

MOTION A

UNITE FOR JOBS AGAINST BANKRUPTCY

Without a rupture with the guidelines the country has been ruled by — and BE put it forward with the vote of censure —, the coming years will bring about more speculation against the sovereign debt and higher pressure on social life.

This perspective is not a fatality, though. If it embraces struggle, uniting towards a program for action focused on economic and social justice, as well as environmental sustainability, the country will be able to overcome the financial markets' blackmail. The massive demonstrations on March 12th have opened up a period of fierce popular resistance. The might of such call makes it clear, however, that the left must do more and better in order to mobilize the social and intergenerational alliance needed in the name of jobs and against the recession.

Open to the signs, willing to learn and engaged with the popular will, BE is the main force the left needs to build an alternative to social regression. We shall fight the coming election in the name of an urgency: Portugal needs left-wing policies and a left-wing government. We can win.

1. PRECARIZATION IS THE KEY TO THE SOCIAL QUESTION

1.1 Portugal faced a recession in 2009 and it is back in 2011, with more than 700 people out of work. The **unemprecarious** — those unemployed or employed on fee-based, term or temporary contracts — make up almost half of the country's workers and most of them are young and educated. The country is leaving the younger generations behind.

1.2 The recession has been put forward as the "diet" the economy needs in order to come back to life. But the recession attacks the economy and suits income

transfers from Labor to Capital and reduces both **direct and indirect wages** (plus costs related to health, education and transports, besides cuts in social support).

1.3 Austerity brings fear to labor relations, spreads precarity and atypical contracts, threatens collective bargaining and makes redundancies cheaper.

1.4 The **precariat** shares with the organized labour movement the key to the people's answer to economic crises. Its mobilization is paramount for the building of a people's movement which challenges the recession with the social alternative of full employment.

2. DEBT IS THE KEY TO THE POLITICAL QUESTION

2.1 EU/IMF intervention in Portugal increases recessive policies and consolidates a comprehensive centre block, with a deep liberal and authoritarian connections. This intervention is in fact a threat, for most of the people will face further poverty and precarization, and it signals a political evolution with the debt at its heart.

2.2 The deepening of the **foreign debt crisis** arises out of two main factors: the deficit brought about by the nationalization of the banks' losses and the huge burden of foreign debt. Portuguese economy's structural problem became worse in the last decade: mediocre growth and the intensification of inequality have created a cycle of social regression.

2.3 External debt amounts to **400 thousand million euros**. Most of it is private. Extortionary interest rates assure risk free income for financial capital.

Portuguese banks, who hold a third of recent debt, are one of its main beneficiaries.

2.4 There is another equally outrageous debt: **Public Private Partnerships**, which ensure 50 thousand million contracts lasting for decades. These PPP arise out of the state's legal corruption, granting concessions at interest rates which sometimes double those of public debt. They ought to be renegotiated.

2.5 Debt reinforces a **vital capital accumulation mechanism**: the citizens pay taxes that are used to pay the banks (German, French, Spanish and Portuguese) who hold sovereign debt credits that match the national PIB. This is a violent expropriation: since 2006, more than 20 thousand million euros have been thus paid, only as a result of the debt snowball. This debt is unbearable and must be audited and restructured in order to lower interest rates.

2.6 The rise in the **Government debt** cannot be set apart from the devastating effect financial crises had on the national economy. But the external dimension does not explain it all: the deficit also springs from backing up finance and tax avoidance as far as dividends by the end of 2010 are concerned, tax haven benefits in Madeira and continued disparities in capital and labor taxes. It is inadmissible.

2.7 The acceleration of Portuguese financial crisis through the joint-action of external and non-elected powers (rating agencies and the European Central Bank) opened the way for the European Commission and the IMF. Such intervention now subordinates everything to the IMF alliance: PS, PSD and CDS will bring PEC4 back and might even make it worse with anti-popular extra measures.

2.8 The EU/IMF intervention does not break the debt vicious circle, as the situation both in Ireland and Greece makes clear. BE breaches the obliged consensus around this "help" and puts forward an audit to the whole external debt, public and private, so that the nature and the creditors of its shares, maturity and conditions are identified. Such step is needed in order to restructure the debt — its deadlines, conditions — and

to say no to paying for abusive debt and extortionary interest rates. The people's determination in Iceland shows, in its specificity, that there are ways forward for non-compliance.

3. EU INBETWEEN DISINTEGRATION AND RECAST

3.1 The EU has reacted to the financial crisis by investing circa 11% of the European PIB into saving banks, and only 2% into the economies. **The recession was the outcome of deregulating and privatizing the financial markets**, followed by wrong choices, with a clear-cut class goal. Brussels and the governments have to answer for 8 million new jobless people and a rise in poverty unheard of since the end of Second World War.

3.2 **The crisis has entered a new phase, that of sovereign debt.** This change has taken place because helping the banks was in fact an operation to transform private debt into public debt. Taxpayers are being asked to foot the bill of the banks' debts.

3.3 The current crisis, which threatens the EU's peripheral economies, is the tip of the iceberg in the **crisis of the euro**. The euro was founded without budgetary rebate mechanisms to deal with the huge disparities in economic power between joining countries. This guideline remains unchanged, even though the current crisis is bringing the most dramatic consequence to light: the deviance in economies with surpluses and external deficits grows larger and larger.

3.4 Current guidelines in terms of monetary policy and budgetary coordination — mostly sanction mechanisms for excessive deficit, which deepen the problems they claim to solve — kill the notion of social cohesion and convergence inside the European area. On the other hand, the subordinate posture of the peripheral countries' governments does not only offend any concept of national dignity, but it also forces an unbearable social price on their own people.

3.5 A few months too late, the EU has reacted to Greek and Irish troubles. The bill imposed on Greece is leading to a serious recession, but still interest rates and

national debt remain as high as ever. With regard to Ireland, the EU has employed, for the first time, the fund linked to the IMF, which charges 3% higher than the ECB charges Romania or Hungary. Above all, the loan has draconian setbacks in terms of wages, while protecting Irish fiscal dumping. The intervention of the European and IMF fund is thus coherent with Merkel's blackmail on peripheral economies, which aims mainly at ensuring that the banks which have speculated against national debts are reimbursed.

3.6 Portugal is nowadays under the threat of similar plans. Spain and Italy come next. **The implementation of such policies puts the Euro as such in jeopardy** and, in the end, German and European economies too.

3.7 In face of such difficulties, BE **rejects the leaving the Euro nationalist solution**. As things are, its sole outcome would be a long term depression with no real alternatives as far as autonomy towards the financial markets is concerned. It would lead to further wage and pension cuts, leaving national dependence unaffected.

3.8 The alternative demands a connection between the European and national spheres: the Stability Pact must be replaced by a **Deal for Employment**; coordination based upon sanctions must change into cooperation that places public investment outside the deficit and backs the economy against speculation, issuing eurobonds and relying upon the monetary policy to withstand sovereign debts. The funding mechanism the European Union needs is one supported by a tax on financial transactions.

3.9 The Union as an economic and political area will only survive if it proves able to **re-establish itself** as a democracy based upon solidarity, social convergence, environmental sustainability and peace.

3.10 UE should reject any militarist and imperialist ambitions whatsoever, such as those embodied by NATO. Portugal should leave such militarist alliance, withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and condemn the intervention in northern Africa, on oil's route.

4. A WORLD IN SHARP CHANGE

4.1 World recession brought to light the way liberalism acts, by exposing serious bank scandals and the desperate need to rely upon the intervention of the state's visible hand to socialize financial losses. The collapses of Iceland and Ireland make it quite clear that the liberal model and theory have failed.

4.2 **Unlimited free movement of capital** is the main source of inequality and crisis in the world. Since the great recession in 1973-4, the world economy **has taken a turn and sunk into a long period of frequent recessions**. Since the 80s, deregulation has increased the financialization of capitalism and its leverage, and thus instability and speculation became widespread. Therefore, we have gone through a long period of mediocre growth in the first world, with an increase in the power of finance and the relocation of the main centers of production.

4.3 The current crisis has shown the limits of the USA-EU-Japan economic hegemony cycle. We are now into an era of **changing geometry globalization**, and new subcontinental countries, such as China, India, Brazil, South Africa and Russia, have jumped into the main frame. Actually, the last crisis was cushioned by these economic areas' growth, which has avoided further exports losses, especially for Germany.

Europe and Japan's loss of importance contrasts with the competition and privileged partnership between the USA and China. This framework increases the tendency for disintegration inside the Union and the Euro Zone.

4.4 In **Latin America**, some states have imposed the renegotiation of their external debt. The economy in the area has, in general, withstood the world recession.

4.5 Such is not the case within southern Mediterranean and the Arab world, where the crisis has made the elites in power greedier and increased extortion over the population. Social issues were at the bottom of

the people's uprisings and the current revolution expresses democratic wishes against authoritarian regimes.

This viral revolution will develop differently from country to country and it is paramount to reject any imperial military interventions. BE condemns and demand a prompt end to the war enforced on the Libyan people by imperialist powers under OTAN's supervision. BE stands with the Libyan people on their struggle for the establishment of a democratic society, sovereignly in charge of their resources. The victory of democracy will highlight the decline in power of Israel and the USA in the area. Europe will have to choose: it will either follow them in atlantic loyalty, or it will put forward a Mediterranean deal for Human Rights, dealing with social, economic and environmental issues.

4.6 Capitalism has shown its toxic nature, both in terms of social relations which wreck millions of workers and in the predatory relationships it establishes with nature. It ruins the planet's sustainability and brings more inequality into the world. Socialism is the politics of equality and responsibility.

5. FIGHTING THE RIGHT-WING

5.1 Ideological hegemony is fought over people's experiences. If precarization becomes widespread, if trade union and collective action disintegrates, the credibility of public services decays and tax disparities between labor and capital remains protected, the right wing will claim victory. However, those are the same crucial points where the battle might be won: **right wing policies aim at destroying the social state, those of the left aim at developing it further.** At this second decade of the century, recession policies wish to enforce times of workers' **poverty**, poor people's marginalization and immigrant outlawing, dismantling the social role of the state. It is a political, thus ideological, battle which will be decided over privatizing or socializing what lies at the heart of life and democracy.

5.2 Therefore, it is not just tax justice that depends

upon the state's capacity for redistribution, but also public services. In recent years, the crisis has been paid for by those who have lost their jobs, wages and rights in terms of essential services.

The crisis has brought no "sacrifice sharing" whatsoever, for financial capital has not been called into sharing anything. BE insists: **the time has come for those who created the crisis to pay for it.** The financial sector is addicted to speculation and offshores, and happy to have the state paying lip service to it through partnerships and benefits. They are the ones who should be paying for the crisis, not us.

5.3 A third ideological issue BE should focus on is that which manifests itself in the **growth of populism and authoritarianism.** In Europe, social selfishness has been successfully used by new right and far right-wing parties, who are now an electoral force to be reckoned with. In Portugal, the appeal of anti-politics proposals is clear, but has not yet turned into anything rather specific. This appeal arises out of the failure of politics as a means to exercise power and as an answer to the difficult times people are going through.

5.4 Populism and authoritarianism thrive each time governments increase social crises and give up the **fight against corruption.** But populism benefits from those in charge defending proposals like reducing the number of MPs, be it to keep the opposition at bay or to win easy votes through standardizing lectures on democratic choices. When BE highlights political struggle as a means to emancipation, it reclaims those popular sectors most affected by social crises which have fallen into the "anti-politics" trap. We will not give up on the people who do not vote nor believe, and will not leave them in the hands of putative political adventures. We set an example, when we fight, with clarity and responsibility, those benefits and privileges which demean politics in people's eyes.

5.5 The answer to recession does not come from nationalism or authoritarian populism but from a **social strategy for an economy of full employment.** We do not need a step backwards, but to fight against the precarization of social life instead. And closing the doors is not the solution, whereas European coopera-

tion in terms of social struggles is.

6. THE POLITICS OF SOCIALISM

6.1 Portugal's problem lays in its bourgeoisie. The aim of **socialism** is to defeat the owners of Portugal.

6.2 Throughout the 20th Century, **the state has built the ruling class**, funding the accumulation of capital, enabling the exploitation of cheap labour, keeping colonies and its resources and, a few years after April 25th, providing it with the privatizations it needed in order to rebuild itself into the main current economic groups. Two hundred multimillionaires, bankers and beneficiaries of state contracts have made the most of such protection. The Espírito Santo group is nowadays the most powerful tentacle in this octopus of interests.

6.3 **This power depends upon privilege** and spreads class war to all areas: taxes on workers and consumers are five times higher than those on profits, housing policies force families into debt and turn banks into proper landlords of the whole country; there are cuts on social support to deal with poverty, while the losses caused by the collapse of finance are nationalized.

6.4 Right-wing parties **PSD** and **CDS** are the political representatives of this regime. Their agendas include a radical privatization of the Portuguese economy. The right-wing wants to subject education, health and social security costs (which make up 30% of the Portuguese GDP) to market laws. It is a wide program that aims at delivering the vital needs of the country into the hands of economic groups in areas in which profitability is assured.

6.5 In the last two years, **conservative ideological hegemony in Portuguese society has faced a few setbacks**. The legalization of same sex marriage was one of the most relevant, asserting the respect for people's choices against discriminatory prejudices, despite the restriction still in place regarding the right to adopt. Parity, divorce and gender identity laws also highlight such culture of respect.

6.6 PS is a party converted to liberalism and a technocratic machinery of power, despite the contradictory

support it draws among the people. When faced with the debt crisis, the liberal strategy has been reinforced. PS's leadership wishes to keep its role inside the rotativism that has ruled the country for 35 years, following policies which enforce tax rises and widespread cuts in social benefits that match those of the right, aimed at ensuring the transfer of labor income to capital.

6.7 BE rejects any illusions of a pact with "another PS" which does not exist. There are left-wing voices inside PS, but the party has for a long time sacrificed socialism and even the European social democrat tradition at the altar of the "third way" of liberal politics. So, we chose instead to challenge PS and its supporters with the failure of its political program. **Only breaking away from the path of liberal policies, changing the country's political landscape, will open the way for left-wing politics.**

6.8 **PCP** stands for a wide section of the history and organization of the Portuguese workers' movement. When it comes to fighting against liberal measures and defending wages and jobs, BE and PCP have agreed on convergent lines, and we appreciate that. On the context of the current external intervention, these lines of convergence and dialogue must grow stronger. The working meeting between the two parties, which took place not long ago and was the first of its kind in seven years, was a step forward on that process.

6.9 There are striking **differences** between BE and PCP. As far as unity is concerned, BE believes it is vital not to give up on setting victory as goal, and that demands left-wing sectors which share different ideas somehow coming close together. No minority party will be able to implement socialist policies on its own. All contributions for unity are a step towards a majority. In terms of **ideology**, for BE socialism means the end of exploitation, and thus economic and political democracy, which leaves censorship aside and takes a multi-party system, trade union rights and so on for granted. In this context, we note that PCP is not much different from the Chinese Communist Party and other repressive regimes.

7. JOINING FORCES ON THE LEFT

7.1 The axis of national politics is the **regime pact between PS and PSD**, successively expressed on the continuity of economic policies, constitutional amendments, power structures, EU and OTAN. The idea of a **PSD-PS-CDS government** arises out of this regime crisis. The socialist left wishes to replace this axis for another which represents a majority for economic justice and demands anti-recession policies.

7.2 **BE's main focus is the struggle for public services** and against bankruptcy politics. It is on that field, where the potential for popular mobilization is higher, that alliances and alternatives for socialist policies may be found.

7.3 BE has put forward a **censure vote** when the government submitted to the social contract negotiations measures that would make lay-offs easier. We did so bringing forward concrete alternatives to fight unemployment and precarity, when so many young people rose up against resignation.

7.4 Such extraordinary mobilization shows **it is possible to build a social alliance to contest the majority needed to change the way the country is going**. Although this "movement under construction" is not contradiction-free, it dealt successfully with the influence conservative discourses tend to exert on a section of the people. The answer to precarity as "unavoidable" was given on the streets, and on a large scale.

7.5 **Trade unions and the left should draw some lessons from the creativity and democratic initiative shown on the March 12th demonstrations**. Namely, trade unions must give the many-sided forms of work precarity a voice. Such views are not incompatible with but must be integrated within the dynamics of social struggle which achieved a peak in terms of standing up for wages and pensions on the October 24th General Strike.

7.6 BE activists took part on the October 24th general strike eagerly and with resolve, as well as on all pro-

tests that came after. Always with the same cheerfulness, because the demands are just and because our understanding of democracy is pugnacious, popular and emancipatory. Working towards social alliances that polarize political choices to the left is worth on the fields where concrete struggles will take place: against wage and pension cuts or unfair labour laws, as well as on the worldwide struggle against recession.

7.7 BE believes in a **social alliance that includes workers and small farmers**. Throughout the last 10 years, one third of workers has left farming. Desertion, ageing and poverty are the outcome of such decay.

The exodus from the interior will not be stopped by agricultural policies only; but without policies that promote **food sovereignty and access to the land**, the replacement of imports, fair prices to environmental production and protection, local markets and the promotion of the cooperative sector, rural abandonment will not be put to a halt. BE defends a PAC amendment, with employment, the diversification of production and the environment as main criteria, and advocates the recovery of the fishing sector.

7.8 **Against the rent-seeking of the large groups, BE states the need for industrial policies which privilege the productive sectors**. It is the only means to ensure a **structural change in Portuguese economy**, the key to the creation of qualified jobs.

7.9 BE has always given political expression to the demands of the culture world. The weakening of public structures of cultural production and dissemination deepens the process of loss of plurality within the country. We believe in public services for the access to culture throughout the territory, either through direct support of local production and dissemination of the right to enjoy our heritage or mediation tools that promote the access to culture, the presence of art in schools, or the improvement of the radio and television public services and the refusal of the concentration of the media or the privatization of RTP.

7.10 BE advocates **justice reform**, so that it becomes

an essential public service those most disadvantaged can access. Labour justice must thus be improved and the rights of everyone guaranteed in due time.

7.11 BE refuses public endorsement to bullfight events or any other shows that inflicts psychical or physical suffering onto animals.

7.12 Left wing and Regionalization

Centralism as a public administration modus operandi is one of the tools, by which the dominant classes lead the State, this way condemning most of the country to an anemic growth, that keeps the peripheral regions in a dominated relation to the metropolitan areas. The public investment decisions affect the whole territory and are frequently the expression of an asphyxiating centralism.

8. LEFT-WING POLICIES FOR A LEFT-WING GOVERNMENT

8.1 BE will take its place in the struggle against recession with specific alternatives which make it clear how a government which refuses economic terror must act. Our answer will be based upon the following priorities:

1. **An urgency plan to create jobs** through the extension of public services and public investment, urban rehabilitation, public transportation networks, **old age support**, a program of **ecological conversion and energy conservation and efficiency**, and the integration of false fee-based and term contracts.

2. **Fighting the budget deficit with deep tax reforms:** a tax on wealth and high net, the end of unnecessary benefits and offshores, taxing the banks and urban surplus value.

3. **State bank action** to fund the investment and control the interest rates that strangle job creation and production.

4. **Refund state social security:** increase the funding, convergence of the lowest pensions, establishment

of a **sole contractual payment** for non-contributory allowances and a supplement for those on the poor rural population who are over 50.

5. **Increase food production**, promoting agro-ecology, recovery of the fishing sector, encourage fairer contracts between farmers, fishermen and distribution, establishment of a land bank and arguing for long-term funding arrangements to help farm production, aimed at ProDeR execution and unit reconversion.

6. **Against corruption**, tax access to bank accounts and penalties for illicit enrichment.

7. **HNS** and state schools as safeguards of democracy.

8.2 BE stands for policies to overcome the recession and carry out a left-wing government. For BE it is crystal clear which policies should be pursued: **a new majority for left-wing policies depends upon breaking away with austerity policies, in the name of economic justice.**

BE will never be part of a majority which advocates wage cuts or the privatization of public services and companies strategic for the economy. **We will contest the forthcoming election putting forward socialist policies** focused on employment and the payment of the social debt towards the poor, standing up to finance blackmail and recession.

8.3 Throughout the whole of its activity, BE has sought to **converge** with political sectors engaged in anti-liberal stances. Our support to Manuel Alegre has been in line with such unitarian politics, which break away from sectarian traditions. We still need that same unitarian culture of dialogue, movement and struggle in all convergences against recessive policies.

It is obvious that BE is facing difficulties when it comes to take action in inner areas of the country. There are issues related to ideology, political actions or demographic structure which put severe conditions upon BE's establishment. BE must overcome such difficulties and be present in less populous areas. Farming issues and those related to accessing good public

services (such as health and education) or mobility and the very relevant issue of regionalisation are paramount for BE's struggle. Those are, nowadays, the most dividing and mobilizing causes for the people living therein.

Thus, we will go on on fighting for the resolution of the Casa do Douro crisis or the Tua, Sabor and Alto Tâmega dams. We shall also stand up for the reopening of CP minor and regional lines.

9. BE FOR ALL STRUGGLES

9.1 BE is the **people's left** committed to with social activism and the struggle for socialism, which is a whole program and movement for emancipation. This is the hardest struggle of all: to fight back the civilization crisis and IMF policies, while rebuilding the social movements. Moving a solution for the left and the country's leadership crisis forward depends upon this struggle for hegemony.

9.2 BE represents nowadays hundreds of thousands of young people, workers and pensioners and aims at becoming a **mass party for the emancipatory struggle** of those who are exploited and oppressed by the capitalist system. However, if BE wishes to grow into a political alternative for all of those who want to fight against unemployment, precarity, capitalist exploitation and oppression, it is paramount to mobilize many more workers, permanent or precarious, young people, immigrants and feminist and LGBT activists, amongst others. Division and fragmentation are amongst the most fierce OBSTÁCULOS to the workers' mobilization and the EFICACIA of their struggle.

9.3 BE faces organization and political restrictions: the representativeness of local structures is uneven, intervention amongst the young is far from matching BE's area of influence, our presence is still not enough on social movements and the **a new culture of mobilizing ideas on the left is just beginning**, although it is a striking factor for the success or lack of it of the socialist project embodied by BE.

9.4 Since the last convention, **BE has grown**, strengthened its intervention on a national level, has taken

part in **three elections**, achieving 11% (European election), 10% (general election), but only 3,1% (district and local councils) and 4.3% (local assembly), bellow the objective. This last election has boosted the activity of local organizations, but the task is just beginning and demands deep **thought**, not at least because local structures are mainly focused on local intervention.

9.5 Refusing the tradition of imposing driving belts upon social movements, BE encourages the political participation of those who build **social intervention networks**, paramount for its growth as a mass party. Such task calls for further organization in political and social disputes; it calls for more activists running for **leadership and representative roles inside trade union or workers' councils**; it calls for activists in a workplace or sector to meet up in order to chose the best ways for collective action; it calls for activists inside the social movements to reflect upon their activities, and, inside the party, on their experience and coordination. BE respects the autonomy of its activists on the social movements and wishes to learn from them.

9.5.1 **Young students** must widen their intervention into more schools throughout the country, keeping the organization of a national conference on the agenda.

9.5.2 BE local organizations must support the establishment of working groups in order to bring about reflection, internal debate and participation in feminist movements and others.

9.5.3 BE must keep track of the most relevant events as far as the **internationalist** struggle is concerned, such as in Palestine and Middle East, but also in the Arab world, Latin America and Africa, supporting permanent solidarity structures. At a local level, actions for mobilization must be carried out in order to meet prompt solidarity tasks.

9.5.4 The national coordination of the **labor** section must be backed up by local structures that promote the participation and reflexion of labor activists, to encourage precarious and non-precarious workers

to come together in self-organized mobilizing structures.

9.5.5 **National thematic conferences** will remain an instrumental tool for debate and decisions on which policies to follow. BE needs more internal debate on its choices.

9.6 In order to move forward, BE needs to bring together the protagonists of the social struggle. However, more local capacity for action, through councillors and local and regional groups, who take decisions on their own priorities and those who were elected locally, is needed.

9.7 Since its foundation, BE has committed itself to a **new organization culture**, which is a matter of politics, action and communication. We do not replicate authoritarian models based upon a leadership which controls and subordinates each step of its activists, as much as we refuse the model of the amorphous party, under effective control of the government elite. However, we are only too aware that such working modes are not a matter of statutes, but of praxis, and

that we are falling behind our needs and will.

It takes a **movement of many thousands of activists and leaders**, able to liven up a campaign, run in an election, organize the social struggle, put forward new political ideas and encourage collective leadership at all levels. Only with such power will it be possible to build a mass party.

9.8 While setting up means of **communication and culture**, BE fights against the ruling ideology. We aim at much more than just spreading news and ideas most are unaware of: we want to turn people into protagonists.

*

BE brought a new strength to the left, opened up new debates, changed the political map. BE has always meant energy and imagination; but it lives mainly through the militant commitment of its activists when times are rough, with plenty of social instability, risks and threats against labour — oppressions that tend to last.

BE is and will be the left you can trust.