

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE

***THESES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
FOR THE 19TH CONGRESS***

**DEVELOPMENTS AND TENDENCIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL IMPERIALIST
SYSTEM, IN THE EU, IN GREECE**

1. The outbreak of the generalized and synchronized capitalist economic crisis brought to the forefront the historically outdated and inhuman character of the contemporary capitalist system, the timeliness and necessity of socialism, the need for the regroupment of the international communist movement, for the emancipation of the labour and people's movement. It contributed to the sharpening of the unevenness and inter-imperialist contradictions, to the change of the correlation of forces in the international imperialist pyramid, to the fluidity of the alliances and the ignition of old and new war flashpoints.

The capitalist crisis dealt an overwhelming blow to the bourgeois theories, e.g. regarding sustainable development. It very clearly highlighted the sharpening of the contradictions and the difficulties of the bourgeois management and generally the difficulties regarding the transition into a new cycle of extended reproduction of social capital. Whatever recovery took place was uneven, anaemic, while a new decline followed it in the Eurozone and Japan. The next crisis cycle at an international level will be even deeper.

2. The contemporary pro-monopoly political line, which has a strategic character and aims at the rise in the rate of profit (cheaper labour power, reactionary restructurings, privatizations etc.), began at the beginning of the 1980s in the USA and Great Britain, it later spread to the EU, to the Eurozone and elsewhere. Its strategic character is also demonstrated by the fact that it was promoted equally by liberal and social-democratic bourgeois governmental forces over the last thirty years. It is the only way for capitalist development to curb the tendency of the average rate of profit to fall and to adapt to contemporary conditions, where the internationalization of the capitalist economy as well as of the labour market is continually intensifying.

3. The EU and the Eurozone are bearing more of the brunt from the pressures of international competition, while the internal contradictions are constantly being strengthened. The crisis has the effect of slowing down

countries which are still having high rates of capitalist development. The common goals of big capital -which determine the formation of the EU as an inter-state imperialist alliance- do not negate the uneven development inside it, and they do not negate the nation-state organization on which the largest part of capitalist accumulation is based on.

The outbreak of the crisis reinforced the decline of the share of the USA the EU and Japan of the Gross World Product. The USA continues to hold the 1st position, but its share of the GWP fell from 22.23% in 2005 to 18.9% in 2012 (based on rates of purchasing power parity). The Eurozone no longer maintains the 2nd position, its share has fallen from 16.53% in 2005 to 13.73% in 2012 (the EU-27 as a whole has a share which is equal to that of the USA). It is characteristic that, as a sum total, the share of the economies of the G7, i.e. the USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, Japan which were the strongest developed economies, on the terrain of the crisis, fell from 45.03% of the World Product in 2005 to 37.75% according to predictions for 2012, with the prospect of a continued further reduction in the years to follow.

In contrast, today China's and India's share of the GWP is steadily increasing, while the share of the remaining BRICS countries remains stable (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa).

The international role of Brazil is strengthening due to the country's size and the rate of capitalist development, and consequently the role it is playing in Latin America.

Nevertheless all the emerging capitalist economies continue to have a comparatively low level of productivity, while the productivity of the USA greatly outstrips them. The only member-states of the OECD which are ahead of the USA in terms of productivity (the volume of production per worker in a unit of time) are Norway, Ireland, Luxembourg, while France, Germany, Belgium and Holland are close.

4. Based on the entirety of the economic indicators (GDP growth rate, industrial production, productivity, current account balance, fiscal situation) three categories can be discerned inside the Eurozone today. The strong group (Germany, Holland, Finland), the category of France and Italy, whose distance from Germany is increasing and the category of the weakest indebted economies (Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Greece etc.).

The temporary compromise at the EU Summits led to the creation of a joint supervisory mechanism of the financial sector of the member-states and the possibility of the direct re-capitalization of the European banks by the European Stability Mechanism.

For this reason the German and French bourgeois classes face serious dilemmas in relation to the future of the Eurozone. At the Summits of 2011 and 2012 a temporary fragile compromise was reached which does not negate the causes of the sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradictions

nor does it signal a relaxation of the anti-people political line which is being followed in all the EU member-states.

The dominant trend in the German bourgeoisie gives priority to the buttressing of the Euro and monetary stability and doubts the advisability of Germany shouldering the great burden of capital depreciation in the indebted countries and whether it is capable of doing it. A second trend, which is growing stronger, exaggerates the danger regarding the Euro's strength and the stability of Euro-Atlantic relations in case that certain weak links are expelled, a development which will lead to a shrinking of the unified internal market of the EU. A third trend calls the current form of the Eurozone as a whole into doubt and prioritizes approaching the China-Russia axis.

The outbreak of a new economic crisis in the Eurozone in 2012 and the prevailing conditions in the international market demonstrate that the working class in all the EU member-states of the EU will be at a disadvantageous position, will be subject to continual sacrifices in order to protect the competitiveness of the monopolies. Objectively, larger sections of the working class will come into opposition with the bourgeois management solutions which are trying to control the extent of capital depreciation and to control the distribution of the losses amongst its various sections.

The Position of Greece in the Imperialist System

5. In the framework of uneven development, Greece remains in an intermediate position in the international imperialist pyramid, which has shown signs of retreat with dependencies on the USA and the EU.

Greece is the weakest link inside the Eurozone, remaining in a deep crisis, with retarded industrial production, a negative balance of current accounts and a high level of state debt.

The distance of Greece from the strong capitalist economies in the Eurozone has widened. It is amongst the weakest links in the instance of a recomposition of the EU. Even though Greece still has an important position in the wider region of the Eastern Mediterranean, it is becoming weaker compared to the position of Turkey and Israel. Over the last decade it recorded losses regarding its position in capitalist competition, a large reduction in production, mainly in manufacturing and construction and less so in agricultural production. At the same time, the shipping sector maintains its leading role in the international capitalist market (the Greek-owned fleet is the 2nd largest in the world and the 1st in the EU, while the fleet which flies the Greek flag is the 6th largest in the world). The Greek fleet transported and continues to transport a significant section of the maritime traffic of commodities and oil to the USA. It is the only section of domestic capital which has a strong bargaining position in the EU.

The real reasons for Greece's position are to be found in the multi-faceted consequences of uneven development as a result also of its course of assimilation into the EU-Eurozone and more generally into the international imperialist system. The capitalist economic crisis is exacerbating this reality even further.

6. The struggle between the imperialist centres, in this particular period, is focussed on the control of the energy resources and their transport routes, the sources of water, the sea lanes for the transport of commodities, with characteristic flashpoints of tension in the Caspian Sea, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Africa, the South China Sea and the Arctic. The danger of generalized regional conflicts is increasing, and even of a general imperialist war. It is in this framework that the imperialist axes are realigning for the control of markets and territories.

7. The strategy of Greek capitalism in the region has resulted in the contradictory character of the competitive relations with Turkey, as well as in the choice of strategic cooperation with Israel (military cooperation, economic cooperation, particularly in the energy, tourist, and agricultural sectors), while it is seeking a solution for the establishment of sovereign rights within NATO's framework. It has not declared a Greek Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), according to the International Convention on the Law of the Sea, which constitutes the first step for its demarcation, an issue which has been subject to criticism from a bourgeois standpoint as well. At the same time, it is promoting the exploration of energy deposits in the Ionian Sea and Southern Crete.

8. The upgrading of Turkey's position is in step with the geostrategy off "Neo-Ottomanism", which aims at consolidating and extending the activity of Turkish capitalism in the wider region of the Middle East, Balkans and Central Asia. The prevailing Turkish strategy utilises, aside from the historical Ottoman tradition, the religious and cultural element in the wider region.

The Turkish state seeks to utilise for its own benefit the inter-imperialist contradictions between the Euro-Atlantic axis and the Russia-China-Iran axis in the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as the existing contradictions inside each axis (e.g. between the USA and Israel). It is conducting a complex negotiation with the USA and Israel, with as its basic goals the maintenance of a strong presence in Cyprus, the renegotiation of sovereign rights in the Aegean (with an emphasis on outflanking the "obstacle" of Kastellorizo-Strongili in order to determine the Turkish EEZ in the Eastern Mediterranean) and the prevention of the creation of an independent Kurdistan, on the axis from North Iraq to Syria, which will destabilize the Turkish borders. It is using the particular significance of its geopolitical position and military strength in this direction in order to promote the plans of the USA-NATO, in relation to the construction of the "New Middle East". The participation of Turkey in the intervention against Libya and in the

internal affairs of Syria is proof of this, as well as its influence in the Balkans (privileged relations with Albania, FYROM etc). Nevertheless, the Kurdish population, in conjunction with its aggressive policy against Syria and its ally Iran, is a factor which exacerbates the internal contradictions of Turkey.

The developments in the region of the Balkans are characterised by the enlargement of the EU and NATO and consequently their more direct involvement in the imperialist plans and competition. The independence of Kosovo which was a part of the plan for the dismemberment of Yugoslavia in 1999 is incorporated into this framework, as well as the military agreement of Turkey with Albania, the cancellation of the Greek-Albanian agreement for the demarcation of national waters by the Albanian constitutional court, the strengthening of the US-NATO intervention for the association and accession of FYROM to the EU and NATO. The Expansionism and irredentism which are being developed by the leadership of Albania are also being fomented by strong imperialist powers. Albanian nationalism is being strengthened at the expense of Greece and other states in the region, at the same time fostering nationalist circles in Greece and elsewhere.

The dangers are increasing in the wider region for a generalised imperialist war and a direct involvement of Greece.

The Economic Crisis in Greece

9. The deepest and lengthiest crisis of capital over-accumulation since the 1950s has manifested itself in the Greek economy from 2009 onwards. From the first moment, there began a systematic effort of misinformation, obfuscation by the bourgeois parties as well as by reformist, opportunist forces headed by SYRIZA in order to conceal the real causes and factors of the crisis. Their goal is to impede even a small step towards the emancipation of the labour and people's movement. Theories have been promoted about "Casino Capitalism", about a crisis which is exclusively and only caused by the financial system, "over-consumption", or the opposite of it "under-consumption", which has recently been developed after the 2010 Memorandum.

The economic crisis in Greece worsened due to its assimilation in the EU-Eurozone, which sharpened the deep unevenness in the development/structure of the industrial sectors and contributed to Greek manufacturing's loss of competitiveness, to the increase of imports, to the inflation of the trade deficit and the state debt.

10. The inflation of the state debt is due to:

- The management policy in favour of the monopoly groups which has been followed throughout the entire post-dictatorship period through their funding, the reduction of taxation, the tax exemptions. The spending on the public works for the Olympic Games in 2004.

- The enormous spending on armament programmes and expeditions for the needs of NATO.
- The consequences because of the expansion of the trade deficit due to the rapid increase of imports from the EU.
- The vicious circle of the reduction of the GDP-inflation of the debt as a percentage of the GDP and measures for internal devaluation.

The accession of Greece into the Eurozone minimized, objectively, the margins and options of manoeuvring in monetary policy, as it is subjected to the jurisdiction of the European Central Bank (ECB). At the same time, the fiscal policy of Greece is subjected to the restrictions of the Maastricht Treaty and the subsequent agreements. On this basis national state rights are ceded, the precedence of EU law over national law is recognized on many issues. Despite this, the Eurozone is not organised as a federal state, consequently it does not have unified bodies or a fully unified market.

11. On the one hand, the unevenness inside the Eurozone deepened in the conditions of the crisis, and on the other the contradictions between the member-states over the management of the crisis sharpened further, as well as over the control of the state debt, and even over the pre-conditions for the maintenance of the common currency. Such contradictions were also manifested at least inside the two strongest Eurozone powers, Germany and France. The IMF took an active part in these contradictions as well as states outside the Eurozone, such as Britain and the USA.

Greece, as the first Eurozone country in which the crisis manifested itself in a highly exacerbated manner, became a meeting point for all these powers and the contradictions between them.

12. Greek capitalism, seeking to improve its position in the EU, in the region and generally in the international imperialist pyramid, has as its strategic goals: the promotion of Greece as a transport node for energy and commodities from Asia to the EU; the joint exploitation of its rich energy deposits (Aegean Sea - Ionian Sea, Southern Crete); the reinforcement of the competitiveness of big capital and the bargaining position of Greece in the Euro-Atlantic imperialist alliance. It also promotes the goal of developing certain sectors and fields such as: tourism, the production of certain agricultural products, certain industrial sectors with an export orientation.

The other political parties that support the capitalist development path converge on these strategic goals.

Basic trends in the social composition and structure of employment and in the economy's structure

13. Over the last decade, the overall employment fell from 4.09 millions in 2001 to 3.7 millions in 2012, while there had been an increase until 2008 before the outbreak of the crisis.

The overall number of those employed in the agricultural- primary sector fell from 16.1% in 2001 to 13% in 2012. There has been an important reduction in the secondary-industrial sector from 23% in 2001 to 16.1% in 2012. In contrast, an increase in employment in the tertiary sector has been recorded from 60.9% of the total number of those employed in 2001 to 70.4% in 2012.

The number of salaried employees in 2012 is about the same as the number in 2001, 2.4 million, but this equivalence conceals an important increase in the number of salaried workers before the outbreak of the crisis and their rapid reduction afterwards. In 2001 their share in the total employment was 59.4% and in 2012 63,3%. Before the outbreak of the crisis the rate of increase was higher.

The number of self-employed as a percentage of the total appears to have a slight increase, from 23.6% in 2001 to 24.3% in 2012, but the amount in numbers remains relatively stable with small fluctuations at 950,000. However there was a course of reduction until the outbreak of the crisis, while the apparent increase afterwards conceals a level of under-employment which approaches unemployment.

A significant trend has been recorded regarding the reduction of the number of self-employed and salaried workers in manufacturing and construction. In contrast, there has been an increase in the sectors of tourism-food, telecommunications, the financial sector and scientific-technical services.

The number of those employed in manufacturing has shrunk from 577,000 in 2001 to 367,000 in 2012. The number of salaried employees in manufacturing has fallen from 426,000 in 2001 to 266,000 in 2012. The share of salaried employees shows a small reduction from 73.8% in 2001 to 72.2% in 2012, while, in contrast, the percentage of self-employed has increased from 11.5% in 2001 to 14.1% in 2012.

The number of those employed in construction has seen a large reduction from 307,000 in 2001 to 216,000 in 2012, with the number of salaried employees falling from 203,000 to 128,000 in the same time period. The percentage of wage labour has been significantly reduced from 66% in 2001 to 59% in 2012, while the percentage of self-employed has increased from 18.1% to 27%, with a slight increase in their number from 56,000 to 58,000.

In the retail sector, the number of those employed has seen a small almost imperceptible fall from 705,000 in 2001 to 687,000 in 2012 (-2.5%), while the number of salaried employees saw in the same period an important increase from 345,000 to 383,000, with their percentage increasing from 49% in 2001 to 56% in 2012. The number of self-employed fell significantly from 213,000 in 2001 to 190,000 with their share falling from 30.2% in 2001 to 27, 7% in 2012. The retail sector still has a large

number of self-employed, but the tendencies for concentration-centralization and proletarianization in this sector are obvious.

In the tourism-food sector, due to the intense seasonal nature of employment, we refer to the period 2001-2011 where there is the possibility of inferring a yearly average. The number of those employed in the sector increased from 269,000 to 295,000 in 2011 and the number of salaried employees increased from 156,000 to 170,000 in 2011. The percentage of salaried employees in reality remained stable at 58%. The number of self-employed increased from 48,000 to 50,000 with their percentage falling from 17.8% to 16.9% in 2011.

The number of those employed in the finance sector saw a small increase from 108,000 in 2001 to 121,000 in 2012. The number of salaried employees also slightly increased from 96,000 in 2001 to 107,000 in 2012. The sector has a very high percentage of wage labour, which approaches 90%, and has been stable from 2001 to 2012.

The sector of scientific-technical services employs 221,000 workers, of whom 85,000 (39%) are salaried, 103,000 (47%) are self-employed and 30,000 (13%) are employers. Based on the available data we can only assess that there has been a trend for the sector to increase by 30% over the last decade.

Official unemployment, in this period, rose sharply from 11.2% in 2001 to 25.4% in 2012, but not as a uniform trend. The outbreak of the crisis led to a sudden reverse of the course of its reduction which had been the case until 2008. The unemployment rate is not homogenous across the entire population. Amongst women, the rate of unemployment fell from 16.9% in 2001 to 12.3% in 2008, and in 2012 it increased to 29%. Amongst men, it fell from 7.5% in 2001 to 5.6% in 2008, and increased to 22.7% in 2012. Amongst foreigners, unemployment rate fell from 11.7% in 2001 to 7.4% in 2008 and later increased to 30% in 2012. Based on these statistics, 180,000 out of the 1.27 million unemployed in 2012 are foreigners.

Regarding the educational level, amongst university graduates unemployment rate amounts to 16.2%, amongst graduates of Technical Institutes 26%, High School graduates 26 %, amongst primary school graduates 22%, while it reaches 33% amongst people who have not graduated from primary school. Regarding age groups, for young people under the age of 24 unemployment rate is almost 60%, while in the 25-34 age group unemployment reached 32.9%. The rate of unemployment has exceeded 20% in the 35-44 age group. A result of the explosion of unemployment is the significant increase of adults who live in a household without any employed person, from 8.1% in 2008 to 16.9% in 2012, while it is estimated that 12.6% of children under 18 years of age live in a household without any worker. In relation to the regional variations, unemployment in Western Macedonia-Epirus amounts to 28.5% and in Thessaly-Central Greece is 26.4%, while in regions with the lowest

unemployment the rate approaches 20% (Crete 19.6% and the Aegean 20%). In Attica unemployment rate amounts to 25.9%.

Long-term unemployment has also risen rapidly in the period 2008-2011 (those looking for work for more than a year). From 3.2% for men and 7.9% for women in 2008, it reached 11.7% for men and 16.9% for women in the 2nd quarter of 2012. The number of long-term unemployed now exceeds 680,000.

According to Eurostat data, in 2011 there were 956,007 immigrants officially registered in Greece, that is to say 8.45% of the population, which stands at 11,309,885, rather higher than the EU average which in the same year was 6.63%. The qualitative difference in relation to the EU is that only 16% of immigrants in Greece are EU citizens, while the corresponding average of the immigrants in the EU from EU countries is 38.45%. The current number of immigrants has altered, as a new wave of thousands of immigrants has arrived, chiefly because Greece is considered as gateway for immigration to other European countries. A section of them have returned home because of unemployment and the inability to live in Greece, as a consequence of the economic crisis.

When the bourgeois governments, as is the case in Greece, in the conditions of the economic crisis and the swift increase of unemployment, cannot manage the reserve army of labour, then, as collective representatives of the capitalists, resort to the offensive to restrict and suppress immigration, they are closing the door on the influx, using measures of mass persecutions and deportations. The anti-immigration policy with violence and repression reinforces the racist atmosphere.

The immigrant population is also a fertile ground for the development of activity by secret services and embassies, something that took place in the past amongst the so-called émigrés. At the same time, there is a significant rise of criminality by immigrants who are being led into petty crime or organized criminal networks.

14. In relation to the structure of the economy, the agricultural-primary sector had a total production of 8.6 billion euros (Gross Added Value) in 2001, while it fell to 6.5 billion euros in 2008 (output had remained quite stable until 2005 and then shrank rapidly), while in the crisis period it has remained stable (witnessing indeed a small absolute increase in 2011 to 6.7 billion). As a percentage, it was reduced from 5.8% in 2001 to 3.5% in 2008, and increased to 4.1% in 2011 (due to the fall in the GDP and not the small increase in numbers). Despite the large reduction, production of certain products seems to have increased in this period (e.g. durum wheat, maize and rice).

The production of livestock products in comparison to 1981 (accession to the EEC) saw a significant fall in meat, general stagnation in dairy production (with an increase in fresh dairy products), a reduction in butter. In livestock production we observe significant concentration, despite the fact

that there remain a large number of cultivations with a very limited amount of livestock.

In the agricultural sector, the average area of an agricultural cultivation remains very small up to the present day (at 25% of the EU average). The agricultural cultivations with a Standard Gross Margin (SGM) over 48,000 euros in 2007 constituted 12.9% of agricultural land as opposed to 3.94% in 1990. We consider that cultivation with a SGM under 48,000 Euros does not safeguard a generally extended reproduction of its capital.

The secondary industrial sector as a share of Gross Added Value fell from 21.1% in 2001 to 17.1% in 2011. Based on the volume of production, production in 2011 was at 70% of the level of 2001. At the same time, there was a significant reduction in manufacturing and construction.

The tertiary sector as a percentage of the Gross Added Value increased from 75.2% in 2001 to 78.8% in 2011. Bourgeois statistics includes in this sector the industrial sector of shipping, the Gross Added Value of which is assessed to have increased from 4.1 billion euros in 2001 to 7.8 billion euros in 2011 and the industrial sector of telecommunications, the Gross Added Value of which has increased from 3.1 billion euros in 2011 to 6.2 billion euros in 2010.

Political developments, the correlation of forces in the political system, processes regarding its reformation

15. The greatest weakness in the exercise of capitalist power manifested itself in the irregular participation of the state in the international capital market, due to the sudden inflation of the state debt and the sharp rise of the market interest rates. So an inability to repay the debt or to renew it via the market emerged, which led to its borrowing from the IMF-EU mechanism.

Nevertheless, these malfunctions did not take on the characteristics of a real shaking of important institutions of the capitalist system in Greece, nor was it even expressed by an inability of the bourgeois parliament to support governments which brought to the parliament barbaric agreements-memoranda and anti-worker laws. Conditions of a manifest weakness of the state mechanisms have not been formed yet, the weakening and changes in the international alliances of the capitalist power in Greece have not yet occurred. The correlation of forces remains favourable for the capitalist forces and unfavourable for the working class.

16. The bourgeois political system in the testing conditions created by the consequences of the crisis, as well as a general tendency, irrespective of the crisis itself, is reinforced by new repressive apparatuses, both state and para-state, by the adoption of the most reactionary and authoritarian laws in order to break the labour and people's movement.

The European repressive apparatuses and the institutional consolidation of imperialist interventions are in the service of state repression-violence. The functioning and role of the repressive apparatuses is being strengthened in this direction, as well as the European police service (Europol), the European unit of judicial cooperation (Eurojust), the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (Frontex). The connection between the "civil protection apparatus" and the "mutual defense and solidarity clause" is becoming stronger, the reactionary characteristics and aggressiveness of the EU are being reinforced in relation to military interventions in its member-states, with the pretext of "terrorism", "destruction of natural or human resources", "cyber attacks" etc for the breaking of the labour movement and the protection of the bourgeois political system. The anti-people offensive is escalating with the adoption of activity against "radicalism" and "extreme ideologies", with the pretext of "terrorism". The ideology and political activity which leads outside of the boundaries of the capitalist system is being criminalized, anticommunism is intensifying and being transmitted through the various channels of manipulation. The surveillance mechanisms have multiplied as well as the collection of data against radical militants aided by new technology, so that the traditional profiling pales into insignificance in comparison to the contemporary forms.

The development of the current economic crisis brought about cracks in the existing bourgeois political system, a certain malfunctioning in the mechanisms of the capitalist states and agencies such as the tax offices and the public hospitals, while the situation in the social-security funds and in public education has deteriorated. That is to say, in reality the means through which the capitalist state ensured its control over working class and popular masses, through its direct participation in the reproduction of labour power, were weakened.

The bourgeois governance adjusted itself in a new form, that of the cooperation of bourgeois parties – despite their contradictions- which for years had alternated in government (the government of L. Papademos was supported by PASOK-ND and also initially by LAOS, the A. Samaras government is supported by ND-PASOK-Democratic Left after the June 17 elections 2012). The reformation of the bourgeois political system has been initiated. This includes as well the restoration of contemporary social-democracy, which was expressed by the sudden electoral rise of SYRIZA which is supported by a large number of officials from PASOK's apparatus and gathers the largest part of PASOK's losses.

17. The political contradictions between the parties which support the pro-monopoly policy for the management of the crisis are manifested as contradictions over the one or the other management formula, the monetary fiscal one and the expansive one, masked as a confrontation between the

liberal and the reformist-opportunist formulae. Both management formulae have the common characteristic of serving the monopolies, the recovery of capitalist profitability, which objectively will lead to a new crisis cycle. The alternation of both the liberal and Keynesian management model brought about economic crisis cycles throughout the 20th century, sharpened the inter-bourgeois and inter-imperialist contradictions and led to two World Wars.

On the basis of the alternation of the management formula, the reformation of the bourgeois political system is being promoted, so that it can provide more alternate governments through parties cooperating with each other.

18. A feature of the reformation of the bourgeois political system is the intensification of state anti-communism, as well as the development and parliamentary representation of national socialism/fascism, the sharpening of authoritarianism and of state and para-state repression. At the same time, the reformation of the functioning of the bourgeois parliament is being scheduled, while proposals in favour of strengthening the powers of the President of the Republic are being promoted.

In recent years, and especially during the two electoral battles, new political parties which operate in the spectrum of nationalism, racism, anti-communism were given a more discrete political presence on the political scene. The party of the "Independent Greeks" adopts nationalist positions.

Golden Dawn is a national socialist, fascist organization. National Socialism, at the level of ideology, constitutes a merging of nationalism with petty bourgeois "socialist" views which have no relationship with the theory of scientific socialism. It utilizes the existing problems caused by the increase of the immigration current to Greece, the majority of whom come to Greece with the aim of travelling to Europe. Golden Dawn is supported by important cells in the state and para-state and its role is aimed at striking against the KKE, at breaking the labour movement.

Golden Dawn is a section and party of the bourgeois political system, an organization of the bourgeois class, of capital. It is a vehicle for the infiltration of reactionary ideas into the working class and popular strata, packaged in an alleged anti-plutocracy line and demagoguery in the conditions of crisis. It utilizes fascist demagoguery and impersonates or reminds us of the positions and practices of the Assault Division (Sturmabteilung), particularly in the period before Hitler took power. It prioritizes the promotion of the Greek nation above others, with the characteristic position "Greek blood above everything". It considers the immigrants to be the racial enemy, chiefly the "dark-skinned", "blacks", gypsies, in the same way Hitler considered the Jews as enemies.

Processes are underway for the emergence of other nationalist formations, with the transfer of forces between them.

The working class and its social allies, the self-employed, the farmers, the radical women and youth organizations must and can face Golden Dawn in the workplaces, neighbourhoods and rural areas.

19. The changes in the institution of local government with the "Kallikratis" law which was the continuation of the initial "Kapodistrias" law and other institutional changes which had preceded it, were an element of the adaptation of the bourgeois state and the bourgeois political system to the needs of capital for cheaper labour power and the reinforcement of the liberation of the markets.

"Kallikratis" in the two years of its implementation has confirmed the position of the KKE that it constitutes the necessary adaptation of the Greek capitalist state to the contemporary conditions of capitalist development. A relative decentralization of central state functions and responsibilities to local government is being carried out, with as its basic goal the more direct implementation and escalation of the pro-monopoly political line in a more extensive and intensive way. Local government is an integral part of the capitalist state for the strengthening of business activity and competitiveness, the drastic cuts in state social spending on health-welfare, education, agriculture, live-stock farming, urban transport, in combination with the increase of local taxation at the expense of the working people. The regime of cheap flexible labour force, the abolition of labour rights is being promoted through Kalikratis; likewise the adaptation of education to the needs of the local businesses through the "Flexible Zones" and the entrance of businessmen into the schools as sponsors through the mediation of the municipalities. "Life-Long Learning" is being promoted which aims at teaching the labour force whatever the businesses need.

In every municipality or neighbourhood, in every village and city, a multitude of political forces operate, a multitude of old and new party bosses who are connected with the mayors and regional prefects, with the managers of businesses, hospitals schools principals, the church, with the capital's chambers of commerce, as well as with the Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The NGOs are a labyrinthian network for manipulation and exploitation, which is supported and promoted by the state, the business groups and the EU, as an allegedly modern form of social organization and solidarity. They foster hopes for job finding, while they come into opposition with the organized labour and people's movement.

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20. In this period the KKE operated in the specific socio-economic and political domestic and international conditions which were formed and are referred to in the previous theses.

The KKE and its role in the development of the labour movement and the People's Alliance

21. The working class, that is to say the class which will carry out the socialist revolution, and its allies, the popular strata, i.e. the semi-proletarians and the poor intermediate strata-taking into account contemporary conditions- experienced an unprecedented decline in the living standards, and their labour and social rights, due to capital's strategy and the counterrevolutionary overthrow which took place in the 1980s and 1990s.

After the fall of the Junta and mainly in the first half of the 1980s, the Greek capitalist state followed a selective policy of providing higher benefits in various sectors and fields which created a large protective shield for the prevailing political line. It became a pillar of support for the most reactionary and anti-labour choices of capital in Greece, such as the support for the single European market, the accession to the EU-EMU, and created the labour aristocracy. For some years Greek capitalism benefited from the major destruction in the Balkans, in countries of the Black Sea, due to capitalist restoration there. It also benefited through the direct export of capital and the entrance of a cheap labour force, particularly as agricultural workers, and in construction sector, in the hospitals as auxiliary staff, in the services and manufacturing, via contractors.

The manifestation of the prolonged absolute destitution occurred in Greece, as well as in other capitalist states, following an extended period of buying off and assimilating workers. This period had as a result the gradual retreat and disorganization of the labour and trade union movement, the loss of its mass characteristics, the chronic compromise with the degeneration of its highest structures and the toleration shown by members of trade unions regarding their government-led and employer-led and pro-EU leaderships.

22. The farmers' union and cooperative movement were subjugated and degenerated by the choices of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), by subsidies which bought off the farmers and in essence led to the abandonment of agricultural production, to the replacement of vital cultivations by secondary and supplementary ones, to the utilization of cooperative associations for the concentration of capital. The negative consequences had already manifested themselves from the middle of the 1990s onwards, which resulted in the leaderships of the farmers' movement (GESASE, SYDASE) becoming the objects of disdain and to the emergence of farmers' struggles with other organizational centres. The National Union of Young Farmers is being promoted (PENNA), separating farmers on an age basis, fostering entrepreneurship and competitiveness in the agricultural sector, i.e. the EU's CAP.

The situation in the movement of the self-employed is even worse. Forces which express the interests of a section of the intermediate strata seeking a satellite role in relation to the monopolies dominate the third level bodies of GSEVEE, ESEE and the majority of the Federations. They use the Centres of Professional Training (KEK) as a mechanism for corrupting and buying off consciousness, systematically downgrading the role of the trade unions. In certain union bodies, especially in the professional chambers, representatives of the monopolies are prevalent. They form positions which come into opposition with the immediate and long-term interests of the poor self-employed.

23. With the exception of the section of the labour and trade union movement which is rallied in PAME, of the self-employed which rallied in PASEVE (Nationwide Antimonopoly Rally of the Self-employed and the small Tradesmen) and that of the farmers which is rallied in PASY (All Farmers' Militant Rally), with the hard efforts of the KKE, the working class and popular masses found themselves significantly unprepared in the face of capital's new offensive and the already major material losses. In the new period of reformism-opportunism, in conditions of a prolonged economic crisis they became easy prey for practices such as: the flattery of the spontaneous in opposition to the organised labour trade unionism and the struggle in the form of, sectionalism, as well as bourgeois, petty bourgeois and church-based charity. The doors were open for provocations and every form of intimidation by the employers, state and para-state.

The labour movement was not prepared to counterattack in a way which was in proportion with the scale of the offensive unleashed against it in the new conditions. Despite all this, the compromised leaderships carried out certain maneuvers, they were dragged into repeated strike mobilizations, even if they did not essentially support them, under the pressure of the sudden deterioration of the people's living standards, the militant initiatives and activity of its class-oriented section. A sudden upsurge was expressed with the mass strike mobilizations of 5th May 2012 and 19th October 2011, on the demonstration of 12th February 2012, as protests against the signing of the memoranda between the government, EU and IMF.

Certain extended strikes were carried out. The most characteristic example was the almost 9- month strike at "Greek Steelworks" and the moral and material solidarity with the strikers which had a nationwide and international dimension.

The trade union and labour movement has not been essentially regrouped based on the sector, the business group and the organization in the workplace, it has not acquired mass characteristics. It has not become combative using the weapon of the mass and well-protected strike against the capitalist, as well as against the state of the capitalists.

24. In this period, with the decisive contribution of the KKE, particularly on the basis of the decision of the Nationwide Party Conference regarding

the work in the working class and party building (March 2010), a certain foundation was created which constitutes a legacy for the organization of working class and popular forces and the orientation of their struggle against the large capitalist businesses, the monopolies, their imperialist unions, their parties and governments. The labour and trade union pole of PAME (All Workers' Militant Front) has been recognized by a significant number of workers, and correspondingly the anti-monopoly rallies of PASY and PASEVE, the radical poles of MAS (Students' Militant Front) and OGE (Greek Women's Federation) in the radical students and women's movement. The coordination of their activity with a common framework of struggle formed and promoted by the KKE and its cadres in these organizations is also a legacy. The militant initiatives of PAME, its activity as a whole, the battles in the workplaces and the sectors contributed to the formation of a militant vanguard, which can contribute to the regrouping of the labour movement. There is also a need to develop the social at the level of the sector, which is still in its initial phase.

The labour and people's movement in Greece emerged at a European level as a combative force, despite the fact that compromised reformist forces, which have operated in a treacherous way for a long period of time, are dominant in the central trade union bodies.

The contribution of the KKE was important in promoting the slogan of disobedience and defiance of the banning of strikes, state and employer intimidation, the emergency taxes, head-taxes, in the immediate drastic intervention to reconnect electricity to families from the popular strata, for the abolition of the new heavy taxes in health, of the charge on care, as an element for strengthening the movement and making it more experienced. The working class, the popular strata learn through such experiences not to be afraid of the law or punishment, the sacrifices that the class struggle, the people's struggle entail, to take their just cause into their own hands. Such initiatives must be multiplied, as they educate, provide experience for the conflicts which will intensify and become more demanding in the future. The slogan of disobedience and defiance as an element of the counterattack must be rooted above all in the workplaces, in the factories, in the sectors, so that broader popular masses can be rallied and militantly educated. The mass counterattack should be supported on the basis of the individual's responsibility regarding the uprising, the people's intervention, the concentration, rallying and cooperation in the political social struggle.

The People's Committees in the neighbourhood are a seed, a first form for the People's Alliance and for this reason their formation must acquire a clear character with an orientation of resistance and conflict against every governmental and other vehicle of bourgeois power. The People's Committees express the joint activity, the joint struggle of social forces, i.e. they are the particular expression of the Social Alliance in the neighbourhood. Their creation and development responds to the

contemporary social reality where the factories, the businesses, the industrial zones are a long distance from the homes of the workers and employees. Other forms of the People's Alliance can develop in the sectors or across various sectors and regions. This development will enrich the experience and more generally the arsenal of the working class and its allies. The following issues are crucial for the character of the People's Committees:

- The participation and mobilisation of broader popular forces on a social-class basis.
- The formation of the People's Committee by trade unions and other organizations which belong to PAME-PASEVE-MAS-OGE and are expressed at a local level.
- The intervention everywhere where popular forces are active in order to put forward correct demands.
- The responsibility of every component of the alliance for its area of responsibility, and the simultaneous coordination between them.
- The connection with local organizations and groups of workers.

The forces of the KKE in the People's Committees are responsible for the development of this new form of organization and, at the same time, for the maintenance of the independent ideological-political-organizational presence and activity of the party.

25. The activity of various bourgeois "patriotic", petty bourgeois nationalist, fascist and as well as opportunist political currents and forms of bourgeois institutions is a trap for the orientation of the struggle of the working class and popular masses, in conditions of a prolonged economic crisis, and even more so of a certain political instability.

In such conditions together with the development of the mobility of the popular forces, the phenomena of disorienting this mobility in various directions intensify: volunteer activity which replaces the struggle to win things from the state, anarchist attacks and clashes with the forces of repression, national socialist-racist-fascist activity etc.

The development of activities and "movements" for the management of the sharpening problems of the people, the so-called "movement without middlemen" etc was promoted, particularly in the recent months with the contribution of forces of opportunism. This includes a large variety of activities which are connected to the action of state institutions, municipalities, the church, the NGOs, organizations etc. Their activity leads to the formation of mechanisms for the assimilation and the demobilisation of the poor popular strata, so that they become reconciled with poverty and the consequences of the crisis, so that they give up on the resistance, the disobedience, the counterattack, class solidarity.

There needs to be a stable orientation to mass forms of organization of the working class in order to neutralize these misleading interventions in the

working class and popular masses, particularly in the most inexperienced and destitute, the young unemployed, the immigrants, the school students.

The so-called "movement of the indignant citizens" and the "squares", was supported and encouraged - if it was not indeed planned- by mechanisms of the bourgeoisie, with the aim of manipulating, preventing radicalization, by channelling sections of the labour aristocracy and petty bourgeois strata. A section of the workers and unemployed was attracted to this "movement". Both right and left-wing opportunism allied in its ranks. The prevalent slogans were reactionary, slogans of the petty bourgeois democracy, with the aim of striking against the class-oriented movement. Particularly at the beginning, popular masses were rallied which have not acquired the necessary political experience, supporting another option for the management of the system which allegedly would stop the downward spiral, would solve their problems. This line for rallying disparate masses was also expressed later by the voting criteria in the electoral battles of May and June 2012.

The well-known issue arises regarding which forces will be at the head of and influence the movement of the masses. The working class and its alliance in an anti-monopoly direction or petty bourgeois forces which foster illusions about the potential of a pro-people solution without a rupture with the capitalist relations of production.

This is why it is important to struggle for the change of the correlation of forces and why the pre-conditions for the strengthening of the class struggle are significant.

The activity of the party, the problems of immigrants

26. The KKE played an active role in exposing the causes of immigration and refugee flows. It pointed out the real guilty: the imperialist wars and imperialist interventions, the great poverty and unemployment brought about by the counterrevolution, the capitalist development path which entails unevenness and competition for the re-division of the markets. It made a particular effort to expose the danger for working class unity, for the course of strengthening the people's movement posed by racism and nationalism. It contributed, as far as possible in difficult circumstances, to creating conditions for the unified class-oriented activity and unity among Greek and immigrant working men and women. It elaborated a comprehensive framework of demands which deal with- as far as possible in the specific circumstances and the situation as it has been formed- the sharpening problems of the immigrants. At the same time it fought against the cosmopolitanism of capital, the arguments of which aim at concealing the basic contradiction between capital and labour. Proletarian internationalism, as a communist principle, is related to the immigration question, and consequently the KKE will continue its activity for the unity of

Greek workers and immigrants, to multiply the ranks of the labour movement with immigrant men and women. The regroupment of the labour movement will also be determined by the participation of immigrants into the trade unions, into the class struggle. In the conditions of a revolutionary situation, the immigrant working men and women must be mobilized together with Greek workers. This issue will determine the entire course of the struggle.

The ideological-political confrontation

27. The party counterattacked in a combative way and developed systematic activity on a series of ideological-political issues which were posed in the confrontation inside the movement, in the general political struggle, in all the electoral battles, regardless of the losses experienced in the two electoral confrontations.

The KKE played an important role in revealing the character of the crisis, the memoranda, the agreement on the "haircut" of the debt, the significance of the difficulty of the bourgeois political system and capitalism generally in managing the crisis, in predicting the developments in the EU. In addition, it highlighted the two development paths, the various recipes for the bourgeois management of the crisis and the pro-worker pro-people way out of the crisis, the need to disengage from the EU, to unilaterally cancel the debt, the need of the working class-people's power and its basic content. It highlighted the value of international class solidarity with the victims of immigration, economic immigrants and political refugees.

The ideological confrontation, where the voice of the party could be heard, with various forms and ways on all the developments in the period 2009-2012 centred on this question: management of the crisis or a way out in favour of the people? In other words: reform or revolution?

The improvement of the intervention of the party which was noted in the period 2009-2012 came up against the ideological-political consequences which flow from relatively long term factors as well as that of the period of the crisis, i.e. the multi-faceted consequences of the overthrow of the socialist regimes and the inevitable negative change in the correlation of forces.

28. Basic issues of the ideological-political struggle:

A) The limits of the trade union struggle in the current phase of capitalist development and especially in the conditions of crisis have been highlighted.

When a workplace, a sector takes militant initiatives without receiving the necessary and appropriate support, it finds it difficult to handle the development of the struggle, as the employers show their well-known class intransigence. It was demonstrated that particularly in conditions of the capitalist economic crisis and especially in sectors which are negatively affected, even a partial struggle will have difficulty in being successful if the

pre-conditions for conflict at the level of the business group, sector, the total conflict with capital for the radical overthrow at the level of political power have not been formed.

B) A basic aspect of the realignment of the bourgeois political system was the development of a well-studied attack against the KKE, using classic or new methods, like the utilization of the internet.

The goal of the offensive is to isolate and marginalise the KKE and even to transform it into an extra-parliamentary political force, to the benefit of reformist, opportunist forces which seek to participate in a government of bourgeois management. At the same time, it is attempting to exert ideological pressure, so that the party is assimilated into the bourgeois political system as a feature of its reformation and as a force to support the change of the management formula.

The offensive against the KKE and the forces of the class oriented trade union movement, which was systematically planned from 2007 onwards, when the KKE recorded an increase of its political influence expressed in the election result in the same year, took on the following characteristics in the previous period:

- The vulgar anti-communism, the slanderous anti-socialist propaganda which constitutes the official ideology of the EU.
- The attempt to present the KKE as a "systemic" party, committed and subjugated to the system. This slander is launched in combination with the dissemination of the view that "they are all the same".
- The bourgeois political system has implemented a planned attack on the moral standing of the party, focusing on its finances. The provocation regarding the "Germanos" company, the refusal of the party to publish the names of those who support it, the dismissals at "Typoekdotiki" and "902" were all utilised in order lump it together with the bourgeois parties in the consciousness of the workers, along the rationale that "they are all the same".
- The "friendly" attack, with attempts to pull the KKE into an "anti-memorandum" line, to support the change in the formula of bourgeois political management.
- The strengthening of anti-communist bourgeois political forces which can constitute a militant to strike against the labour movement.

C) Reactionary trends in the people's consciousness are being strengthened by these political forces and organizations which promoted a series of views, for instance strengthening racism and xenophobia, targeting sections of the political personnel, "the politicians-thieves", so as to conceal the essence of the political problem and the class character of the bourgeois state and the parties that support it. At the same time, they prettify other sections of the bourgeois state (Army, Judiciary) versus the political system etc.

D) An alternative version of the reformist line is being promoted by the forces of opportunism which seek to come to a political agreement based on the so-called "transitional political programme of struggle".

Aims such as the rupture with the EU, when they are put forward detached from the struggle for power, lose their class character, they can – especially in today's conditions when the EU is experiencing a disturbance of its cohesion- be assimilated into the bourgeois aims. The goal of the exit from the Eurozone or from the EU has a class character on the part of a section of the bourgeoisie which poses the issue of a reorientation of the country's imperialist alliances.

The general anti-memorandum line leads the labour movement essentially under the banner of a section of the bourgeois class, serving the bourgeois interests.

E) The parliamentary illusions and the expectation of a pro-people way out via a bourgeois government remain prevalent amongst the large majority of the people, they are strong even amongst a section of the party's voters.

Bourgeois power is made up of institutions, open and hidden mechanisms, which operate regardless of which bourgeois party is in the government or to how the parliamentary majority is formed.

If there is even the slightest possibility of such working class and popular moods being expressed in parliament, it is certain that the bourgeois power will not waver at all in negating such a possibility.

Through its systematic and multi-faceted activity, the KKE must contribute so that the vote for the KKE by sections of workers and poor popular strata expresses not only the desire to support a political force which consistently struggles for the people's problems, but also expresses the class choice aimed at weakening the bourgeois political system, the bourgeois governance, so that every crack will reinforce the direction for the overthrow of bourgeois power and capitalist ownership.

F) Sloganeering about the loss of Greece's national sovereignty and its supposedly occupation by Germany is being reproduced. It is a misleading bourgeois argument, which seeks to obscure the substantial issue i.e. that the subordinate position of a country in an imperialist alliance of capitalist states (from which their unequal relations flow) does not negate their common strategic interests, on which the alliance is formed. It has been demonstrated historically that capitalist states were supported even via military and political intervention in their internal affairs, in order to deal with domestic crises and the possibility of political instability.

The character of contemporary patriotism is identified with the overthrow of bourgeois power, the capitalist ownership of the means of production, the withdrawal from every capitalist inter-state coalition and imperialist alliance.

G) Doubts are intensifying, due to the consequences of Greece's assimilation in the EU, the negative correlation of forces, as to whether a

positive “pro-people” development is possible in only one EU member-state. At the same time the position that the terrain of the class struggle has been transferred from the national to the regional, interstate level is being propagated.

This position is being systematically promoted by the opportunist forces, not only in our country, but at a European and international level, which, in the name of the regional or international struggle, justifies a policy of tolerating the regional imperialist unions, e.g. the EU. These views underestimate the relative independence of the sharpening of the social contradictions at a national level. The struggle must first of all be waged at a national level against the bourgeois class and its power. As is written in the Communist Manifesto “the proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie”. The uneven economic development is an absolute law of capitalism. On the basis of this law, socialism can be victorious initially in a few or in only one country, on its own.

Historical experience has demonstrated that the sharpening of the class struggle in one state is also connected to corresponding processes which take place in other states, at least at a regional level.

The course of the party's electoral strength

29. The party received increased percentage of votes in the elections for the European Parliament (June 2009) as well as in the regional elections (October 2010). The higher percentage of the party in the elections for the European Parliament in relation to the parliamentary elections which took place in the same year was not accompanied by an increase of votes, as the abstention (which turned against the two big parties) influenced a section of our voters, who if they had voted would have voted for the KKE. The same was apparent in the regional elections. The party's choice to appear with a unified list and unified positions nationwide in the local and regional elections, as it had done in the previous years in the prefectural elections, was correct. It was an important step in dealing with the manoeuvres of the other parties and narrow localist views. The dynamism the party showed in the regional elections was not expressed in the elections for the municipalities, except from certain large municipalities where the percentage of the party increased as the local elections took on a more general political character. We bear responsibilities for this issue, because we do not combine the general political struggle, the social demands, the ideological confrontation with the role of local government and the elected officials. In this way Local Government remained relatively out of the firing line. We underestimate the fact that Local Government binds thousands of families in a web of ties through public works, jobs, and multiple activities carried out in the field of culture or medical centres etc. Now indeed, due to the crisis they

have a much deeper network of these types of activities. The decline of the bourgeois parties is not extended to their local officials who support the general political line of the system and work so that it is tolerated. The personality-centred system also plays a role, as well as the fact that the lists on many occasions are made up of candidates who belong to many different parties. The local elections are used as a testing ground for new political formations, new figures, for formations-obstacles, which particularly in the last elections sprouted like mushrooms.

The first symptoms of the contradictions caused in the working class and people's consciousness by the economic capitalist crisis appeared in the national elections in October 2009, in conditions when the labour movement is not equal to the demands created by the full-scale assault of the bourgeois class. At the same time, the dominant ideology and propaganda, which says that the political problem is the management and the way governance is exercised, is strengthened.

The total sum of PASOK's and ND's votes, in combination with the reduced electoral strength of the KKE (in comparison to the parliamentary elections of 2007), the major abstention from the ballot box of discontented popular strata was a negative result for the people's movement.

The two electoral battles of 2012, apart from the complex objective conditions -which were unprecedented to a certain extent- highlighted the long-term weaknesses and delays in the work of the party for the regroupment of the labour movement, the strengthening of the social alliance, the party building in conditions where there are difficulties in the organization of the masses, so that all the possibilities which flow from the objective developments are exhausted.

Regardless of the objective factors which determined the electoral reduction, weaknesses and deficiencies of a subjective character were notable in the pre-election period. The CC did not focus its attention on the fact that for the first time, in comparison with previous elections, the sorely-tested people had to choose between a government based on ND or PASOK on the one hand and a government of the so-called "left cooperation" on the other.

The CC should have determined the framework of the first elections in the same vein with its elaborations immediately after May 6th, should have sounded the alarm in the first pre-election period about the danger of the party losing forces, and the systematic attempt by the system's forces to promote the weakening of the party. This does not mean, of course, that the elaboration of suitable tactics in the election period would have made the reversal of the reformist current in favour of a government to manage the crisis possible. Its development has an objective basis, it corresponds to the needs of the bourgeois power. However, it is quite likely that the losses would have been relatively more limited and chiefly an atmosphere of disappointment would have been prevented, which was justifiably created by

the election result especially among the supporters and the friends of the party.

The refusal of the party to participate in a government for the bourgeois management of the crisis is an important legacy for the labour and people's movement.

The course of party building

30. After the Nationwide Conference of March 2010, for the regroupment of the labour movement and the Extended Plenum of the CC on party building in July 2010, significant efforts in the field of redeployment of forces and the new structure of the party were made. This does not constitute a narrow organizational measure, but is a measure for the orientation of the activity based on the character and the strategy of the party. The redeployment as a form and content of activity is one of the basic pre-conditions for party building in the workplaces, in the sectors, for the regroupment of the labour movement, the promotion of the social alliance.

The redeployment brought even more clearly to the surface difficulties for the orientation of the organizations to work in the working class and social alliance. There remain strong remnants of mistaken views which were fostered in the long period during which the main bulk of the party's forces had an orientation of activity with geographical criteria and not with combined social-class criteria. Amongst other things, the view was prevalent that the activity of the party for its electoral strengthening, for the widening of its circle of influence is facilitated by the criterion of the place of residency, taking into account the difficulties which have increased in recent years in approaching the workers-employees in the workplace. Difficulties which flow from the consequences of the crisis (closure of factories, transfer of factories a long way from the place of residency, the fear of dismissal, the employer and state intimidation etc), which nevertheless demand even more focussed work, without a spirit of retreat and compromise in the name of existing objective obstacles.

31. The party building demands a full plan of action amongst the broad working masses, chiefly those that suffer more due to the capitalist crisis, a plan of action which faces – as far as it depends on the subjective factor- the factors which restrict recruitment, and also fully exhausts the possibilities which the dynamic activity of the party and its strategy include. The weapons which the party has at its disposal today are:

- The ideological weapons, the elaborations, the party publications which are a support and a resource for multi-faceted stable and permanent planned work, in order to generalize experience and propagate it amongst the widest possible working class masses. These weapons, to the level which they are utilised by all the party forces, can deal with mistaken views and ideological-political aspects which are posed by the enemy and

impede activity. They form the suitable atmosphere and "incentive". Even more planned work is needed which is addressed to the young age groups, to the women of a working class background.

- The political and cultural activity which fosters the class consciousness, the combativeness and contribution, selflessness and readiness for sacrifice, contributes to the rise in the political and cultural education and development which constitutes an important front against the bourgeois ideology in all its versions, against opportunism.
- The multi-facetted preparation and education of the workers through all the forms of struggle and their understanding of the timeliness and necessity of socialism. The bonds of communication and relations with the working men and women are developed on the terrain of the class struggle and the rallying over the sharpening problems. But this relationship is not enough for the voluntary acquisition of the honoured title of member of the KKE, without the existence of a level of preparation and awareness about the revolutionary character of the party and the strategy for socialism-communism.
- The systematic penetration in the working class popular masses, through propaganda and work in the movement, so that it can bear results over time.

Elements of such a plan are:

- The activity around the sharpening problems everywhere and the formation of the organs of struggle. Systematic activity on the problems of unemployment in combination with the mobilization of the unemployed themselves and their families.
- The specialized work in each sector, area, category of worker and by age-group and gender.
- The proper study and knowledge of the area.
- The acquirement of a wider understanding of the problems of the workers in our contacts with them.
- The mobilization of all forces.
- The engagement with allied strata and their organization.

Particular aspects are:

- The assimilation of the new recruits who objectively have not acquired the necessary political experience, the vigilance and strict monitoring of those who want to rejoin.
- Responsible work with the transfer of members from one party organization to another.

The social composition of the party as an element in the course of party building

32. There has not been substantial progress regarding the social working class composition of the party and the leading organs, which a crucial issue for the safeguarding of the KKE's character. Consequently, the radical change and improvement of the situation is an immediate issue. The objective developments must not be ignored regarding the structuring of the economy and employment, as well as the consequences of the economic crisis, dismissals and the dominance of employer intimidation, the hiring regime and the labour relations in the employment sectors. The weaknesses and deficiencies of the party are reflected in the attempt to create substantial ideological-political bonds with the working class and its movement, and in the work with the youth, its class education. The ability of the CC regarding political guidance was not equal to the demands. This is also true of the political guidance work of the party organs and cadres as a whole. The following are particular areas of weakness:

- The care and assistance particularly for young working class cadres, so that they can overcome their limited experience, so that they do not reproduce practicalism, the alienation of organizational work from its ideological-political content, but so that they contribute to the correct planning for the escalation of the struggle. The same weakness and delays are related to the promotion of young men and women, who work and study, and graduate from the various professional training schools.
- The decisive improvement of political guidance, so that the party organs function and responsibly guide all the work in their area of responsibility, so that the cadres and members of the party and KNE actively participate in their trade unions. This means that must have a wide knowledge of their area of responsibility, the developments for example in the sector, the wider region, so that they have the ability to specialise the directions, and provide substantial assistance to the Party Base Organizations (PBOs) and the party groups, so that they develop creative initiatives. The PBOs and party groups must adapt to the sectoral, local needs and at the same time support in a coordinated way the central activities of the Party. The content of the PBOs must become more specific, according to their area of responsibility and the duties of every party member.
- Despite the important steps that have been taken, through multifaceted party activities, discussions of documents, militant events for anniversaries, there was not a sufficient and substantial focus on the observance of the principles of the formation and functioning of the party and on the treatment of the related issues in an educational, persuasive and decisive way. The tolerance due to underestimation, friendship or whatever spirit of subjectivism is a phenomenon which undermines - regardless of intentions- collectivity, effectiveness and combativeness.

Especially in today's conditions, the treatment of these issues is a condition for party building, the development of the ranks of the party, its readiness and ability, its revolutionary physiognomy.

33. Because the social composition of the organs and organizations continues to be unsatisfactory, as we had no significant change and improvement, the following goals remain to be fulfilled:

- The increase of the percentage of industrial workers and the number of the Party's Base Organizations (PBOs) in large companies of strategic significance.
- The strengthening of the percentage of the working class in the party.
- The increase in the recruitment of poor self-employed and farmers.
- The increase in the ages from 18 to 40. The direction must be understood, to be planned and to be transformed into systematic practical work based on the developments which have been witnessed over the last 20 years and especially in the conditions of the crisis. According to these developments the number of unemployed, workers with flexible labour relations, of workers who frequently change jobs etc is increasing rapidly.
- The increase of the recruitment of women for the strengthening their percentage in the organizations and also in the party organs.

Regarding the party organs and cadres

34. The extent to which the phase of the redeployment of the Party Organizations has been completed and stabilized must be constantly monitored by the CC and all the leading organs. This will enable them to respond to the main duties which are the organization of the class struggle, the party building in the companies, in the sectors, the promotion of the people's alliance from the bottom up, so that it can be reinforced from above. One-sidedness in the orientation of sectoral and geographically-based organizations must be dealt with in cases it survives and is being reproduced. The same is true for the difficulty of a planned specialization of cadres in areas of responsibility which demand specific knowledge and correct orientation for dealing with this particular field from our strategic standpoint.

A new deployment of cadres and members based on the developments in the sectors and regions must be decided on by the organs in a planned way and without any hesitations. The plan for promoting and developing cadres, their utilization in a planned way must overcome the negative phenomenon which exists i.e. cadres having multiple assignments, which makes the quality of work difficult to achieve, and impedes the main and basic orientation towards the work in the working class and poor popular masses.

A section of cadres was not able to adapt to the contemporary demands of the struggle, to the new conditions which emerged, after the negative change in the correlation of forces, the consequences of the crisis, and this resulted in their development coming to a halt and the emergence of elements of retreat. This problem is related to the collective and individual assistance they receive, but is also related to the individual responsibility of the cadres to adapt to the new conditions, so that they do not get stuck in a rut, that they continuously improve, of course in line with their individual capabilities.

The general elaborations of the party, of the sections of the CC must be utilised. At the same time, the Regional Organizations must be in a position to assist in the specialization of the general study and to organize an examination of specific problems in their area of responsibility as far as possible in a scientific way. They must carry out at least a first attempt to study, so that they can provide material for the more general elaborations of the party.

35. The leading organs, starting with the collective and personal example of the members of the CC, must ensure the suitable atmosphere, so that a combative spirit is fostered in order to face difficulties. The combative spirit does not just require general slogans of enthusiasm but the adequate elaboration of the directions and decisions in general; their preparation for the sudden change in the developments, the assistance so that they do not submit to the rationale of the negative correlation of forces. They must exhaust every possibility to think hard about the improvement of the activity of the subjective factor, to utilize every possibility that exists even the most underground one.

What is required is the promotion of many cadres from the working class, with a background from the working class and popular strata, with assistance so that they acquire multi-faceted abilities and a good level of specialization in the areas they can, a good ideological-political level, capability regarding issues related to political guidance, orientation to the regroupment of the labour movement, to the development of the People's Alliance. At the same time, members of the party who are scientists and artists must be utilised, so that they place their scientific endeavour and artistic creation in the service of the working class. This duty depends on the timely preparation of forces from KNE, their location, the planning of their development.

The cadres who are responsible for the political guidance of PBOs, and BOs of KNE need special assistance.

The cadres must acquire the ability to generalize experience by constantly drawing conclusions from the organs and ensuring the imparting of collective experience.

The eradication of practicalism which appears mainly in mass and organizational work is a serious issue, while the ideological work is endangered by routinism and standardization.

The assignment of the cadres to work in the political guidance of organizations, in the ideological field, in the ranks and organs of the mass movement must not lead to a one-sidedness of experience and orientation. All the cadres must have direct personal experience in propaganda and enlightenment, in the communication with the workers, in the struggles inside the ranks of the trade unions and other mass organizations, so that they can in a lively and specific way elaborate and specialize the tasks of the PBOs in the movement, in the ideological-political confrontation.

36. In addition, the ability of the party members to deal with every attempt to undermine the unity of the party, blunting of criteria in relation to party organization, slackness, organizational flabbiness, and liberalism must improve. An aspect of this serious issue is the creation of an atmosphere, so that every member of the party and KNE expresses their views in a substantiated way, the decision should be a product of as many proposals and thoughts as possible, so that well-argued answers are provided to views which are mistaken or express ideological confusion. In addition, a serious aspect is for the rich, older and more recent historical experience of the party and the international labour and communist movement to be utilized in the struggle against every form of opportunism.

37. The issue of the periphery of the PBOs and BOs cannot be left to chance and spontaneity or for supporters, friends and allies of the party only to be utilized during the period of trade union elections and national, local elections. Usually the periphery means all our known voters (which is a much smaller number than those who have periodically voted for the KKE), people who have been friends and supporters for many years. Our view regarding the periphery must be broadened to include all those who we come into contact with in the workplaces and the struggles, with all those each PBO has listed, orienting its activity above all in the factories, supermarkets, all the shops, regardless of whether they vote for us not. Active militants can become a force for our work, as well as friends, supporters and voters and some of them indeed over the course of time can acquire the title of party member.

There is a need for the periphery around the party to be consolidated in a planned way, with as a criterion the regroupment of the labour movement and party building, without placing obstacles in way of the communication with wider working class and popular strata. Because through such a periphery, new blood will enter the party, new forces will emerge for the vanguard of the movement in the conditions of crisis, a renewal will take place through the recruitment of younger working men and women. The issue of widening and renewing the periphery, utilizing it next to the party, is a permanent duty. Today it acquires even more significance, as the

developments in the capitalist economy, in the structure of employment impose the need for planned work above all in the working class, the young age groups, in strata which are becoming impoverished, so that the periphery corresponds as much as possible to the character of the party and its strategy, its policy of alliances.

We must rid ourselves of out-dated, mistaken habits and practices of working with friends and supporters only regarding current political issues or treating them only as voters.

It is an obligation for all the PBOs to have as a goal the systematic ideological-political work with and the briefing of friends and supporters, and also to study their opinions, so as to protect them from the work of the opponents who seek to utilise them as a vehicle of exerting pressure on the party.

The Communist Youth of Greece

38. KNE as the revolutionary communist youth of the KKE stood next to the party in the struggles, the general political activity, in the confrontations, over the 4 year period and made a serious effort to specialize the strategy of the party in places where the youth is concentrated, both as workers and students. It actively participated, with the responsibility and assistance of the party, in the discussion of its decisions and documents, and contributed to the enriching of its political and mass activity. Today a new generation of cadres of KNE has emerged. The maturation of these cadres enables them to be tested in more complex tasks by passing into the party work. It is a generation which has been militantly educated, as it has improved its political education and its experience from the major confrontations to a relative extent. A significant number of party members who were elevated in the organs of KNE have passed into the party and have renewed and improved the age composition of the organs. The promotion of young cadres from KNE to the party and the ranks of the movement is a permanent continuous process and must acquire a more intense rate through a process of promoting and developing cadres in the youth communist organization.

39. From 18th Congress onwards, even more serious work has been carried out by the CC and the City and Regional Committees regarding the ideological-political guidance of the organs of KNE, while there is an even closer cooperation of the PBOs-BOs than ever before. Nevertheless, however important this ideological-political assistance is, it is not enough. It must be completed through the assistance concerning the specialization of the strategy of the party not only in relation to the demands, the framework of activity, but also in relation to the specialization of the forms and ways of organizing and rallying the youth, as well as the tactical development of the struggles.

40. The Communist Youth of Greece is the organization of the youth of the KKE. It is established at the side of the party with a discrete organizational structure. It is guided ideologically, politically and organizationally from the Central Council to the Base Organization (BO) by the corresponding organs of the party, as the youth due to its very nature cannot have its own strategy and its own programme for the conquest of power. The relation between the character of KNE as the youth of the KKE and its organizational independence must be correctly implemented so that contradictions do not emerge.

It must not be considered that KNE has the exclusive responsibility of operating in the youth and its movement, with the party merely providing ideological-political guidance. The party itself, due to its character, programme and strategy has a direct responsibility to address itself to and develop its bonds with the youth. At the same time, it assists and supports KNE to specialise its strategy and decisions amongst younger age groups. This task today takes centre stage, as it constitutes an integral element for the regroupment of the labour movement, the Social Alliance, the renewal of the ranks and the cadres of the Party with new blood from the working class and the poor popular strata.

The party's assistance to KNE includes the building of KNE, the communist education, the preparation for recruiting members of KNE to the party, the attraction of younger age groups to the labour movement and its allies and the strengthening of the People's Alliance.

41. The developments in the working conditions of the youth, in their lives as a whole, have brought about such and so many changes which increase the responsibility of the party to develop ideological-political and organizational bonds with the younger age groups. Even people over the age of 30 maintain certain characteristics and a way of living which usually are associated with younger or even much younger age-groups, as they find it difficult to find work, to start their own family, with the result that they continue to be supported by their parents.

The ages of young couples who take on obligations and responsibilities for work, as well as the raising and education of children, have increased. An important section of young people are unemployed, have not yet found work, or were dismissed after a few months of employment in various sectors or in a disguised employment relationship etc. As a result they have not acquired ties with a specific sector and do not understand the need for trade union organization, so there are no direct channels of communication with the work of the party in the working class and its movement. It is to an extent easier to have contact with them in the place of residence, where there are schools, places of entertainment, sports, to the extent which they can have access to such facilities.

In reality, the party and KNE address themselves to the same social strata, which is also true in regards to the younger age groups whether they

belong to the working class, the unemployed, the self-employed and farmers. The cooperation, the planning, the coordination must be in absolute harmony between the organs of the party and organizations of KNE, so that they can enrich each other. The party building amongst young workers is also a common goal with KNE's goal to recruit on the basis of specific class criteria.

The activity in the schools, vocational education, in the whole network of training centres has more particularities. These are constantly being set up by the system, businessmen and self-employed as they provide even cheaper and easier to manipulate labour power, with even less economic and institutional rights. A similar specificity is characteristic of the activity in the universities and the Technical Institutes. In these places, due to their composition, KNE addresses itself to more forces, since the number of young people who study is far greater in comparison to the teaching and auxiliary staff, and consequently it possesses a greater number of organized forces than the party. The responsibility of the party in these places remains integral, while there must be a much more organized coordination and cooperation, so that the organizations of the party and KNE can act in joint way and specialize the directions etc.

Consequently, there must be certain changes which improve and make the cooperation of the organs of the party and KNE more substantial, so that they work jointly in the labour movement and its allies and in the places of education and training.

It is proposed that this issue should be better studied at a Nationwide Party Conference and after a relevant discussion in the organs of KNE.

42. Today in KNE, despite the progress that has been made in the elaboration of criteria for recruitment and testing out before they join the party, there are still problems such as a relatively delayed rate of recruitment in relation to the needs especially in the workplaces which employ younger age-groups, as well as in schools, technical schools, training centres, Technical Institutes, Universities. There continue to be delays in the assimilation of new members or even haphazard recruitment. These problems are the source for the haemorrhaging of forces under the pressure of sharpening difficulties which most young people experience.

These are generations which are experiencing major losses and shortages regarding their needs and feel on the one hand disgust with the bourgeois political system in its various forms, but at the same time are influenced by the atmosphere of the counterrevolution.

Regardless of the necessary adjustments, it is the responsibility of the CC and the leading organs of the party to face urgent issues such as:

- The deployment of party cadres in the leading party organs, who have acquired the ability or have the potential to acquire the specific ability to assist the organs and cadres of KNE, the orientation of the BOs. The care

and planning in the promotion of leading cadres suitable for the various party organizations which work with younger age groups, who have the necessary special characteristics and knowledge of the problems and needs of the youth, their tendencies and orientations.

- Assignment of responsibility to members of the party who can also assist the specialization of the party and KNE's work amongst young age groups, according to the place and their needs.

- The decisive improvement of the cooperation and assistance of the organs of the party and mainly of the PBOs in relation to the organs and members of KNE so as to prepare and assist the members of KNE as future members of the party, once they have passed through the special period of preparation and testing in the organizations of KNE.

- The stabilization of the General Assemblies of the BOs, the safeguarding of the atmosphere and assistance, so that the contribution of the members can be developed in the elaboration and implementation of the decisions, the study of the experience of activity amongst young age groups, the orientation of activity in the places where young people are found, the rallying in the struggle and in the ideological-political struggle. Problems regarding the reduced vigilance and the protection of the organization must be dealt with.

* Excerpts from the theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece for the 19th Congress, 11-14 April 2013.