroying the Labor Code, school fees, privatisation and deregulation of tenancy.

**THE POSITION OF THE CP IS CLEAR** – the CP is the only left party in our country and support of social democratic politics is a fraud in fact. Our party has 100.000 members (Czech Republic has 10 million people). But the average age of our members is about 70 and we have only a few hundred active young people below 30. Objective conditions for active work between people is very bad and it is very big danger for the next years.

We have many satellite organizations – for women, young people, Czech frontiers etc., but they are in many cases members of our party. We have good contacts in the Association of tenants, we have our own red trade union, but this trade union is not strong in comparison to PAME, and the other trade unions are not militant. The Social movements in our country are very weak and small. Similar

is the situation in the antiwar movement; and a big part of this movement is anti-communist. The so-called Czech social forum is very small; a big part of this forum is anticommunist too and this forum is led by social democrats and trotskyists. This year we mobilized for one united strong national demonstration against war and the occupation of Iraq, which took place on March 20 in Prague. This demonstration meant a big success for our organization. We were the largest and most active part of the Czech antiwar movement. The Red contingent, which was led by KSM (communist youth) and criticized the war from a militant anti-imperialist position, was the biggest part of the demonstration. Unfortunately, official leadership of Czech antiwar movement - International Peace Movement of the Czech Republic- which consists of Americans in Prague and some small trotskyists groups, adopted after the demonstration a really strong anticommunist statement. The official leadership of the Czech antiwar movement with this statement joined the anticommunist campaign. In the last 2 years there were in our republic of course other public protests - against increasing of prices of student housing and against inadequate action of police against Czech-Tek.

**THE ANTICOMMUNIST CAMPAIGN** is today in the Czech Republic on the increase again. During the last months several anticommunist actions took place - demonstrations, petitions, concerts, making of T-shirts against communists and also at-

198 tempts at the criminalisation of the Czech communist movement. Two senators of the Czech Parliament launched a campaign to criminalize communism. Senators Jaromir Stetina (Path of Change) and Martin Mejstrik (Green Party) want to amend paragraphs, which states, “A person who supports a movement blatantly aimed at the suppression of human rights and freedoms or that promulgates national, racial, religious or class hatred” faces five years in jail. The amendment would change the start of the law to “... supports or propagates communism, Nazism or any other similar movement.” The revised law would make the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) illegal, according to Stetina, as its name and symbols represent “human rights crimes” committed under the last regime. This act is now in Parliament. In last months, the anticommunist campaign is stronger than before. Children are taught in schools that communism is bad and have special lessons against communism.

Against the activities of anticommu- nists are not only the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, but KSM, too. For example, they made actions against the communist magazine Mlada Pravda (Young Truth). Mlada Pravda is monthly magazine, which is produced by KSM and every month is full of information about struggles for the rights of youth - students, trainees and young workers – in the Czech Republic and worldwide. Officially anticommu- nists attacked Mlada Pravda because of its “propagation of

Leninism” and “calling for a socialist revolution”.

# Communist party of Denmark

## DENMARK

### COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

→ **THE SITUATION IN DENMARK** is fundamentally marked by the persistent rule of the right-wing neoliberal government led and dominated by a party calling itself “the Left”; born more than a hundred years ago by the peasants’ struggle for liberty and political majority rule, it is now an almost fundamentalist liberal party which finds its adherents in the countryside as well as in the cities, and it is currently the nation’s strongest party (a position won from the Social Democrats in 2001). The party was somewhat weakened in the elections earlier this year (as were the Social Democrats), but as the supporting parties (Conservatives and Nationalists) were strengthened, the government maintained its majority and is pursuing its former politics.

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This extreme right-wing government has led Denmark into the Iraq war as a participant in the US-led aggression; it sought to bring Denmark under the rule of the European Constitution; it is continuing to privatize public enterprises and services (telecommunications, railways, hospitals); and it has carried through a municipal reform the aim of which is to widen the gap between the people and its elected representatives (by enlarging considerably the structural units of local government) and thus facilitate privatizations and cuts in public services.

**THE ECONOMIC SITUATION** is described by the government and most of the political establishment as “a boom”, which is very far from the truth. Indeed, industrial growth was negative during the first half of this year, but seems to be in a state of recovery now. Unemployment is at a steady level of 150,000 (for a population total of 5 millions), but this official number has been manipulated; estimates of

200 the actual number range from 250,000 (insured workers) to 900,000 (all categories of un- or underemployed). Big business (especially Maersk) is thriving on the Iraq war; but for ordinary people, the only thing resembling a boom is the soaring real estate prices, which are, however, now beginning to flatten out.

**THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION** was defeated, not by the Danes, but by the French and Dutch; after some hesitation, the government decided to postpone the referendum scheduled for September 26 indefinitely, and the Prime Minister has lately announced publicly that the EU is in crisis, that the future of the Constitution is doubtful, and that it is time for the EU to “stop to take a look at realities”. This is a new melody indeed. The EU Resistance Movement, which was busy preparing for the referendum, finds itself in a totally new situation where it is contemplated whether Danish cessation from the EU is a topic to be placed on the agenda in a near future.

**THE WAR RESISTANCE** is at a low, though polls say that a majority of Danes are now once again opposed to the Iraq war and to Danish participation. 24 citizens have just sued the Prime Minister on the grounds that the decision to join the US aggression was in violation of the Danish Constitution. But the anti-war movement is divided on the question of whether to endorse the Iraqi armed resistance or not.

**DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL RIGHTS** are under a severe threat caused by the attempts by

the government to introduce anti-terror legislation permitting virtually unlimited surveillance of citizens without even the need of actual charges. The government is somewhat hesitant about these matters, or would like to appear so, because they contrast so flagrantly with the Constitution; but their Nationalist supporters are pushing for fast and harsh anti-terror measures, even going so far as to demand young suburban troublemakers (we have actually had a few incidents of civil unrest resembling those in France lately, albeit on a much smaller scale) treated as terrorists. This demand has, however, been rejected by most, even inside the governing circles.

The loss of power and the reduction to second party has sharpened the crisis of the Social Democratic Party, which is retreating increasingly from its working class positions, imitating more or less the neoliberal stance of the government. The Social Democrats are gradually losing their influence inside the working class, but the Left has so far not been able to replace them; the most important left force, the Socialist People's Party, is following suit at some distance and has lately given up its resistance to the EU.

The Communists are weak and divided, but efforts towards a reunification of the movement are being made; this, however, is a very complicated and time-consuming process. Progress is being made, but it is slow.

# Communist party in Denmark

## DENMARK

### COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

→ **IN DENMARK**, as in all other capitalist countries, neo-liberal models are aggressively promoted in all important areas of society. Focus is on individualism and the rights of the individual person. This happens at the expense of the collective interests in society. The rights of the richest people are given a higher priority than the living conditions of the great majority of the Danish population. The means are tax reductions for the richest and cut-downs and reductions in the health system, in day-care institutions, in education and in the assistance to the elderly people. The conditions for the unemployed have deteriorated, unemployment benefits are not regulated any more according to the increase in prices, and forced labour after a half year of unemployment has been introduced hidden by the concept of 'activation'. The housing problem is growing because younger people cannot afford to pay the very high rents in new houses - even though they may be built by the non-profit building societies. The prices for owner occupied houses have exploded.

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Deregulation is the mantra of the neo-liberalists and is carried out in the forms of privatisations, so-called public-private partnerships, higher user's fees for public services, etc. All these initiatives are aimed at destroying the collective, tax-financed economic, social and cultural achievements that the Danish working class has won through the class struggle for generations.

The neo-liberalist policy is also forced through via the EU, where the draft of the Constitution is the most extensive example, as it will force more market economic principles to power and by legal treaty establish them as main principles for the EU-states.

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It is not only the right-wing parties who are spokesmen for this policy. The Danish social democratic government laid the foundation in the beginning of the 1990's, and the policy is now followed by an aggressive, reactionary government backed up by the xenophobic so-called Danish Peoples Party.

At the same time Denmark is having an aggressive foreign policy including an active participation in the war in Iraq.

**GROWING PROFITS AND INEQUALITY.** As in the rest of the capitalist world the big companies are making enormous profits. In Denmark the banks had an increase in profits of 10 percent in 2004 compared to the year before - and for 2005 the profits are anticipated to break all records.

While the profits are growing the same is true for the pressure on wages. In Denmark the share of the wages in production has declined from 79 percent in 1980 to 68 percent in 2000.

The magnitude of the real unemployment is more than double as shown by the official figures, as these do not include activation-schemes, etc., where no real wages are paid, but where the payment is a small public benefit-payment.

And still the government tightens labour market policy based on the neo-liberal argument, that it is the excessive big public benefits that causes unemployment. 'It does not pay to work', they say, and then they reduce the conditions for the unemployed. But the true fact is that it is jobs that are lacking. Substantial parts of the industry are moving from Denmark

to the new EU countries or to Asia, and the cut downs in public service have also their part of the responsibility for unemployment.

The intention of the government is not to create jobs; it is to create huge pressure on for wages to ensure higher profits for the private companies. At the same time, tax-reductions to the rich are decided, combined with subsidies to the enterprises.

What is really happening is that an extensive redistribution from the poor to the rich is taking place.

**AN ACTIVE DANISH FOREIGN POLICY.** Back to the beginning of the 1990's the Danish social democratic government formulated a new Danish foreign policy. The essence was an active backing up of US-imperialism, the so-called 'active internationalism'. After September 11 the Danish prime minister promised that 'Denmark will follow the USA all the way' which Denmark has totally fulfilled since.

Danish soldiers are engaged in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The first Danish soldiers have returned in body bags from Iraq.

The government is stubbornly claiming that Denmark shall continue its participation in the occupation. The original argument for the participation in the war was the lies of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and the connections to a terror network. Today the argument is that we shall ensure democracy in Iraq.

A majority of the Danish population is still against the Danish participation in the

war, and a number of well known persons and the father of one of the killed Danish soldiers have put the Danish government on legal trial for violation of the Danish constitution.

The communists are a part of the broad popular movement supporting the main demand: Stop the occupation. Danish soldiers must return from Iraq now!

Danish enterprises are now making great profits on production of weapons to the lucrative American market as a kind of reward for the Danish participation in the war. The number of Danish weapon-firms with special access to the American market has grown from 5 in 1995 to 28 in 2004. And the turnover in the Danish weapon industry has risen by almost 3 times within the last 4 years.

Danish firms supply high technology to the American missile programme, to Apache-helicopters, to the development of new war aircraft, etc. Greatest among the traders in war is the Danish firm Maersk, who transported 1/3 of all American war equipment to Middle East before the war against Iraq.

In this way the Danish foreign policy is even more tightly tied to the aggressive American imperialism. The same is the case for the very dangerous enlargement of the geographical area of operations for the NATO. This organisation is now being geared to be able to take action all over the world where the interests of imperialism are threatened.

**CONTINUOUS FIGHT AGAINST EU.** In spite of the so-called "pause in thought" on the

draft of the EU-constitution, that was declared after the defeat of the referendums in France and the Netherlands, there is no reason for slowing down the tempo in the fight against the EU.

Still there is good reason to point out that the EU constitution and the EU-system as such are building on neo-liberal principles and on a militarization of the EU. The claim, that the EU should turn into a kind of "soft superpower" to counter-balance American imperialism is a total bluff. The sole purpose is to strengthen the influence of the imperialist interests of the EU.

The EU-resistance in Denmark is first and foremost organised through the Peoples Movement against the EU and through initiatives taken by a number of trade unions. For the communists it is important, that the resistance against the EU is based in the working class and its organisations.

For the time being the trade unions are engaged in a campaign against increased use of foreign workers from the new EU countries - workers who work without a collective agreement and for wages far beyond the Danish tariffs.

This is a fight against the employers. The demands from the Danish unions are that the foreign workers shall have the same wages and working conditions as their Danish colleagues. This is also a fight against the planned EU directive on services (the Bolkestein-directive), that will deregulate several areas of the labour market including the health services, education, environment protection, etc. The

204 aim is to strength the ability of the EU in international competition, as it was formulated at the EU summit in Lisbon 2000.

### **GROWING HOSTILITY AGAINST IMMIGRANTS**

and refugees. Over many years, the legislation concerning immigrants and refugees has step by step been tightened up. The social and labour market policy has aimed at reductions especially aimed at these groups.

In conflict with the UN conventions, refugees are deported to countries, where we know that the risk of their being persecuted, put under arrest or ill-treated is imminent.

Not only the government and its xenophobic supporting party, but also the social democrats, are supporting this policy - a policy that at the same time provides a breeding ground for xenophobia and racism in the Danish population. The communists are active in the anti-racist and anti-fascist movements.

**REBELLION.** As a part of the so-called 'fight for democracy - against terrorism' several national and international bodies now produce lists of so-called terrorist organisations, and in many countries including Denmark, special anti-terror legislation is planned or already in force.

In Denmark a special movement or organisation called Rebellion has been formed. This organisation is strongly opposed to these terror-lists and laws and is provoking those in power by arranging collections and concerts, etc., in support

for liberation movements and organisations on these terror-lists set up by the US and the EU.

The Danish resistance movement during the German occupation in 1940-1945 was at that time also called terrorist and was persecuted. But after the war, members of the same movement are now regarded as freedom fighters. Their veteran-organisations are part of the movement against the terrorist-lists.

The organisation Rebellion has spread an appeal: "The war against terror is threatening us all. Fight for the right for free speech'. The appeal has been sent to movements and parties in Europe. The appeal is printed as an annex to these notes.

**THE FIGHT AGAINST THE "NEW"** anticommunism. In Denmark as well, a growing campaign against the communists is taking place. It is demanded that the communists shall disavow their activities in the past. Communism and Nazism are 2 sides of the same coin, it is argued. In reality the communists have the responsibility for greater offences against mankind than the Nazis, it is claimed.

Up to the 60 years anniversary of the victory over fascism, the Danish prime minister had to make excuses for the fact that the Danish police actively took part in the deportation of German communists and other resisters and Jews to the German Gestapo. And the Danish communists received a justification for the fact that it was a violation of the Danish constitution that the communist party by

a Danish law was declared illegal. Furthermore he justified that many communists were illegally put under internment and later extradited to the extermination camp Stutthof. At the same time, the prime minister would not give a justification to the Danes, who voluntarily fought in the Spanish civil war on the republican side. Exactly these Danes were the first to be arrested and interned by the Danish police.

In connection with the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary our party published a book that stresses the role of the communists in the national resistance movement and on the other side the treason of the other political parties.

Furthermore our party was a part of the organisational committee that organised a big torchlight procession in Copenhagen on the day of the liberation.

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN DENMARK.** The party is taking part in the local elections November 15. In some of the municipalities including the 2 largest towns and the Capital region it will be possible to vote for a communist. These elections are carried out in a situation where new legislation has changed the organisation of the local government. The number of municipalities is drastically diminished, and the result of the much larger municipalities will be a limitation in local democracy. At the same time, the central government is putting more and more burdens on the local bodies without ensuring them the necessary economic compensation.

The party is consequently working on

a strengthening of the cooperation between the leftist organisations in Denmark aiming at building broad popular alliances against deteriorations in public service, etc. The party especially gives extra attention to the work in the trade unions and among the youth.

The party has started the preparations for its 7<sup>th</sup>, congress that will take place in May 2006. From this congress new initiatives will be taken to strengthen and educate the party, to strengthen all leftist movements and the anti-monopoly movements.

**ANNEXE.** The “war on terror” threatens us all. Defend freedom of expression, human rights and international solidarity!

### **APPEAL FROM ‘REBELLION’ (DENMARK) TO EUROPEAN MOVEMENTS**

The Danish association ‘Rebellion’ appeals to all European movements for democracy and international solidarity to join it in challenging national anti-terrorist legislation, the ‘terrorist list’ of the European Union, and the so-called ‘international war on terror’.

Through present anti-terrorist legislation, European states have attempted to curb the freedom of expression and the political rights of their citizens, including their right to extend moral and material support to resistance and liberation movements. In the past year ‘Rebellion’ has publicly, and in direct conflict with Danish anti-terrorism legislation, trans-

206 ferred substantial funds to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). An important criterion for our choice of organizations is that they seek to further secular, democratic, and humanist goals.

The Danish Ministry of Justice and police authorities have as yet not raised criminal charges against `Rebellion`. In order to further such a step, both the Colombian ambassador to the Nordic countries and vice-president Santos have had talks with officials from the Ministry of Justice and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Copenhagen.

We appeal to other European organizations to join us in a continuing challenge to European anti-terrorist legislation and the `terrorist list` of the European Union.

We envisage the following elements in the campaign:

- Collection of funds within each country with list of those willing to stand forward as signatories. It would be inadvisable to open accounts, as these may be subject to seizure.
- A goal of at least 100 signatories and at least 1000 Euro within each participating country should be set. Involving prominent citizens in the initiative would be of great advantage.
- Publication of the initiative within each country when these goals are met, or at whatever time seems appropriate within the national context.
- Conference of all participating organi-

zations to be held in Copenhagen, perhaps in November, where a collective transfer of funds to resistance and liberation movements is announced.

- Publication of a conference manifesto on the so-called `war on terror`, reiterating solidarity with the international struggle against illegitimate state power and foreign occupation.

We hope that this appeal will be welcomed by your organization and that the initiative will be taken up and developed in as daring a manner as possible within each national context.

The association `Rebellion` can be contacted at following postal address:

#### **Foreningen Opror**

C/O Blaagaardens Medborgerhus

Blaagaards Plads 3

2200 Copenhagen N, Denmark

Or at opror@linuxmail.org.

Our website is at [www.opror.net](http://www.opror.net)

# Communist party of Finland

## FINLAND

### COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

#### → SOME FACTS ABOUT THE CPF

- The Communist Party of Finland was founded on the 29<sup>th</sup> of August, 1918.
- There are nearly 4 000 members in the CPF, 14 districts and nearly 200 base organizations.
- The website of the CPF <http://www.skp.fi>. There are pages in English, too: [www.skp.fi/english](http://www.skp.fi/english).
- Tel 3589-7743 8150 and fax 3589-7734 8160.
- Address: SKP, Haapaniemenkatu 7-9 B, 00530 Helsinki, Finland
- Chairman of the CPF is Yrjö Hakanen, Vice Chairperson Kaija Kiessling and General Secretary Arto Viitaniemi.
- The organ of the CPF is the weekly publication "Tiedonantaja", Editor in Chief Erkki Susi. The website of "Tiedonantaja" <http://www.tiedonantaja.fi>. Tel 3589 - 7743 810.
- The next Congress of the CPF will take place in 2007
- CPF has representatives in 20 municipal councils, including the city of Helsinki, the capital of Finland
- CPF has close co-operation with the Communist Youth League of Finland, the Democratic network for Women, the Spartacus Foundation, the Democratic Centre for Studies and other left and progressive forces

#### SOME FACTS ABOUT FINLAND

- total population 5 million
- languages: Finnish 93%, Swedish 6 %, same (Lapp) 0,03%.
- gross national income: 142 billion Euro, 28 400 Euro per capita (2003)
- government: Center Party, Social-Democratic Party, Swedish People's Party
- parliament: Left Alliance 19, Social-

208      Democrats 53, Greens 14, Centre 55,  
Swedish People's Party 8, True Finns  
(right-wing populist party) 3, Finnish  
Christian Democrats 7, Conservatives  
40, Others 1

- Next elections: Presidential elections  
January 2006, parliamentary elections  
March 2007

# German communist party

GERMANY

COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

→ **THE OUTCOME OF THE PARLIAMENTARY** elections in Germany. *Statement by the National executive of the DKP, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2005*

**THE POLITICAL AND PARLIAMENTARY** situation will remain unstable. DKP welcomes the fact that the "Left Party" is now represented in parliament (with 54 MPs). They achieved the highest increase of all competing parties which is even more remarkable considering the efforts by an alliance of all other parties to hinder them. The Left Party succeeded to break through the blanket of silence which had been thrown over the contents of its programme by the media and won the seats against an anti-communist campaign of lies.

**IF THE LEFT PARTY** takes on the political aims of the movements outside the parliament and makes them a part of its parliamentary work this can give impulses for a stronger movement towards a change of politics.

Although 90 % of those who went to vote on September 18<sup>th</sup> gave their vote to one or the other neo-liberal party, the result shows clearly that there is a loss of confidence in the politics of the established parties.

The logic of the parliamentary system is no longer running smoothly. There is no "automatic" majority for the opposition any more when the government fails.

**THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (SPD)** tried to score points with "left" claims, regained some lost territory but stayed below their overall result of 2002. They won't keep their promises, just as they did not after the two previous elections.

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210 There is no confidence in the conservatives to be able to solve the key-problems such as mass-unemployment, social cuts and the crisis of the education system. Experience from the states with CDU/CSU majorities shows that they are clearly no alternative.

In the state of Bavaria the CSU fell below 50% of the vote, which will reduce its nation-wide influence.

**THE EMPLOYERS ASSOCIATIONS** dictate governmental programmes to the neo-liberal parties the main aim is maximisation of profits. Their key figures – von Pierer and Thuman, president of the federation of German industrialists – do not disguise their frustration about the way people have voted. Their call for reactionary changes in the parliamentary system – such as the claim to introduce the “majority-vote-system” and complaints about the high costs of the elections – show the way the economical elite want to go in order to secure their profits. Now they are asking for the second-best solution from their view point: The “big coalition” (a coalition-government of Conservatives and Social democrats). It remains interesting to see how they are trying to secure their influence

There are attempts to exchange top politicians for ones in favour of the big coalition. There is also a growing crisis within both CDU/CSU and SPD. Their ability to create majorities for government at any time is confronted with the reality of substantial vote-losses.

The way these parties can be ex-

changed one for the other shakes up the trust of portions of their members. The symptoms of crisis within the parties will result in unacceptable politics for a growing number of people. The parliamentary situation is staying unstable.

The neo-liberal parties are not gaining trust, traditional groups of their voters are breaking away. Changing over to other parties or departure into electoral apathy are symptoms of the weakening ability to tie the people to the parliamentary system. This situation will enhance tendencies to dismantle democracy. The SPD / Green Party government has paved the way for further and larger attacks on democratic rights.

Though the active anti-fascist movement spoiled the chances for the NPD (the most violent of the neo-fascist parties) to gain seats in parliament – there are as many reasons as ever to fight reactionary, racist and fascist politics. Politics of this type are now present within the neo-liberal parties, the danger of a further development to the right remains acute. But the new situation also contains the opportunity for the chance of politics which enhance the social movements outside parliament, enhance the struggle for more social and democratic rights.

A “big coalition” is a challenge for the working class, the trade union, the peace-, the social, the democratic, the ecological, and the anti-globalisation movements. The neo-liberal concept of politics needs an alternative concept by the working class and the movement of social alliances.

The working class-, the trade union- and the social movements bear common responsibility to develop a broad movement of resistance against the attacks of capital and the reactionary dismantling of the social system of this country.

**THE DKP FOUGHT** the election campaign according to these aims. We contributed to the bundling (unifying) of the forces of the left, the formation of cooperation between PDS (Party of Democratic Socialists) and WASG (a new formation of people mainly in the western states, many of them frustrated with the SPD) and inclusion of other forces of the left.

Members of the DKP stood as candidates on the open lists of the Left Party, also as direct candidates in constituencies. The DKP carried its own claims into the election campaign and fought involved and active. The level of knowledge about our party and the respect for our candidates have increased noticeably. We have gained new members and new readers for our paper, the UZ. These outcomes are a measure for the national executive decision to get involved in the election campaign.

Regardless of how the formation of government is going to happen, the challenge for the left remains to intensify the struggle for a shift of the political axis now and in the immediate future.

# Communist party of Greece

## GREECE

### COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

➔ **COUNTRY DATA** Population: 10,668,354. Immigrants make up nearly one-fifth of the work force. Salaried workers 59.9% (over 2,430,000 workers). Part-time employment exceeds 11% in the private sector. Unemployment exceeds 12%. Self-employed without staff were reduced in 2003 by 2.65% in comparison to 1998. Employees in family enterprises were reduced by 23.4%. A small increase was marked by self-employed businessmen with staff by 1.6%.

The course of Greek capitalist development expresses a clear tendency to downgrade the peoples' income and conditions of work and living, despite the fact that the Greek economy maintained the highest development rate in the GDP compared to the corresponding Eurozone. According to Eurostat evidence for 2005 22% of the population in Greece lives below the poverty line. There was a crisis in manufacturing in 13 out of its 22 branches, among which are branches that experienced dynamic development after 1994. The service sector in Greece holds the smallest share in the GDP compared to that of the EU. Agricultural production is stagnant. The participation in the total GDP was reduced from 9.1% in 1995 to 6% in 2003. During the twenty-year period, 1980-2000, 182,000 family farms were wiped out and a further 70,000 family farms are now facing this possibility.

**THE GREEK ECONOMY** after one year of ND government. The ongoing debate over the situation and the future of the Greek economy has recently become more intense. The occasion for this has been the disorienting confrontation between the New Democracy and PASOK parties regarding the expediency and

consequences of the famous “stocktaking” undertaken by the government, with all that has ensued.

The misnamed confrontation in question serves two related objectives simultaneously: on the one hand it cloaks the identity between ND and PASOK as regards the basic directions taken by their anti-popular policies and on the other it obscures the true causes that generate the attack launched on the working people’s gains and rights. The common denominator of all those taking part in this project is, finally, their invoking of the need for the country’s “fiscal adjustment” at the expense of the people’s income for the sake of the competitiveness of Greek enterprises, along with the requirements of the community Stability Pact.

Life itself, however, belies the myth-making concerning the problems and stamina of the Greek economy. The country’s GDP continues to rise at a higher rate than the EU average. The growth of the Greek economy observed in the last few years has resulted in high rates of profitability for large groups of companies. Just in the first three quarters of 2004, the profits of companies listed on the Athens Stock Exchange skyrocketed to 6.9 billion euro.

Of course, this does not mean that during the next period the Greek economy can avoid a slump. There are already certain signs of this, if one also takes into account the rise in the loan burden on Greek households, investment in the trade balance and the course taken by the manufacturing, construction and tourism sectors.

The aforementioned must not, however, mislead us from ascertaining that essentially as regards the recent past and the future of the Greek capitalist economy the following holds: wealth is produced in our country and labour productivity is rising, but this is not leading to an improvement in the position of working people. On the contrary, year by year they are receiving a comparatively smaller piece of the pie produced.

A simple review of the new tax exemptions and additional incentive benefits granted to big capital through the new taxation and development law suffices to show that the government’s invoking of the need for fiscal adjustment is hypocritical and aimed exclusively against popular demands, even the most rudimentary ones.

Correspondingly, the directions set out in this year’s budget do not differ from the previous ones of PASOK governments, directions set, that is, before the famous “stocktaking”. These provide for the redistribution of wealth at the expense of popular strata and an acceleration in restructuring, that is, in market deregulation, the full commodification of social services and the privatization of strategically important sectors.

The new revised Stability Plan 2004-2007 to be submitted by the government to the European Commission will serve the same objectives yet more conscientiously.

The directions in question were not invented by the Greeks. They constitute an attempt to deal with the innate contradic-

214 tions in the capitalist system and the difficulties it encounters in reproducing social capital in its entirety. These directions are determined and fine-tuned for all EU Member-States with the Lisbon Strategy and the proposals made in the “Barroso Manifesto” aimed for its more rapid and effective application. They are intended to reduce labour costs and to further reverse the retirement terms gained for working people in all Member States, at the same time expanding paid labour, that is, capitalist exploitation.

The promotion of this specific strategic direction has already had an obvious negative impact on the working class in our country, but also in the rest of Europe. It is manifested in the widening gap between any increase in pay and pensions on the one hand and the rise in prices and indirect taxes on the other. On the whole, developments confirm that the increase in labour productivity acts as a multiplier on corporate profits without improving the position of working people.

Capitalist profits have already reinforced the tendency towards the concentration of capital and towards mergers and the penetration of Greek companies into the Balkans. What we have here is the aggrandizement of the most powerful part of the capital that has come from the greater exploitation of salary and wage earners and the destruction of small businesses.

The promotion of capitalist “liberization” of strategically important sectors, such as those of energy, telecommunications etc, likewise has an adverse effect

on the people. The new steps taken towards privatization are accompanied by new burdens on popular consumption, a reduction in thousands of jobs in formerly state-owned enterprises and, in the light of popular needs, a negative impact on plans for future projects.

Government policy on public works moves in the same anti-popular direction. The priorities and procedures for the awarding of contracts and the design and construction of projects are selected with a view to meeting the needs of capital accumulation. With the promotion of the so-called co-financed projects, an attempt will be made in the upcoming period to subject the people to a double blood-letting, both as taxpayers and as users.

In sum, the working people have nothing to expect from either the present government’s policy or the misnamed opposition of PASOK. The great wager for the Greek people is whether they will fight for the satisfaction of the whole of their needs against the demands of the ruling class of the country and against EU guidelines.

We propose to the working people a comprehensive framework for struggle which responds to the offensive launched on all fronts by capital and which lays foundations for overall demands regarding the people’s income, worktime and exclusively public and free healthcare and education.

We call on the people to dynamically come to the forefront to blaze a different path for the evolution of Greek society, a path in which the basic means of produc-

tion will belong to the people, central nationwide planning for economic life will be set up and workers' control will be established so that the popular needs will be met sufficiently.

**FROM PARTY ACTIVITY** and the popular struggles in Greece.

- 15 December 2004. Joint statement of KKE and TKP with title "It Is Our Duty To Tell The Truths About The EU To Our People", on the eve of the EU summit that opened the negotiation talks between Turkey and the European Union.
- 9-12 February 2005 17<sup>th</sup> Congress of KKE. The Congress took place in Athens at the Congress Hall of the HQ of the CC of KKE under the banner "A strong KKE. For the People, For the Popular Alliance, For Socialism". The congress focused on the ideological, political and organizational strengthening of the party and adopted unanimously two resolutions: Resolution for the tasks of the Party till the 18th Congress. Resolution concerning the situation in the International Communist Movement
- March 7. On the Situation in the Balkans. The General Secretary of KKE, Aleka Papariga, in statements to the press following a meeting with Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis underlined that KKE is against border changes in the Balkans states and stressed that in case Kosovo becomes independent will cause a chain reaction across the Balkans.

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- March 16-31 Anti-Imperialist campaign all around the country by the Greek Committee for International Peace and Détente (EEDYE) on the occasion of the 2 years past from the invasion and occupation of Iraq and the six years past from the aggression on Yugoslavia and against the redrawing of the borders in the Balkans. The campaign culminated in big demonstrations in all major cities of Greece under the motto "Forward with the struggling peoples, against the Imperialists of the USA, NATO and EU"
  - March 17<sup>th</sup> National Strike called by PAME (All-workers' militant front). PAME declared a national wide strike against the austerity policies of the ND government and the EU, as well as against the "liberalization" of the working day, the privatizations, the violation of democratic and trade union rights. The main demands of the strike concern the creation of new jobs and the protection of the unemployed, minimum salary at 1200€ and minimum pension of 960€, substantial salary increases, reduction of the working hours, free and exclusively public education and healthcare systems..
  - May 10<sup>th</sup>: Mass Rally at the Old University in Athens organized by the Athens' Organization of KKE and the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Resistance Organizations. It was followed a ceremony where medals offered by the Communist Party of Russian Federation

were presented to the Greek anti-fascist resistance organizations.

- May 13<sup>th</sup>: International Conference on “the strategy of NATO and the EU and the new role of their armed forces” organized by the Greek Committee for International Detente and Peace (EEDYE) and the Movement for National Defense on the occasion of the 60 years from the victory of the peoples over fascism with the participation of peace movements and progressive retired army officers from various countries
- May 13-14 Delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party headed by the General Secretary Jeronimo de Sousa visits Greece.
- May 15<sup>th</sup>: Marathon Peace March organized by EEDYE
- May 22<sup>nd</sup>: Joint initiative for the 60th anniversary of the victory over fascism, organized by CP of Greece, CP of Albania and CP of Macedonia nearby the frontiers of the three countries.
- May 22. The Honorary Chairman of the KKE comrade Harilaos Florakis passes away of heart failure at the age of 87.
- May 25 The last farewell (civil funeral) to comrade Harilaos Florakis takes place in the courtyard of the building of the Central Committee
- May 26<sup>th</sup> The burial of cde Harilaos Florakis takes place at Paliozoglopi in the municipality of Itamos, in the mountains of Agrapha
- June 1-4 The general secretary of the CC of KKE Aleka Pappariga visits Cuba
- June 5<sup>th</sup>: Joint demonstration of EEDYE, the Peace Council of Bulgaria and the Peace Association of Turkey in the city of Alexandroupoli, at North-Eastern edge of Greece.
- July 9-12 A delegation of Hungarian Workers’ Party headed by its President, comrade Gyula Thurmer, visits Greece
- August 07 to 15. A mass delegation of KNE participates in the. XVI World Festival of Youth and Student held in Caracas, Venezuela
- August 16-23 Delegation of KKE headed by Aleka Pappariga, General Secretary of the CC visits Cuba and Venezuela.
- September 9 Liana Kaneli, MP elected with KKE and Member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, sends a protest letter to mr. René van der Linden, Chairman of the PACE for the report entitled “Need for International Condemnation of Communism” , and asks for its rejection.
- September 15-18, Athens The 31<sup>th</sup> Festival of KNE and Odigitis culminates with the central festival in Athens, under the motto “We learn the truth – we change the world”
- September 23-26 Solidarity caravan of PAME with over 200 trade-unionists visits Syria.
- October 1<sup>st</sup>, Istanbul International Conference organized jointly with CP of Turkey on “Developments within the Imperialist system: The New Dynamics in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle”

- October KKE supports a multifaceted campaign in solidarity with Sean Garland, president of the Workers' Party of Ireland, protesting his arrest and demanding that the attempt to extradite him to the US be stopped.
- October 28-29 National Conference of the KKE on the Party's activity among young people and its assistance to KNE. The Theses to the conference approach the question of the young people from a class perspective and seek to analyse the effects of capitalist restructuring on young people, and the new questions which flow from these changes and how this affects the work of the Party, particularly in the ideological and political guidance it gives to KNE, which in recent years has been developing and growing as an organization. This was the first time in this country's history that a political party has attempted to approach the question of young people in all-encompassing way.
- November 12. National Mobilization of PAME Tens of thousands of workers, small farmers, students and self-employed joined the call of the All Workers Militant Front (PAME) and rallied in central Athens on Saturday November 12 voicing their opposition to the economic policy of the Government and the EU, against privatisations and against any EU-constitution. PAME is a articulation representing the class-based trade union movement, that was founded in 1999 and rallies 8 branch federations and

13 labour centres (regional trade unions), many trade unions and more than 2.500 elected unionists. The main demands of the demonstration were: employment and steady jobs, a seven-hour working day and five-day working week, a minimum salary of 1,300 euros, pension of 1,050 euros and unemployment benefit at 80% of minimum salaries, equal rights to migrant workers. Other demands were a retirement age of 55 for women and 60 for men, and free and exclusively public education and healthcare systems.

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# Tudeh party of Iran

IRAN

COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

➔ **THE VAST MAJORITY** of the Iranian people don't support President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's call for "the Jewish state to be wiped from the map". In fact most Iranian's are deeply concerned about the consequences of the dangerous foreign policy adopted by the despotic regime. The so-called protest by 100,000 Iranians on Friday October 28, as reported by the world press, was a state sponsored annual convention on "Quds day" and not a spontaneous protest. Since the 1979 revolution Khomeini declared the last Friday in the Muslim holy month of Ramadan as "Quds day" - a day of protest for the liberation of Jerusalem. Free protest in Iran is forbidden and it will be brutally crashed!

Ahmadinejad's hollow slogans against Israel and the US by no means represent a progressive or principled anti-imperialist stand. And it is neither based on a genuine support for the plight of the Palestinians. The theocratic regime in Iran has always tried to swing the Palestinian struggle towards a religious clash and has opposed all moves towards a peaceful resolution ensuring development of a secular and democratic Palestinian state. Saeb Erekat, the Palestinian representative in charge of the peace talks aptly responded to Ahmadinejad's statement: "instead of wiping Israel from the map, Iran should help to put Palestine on the map".

The anti-Israel comment wasn't simply an ill-judged statement by a novice president, as some commentators have observed. It follows a needlessly aggressive speech in the UN last September on the issue of nuclear technologies - and now it has continued with a massive shake-up of the diplomatic personnel around world, replacing them with

“hardliners”. It should be noted that the real power in the Islamic Republic lies with the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who has the final say on all key issues. The “hardliners” (reactionary zealots opposing progressive measures, democratic reforms and women rights) did much to undermine Mr Khatami’s (last president) moderate foreign policy, which is now being replaced with a deliberate shift towards belligerency.

**THE TUDEH PARTY OF IRAN** (TPI) along with other democratic and progressive forces condemned Ahmadinejad’s irresponsible statement. TPI in its analysis of the current situation points out that Ahmadinejad’s comments are essentially aimed towards internal consumption to divert public opinion from our country’s huge socio-economic problems and stated: “...we believe given the massive problems ahead of the new government, it is recognised that they are unable to deliver their election promises to improve the well beings of the dispossessed and the working masses. At the same time while creating the conditions for suppression of the reformists and dissidents it [government] has embarked on an adventurous policy to divert public opinion and to pressurise its opponents.” Ahmadinejad is a reactionary fundamentalist and a protégé of the supreme leader. He has been linked to a covert death squad within the Sepah Pasdaran (Guards Corps) and the security forces, responsible for murdering regime’s opponents. During this year’s presidential election he was backed and

brought to power by the most reactionary hard-line factions within the ruling regime. Former personnel belonging to the security and military establishments occupy key posts in his cabinet. The new administration is deeply opposed to a reform agenda and has already embarked on further restricting individual freedoms and creating an atmosphere of fear and oppression.

The main political benefactors and backers of president Ahmadinejad are key elements within the parasitic mercantile capitalists and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. They have jointly dominated and benefited from Iran’s deeply corrupt political – economic structure. The neoliberal economic policies and programmes of previous governments since the late 1980’s have further aggravated the situation for the vast majority of the people. In spite of his populist rhetoric on wealth distribution, the prevailing neoliberal economic programme is continuing under Ahmadinejad’s new government. After all, widespread privatisation and deregulation have been immensely lucrative for the key sections of Iran’s capitalists, while the majority of the working people have been enduring harsh economic conditions. Ironically Ahmadinejad’s election campaign was successful in highlighting the growing poverty against a backdrop of corruption and the astronomical wealth of the rich. His populist promises have resonated among sections of the disorganised poor and other strata of the society. But it is highly unlikely that the beneficiaries of the status quo will be

220 able or would be willing to implement Ahmadinejad's populist but empty promises. In other words, in our view all the deep-rooted socio-economic problems that have intensified the contradictions in Iran will remain and will lead to an increased level of repressive authoritarianism. The key issue facing the ruling reaction is that it is deeply loathed by the vast majority of the people. Therefore the foreign adventurism of the regime and the imperialist policies of the US and Britain should be considered against the background of the domestic situation in Iran.

Ahmadinejad's dangerous statement has further fuelled the aggressive policies pursued by the US and its allies in the region. Israel has immediately tabled a motion for Iran's expulsion from the UN and the US administration claimed that this statement vindicated their policy towards Iran. Tony Blair in preparation for action against Iran predicted that people will soon be asking him "what are you going to do about Iran?" The Islamic regime in Tehran believes that the US is stuck in the Iraq and Afghanistan quagmire and unable to act against Iran. Therefore giving the clerical regime an opportunity to flex its muscles. This is a reckless gamble with Iran's national interests and its security as there are many ways that the US and its allies could respond. The fact is that the ruling regime is unable and will not attack Israel despite Ahmadinejad's threats. However Israel is capable of attacking Iran and has not concealed its propensity in doing so. The doctrine of

"Preventive War" and the regime's reckless statements provide the necessary motives to retaliate against Iran.

The TPI along with the Iranian people strongly opposes any sort of outside intervention disguised as "spreading democracy" or "preventing nuclear proliferation". The Party's recent statement points out: "We believe that it is only with cooperation and joint efforts of all supporters of freedom and democracy in our country that the reaction's plots and the sinister plans of foreign powers against our country can be thwarted, paving the way towards the establishment of freedom, democracy and social justice in our country".

Iranian people are confronted with the despotism of the ruling theocratic regime and the external threat from imperialism. While the failure of the Khatamie's government and the subsequent rise of Ahmadinejad to power is a set-back for the popular movement against dictatorship, there are clear indications that supporters of peace and democracy in Iran could not be intimidated into silence and passivity. However it is important to note that the popular movement in Iran is evolving and continues to oppose the ruling dictatorship and fight for freedom and democracy. Any meddling or military intervention in Iran is a serious threat to the popular movement which should be opposed by all the supporters of peace and progress across the world.

# Socialist party of Lithuania

## LITHUANIA

### COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

→ **STRANGE** as it may seem, today the United States is losing the global war for social conscience. The anti-US animosity grows nowadays not only in the “third world”, but also in the so-called “old Europe.” Only in the post-Soviet space do the ruling elites do their best to please the new “big brother.”

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Could this be a certain temporary phenomenon, though? US cultural imperialism, which materializes above all through the export of entertainment, is one of the most important sources of capital accumulation and of world earnings, which displaces the most traditional forms of exports. In the political sphere, US cultural imperialism plays a key role in separating peoples from their cultural roots and solidarity traditions, replacing them with the necessities created by the media, which change with every new advertising campaign. The social result is that people drift apart from traditional class and community bonds, autonomize and separate.

The Youth is the main target of this type of interests of imperialism. Imperialist distractions and publicity are aimed at youths who are the most vulnerable to the influence of commercial propaganda. Their call is simple and direct: “Modernity” is linked to the consumption of US information goods. Youth forms a wide market for US cultural exportation and can be subjected more readily to consumption propaganda. The media manipulate youth revolts, using left people’s language and driving the dissatisfaction through the channel of consumerist excesses.

In this sense, communist and other left parties should develop their own policy of youth “cultural imperialism.” The lexicon and rhetoric of youth protest ac-

222 tions should be renewed in a decisive way, the political struggle forms and methods should be modernized; as a classic put it, “not to fear youth, but to be by their side.”

**THE YOUTH PROTEST** movement practically does not exist today in Lithuania. It doesn't exist for the simple reason that the Lithuanian youth turned out to be a pretty docile target for the influence of US cultural imperialism, whereas the politicization of the spheres of national culture and education blocks access to alternative sources of information and alternative behavior. It is self-evident that youth's political awareness today is fragmented: on one hand one can observe a political conformism that is right-wing in essence and, on the other, a youth social position and a State social policy that objectively drag youths toward left ideas.

As usual, students act as a unique “barometer” of youths' deviation toward the left. Student organizations have carried out several sizable protest actions in our country, forcing the government to make some concessions in connection with certain social and educational issues. Again, a paradox takes place, but the initiators of these protests are right-wing and Christian youth organizations. This attests to the extreme weakness of left parties, especially of the Socialist Party, in Lithuania. As regards social-democrats, they have fully integrated the ruling elite and develop, in essence, a ne-liberal socio-economic policy.

In the field of creating a broad alliance of the communist and left forces, the re-birth of the world socialist and communist movement, it would be useful to also work alongside on the unification of left youth organizations on an international level.

# Philippine communist party-1930

**THE PHILIPPINES**

**COUNTRY BRIEFINGS**

→ **ECONOMIC SOCIAL** and political implications of imperialist dictates. After more than a decade of neo-liberal globalization, the world capitalist society is now experiencing global economic and political crises. The ideologues and administrators of the new international economic order, barely understand that they have lost control of events. A glaring example is the Philippine experience.

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The political turmoil that has engulfed the Philippines in recent months is deeply rooted in the country's economic crisis, as manifested in the following:

- the closing down of many industries and handicraft factories. The vast majority of employers are small and medium scale enterprises, which could not compete with giant transnational corporations
- the higher unemployment rate

As of April this year, according to Labour Force Survey, the Philippines has a labour force of 37, 003,000 of whom 32,217,000 are employed, resulting in an unemployment rate of 12.9 %. Of those classified as employed, 26.1% are underemployed. 16,293,000 are wage and salary earners; 12,300,000 own account workers and unpaid family workers are 3,623,000.

- the reduction in the membership and clout of unions in general, on the other hand, there are host of trade union centers, several federations and hundreds of employer-based independents.
- the ruin of farmers and livestock growers who cannot compete with low-priced agricultural imports.
- as one of the current trends of capitalism is the decrease of economic operations related to world production and trade, the same is happening in

the Philippines. More than half or 15,989,000 employed are in services, while industry accounts for 5,236,000 of which manufacturing stands only 3,201,000 or barely 9.9% of total employed.

Well-educated professionals are forced to work as “customer relations officers” and “product marketers” in call centers. The quality of public and private education is expected to deteriorate with the massive emigration of teachers, and this would affect the future of our young people.

- The neocolonial system makes inevitable the demolition of the middle class, and the widening of social disparities within our country.
- Crime and even terrorism continue to rise because of widening inequalities in life's chances and opportunities.
- Foreign and domestic debt had swollen to P5.9 trillion and to service such debt almost 53 percent of the national budget is allotted. Hence, more loans and impositions of new taxes necessitates the present dispensation.

**HEALTH, EDUCATION** and other social services worsened. Such economic havoc brought about by globalization in the Philippines triggered political instability. The economic crisis accompanied by massive corruption, deceit and cheating committed by PGMA and her family makes the situation more vulnerable.

The electoral system in the Philippines remains one of patronage, with US imperialism as the main source of support for

aspirants to national offices, and with local gambling and other vice-lords as the main source of support for aspirants to local offices. US imperialism would have no qualms in deposing regimes (such as those of Marcos and Estrada) which have outlived their usefulness in the service of imperialism. For this reason, puppet regimes in the Philippines have always availed of the services of professional lobbyists in Washington DC who do propaganda work for them in the corridors of power. In the middle of this year, the Arroyo regime availed of the services of Venable LLP, a lobby group which is supposed to drum up US support for Arroyo's proposal to change the Philippine Constitution. Here is a case of a puppet regime paying a lobby group hundred of thousands of dollars to get political and financial support for a project that imperialism itself would like to foist on our country a project which would demolish all remaining patriotic provisions of our Constitution.

In view of the socio-economic and political crises that has engulfed our country in the Philippines, there is a growing impetus for the masses and especially for the progressive organizations, to step up the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Philippine Communist Party (PKP-1930) has always called for unity of all anti-PGMA and anti-imperialist forces for truly national independence, development and peace.

While allegations of corruption and vote-rigging have shaken the administration of GMA and grabbed the headlines,

it is the neo-colonial character of the economy, particularly the absence of nationalist industrialisation, that renders the country susceptible to instability.

Although GMA's remarks concerned desirability for a federal, parliamentary system of government, there was a subtext - the removal of the constitutional provision that "the state shall promote an independent, self-reliant economy effectively controlled by the Filipinos.

We all know that economic crisis also means hunger and disease, killing tens of millions of people in the world every year, exploitation of children, drug addiction. It also means the merciless destruction of environment.

This stage is also characterized by the imperialist drive to tie-up or reign-in the international community not only as an expanded investment area, but also as a supra-national market for transnational products and services, as well as a borderless source of raw materials. Globalization today means unbridled imperialist profiteering at the expense of social services and job security, of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, of the lives of whole peoples, and of world peace and security.

The economies of most of the developing countries are constrained by the dictates of imperialism, as concretely set in the policies of deregulation, liberalization and privatization laid down by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. In the case of the Philippines, where the government acts as the caretaker for im-

perialist interests, the bureaucracy is run by agents of imperialism. 225

Also permanent fixtures in other executive departments as well as in legislative offices are US and other imperialist advisory and consultancy firms, as well as their related foundations and "non-governmental organizations", inflicting themselves on our country by dishing out prescriptions, as recipes for national progress, even as continued compliance with such dictates over the past decades has only resulted in consistent economic decline.

**DEREGULATING THE ECONOMY.** Based on the experience of the Philippines, the major imperialist dictates related to the policy of deregulation are the following :

- Keeping the economy open to foreign economic penetration, and granting investment incentives to foreign investors which incentives are not even extended to local entrepreneurs.
- Allowing foreign investment in almost all business areas.
- Allowing local borrowings by foreign investors from banks and other financial institutions, and even through the local floating of stocks, wherein the internal savings of the Filipino people are being harnessed by foreign capitalists for their selfish profiteering interests.
- The granting by the government of contingent liability guarantees, or the so-called "sovereign guarantees" on the foreign debt of the private sector.

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- The automatic appropriation of funds in the national budget for payment of local and foreign debt.
  - Allowing the full repatriation of profits and even capital from the local operations of transnational corporations.
  - The disregard for safeguards to protect the environment, whenever imperialist countries would want to transfer certain hazardous industries.

**IMPORT LIBERALIZATION.** Regarding the imperialist policy of liberalization, this continues to be enforced with particular severity in the area of import liberalization. In the Philippines, import liberalization has led (on the one hand) to the closure of more job-sustaining factories, and (on the other hand) the mushrooming of supermarkets, department stores and shopping malls selling imported goods.

**PRIVATIZING THE STATE SECTOR.** Regarding the imperialist policy of privatization, this was first introduced through structural adjustment loans extended to the Philippine government by the World Bank in 1980. The fall of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986, which was responsible for the expansion of the state sector of the economy in the Philippines (through debt-financing) in the 1970s, became a chance for imperialism and its Aquino puppet regime to undertake large-scale privatization.

Government television and radio stations, airlines, telephone companies, iron and steel mills, ship repair facilities, fertil-

izer plants, local waterworks and electric plants, light rail transit systems and expressways, petroleum companies and military camps were privatized, with most of the proceeds from privatization simply disappearing. A few years ago, the country's biggest water distribution system (that in Metropolitan Manila, the national capital region) was privatized, with US and French companies financing the take-over. The promised decrease in water supply rates and development/expansion of facilities never materialized; instead the cost of water was raised a number of times. Next for privatization are the national railway, the national power distribution grid, and the national postal service.

The very lucrative government pension funds for private-sector and state-sector workers (the Social Security System, and the Government Service Insurance System, respectively), as well as some warehouses used to store security stocks of food grains, plus some hospital and educational facilities, are also being considered for privatization. There is even a trend to "privatize" the system of justice, with litigants now increasingly being referred to private conciliators and arbitrators, instead of regular courts. As a result of an international arbitration case, the Philippine government continues to pay millions of dollars every year to the Westinghouse Corporation of the USA for an unfinished nuclear power plant, whose contract was marked by corruption so massive as to deserve condemnation in any real court of law.

### **THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL**

implications of imperialist dictates. In the Philippines, there is growing impetus for the masses and especially for the progressive organizations, to step up the anti-imperialist struggle, in view of the socio-economic and political crises that has engulfed our country.

Without basic industries, the economy cannot grow fast enough to meet the needs of a rapidly multiplying population. The economy is extremely vulnerable to external conditions, because of its excessive dependence on foreign loans and investments

The absence of political stability is due not only to the unabashed corruption and deception on the part of the Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo regime, but also because of the massive poverty and the exclusion of a large number of our people from meaningful participation in the country's life.

The electoral system in the Philippines remains one of patronage, with US imperialism as the main source of support for aspirants to national offices, and with local gambling and other vice lords as the main source of support for aspirants to local offices. US imperialism would have no qualms in deposing regimes (such as those of Marcos and Estrada) which have outlived their usefulness in the service of imperialism. For this reason, puppet regimes in the Philippines have always availed of the services of professional lobbyists in Washington DC who do propaganda work for them in the corridors of power. In the middle of this year, the

Arroyo regime availed of the services of Venable LLP, a lobby group which is supposed to drum up US support for Arroyo's proposal to change the Philippine Constitution. Here is a case of a puppet regime paying a lobby group hundred of thousands of dollars to get political and financial support for a project that imperialism itself would like to foist on our country — a project which would demolish all remaining patriotic provisions of our Constitution.

The present Arroyo regime is increasingly unable to make both ends meet, as indicated by chronic budget deficits and the constant increase in taxes and fees. As a result of the government's bankruptcy, the public infrastructure is deteriorating, and the national environment is being degraded. Public morale is declining, as shown by rising rates of emigration.

As this virtual wealth was created it was invested, spent and wasted. Historical experience was completely ignored. The world's population had quadrupled in only 100 years. There were billions of human being who neither participated in nor enjoyed this wealth in any way whatsoever.

An elementary analysis was sufficient to comprehend that this situation was unsustainable.

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# Communist party of Poland

**POLAND**

**COUNTRY BRIEFINGS**

➔ **PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY** elections. In 2005 a change of the government took place in Poland. In the parliamentary elections, in which attendance was very poor - 40,57%, biggest support gained by rightwing parties - Law and Order (PiS), representing small and medium bourgeoisie and Citizen's Platform (PO), representing big bourgeoisie. In the most important elections in the lower chamber (Sejm) Conservative PiS got 36,99% and liberal PO 34,24% votes. Third place was taken by "Samoobrona" (Self-defence) – agrarian - populist party appealing mostly to the rural electorate. Alliance of Democratic Left - party governing for last 4 years, was fourth with 11,31% - about four times less than in 2001 when it got 41%. Social democracy of Poland (split from SLD) managed to get only about 3% votes and didn't enter the parliament. Communist Party of Poland for the first time took part in the elections, together with Polish Labour Party, Polish Socialist Party and Anticlerical Party of Progress - The Right Standpoint. About 90 thousand of people (0,8%) voted for this list, what was not enough to enter the parliament (threshold 5%). Presidential candidate of these parties - Daniel Podrzycki, died in a car accident a day before the parliamentary elections.

In second round of the presidential elections (23<sup>rd</sup> of October) won candidate of PiS - Lech Kaczyński, who got 54% of votes. He was a president of Warsaw and is known for his conservative and anti - communist ideas.

**REASONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT CHANGE** and characteristics of the new government. The liberal policy of the former government coalition was a main cause

of the failure of the SLD. In the economy it sustained privatisation, liquidation of social rights, liberalisation of labour law and even ideas of introducing a linear tax. Disproportion in living standards was growing. Work conditions deteriorated, Growing unemployment and lowered living standards were decisive for the election result. At the same time, the media informed about scandals, mainly economic, involving ruling elite.

In international policy, the Polish government was dependent on the interests of the United States. This was expressed by sending Polish troops to Iraq and participating in the occupation of this country. Also military expenditures have risen. Poland bought military equipment, mainly of an offensive character, such as F-16 fighters. International relations with the Russian Federation and Belarus deteriorated.

Before the elections PO and PiS announced plans of creating a governmental coalition, but in last days (11<sup>th</sup> of November) the minority government of PiS was created, in which prime minister became Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz. Failure of the PiS - PO negotiations were caused by contradictions among the bourgeoisie. Its result is growing nationalism and reaction of the financial sector. New government plans to make laws stricter and changes in the constitution. A new project involves banning of the communist parties. Its economic programme involves some social issues, but the ministry of finance was taken by neo-liberals and it is possible that the government will

be leaning towards neo-liberalism and at the same time trying to keep its social image. It cannot be openly neo liberal because it got support from Samoobrona and LPR.

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**ECONOMIC SITUATION.** National product of Poland in 2005 is 925,4 billions PLN (1USD = 3,26 PLN). That means a slight rise comparing to 2004 (about 3,3%). That rise did not cause a rising of the consumption level and industrial production. Its main incumbents were financial institutions. In winter and spring, a rise in the prices of the main products is expected. Unemployment is still the highest in the EU – 2770 thousand and about 2 million - hidden unemployment. There are about 8785 thousand workplaces. Construction businesses and industrial production are decreasing which is very important because there are many gaps. There is no credible data on the number of Poles working abroad but it is widely known that there are many of them - mostly young, working illegally.

**WORKER'S SITUATION.** In the first half of 2005, 7 strikes involving 1580 workers took place - about 34,6% working in the companies where strikes took place (in 2004 - 2 strikes with 217 participants - 7,9%, in 2003 24 strikes, 3 thousand workers -18,5%)

The number of strikes is increasing but the main trade unions are not ready to organise a protest. Solidarnosc is involved in supporting the new government and OPZZ (All-Poland's Alliance of Trade

230 Unions) is mostly a bureaucratic structure not able to organise normal workers.

The most radical group are the miners; they are still fighting for the right for earlier pensions and against liquidation of the mines. Their unions are also best in organising protests.

# Portuguese communist party

## PORTUGAL

### COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

→ **THE 17<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS OF THE PCP** held in November 2004, elected comrade Jerónimo de Sousa as General-Secretary and defined a set of guidelines to strengthen the Party's organization and intervention. Answering to the attacks that had for a long time been targeting the PCP, the Congress reaffirmed PCP's class nature and ideological foundations, Marxism-Leninism.

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On 20<sup>th</sup> February, following the dismissal of the government by the President of the Republic after an intense period of social struggle led by the Portuguese Trade Union Central, CGTP-IN, early legislative elections are held.

These elections produce a historic defeat of the right-wing and far right coalition, PSD and CDS/PP, which together lost around 12 percentage points, registering the right's lowest election result since the revolution of the 25<sup>th</sup> of April. These results confirmed in the polls the justness of PCP's demand for early elections as a first step to put an end to the task of destruction by the right-wing governments, a demand and justness that the President of the Republic, a member of the Socialist Party, would only recognize after being strongly pressured by the social struggle.

In these elections, the CDU (Coalition that includes the Portuguese Communist Party, the Ecologist Party-The Greens, the Democratic Intervention Association and independent citizens) registered an important result, increasing its electoral expression in votes (54,000 more votes, totalling more than 432,000) and electing two more deputies (14), thus asserting it as the third national political force with 7.56% of the votes. These results represent an important reversal of the electoral trend registered in the previous elec-

232 tions, contradicting a campaign on PCP's "irreversible decline".

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY (PS)** won these elections with an absolute majority, mainly capitalizing on the huge popular discontent and benefiting from a bipolarized thrust. In these elections, the PCP always set as a central objective the defeat of the right-wing/far right and also the right-wing policies, warning about the dangers that an absolute majority by the PS would mean to a political turnabout that the majority of the Portuguese people aspired to and a breakaway from 28 years of right-wing policies that threw the country into a serious economic situation and an unsustainable social situation marked by a widening of the gap in the distribution of income and the destruction of the gains achieved by the struggle of the workers and engraved in the Constitution born out of the April Revolution. Reality ended by confirming the justness of PCP's warnings.

**ON JUNE 13**, comrade Alvaro Cunhal dies. His farewell, in which hundreds of thousands participated, constituted an impressive homage to Alvaro Cunhal and of solidarity with the PCP rendered by the communists, the workers and the Portuguese people. The PCP received several demonstrations of sympathy from communist parties and other progressive forces.

**ON AUGUST 23**, the Central Committee points out that the first months of the PS government are disastrous for the coun-

try and seriously damage the interests of the Portuguese people: the main structuring lines of the right-wing policies were maintained, namely, the preservation of a restrictive budgetary policy and the increase of indirect taxes; the absence of an answer to the deep crisis in the productive sectors, a policy of worsening of injustices and inequalities, growth in unemployment, no correction of the evils of the Labour Code; no updating of the pensions and retirement pays; the concentration of capital and the growth of scandalous profit rates by the great economic and financial groups continues. The PS government deepens its attacks against the democratic regime and continues a policy contrary to national sovereignty.

The Central Committee of the PCP decides, through the mobilization of the party collective and the intervention of the communists in the mass movements, to intensify the struggle against the government's anti-social policy.

At the same time, it decides and announces the candidacy of comrade Jerónimo de Sousa for the Presidential elections to be held in January 2006, with the main objective of defeating the then yet to be announced but long promoted candidacy of the right, of Cavaco Silva, former prime minister. The PCP is thus the first party to present a presidential candidacy, assuming it as a fundamental factor in defence of the values and ideals of the April Constitution.

**IN SEPTEMBER**, yet another "Avante!" Festival is held with great success. With

one of the largest participations of the last decade, a massive presence of youth and the participation of several foreign delegations, and built amidst the period of preparation for the local government elections, the festival is the expression of an atmosphere of confidence and determination that the XVII Congress inspired to the party collective.

Following the “Avante!” Festival and despite the period of the electoral campaign, the social struggle registers a surge not only among the workers but among other social strata, like the security and military forces. In the “Avante!” Festival, the PCP launches a national campaign against the increase of the retirement age decided by the government.

**IN THE OCTOBER 9** local government elections, the PS suffers a heavy defeat and CDU registers an important victory, being the only political force to increase the number of presidencies of municipalities (from 28 to 32), gaining 11 % of the votes and attaining 650 thousand votes for parish assemblies (12.0%). The CDU also increased the number of votes, elected members and presidencies of parish boards.

In PCP’s view, these results globally express a clear sign of protest against government measures and a factor of encouragement for the struggle of the workers and the Portuguese people.

After the local government elections, and within only 9 months, the PS government faces diversified processes of social struggle in various areas such as civil ser-

vants, students, workers in the area of justice, the military and security forces, doctors and teachers.

**IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONALIST** solidarity, around a thousand Portuguese mobilized by the movement of solidarity with Cuba, the peace movement, the trade union movement and the PCP went, on October 15, to Salamanca, Spain, to participate in actions of solidarity with the peoples of Cuba and Venezuela, on the occasion of the Iberian-American Summit of Heads of State, in an action coordinated at the unitary level between movements of solidarity with Cuba and Venezuela and between the Portuguese Communist Party and Communist Party of Spain.

At the beginning of November, the PS government finally presents its State Budget proposal, kept secret until the local government elections were over. In Parliament, the PCP, as well as all opposition parties, voted against it.

**ON NOVEMBER 10**, thousands of workers mobilized by CGTP-IN demonstrate against the recent attacks on their rights and demand a policy of valorisation of the workers, their wages and rights.

The Central Committee of the PCP meets on November 11 and 12, taking important decisions on the strengthening of the Party organization and on the campaign for presidential elections on January 22, a very difficult battle, but which the PCP and the candidate supported by it, Comrade Jerónimo de

234 Sousa, wage with great commitment and confidence, with the aim of making popular their alternative for the solution of the severe national problems and defeating the reactionary aims of big capital lining up behind the right-wing candidate.

# Socialist alliance party

## ROMANIA

### COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

➔ **ROMANIA: UNDER THE CONSIDERABLE** weight of the transition process. My country is, probably, a particular, but not an atypical case of economic and social involution at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. An eloquent example of the transition through continuous crises is the change: from the structures of a very powerful state to a very good liberal system within economic and social chaos and without any hope but integration within the European Union.

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It is searching for the obsessive implementation in people's mind of the idea that the integration within the European Union is actually a release from all the suffering generated by the events of December 1989. The only image shown by the authorities is the one referring to the financial help that is about to be given to Romania by the European Union, but so few words about the contribution of our country to the financial resources of the European Union. And all these under the circumstances of a national economy that, after 16 years from the events in December 1989, represent, as The Domestic Product indicates, almost 50% compared to the one in 1989; important branches of the industrial production make goods as valuable as the ones in the years 1950- 1960. We are talking about the production of tractors, shoes, textiles, food, within a country that has real possibilities to have a brilliant agriculture. Farming production suffered some transformations after the brutal comeback to lot share cropping from the years 1945- 1948, which does not offer more than survival agriculture. The fast deindustrialization of the country was also implemented after a policy of development under increasing industrial

236 production, policy historically implemented and promoted during communism.

Therefore, methodically and aware of the consequences, certain economic, financial and monetary policies have been adopted that lead to the recapitalization of the commerce groups, to the impossibility of obtaining advantageous loans, to the encouragement of improper management. On one hand, there is a wealth of measures meant to protect national and private capital, there is no hope to make them grow. On the other hand, there is an encouraging policy for the penetration of transnational capital into the Romanian economy, so privatization, as a transitional policy from common ownership over production to the capitalist one, was conceived and adopted as a measure against national interests. Transnational capital took over almost the entire banking system, the productive industries from the economic and communication fields. In addition, the electricity distribution system is about to be taken over, as well as energy production facilities- for example the power station Cernavoda, found to its edification point. It would all have been accepted if transitional capital, involved in the Romanian economy, would have taken action for the development of the production capabilities, of their modernization through restructuring. The foreign investors acted destructively, most of the commerce groups were bankrupt. But, not before taking back the investments and large profit. In the social field, the negative reflexes ap-

peared quickly: the diminishing of working positions, of the living standard, the increasing of direct and indirect taxes, the degradation of public services, the instigation of social insecurity, the drastic elimination of the social policies in important fields such as education, scientific research, health, culture etc. The political right wing forces, in front of the government now, but also by the social democratic ones, mostly generated this situation. Both of them challenged by promising attractive election programs, so different from the political practice that was practiced.

That is why the electors chose to vote NO, accusing the government and agreeing with the forces that opposed them in election. As a result, the authentic left forces had to face difficulties in affirming their selves. The actual generation still keeps alive the feeling of the difficult popular expression of the Romanians during the events in December 1989.

The situation of the Romanians in the actual year, 2005, is about to become more radical, and The Socialist Alliance Party is determined to make this feeling grow.

# Communist party of Slovakia

## SLOVAKIA

### COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

→ **THE RULING COALITION:** radically right-wing (conservatives (SDKÚ), Christian democrats (KDH), Hungarian conservative nationalists (SMK) and neoliberals (ANO). The prime minister: M. Dzurindas (SDKÚ ) (since 1998). Next parliamentary election: 2006 (probably autumn).

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#### **THE BASIC NEOLIBERAL REFORMS:**

- Tax system – flat tax of 19 per cent (responsible: Minister Miklós (SDKÚ), the cancellation of progressive tax system,
- Pension system – the privatisation of the pension system (responsible: Minister Kaník (SDKÚ), recently replaced by Minister Radicová (SDKÚ),
- Health care system – the cancellation of the free health care and the privatisation of health insurance companies (responsible: Minister Zajac (ANO),
- Education system – the effort of the cancellation of free education (unsuccessful – also thanks to initiatives of CP of Slovakia; the spread of Christianity (Minister Fronc (KDH),
- Privatisation – of the strategic companies, like the Slovak Gas Industry (SPP), Slovak Power Stations (SE) and so on (Minister Rusko (ANO), recently replaced by minister Malchárek),
- Radical cut-down of social benefits (Minister Kaník),
- Servile approach to foreign capital – extreme calling for KIA/Hyundai Investment (Minister Rusko) etc.,
- The cancel of tripartism – the real threat for Trade Union policy (Minister Kaník and Rusko)

**UNEMPLOYMENT:** officially almost 17 per cent (the second highest in EU); on the East of Slovakia there is almost 25 % un-

238 employment (the second highest in EU regions by Eurostat)

**THE POVERTY:** more than 15 per cent (by Eurostat) – it is the highest level of relative poverty in the EU (paradoxically, the previous section of the common state Czechoslovakia Czech Republic has the least relative poverty in the EU)

**THE OPPOSITION:** The Communist Party of Slovakia - KSS (9 deputies from 150), the social democratic Third-way party SMER (25/150), the right-wing party of the previous prime minister Mečiar L'S-HZDS (26/150), the splitting right-wing party from Dzurinda's party (SF), and the non-attached deputies; recently also ANO as the previous part of ruling coalition left to opposition – however the majority of deputies and ministers from ANO stayed in the ruling coalition, only the chairman of ANO Rusko and two deputies left the coalition

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SLOVAKIA.** In the general elections in 2002 KSS reached 6.32% of votes in comparison with 2.79% in 1998. KSS became the parliamentary party and occupied 11 seats in NC SR (National Council of Slovak Republic). Since two deputies (Mr. Arvay and Mr. Hopta) left the Deputy Club of KSS and nowadays 9 deputies for KSS are in NC SR. By the official polls the preferences of KSS are in the scale 5.0 – 8.9 %. In the municipal elections KSS won 32 seats in mayoral elections.

See for details: <http://www.kss.sk/in->

[dex.php?option=com\\_content&task=blgcategory&id=38](http://www.kss.sk/dex.php?option=com_content&task=blgcategory&id=38) (English version)

Chairman of KSS: comrade Jozef Sevc  
Vice-chairman for Foreign Affairs: comrade Karol Ondriáš

Next vice-chairmen: comrades Jozef Kriško, Ján Gregor, Jozef Hrdlicka

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# Communist party of Vietnam

## VIETNAM

### COUNTRY BRIEFINGS

➔ **VIETNAM BY FIGURES:** Total area: 328,944 sq. km<sup>2</sup> Total population: approximately 83 million people

**KEY ACHIEVEMENTS** in the last five years: GDP growth in 5 years recently: The country's GDP from 2001 to 2005 increased by 6.89%, 7.08%, 7.34%, 7.79% and 8.4%, respectively.

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Major achievements in 2005: GDP growth is estimated at 8.4% where as agriculture-forestry-fishery is expected to grow by 4.1%, industry and construction by 10.7% and services by 8.4%, consumer volume by 8%, exports by 20%. The total amount of investment of the whole society accounts for 38.2% of the GDP and more than 1.6 million new jobs have been created; the proportion of poor households (by our conventional standards) has fallen to 7%.

The results of the 5-year plan 2001-2005: the average GDP growth by 7.5% per year. The components of GDP in 2005: agriculture-forestry-fishery sector accounts for 20.7% (in 2000, this portion was 24.5%), industry and construction 40.8% (in 2000, it was 36.7%), services 38.5% (in 2000, it was 38.8%). The production value of the agriculture-forestry-fishery sector has grown by 5.5%, of industry and construction sector by 15.7%, of services by 7.6%. Total export volume has increased by around 17% annually. More than 7.5 million new jobs have been created in the last 5 years and the trained work force has climbed up to 25% in 2005. The ratio of children in junior secondary age going to school makes up 85% and the life expectancy has been extended to 71.3 years old. The Gender-related development index (GDI) has increased from 0.668 in 1998 to 0.689 in 2004.

240 The targets for 2006: GDP growth shall be of around 8%, the export volume by 16.4%, the state budget of around 24.1% of GDP, the total investment of approximately 38.6% of GDP and around 1.6 million new jobs shall be made available.

**CERTAIN GOALS** for the next five years of 2006-2010: Economic targets: GDP growth shall be around 7.5% to 8% yearly and we will try to achieve above 8%, among which the agricultural sector shall increase by 3% to 3.2% (this sector should be reduced to 15%-16% by the year 2010), the industrial sector shall be increased by 9.5% to 12% (make up 15% to 16% of the GDP by 2010), services shall be increased by 7.7% to 8% (accounts for 40% to 41% of GDP), the export volume by 16%, the state budget shall be of around 21% to 22% of GDP, total investment of around 40% of GDP yearly and the GDP per capita shall be around 1,050USD to 1,100USD by the year 2010.

Social targets: to continue to carry out the commitments of the Millennium Development Goals: to accomplish junior secondary education universalization, the university and college enrolment ratio shall be 200 students/10,000 people. The trained workforce shall make up 40% of the whole workforce in society, 100% of people with the need for housing shall be satisfied with the average of 15m<sup>2</sup>/person, telephone ratio shall be 35 sets/100 people, internet access ratio shall be 25% of the population, there shall

be 8 million new jobs in the next 5 years, the municipal unemployment rate shall be less than 5%, the workforce in the agricultural sector shall be less than 50% of the whole society workforce, the proportion of poor households (by the new standards) shall be reduced by 2% yearly and by the year 2010 this proportion shall be less than 50% of the current figure, life expectancy shall be raised to 72 years old and the ratio of doctor and pharmacists shall be of 8 to 8.2 persons/ 10,000 people.

Environmental care: to implement the sustainable commitments in "Vietnam Agenda 21" with the forest coverage (afforestation) up to 43%, verdure coverage in cities shall be increased, 95% of the urban population and 75% of people in rural areas have access to improved water (clean water), 100% of the new industries shall be built with clean technologies or equipped with the pollution-abatement or waste-treatment facilities, 100% of industrial zones and processing zones shall have centralized sewage treatment systems, 80% to 90% of solid waste, 60% of toxic or hazardous waste and 100% of hospital waste should be collected and treated according to environmental protection standards.

**MAJOR EVENTS** since the beginning of the renewal process: The VI National Party Congress (in Dec 1986) decided to implement the comprehensive renewal process in the economic, political, socio-cultural sectors and the party-building work. The Congress defined economic

development as the central task, and the party-building work as the key task.

In 1989: for the first time, Vietnam adequately met the demands for food and even had a surplus amount for reserves and export.

The VII National Party Congress (in June 1991): adopted the new Program of the Communist Party of Vietnam, clearly defined the 6 characteristics of socialism in Vietnam and 7 major tasks to implement in the transitional period and specified the Strategy for socio-economic stability and development for the period of 1991-2000.

In 1992: The National Assembly of Vietnam adopted the new Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

In 1995, Vietnam officially became a member of the Association of South East Asia Nations (ASEAN), normalized the relations with the US and signed the Framework Agreement for Development with the European Union (EU).

The VIII National Party Congress (in June 1996): the Congress reviewed the previous 10 years implementing the renewal policies, specified that the central tasks are to step up industrialization and modernization, to create the favorable conditions which help Vietnam to basically become a developed country by the year 2020 with the modern material-technical facilities, a reasonable economic structure, advanced production relations and also set the target that by the year 2000 the GDP per capita will be increased by double, compared to the level of the year 1990.

The IX National Party Congress (in April 2000), with the title "Promoting the entire nation's strength, continuing the renewal process, stepping up national industrialization and modernization, building and safeguarding the Socialist Vietnamese Homeland", summed up 15 years of the renewal process, drew major lessons and chartered the Socio-Economic Development 2001-2010 with the general target to "bring the country out of an underdeveloped state, to noticeably improve the quality of life of the people, in material, cultural and spiritual terms, to create the favorable conditions which help Vietnam to basically become the industrialized country toward modernization. Human resources, scientific and technological capability, infrastructures, economic, defense and security potentials were enhanced, the institution of a socialist-oriented market economy basically established; and the status of the country on the international arena heightened".

The X National Party Congress (to be held in the early second quarter 2006), with the title "Enhancing the capabilities and combativeness of the Party, promoting the entire nation's strength, accelerating comprehensively the renewal course, soon bringing Vietnam out of a state of underdevelopment", shall discuss and approve the report reviewing theoretically and practically 20 years of implementing the renewal policy, the political report, the report on socio-economic development in 2006-2010, the report on party-building work and an

242 amendment to the party statute and to elect the new central committee.

So far, the party congresses at the grass root level have been completed. The congresses at the province and city level shall be completed by the end of this year.



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*CP of Chile*

