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VOICE OF PEOPLE



Working Papers & Notes

Greece: a boiling steam pot
without valve

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Historical evolution: class struggle

- Resistance against fascism, KKE (EAM/ELAS) 1941-'44
- Civil war, (DSE) December '44 / 1946-'49
- Outlaw, exiled, tortured people that are related to KKE: 1936-1941, 1944-1974
- 6 Dictatorships – the last (US led) 1967-1974
 - Athens Polytechnic Uprising, 17/11/1973
 - Celebrated every year

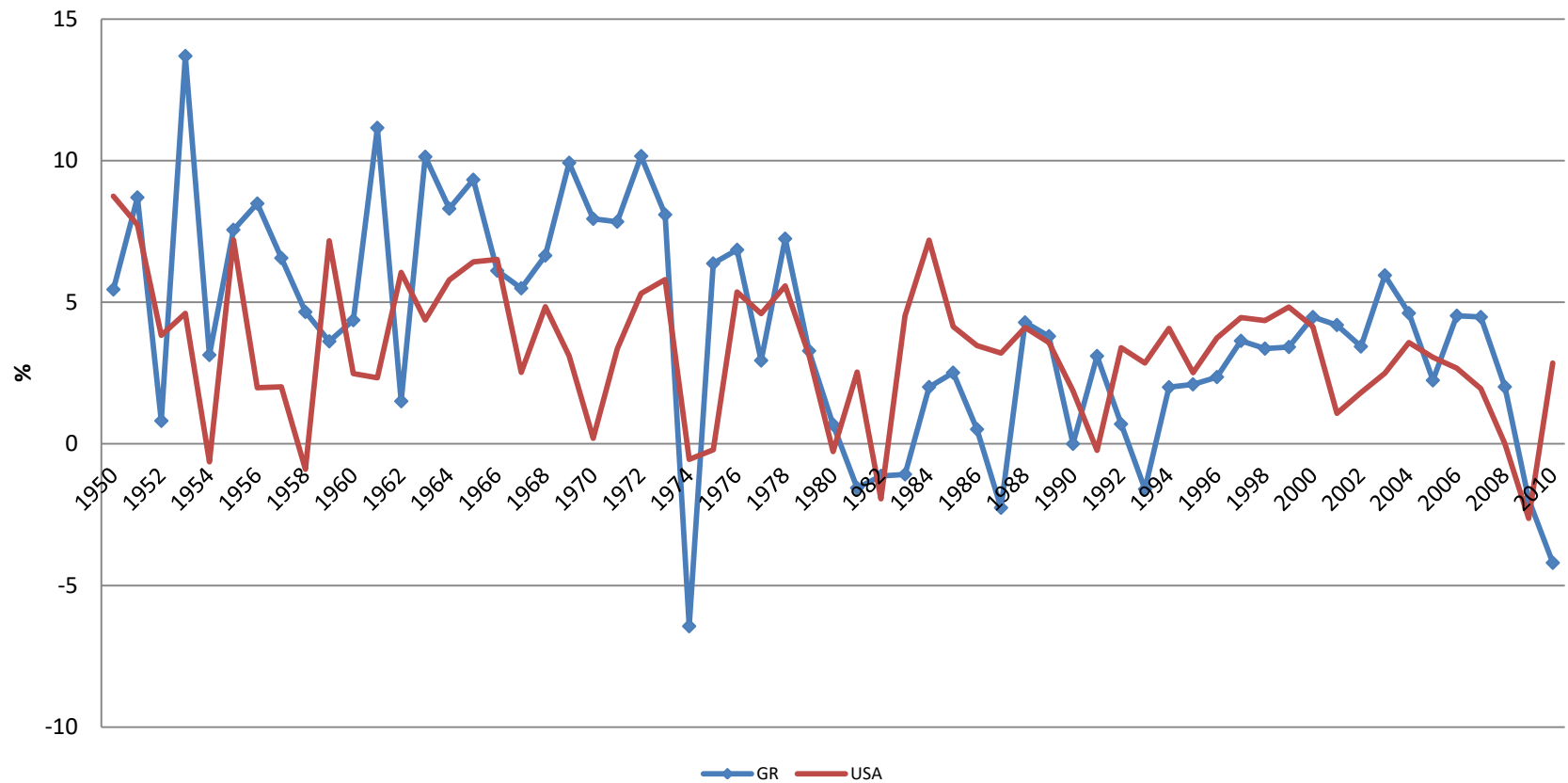
Restoration of bourgeois democracy (1974-)

- reduce direct US involvement in domestic policy (and NATO control over the army by removing Greece from the military wing of NATO *à la* France)
- re-open negotiations for EEC accession (blocked during the period of military dictatorship)
- nationalize a number of companies (either crisis hit, or gave direct support to the military dictatorship)

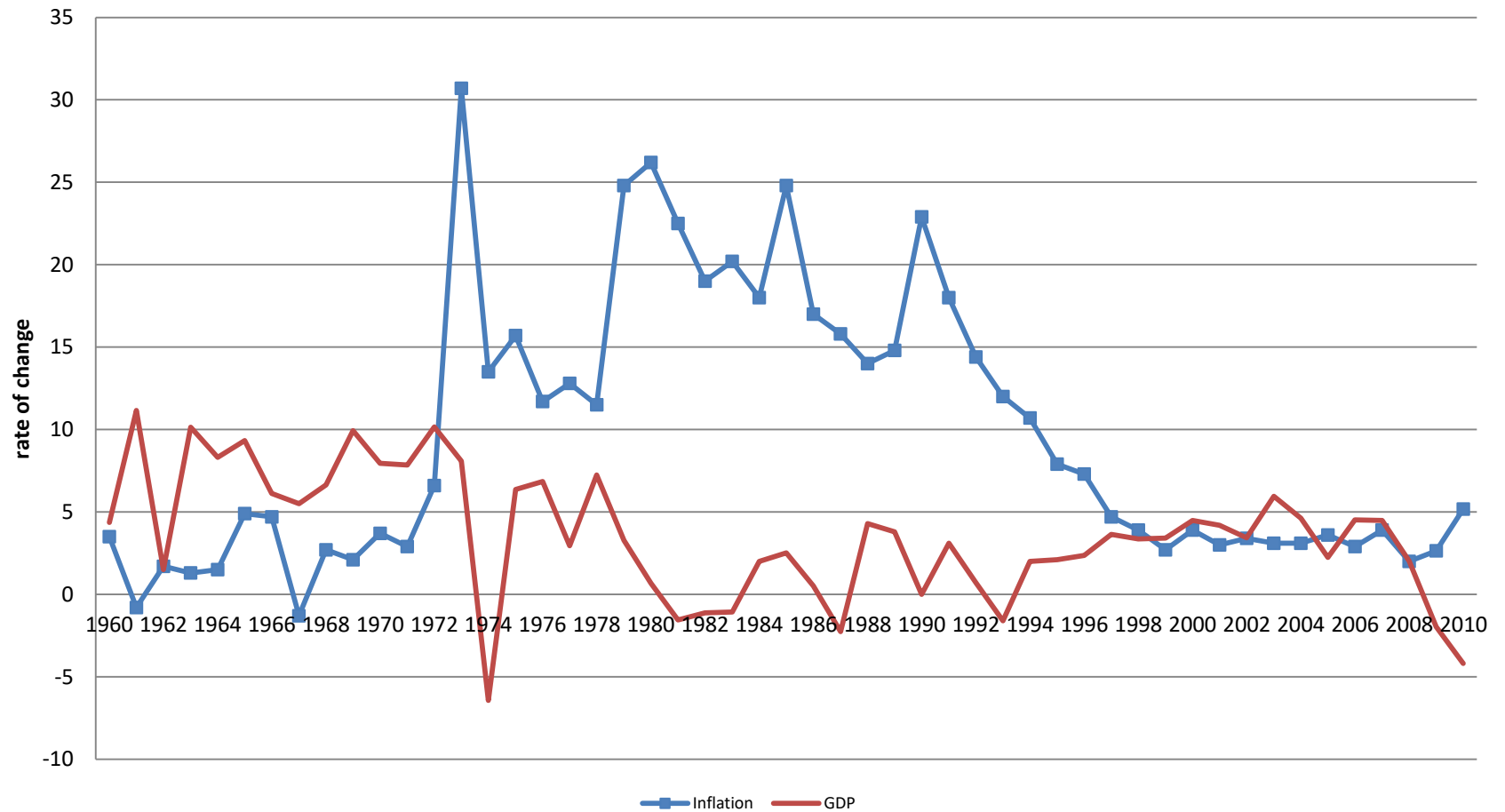
- Legalization of KKE
- Close down of all the exiles and concentration camps (36 islands + inland prisons, since 1929)

Macroeconomic Indexes

Real GDP Growth



GDP and Inflation



Lack of an efficient private sector

- banking system, the energy company, telecommunications, the post company, air transports, trains, the shipbuilding yards
→ public companies nationalized in the course of time, mid-1960s to mid-1980s
- private sector was confined to trade and manufacturing → SMEs

Maritime transports

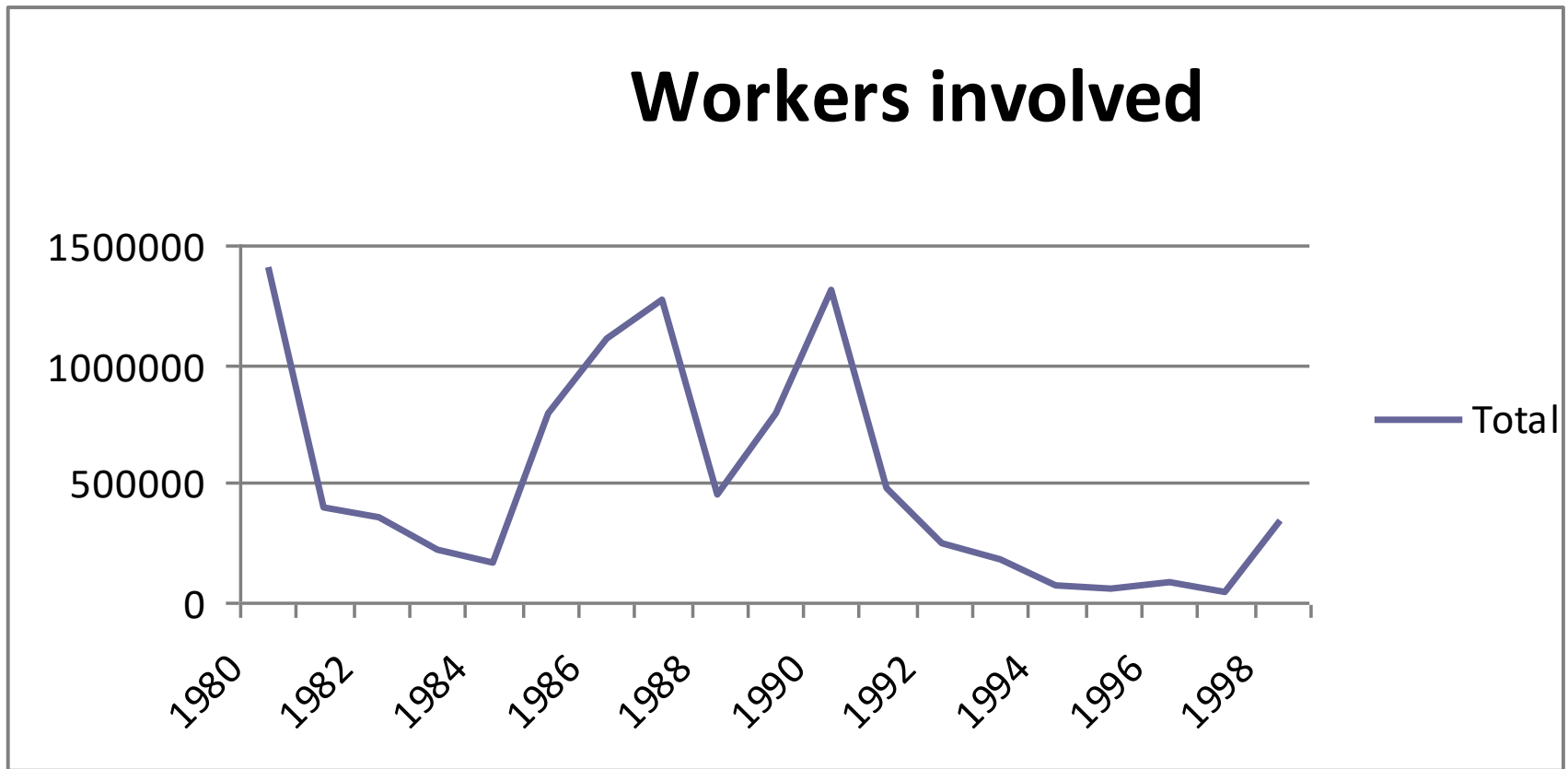
- 80% of global merchandise trade by volume is transported by sea
- The Greek-controlled fleet (i.e. vessels whose owners are Greek citizens, regardless of the flag of the vessel) is ranked first globally
- The 1970s mark the high period of Greek shipping

1981-1992

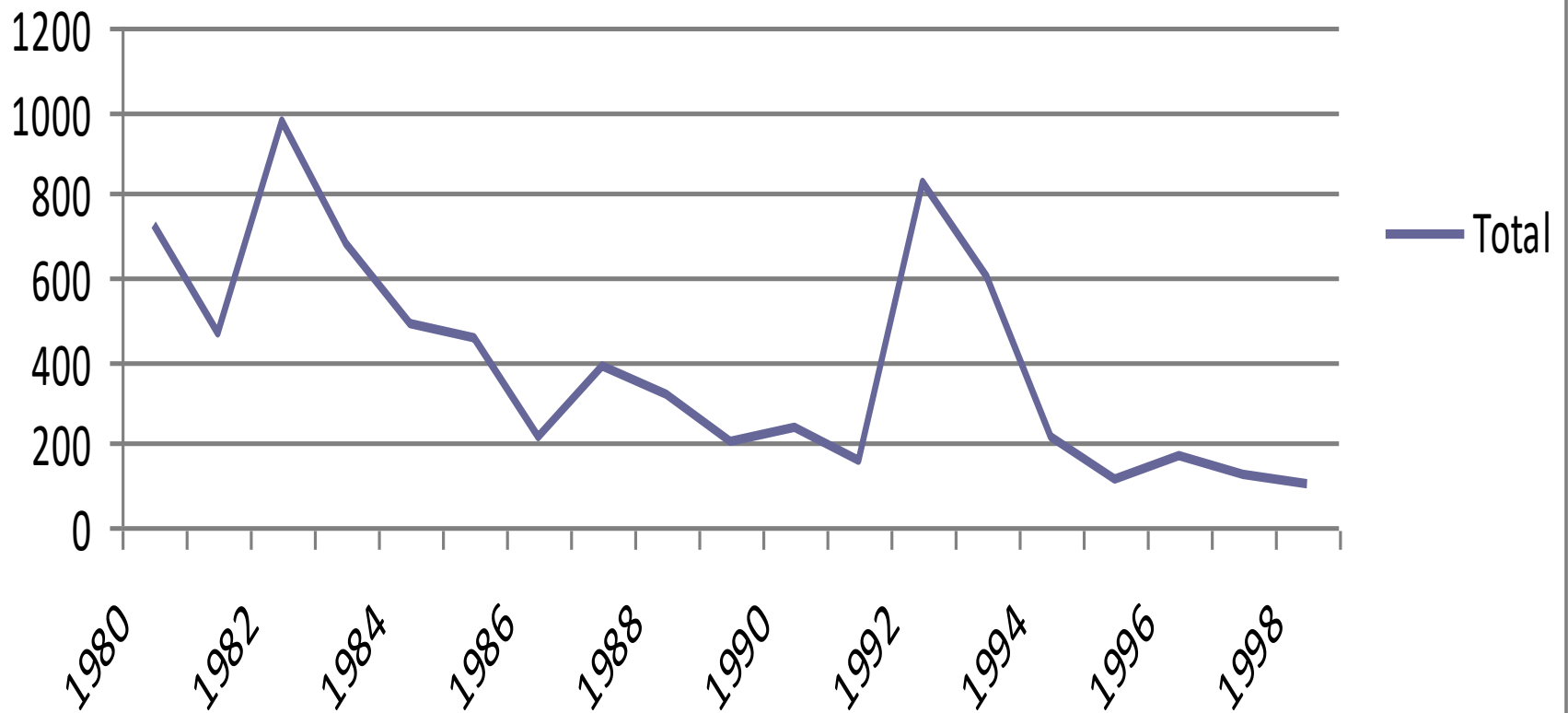
- PASOK in power (1981-1989): coalition of forces of the center
- Leader: Andreas Papandreou – 3rd road. His politics are based on
 - Lies (the cases of NATO, EEC)
 - Scandals and Corruption
 - Coalition with the middle class and building the labour aristocracy

- Extended nationalizations (financed by debt and due to the low performance of the private sector in the 1980s)
- Dissolution of the unions and moral devaluation of the unionists
- Bribery of consciousness
- Democratization of the unions and social life

The pressure of a very strong labour movement (KKE) and PASOK



Strikes and Lockouts



In the countryside

- Farmers get over-debted
- The trade balance in agricultural products changes radically,
 - from positive in the early 1980s to negative in the second half of the 1990s
 - with the consent of the farmers
 - who were previously “bribed”,
 - with EU money (subsidies)

1992

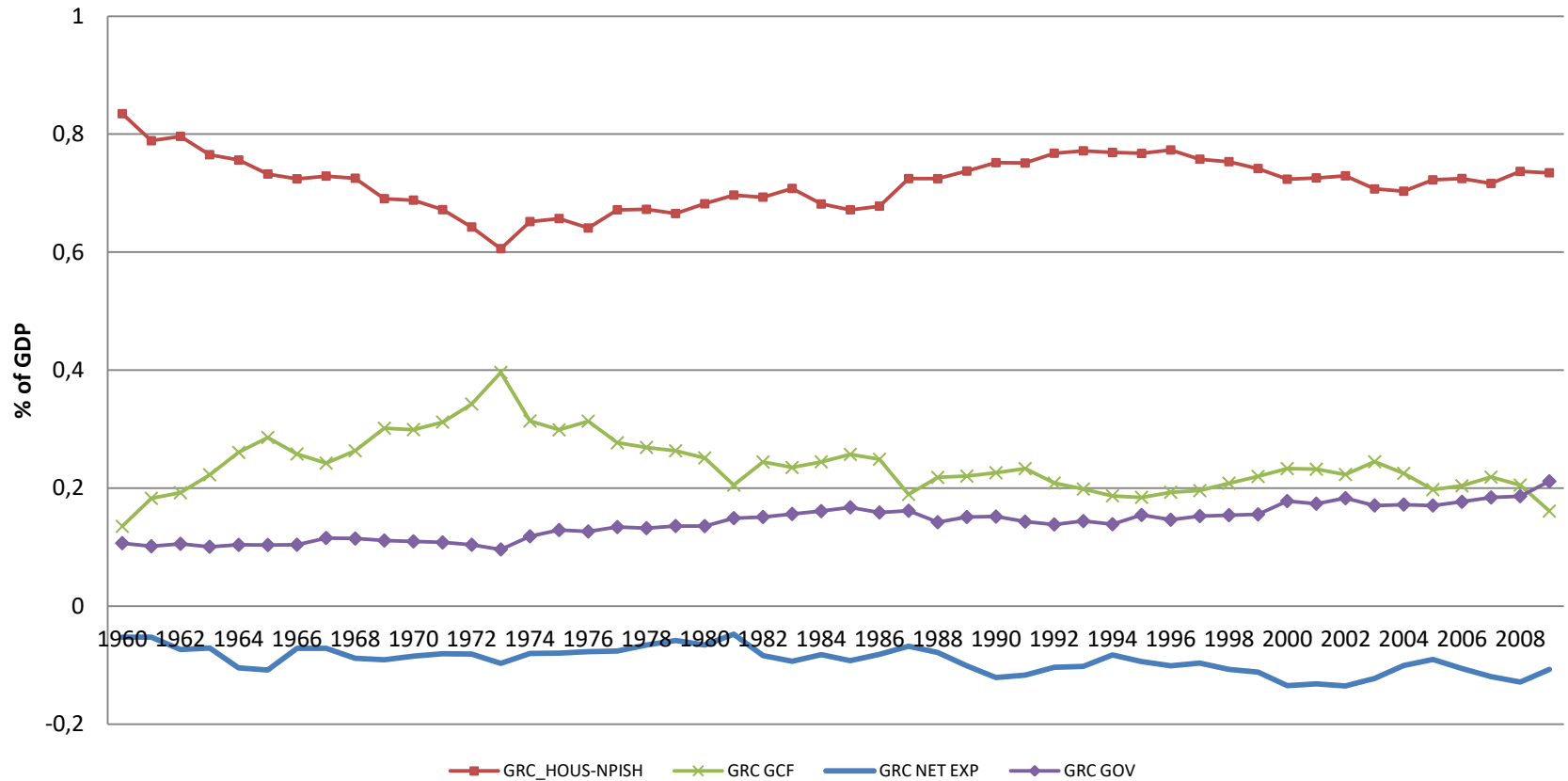
- The natural next step was implementation of national industrial policy, but
 - With the overthrow of the socialist bloc
 - The establishment of the EU
- The model turned into a neoliberal *by political, externally borrowed, force*

1992-today: Switch of PASOK-ND in power

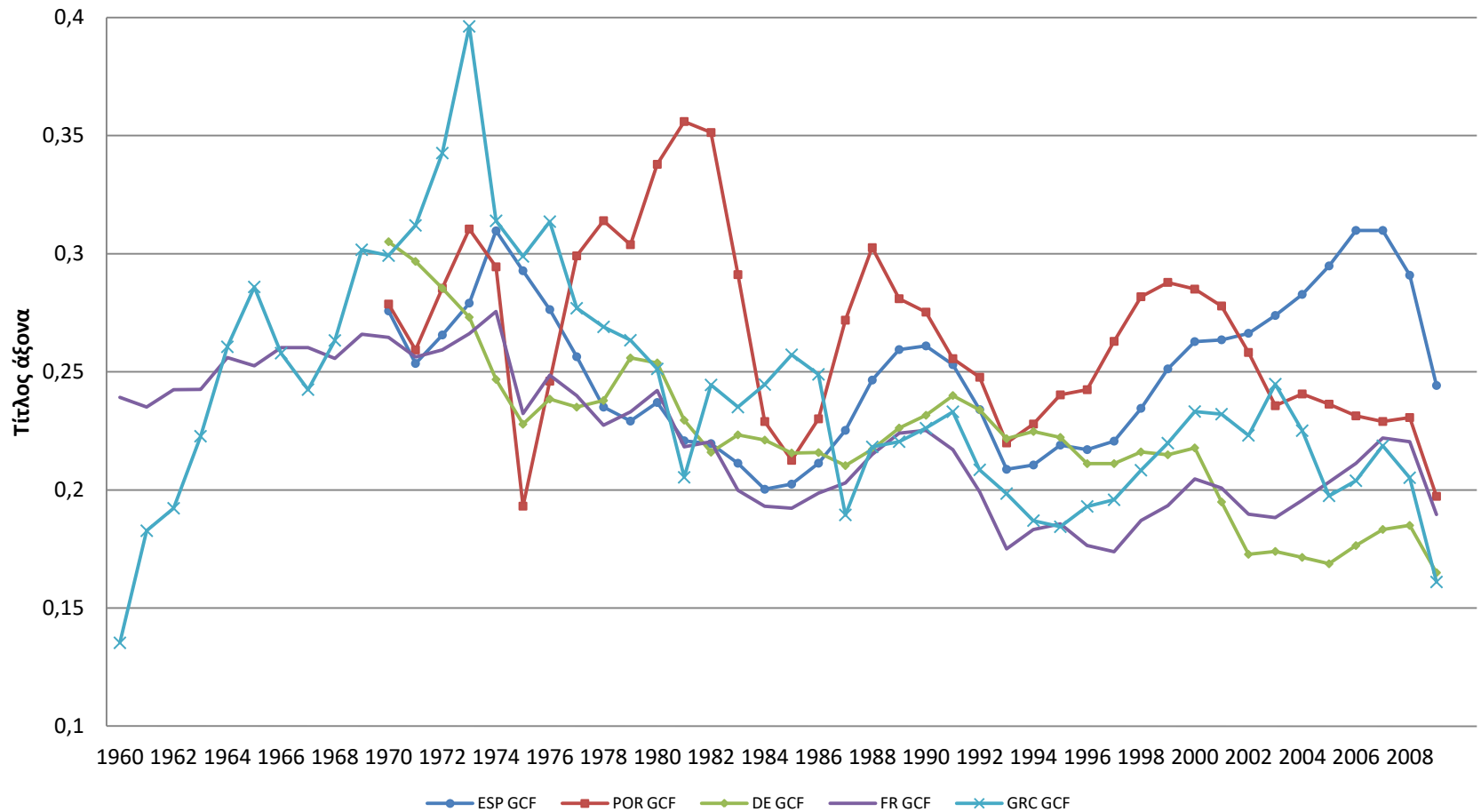
- Extended privatizations of the most profitable companies
- Attack of capitalists to the workers in all levels (Greek workers the most hard working people in 19 EU countries)
- No (inward) FDI
- Investment in infrastructure (EU-special division of labour)

Investment slug

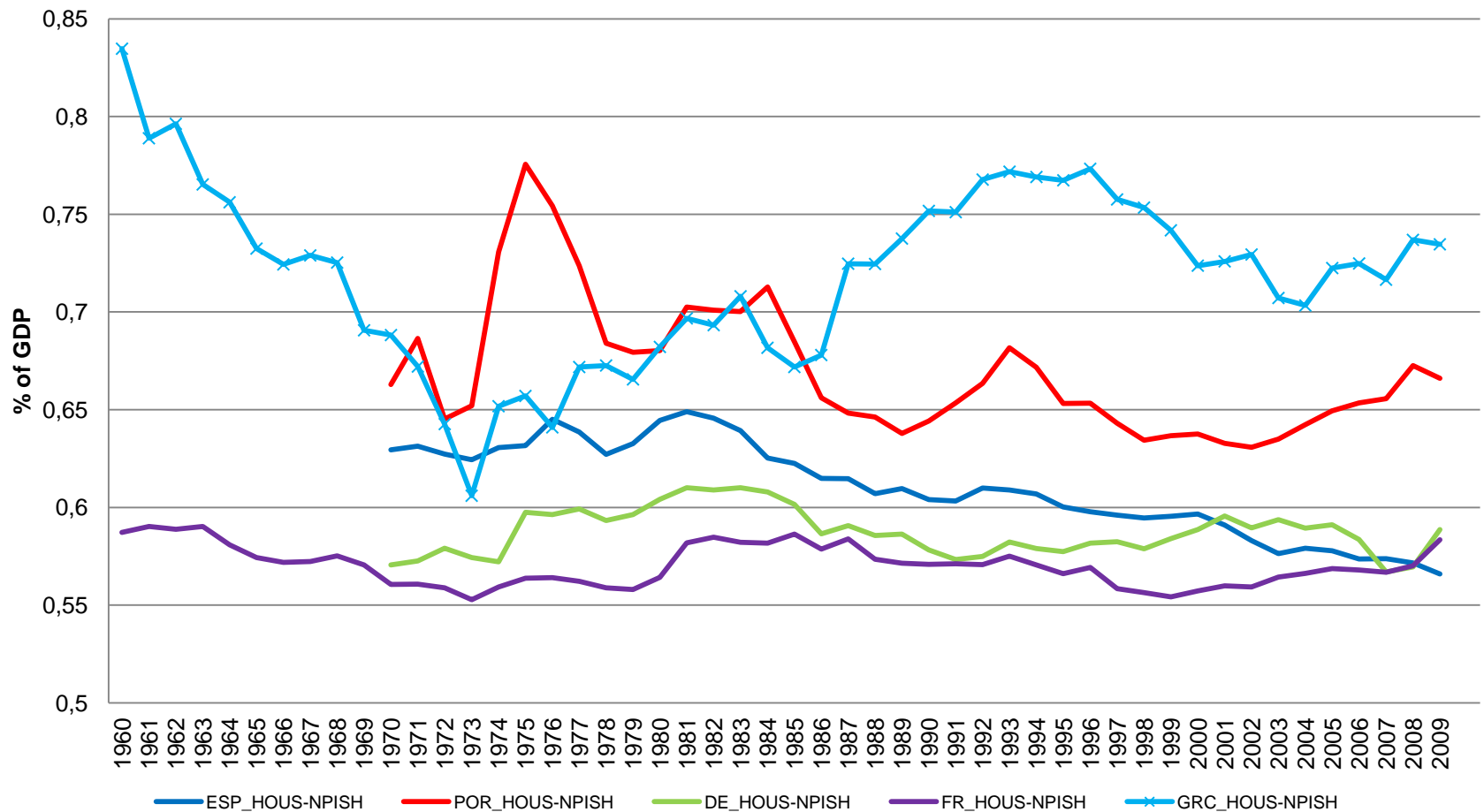
GDP - Main Components



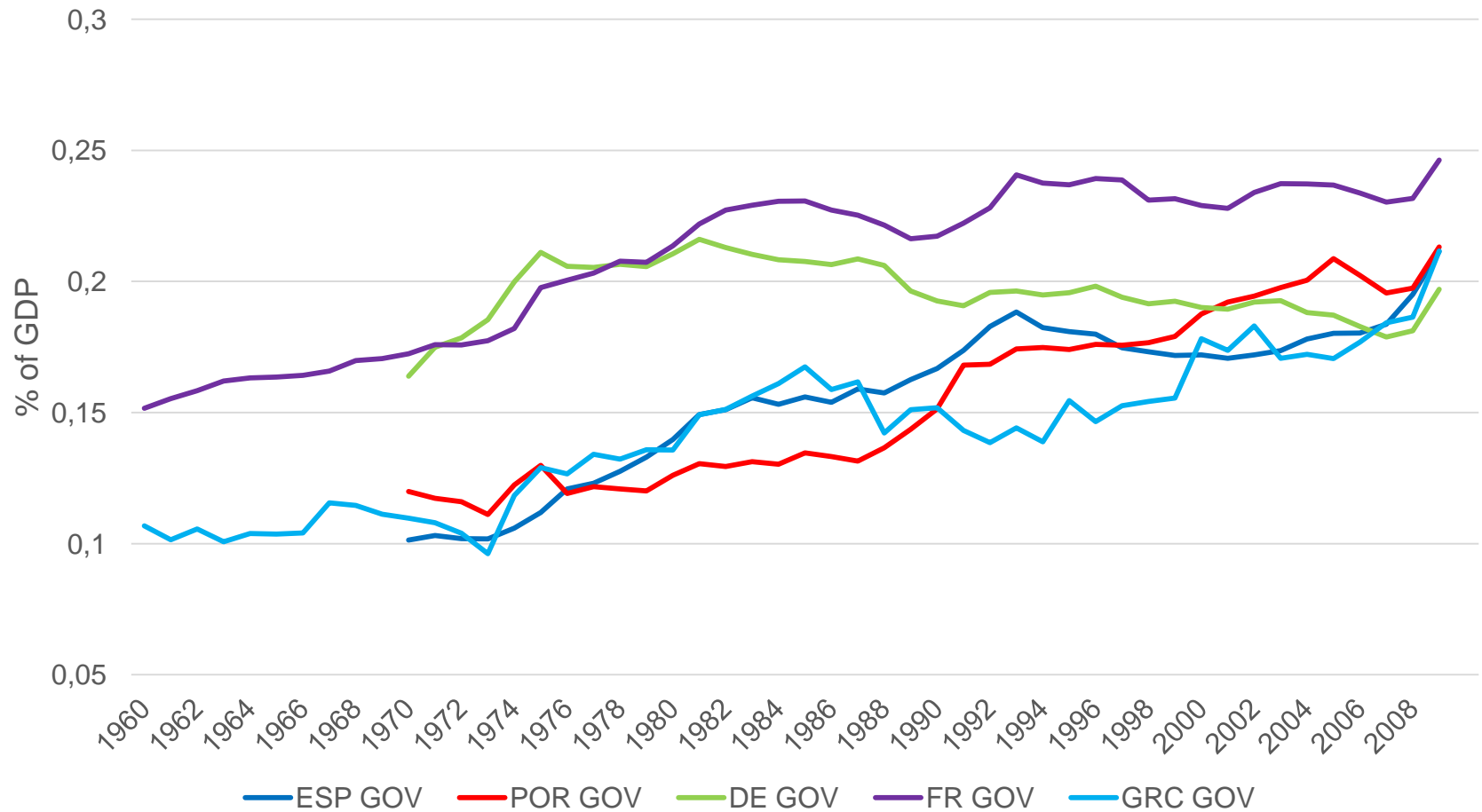
Euro Core and Periphery GCF



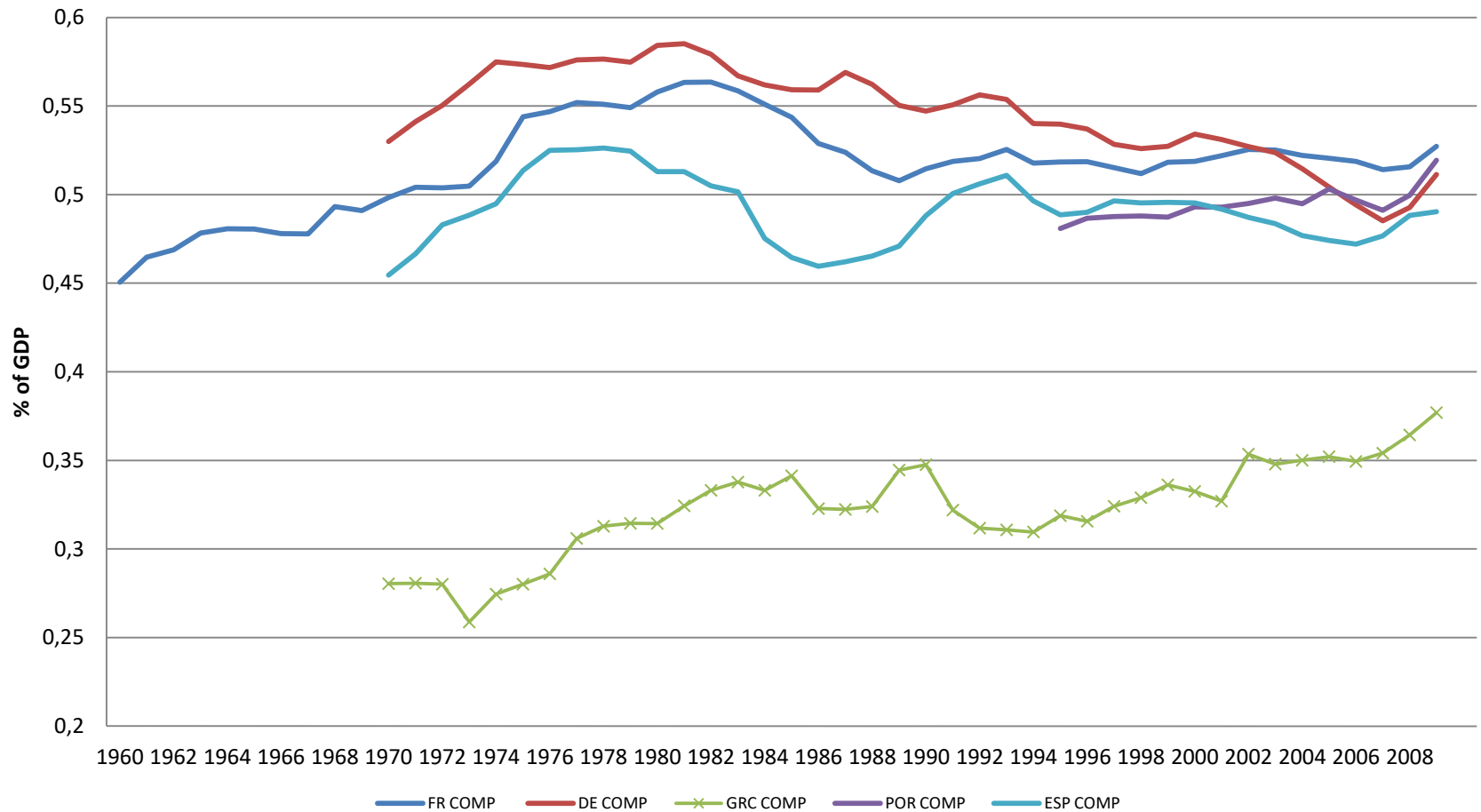
Euro Core and Periphery Private Consumption



Government Consumption

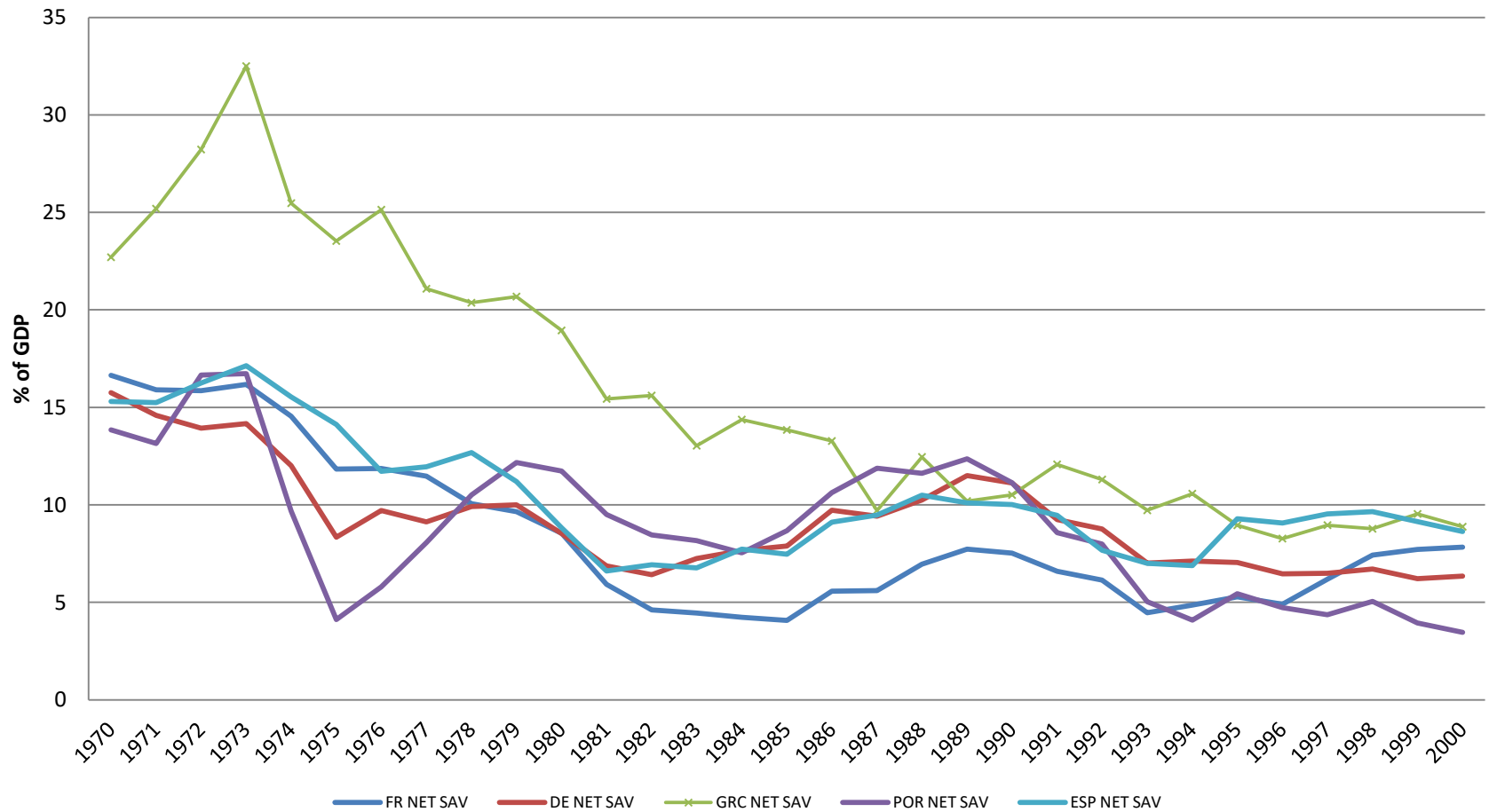


Compensation of Employees

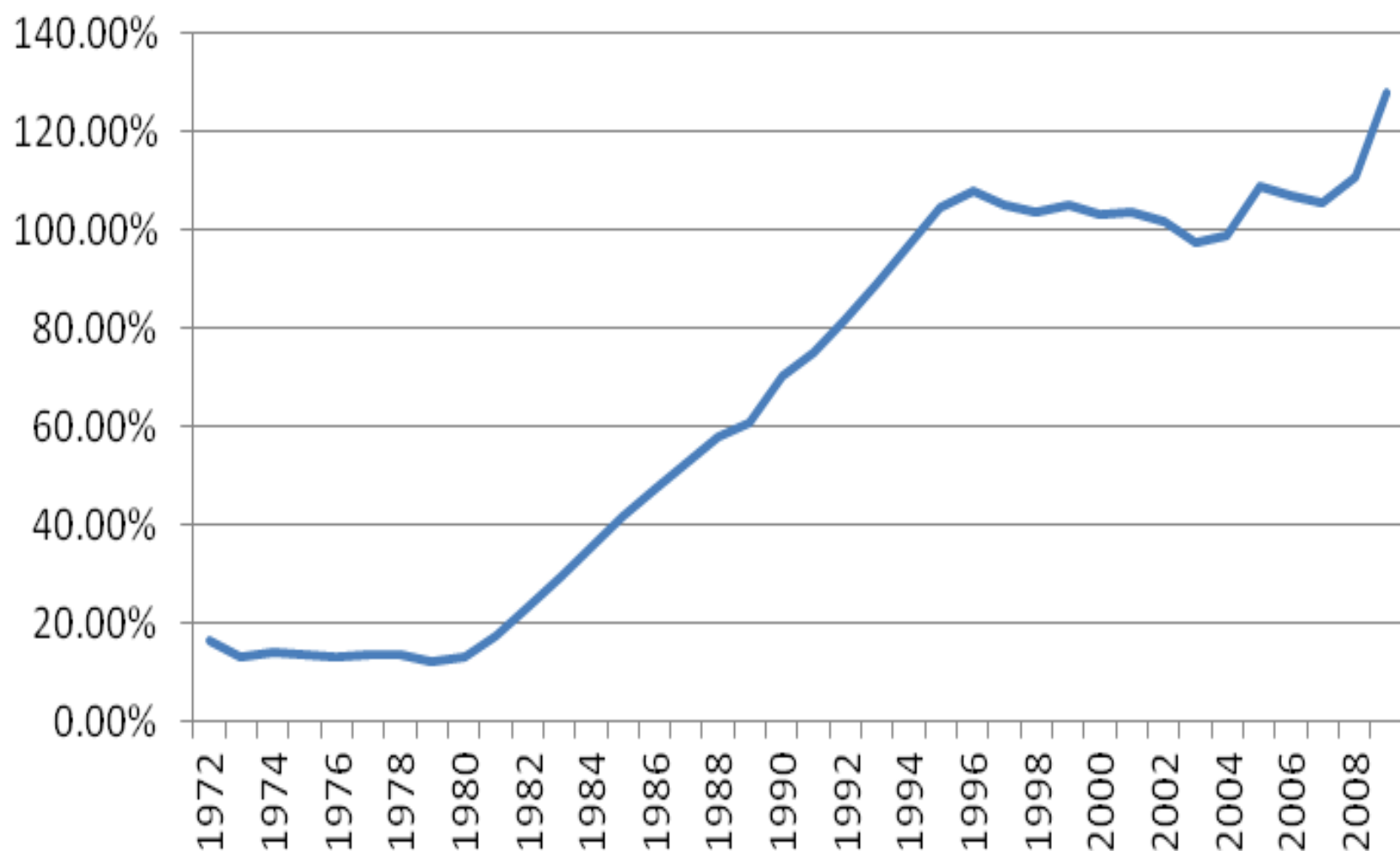


Financing private consumption

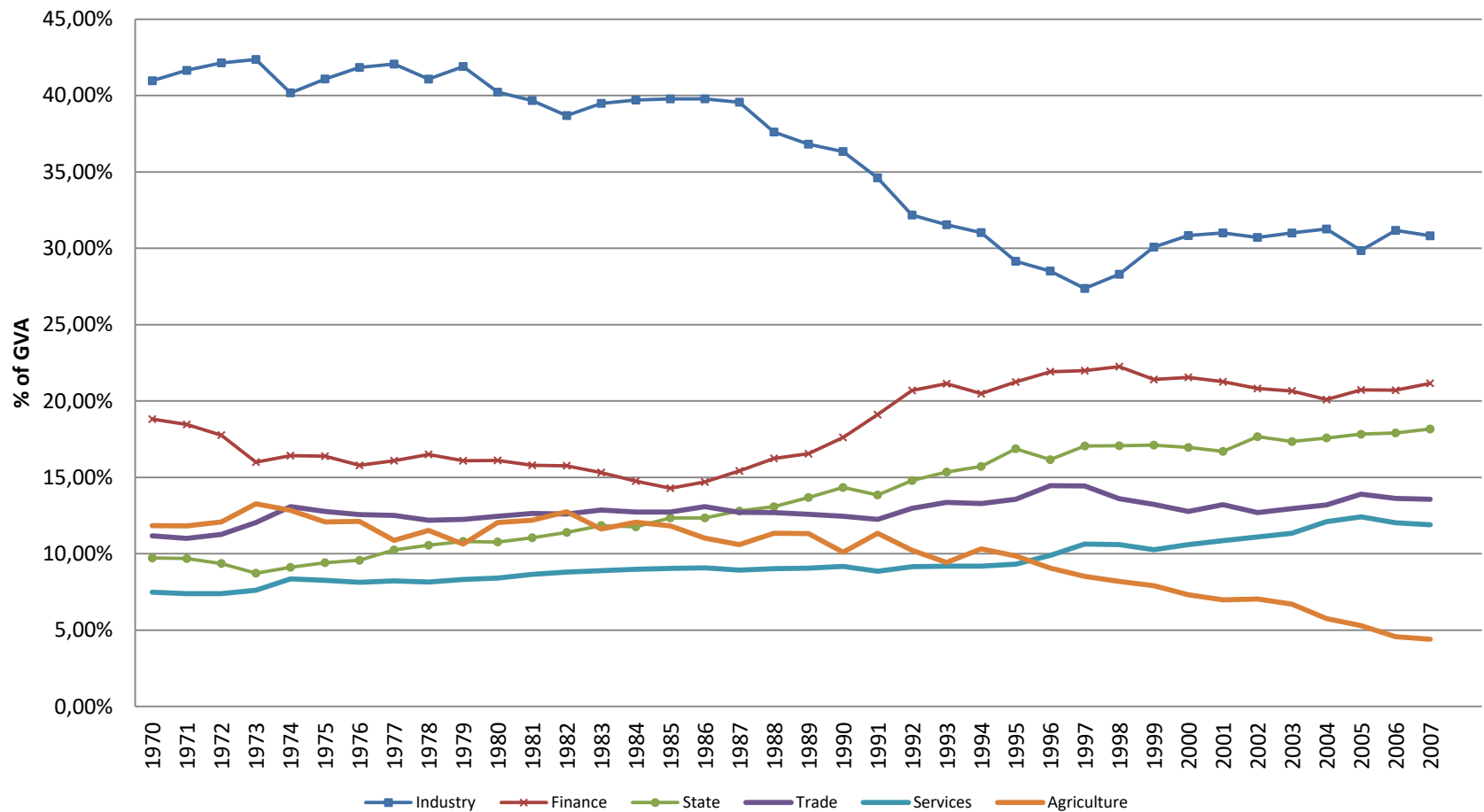
net Savings



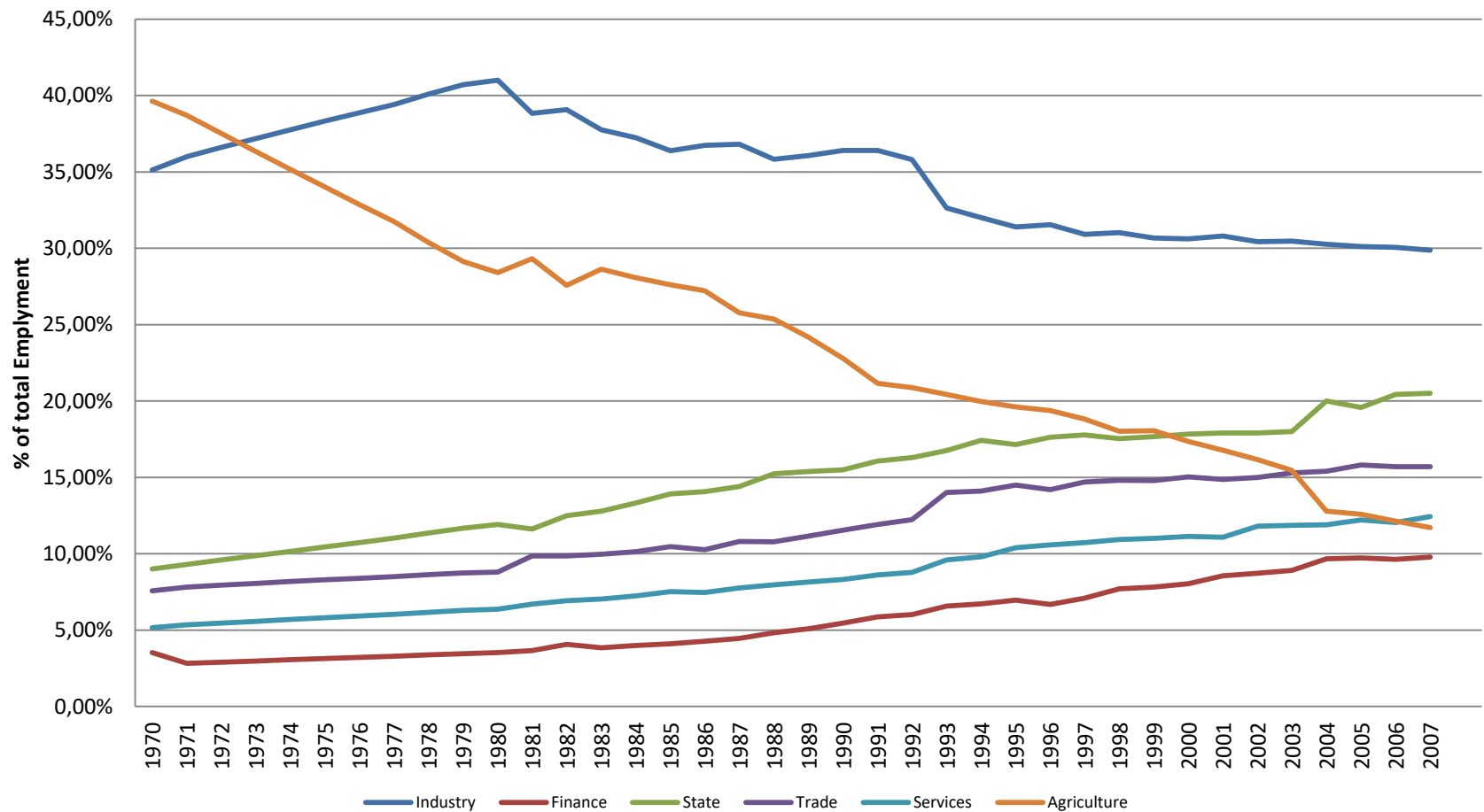
Debt to GDP



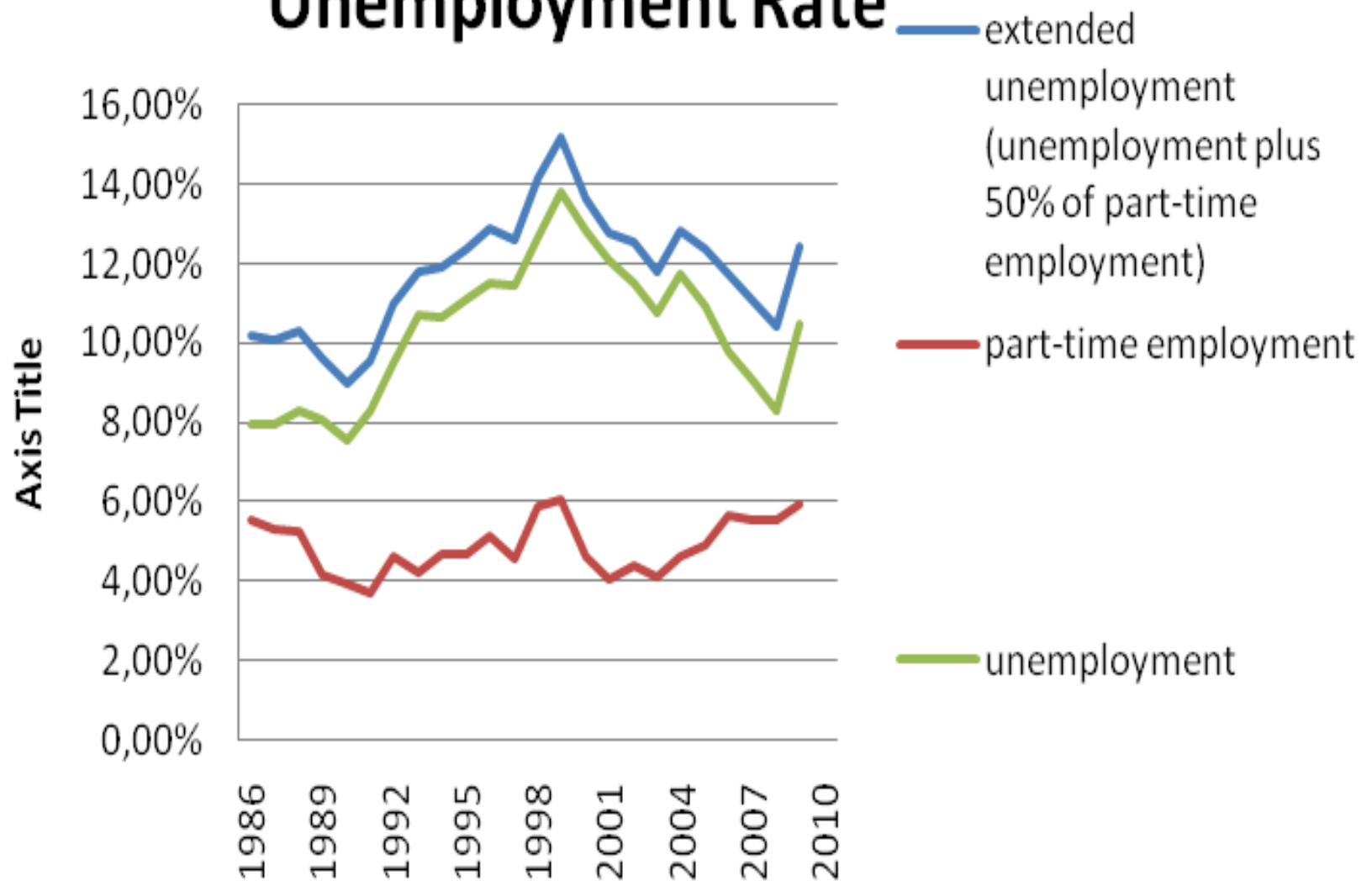
Restructuring (GVA per Sector)



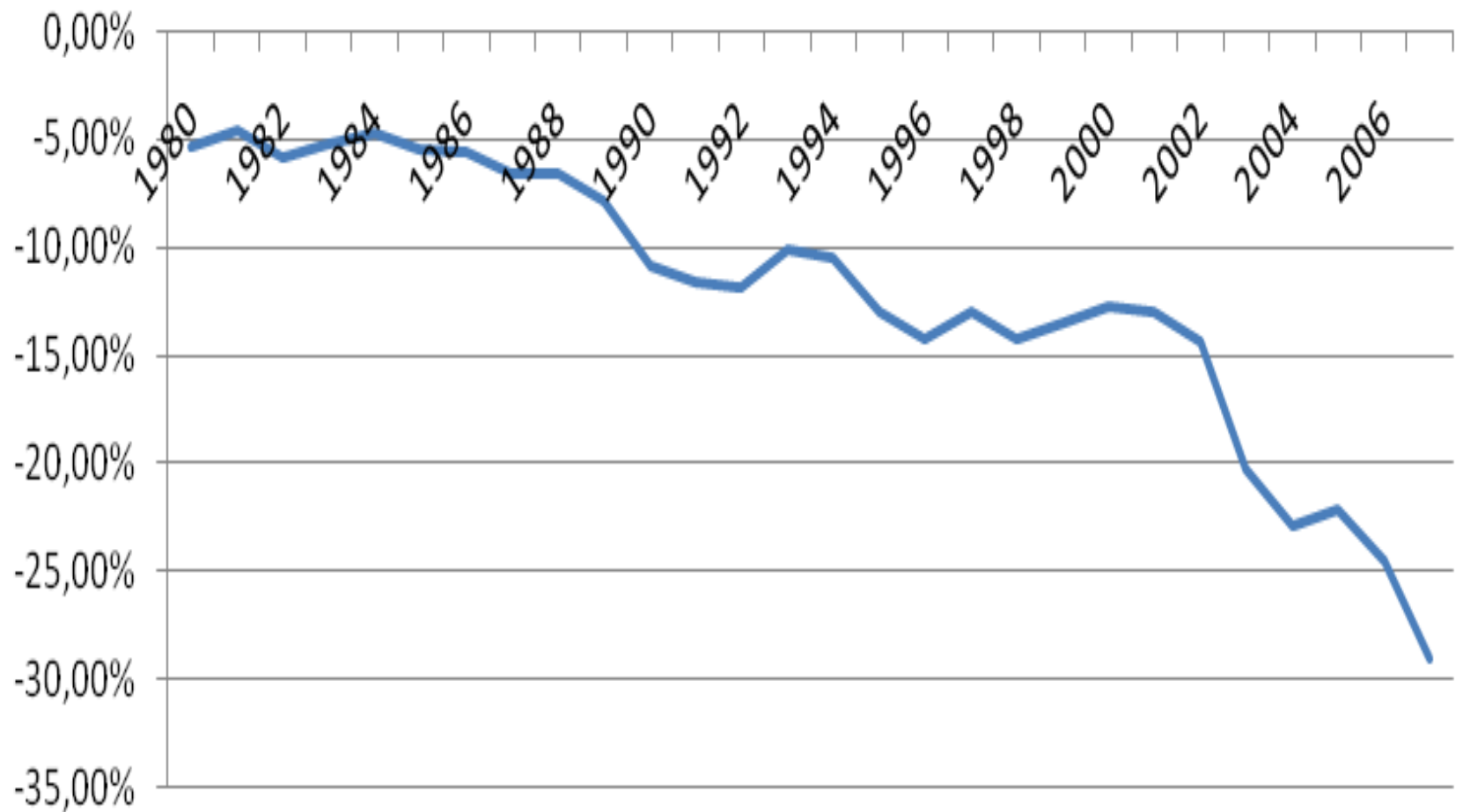
Employment per Sector



Unemployment Rate

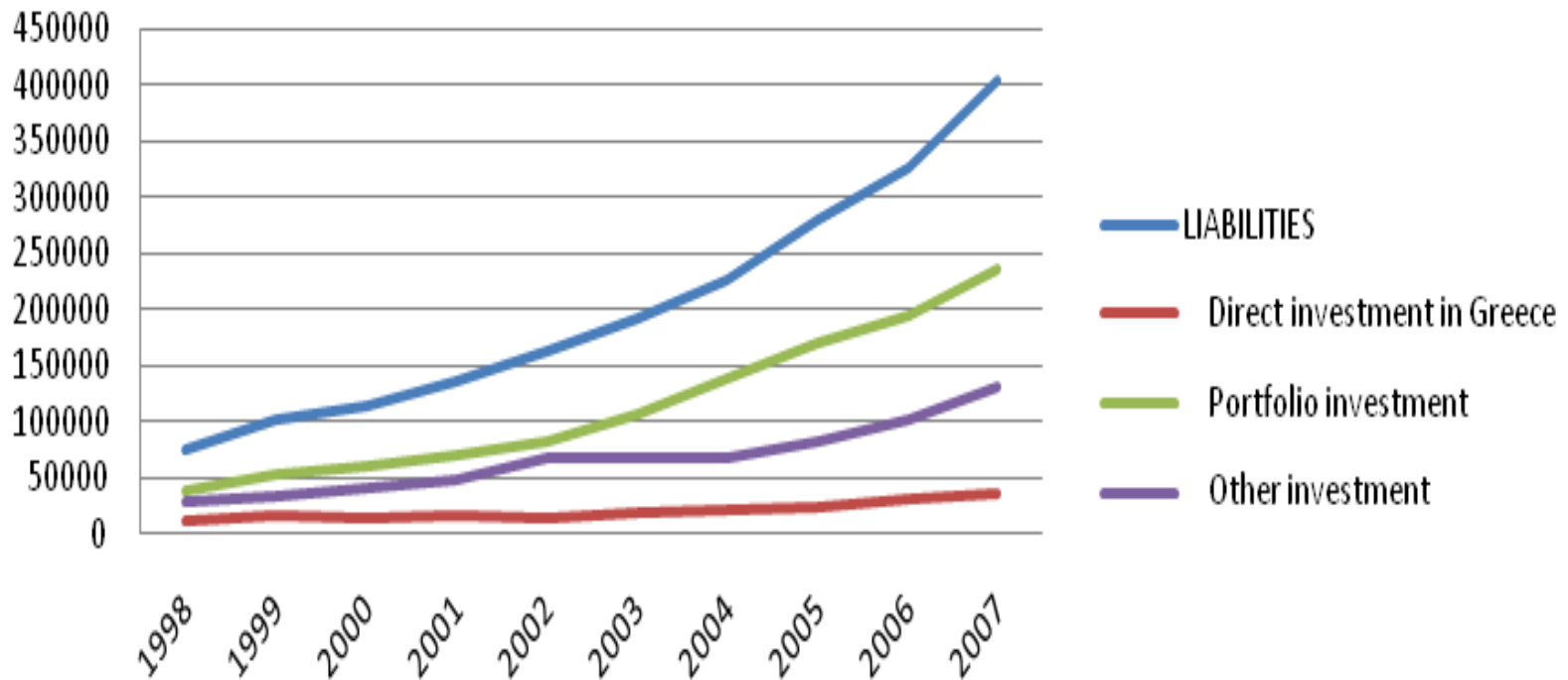


Trade Deficit over GDP

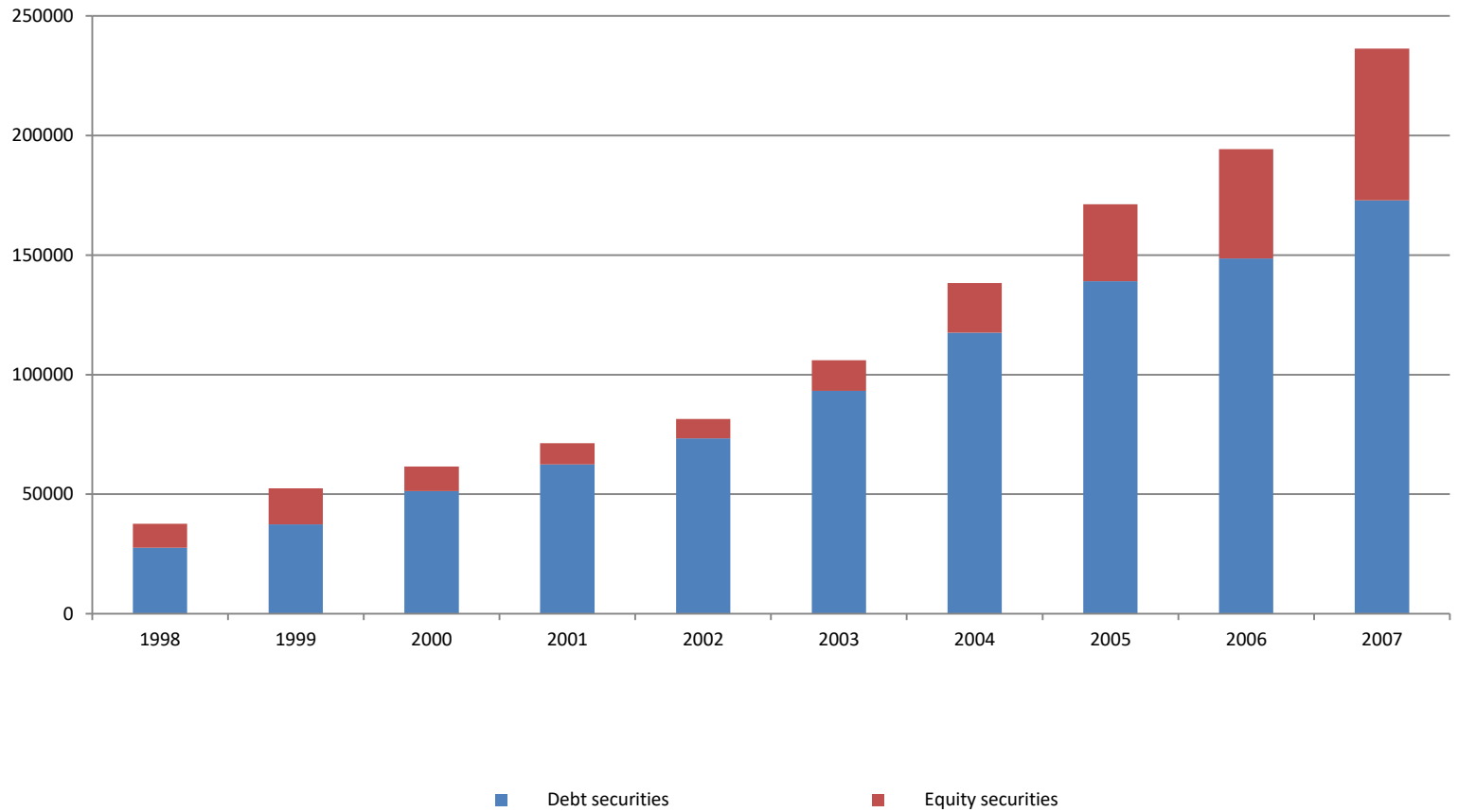


Inflow of capital, IIP

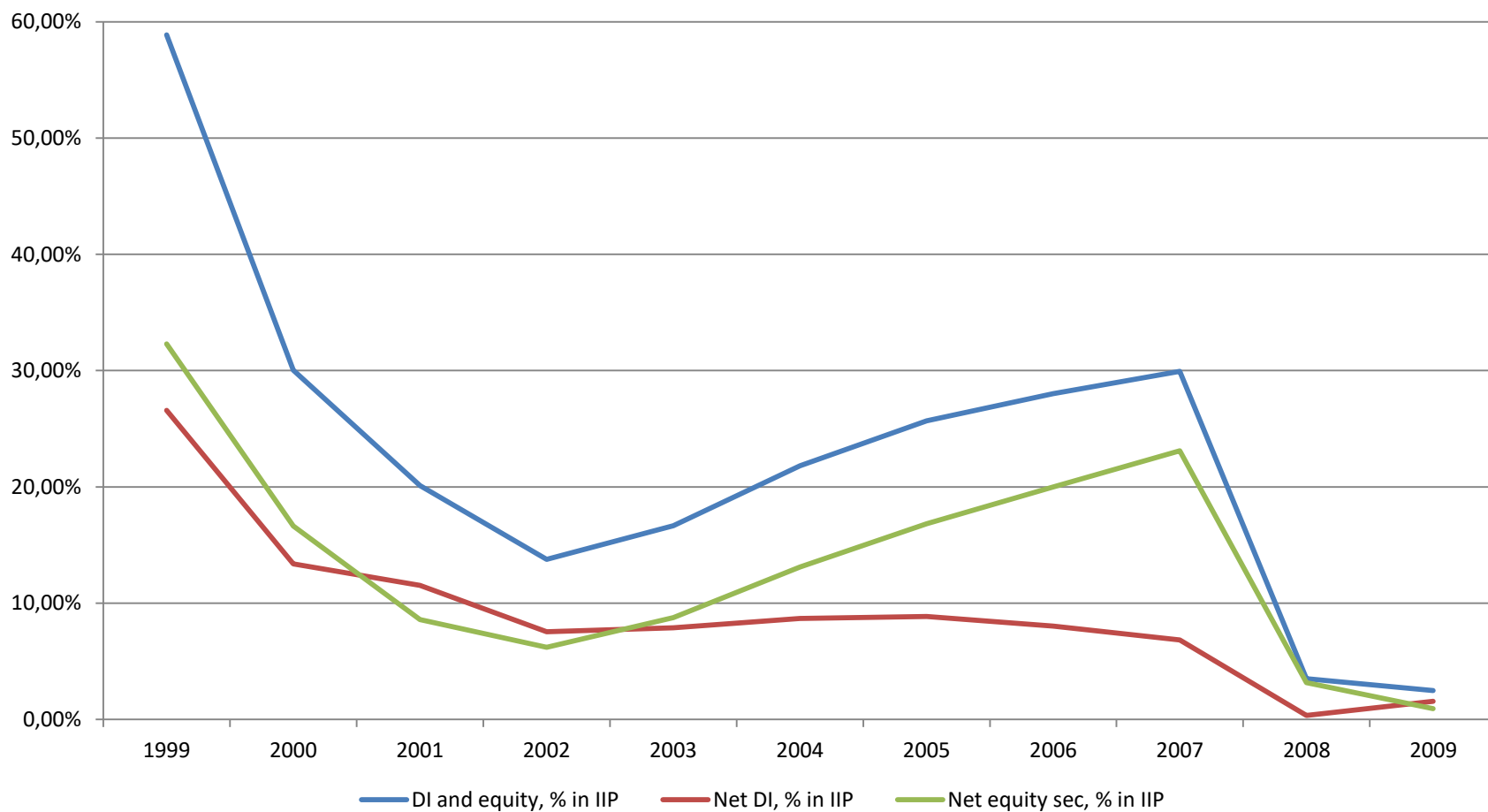
Liabilities, main components



Portfolio Investment



Share of investment components of IIP



- fall of the agricultural sector (CAP + retail trade)
- farmers are transformed to workers
- food dependency (imports)
- trade deficit calls for financing

Greece integrated to the European market by specializing:

- as an outsourced management, banking, transportation and logistics hub of north European manufacturing capital in South Eastern Europe
- as a tourism heaven for north European (mainly British and German) workers

The crisis

- Financing of big capitalists, both directly and indirectly
- Incredible piracy against the working class and poor strata
- Proletarianisation of the vast majority of the middle class
- Freezing production (internal devaluation)
- Migration / suicides / moral degradation

Attempts to militarize society

- December 2008
 - Immediate response of the movement
 - KKE blocked the attempt by self-guarding people
- 5 May 2010
 - 3+1 dead people in a bank (Marfin) by the Para state
 - Provocative attempt of fascists to attack and enter the parliament with PAME's flags
 - 10 days after, a huge demonstration of KKE only, from all over Greece, in Athens.



15/5/2010



The capitalists

- Bankers (Industrialists): with the EU and the austerity
- Industrialists, non-bankers: few, weak
 - For exiting the euro, drachma and indirect austerity
- The ship-owners: extremely powerful
 - In and out

Social situation

- Completely unsustainable
 - Cease of payments against the workers (non-generalised though)
 - Freezing of production and huge expansion of unemployment
 - Freezing of credit and imposition of taxes
 - Prices going up (monopoly capitals and taxes)
 - Strikes and demonstrations

Farmers in despair

- Production for own-consumption
- Barter economy
- Cease of payment against debts
- Dead villages and towns

SYRIZA – ANEL (2012, 2015-)

- Social democracy and patriotic right
- Bourgeois government (two memoranda already)
- Able to spread wide social illusions
- Extremely effective against the people
- USA and ship-owners backing
 - Levy Institute
 - Brookings Institution
 - US embassy / NATO

Nazis (Golden Dawn)

- Against the workers (Perama, slavery style employment agencies)
- Against particular immigrants (color discrimination, not religion or blood)
- Scums (drug dealers, bodyguards etc)
- Night attacks
- Supporting openly ship-owners inside and outside the parliament
- Provocative actions

Workers' Party and Organizations

- KKE and PAME (1999-)
- Other frontiers backed by KKE (MAS, PASEBE, PASY, OGE, SASA)
- Claiming the power with a socialist program

The other political forces

- Splitting of parties (which vote together)
- Difficulties in collude again due to KKE
- Polls (not reliable)
 - SYRIZA 16.5%
 - ND 32.5%
 - KKE 7.5%
 - Nazis 7.5%
 - PASOK 5.5%

War in the neighborhood

- Syria, Iraq, Lybia, FYROM, Turkey, Egypt, Palestine
- Millions of immigrants (est. 3mn)
- Blocked in Turkey and secondarily Greece

What will happen?

GrExit, Drachma etc

- Things will not change for the people
- A fraction of industrialists will benefit
- Another (larger) fraction will just have to accommodate (trade, shipowners, oil refining)
- General loss of political backing for the bourgeoisie / government

One way – two possible results

- Greeks are heading for war
 - The excuse will be similar to the past, either referring to the internal or the external enemy (Turkey)
 - The condition in the army is peculiar and, generally, not hostile to the labour movement
- The winner will be defined by numerous, both predictable and unpredictable, factors

Photos

Safeguarding a strike



Banners on Acropolis





“We don’t recognise the debt”





Illusions that the cop won't hit



Individual, provocative action



“Clash with the bourgeoisie
for the satisfaction of our needs”





Pictures that you'll hardly see from the media



Yesterday



International multilingual links

- <http://inter.kke.gr/en/firstpage/>
- <http://www.pamehellas.gr/index.php/en/>
- <http://www.iccr.gr/en/home/>
- <http://www.wftucentral.org/>