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Since The Beginning of the Capitalist Crisis till Today

2009-2017





Workers' Strikes and Struggles In Greece Since The Beginning of the Capitalist Crisis till Today (2009-2017)



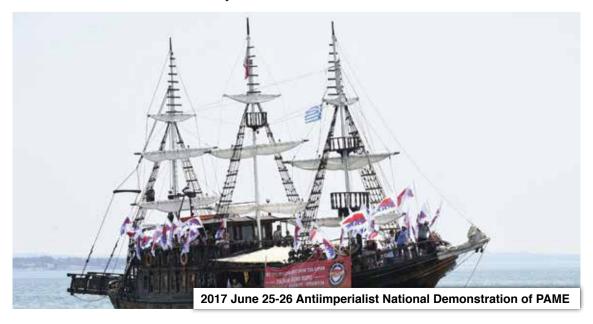
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Introduction

PAME became the real defender of the workers within the trade union movement. Between 2009 and 2017 PAME lead dozens of General, National, Local or Sectoral Strikes, industrial actions, hundreds of protests, rallies and occupations. It kept steadfast and solid a powerful force of trade unions and trade unionists fighting against the wave of integration, submission and dissolution. Its slogans were adopted by broader workers' and peoples' forces. PAME was strengthened with new trade unions of all levels, regional Trade Union Centers. Its influence expanded. Hundreds of new elected trade unionists are currently with PAME's line, fighting to change the correlations of forces in all sectors for the reconstruction of the trade union movement.

This force was expressed and impressed at the 4th National Congress of PAME in November 2016. At the Congress participated, after decisions of their massive and democratic procedures 536 trade unions. Specifically: 12 National Federations, 15 Regional Trade Unions Centers, 457 first level, base trade unions, 52 workers' committees and many trade union cadres.



Today, PAME's 20-year action, as a Front of trade unions in an anti-capitalist direction, confirms the great importance of its creation for the workers' trade union movement.

PAME took a clear position with militant actions and initiatives against imperialist wars and interventions. It organized and-continues to-express its solidarity with refugees and migrants on a daily and multiform basis. It showed its practical solidarity in the struggles of the workers, the peoples in other countries.

PAME, with stability and consistency, fought against all memoranda and anti-workers' laws. At the same time, however, PAME denounces that a serious obstacle in class orientation was, and still remains, the false dilemma pro or anti-memorandum that hides the real causes and those responsible. Behind the false label of "anti-memorandum", employers' forces were hiding with their own interests and deep reactionary, fascist forces. This dilemma systematically cultivated inside the workers, the logic of common interest of employers and workers. The government-employer controlled unionism, the forces of SYRIZA, LAE, ANTARSYA(leftists) also contributed to the prevalence of this division. It was with them that the SYRIZA - ANEL emerged in governance.

In the following timeline are given the main measures and their consequences for the working family's life during the crisis. Also, the development of workers' movements, strikes, rallies and protests in the branches and workplaces are also given year by year.

A) The anti-people's measures 2010-2016 and their consequences

Capitalist restructurings, which led to major reforms in working relations, wages, collective agreements, social benefits, industrial relations, insurance and pension rights, had been planned long before the crisis, with the Maastricht Treaty and more especially since 1993, with the "White Paper". These measures concerned all EU countries and were independent of the phase of the capitalist breeding cycle.

This strategic planning has been targeted, methodically and in time by the EU and the bourgeois governments in each country. These measures have found their faster and more complete realization, especially in Greece, from 2010 on-

wards.

During the crisis, the anti-workers reforms in our country proceeded with speed and intensity. The aim was to transfer the consequences of the crisis on the backs of the people majority and at the same time to protect monopoly capital with the long-term shielding of capitalist profitability in the relatively new conditions of international capitalist competition.

The consequences of the economic crisis and the anti-workers measures that were taken with the well-known memorandums and the implementing laws caused great, profound and permanent overturns in the working and living conditions of the working class, a large part of the self-employed and small property owners.

Before the agreement on the first memorandum, two large packages of antipeople measures had already been imposed. In May 2010, the 1st memorandum was voted. In 2011, the first mid-term was voted and the 2nd memorandum on 12 February 2012. At the end of that year, the new medium-term plan for 2013-2016 was voted. In the summer of 2015, with the SYRIZA-ANEL government, the 3rd



memorandum was voted. The analysis of these agreements is accompanied by many laws, mainly in the form of polynomials that usually come in the form of an emergency in the Parliament. Approximately 700 enforcement laws have been imposed in recent years to specialize in labor, insurance, income, privatization etc. 19 were the legislative acts to pass several anti-people's measures with fast-track procedures in the Greek Parliament.

B) The Struggles And Their Evolution - Their Main Characteristics

These years PAME faced hard battles, struggles on many levels and fronts with rich forms of struggle, which undoubtedly leave reserves and lessons for the future. Schematically we could distinguish two periods. The 1st from 2009 to 2015 and the 2nd from 2015 to 2017.

We had to tackle measures, strategically important to the system, that were not common austerity measures. For this reason, the attack was fierce, the measures were imposed with fire and iron, all measures of repression were used, the employers' intimidation, the legal arsenal of the class enemy.

In total, from 2010-2017, 53 National-General Strikes took place (6 were 48-hour strikes). The 8 were exclusively for the Public and State Services and 2 for the Attika region(the region of Athens and neighboring areas). 235 central rallies and demonstrations took place. There were several activities to support central rallies and strikes, such as symbolic occupations, protest demonstrations, multiform mobilizations.

As the basis for this militant action we take the national strike of 17 December, 2009. It is the first major strike action during the crisis. Especially during a period when Union organizations like GSEE-ADEDY (ETUC members in Greece) had stopped any militant action in front of the new PASOK government, which had been elected in October 2009.

With regard to actions in sectors and workplaces, not all activities can be accounted and recorder, as they are thousands. There are countless unions' interventions, protests, actions to local or company, workplace level for numerous work issues.

Many workplaces were constantly in mobilization, as the attack on the employ-

ers was strong and the situation was escalating. Especially from the 2nd half of 2010, claims for non-paid-salaries become daily phenomenon.

Over the years 2010-2017, there were over 2100 major strikes and mobilizations in workplaces and local initiatives. More than 130 were the symbolic occupations of offices, ministries and workplaces that took place at the same time.

Without adding numerous small or bigger interventions in sectors and workplaces, only the key mobilizations by sector or sub-sector are recorded.

During the first years of the economic crisis until 2012, struggles are intensified with demands mainly related to the payment of accruals, job security, and change of working relations. Furthermore, PAME reinforced the struggles against the abolition of the General Collective Labor Agreement, the despicable salaries of 586 and 511 euros that have remained so far, as well as in branches for the defense of the Collective Agreements as whole, new sectoral contracts.

In many different workplaces, especially in 2011-2012, there were long-lasting strikes for weeks and months across the country. A separate chapter on the course and the content of these struggles is the long-lasting strike in the HALI-VOURGIA Steelworks Factory in Aspropyrgos, outside of Athens, which began in October 2011 and lasted for 9 months. It was a source of rich conclusions for the working class, for today's workers' struggles.

In 2010, the first steps of joint action of workers, self-employed, farmers, women's and youth militant Associations took place with the common struggle of PAME - PASEVE - PASY - OGE - MAS. Based on their common framework, a number of militant interventions and initiatives were built.

An important aspect is also the part of the demonstrations conducted by school and university students and farmers. There were efforts for coordination by city, strengthen solidarity and social alliance. An important contribution is also made by the multi-faceted struggles of the pensioners' movement with the constant effort to link the activities of pensioners unions with the trade unions and the popular movement.

During these years we are also studying our initiatives for the formation of people's committees in cities, municipalities and neighborhoods. The people's committees helped the class movement throughout these years. Objectively, their action and rallying followed the ups-and-downs of class struggle. It planted

the seed of the social alliance, the joint action of self-employed with the workers, gave experience of common struggles in the neighborhoods to support strikers, against employers' attack on Healthcare, against school and hospitals' closures, for the defense of the unemployed, the poor, etc. It gave experience in organizing solidarity.

Important steps were taken on the issue of workers-popular strata solidarity under the slogan "all for one and one for all". There were dozens of solidarity mobilizations, union initiatives and people's committees with highlight the great strike struggle of the workers of HALIVOURGIA Factory, where the aid was not only ethical and with Press Releases of support, but proceeded with substantial material support with all means and ways workers and popular families could contribute from every city in Greece and abroad.

From 2013 onwards, there were a number of mobilizations at public sector (water, electricity power production), in transports. It is directly related to the direction of measures as they focus on the SINGLE WAGE BILL and especially on the right to work, as Public Organizations are closed or merged. At the same time



begun layoffs or imposed "reserve" measures in the Public Sector. In the vast majority of these cases, however, these strikes under the responsibility of the trade union leaders of ADEDY in the public sector, are without particularly massive participation, and attempted to link the change of government with the struggles of the working class. This is to use the workers' struggle as a tool for the rise of new anti-workers' governments into power.

A separate chapter is acquired for the struggles following the SYRIZA-ANEL coalition Government. There were large militant actions escalating in the end of 2015, for the social insurance policy. This, despite the initial recession in the struggle, as a result of the new governmental change and the numbness that followed in the popular masses, which had invested their hopes in SYRIZA, after SYRIZA signed the 3rd memorandum.

In general, the struggle throughout this period was basically against the aftereffects of the crisis (factory closures, layoffs, large wage-pension cuts, etc.). Massiveness and participation in the strikes was inconsistent with the attack we suffered. A serious obstacle was the domination of the forces of subjugation and submission in the trade union movement in very important sectors, as well as the weak sectoral organization of workers before the outbreak of the capitalist crisis. For this reason, there was not a unified front of struggle of workers by sector of business group against the unified attack of the capital.

The contribution of PAME was decisive for the manifestation of workers' resistance against the negative correlation.

C) The Main Fronts of Ideological and Political Struggle

Along with the economic struggle, the continuous and aggressive measures against the life of the working-class family that led to the increase of exploitation, was also developed and strengthened the political and ideological war for the disintegration, manipulation, disorientation and entrapment of workers and popular masses.

This war was strongly experienced in: the obscuring of the character and the causes of the crisis (arguments for 'casino-capitalism', extreme neo-liberal market and policies, etc.), the view that the memorandums brought the crisis and the

recession, theories like: 'crisis is the consequence of corruption and interdependence', of 'cleptocracy', that 'Greece is a colony', the waves of attack for national conciliation and consistency, etc. We met and faced organized provocations, the "movement of the Plazas" (the Greek 'Podemos'), increased intimidation, state and employer intimidation, government changes, direct intervention of the system in the order of the political forces.

In this struggle it was once again proved how important is the role of the reformists and opportunists, as useful pillars of the system in critical moments. These forces are responsible for disorganization of the trade union movement, preventing the movement's radicalization in times of prolonged crisis.

They have tremendous historical accountability because, through the whole range of their ideological and political views and practices, they were spreading confusion and disorientation, and contributing to the entrapment of the working



and popular masses on pro-system views, the main vehicle being the idea of class collaboration, and a series of false contrasts.

In the territory of his ideological and political sovereignty, the class enemy, along with the help of the reformists and opportunists, succeeded in spreading inside the workers' and peoples' conscience that the crisis is a consequence of maladministration by the liberal and social-democratic parties, that it is a deviation from a supposed healthy capitalist system, therefore, a better mixture of policy can correct the system and the EU.

All these were new elements of the ideological political struggle, brought to us in complex situations. We had to deal with many new problems that required a superior ideological-political organizational and practical mass action in the working and popular masses.

In addition to the above main front of struggle, there have been additions fronts of confrontation with employers and their associations, governments, state apparatus, government and employers' controlled trade unions, various "movement-like" efforts to mitigate and manipulate worker's will.

The so-called "indignant movement" that made its appearance in 2011 was used as a relief valve for the line and the slogans of the struggles. It was attempted to be turned against the class-oriented movement. Inside it, all sorts of political enemies of class struggle found shelter, as well as purely fascist, provocative forces. It was one of the major difficulties in the orientation of the movement. It played a role in delaying and creating obstacles in the efforts for the reconstruction of the workers' and peoples' movement. It was an unpredictable factor that played a role in general developments and the reform of the political system.

In the spring of 2010, the powerful strike wave that had been developing was interrupted by big provocations ('Marfin Bank' fire, with three workers dead). A coordinated attempt was planned by the bourgeois apparatus to blame the organized class-oriented movement, strike struggles, and PAME. The provocation plan failed, but it revealed that the bourgeoisie and its mechanisms will not hesitate to use everything in order to attack against the popular movement.

The fake separation "pro/anti-memoranda", which had its starting point at the end of 2010, played an important role in the disorientation of the struggles, in the effort to hide the capitalists, the monopoly groups from the target of the work-

ers. It gave an alibi, lead to conservatism as it targeted a "corrupt" personnel of the capital and used slogans as "thieves", "we will hang you", "the traitors to be executed", with lynching, ambushes, and so on. Behind the false title "anti-memorandum", were hiding with their own interests, the capitalists, defenders of the exploitation system, reactionary, counter-revolutionary and profound anticommunist forces. The prevalence of this separation was also supported by opportunism with all its versions, led by the "anti-memorandum front".

Similarly, was forward the undermining of strikes and industrial action in the sectors and workplaces in the name of the difficulties and low strike participation. In essence, it was time and place for employers to move freely, to continue the attack in every workplace. This was supported by SYRIZA, especially during the 'plazas mobilizations', with proposals for afternoon rallies instead of strikes. A special element of the attack on the content of the struggles are the proposals of the BIOME-type factories in Macedonia, for self-management which were being promoted and supported by SYRIZA-ANTARSYA - "anti-authoritarian groups".

In September 2013, the Golden Dawn's criminal activity escalated with the attack against the metal-workers, PAME cadres in Perama and the murder of Pavlos Fissas. All the previous time, with the air of increasing its electoral rates, the fascists had launched attacks on workers, immigrants, created battalion attack forces. It was and continues to be the murderous hand of big monopolies, ship-owners capitalists. With the creation of 'employment' agencies, it tried to



intervene for the interests of big employers in attacking wages, to impose wage cuts, abolition of workers' rights. In this effort were included its plans for intervention in the Trade Unions, the creation of "trade unions only for Greeks".

In spite of the crisis' consequences (business closure, shrinkage of sectors, redundancies, shrinking or dissolution of trade unions), PAME as a rallying front of trade unions, as an expression of the class orientation in the trade union movement, increased its strength, its prestige and its influence. PAME established itself as the most constituent force within the trade union movement of Greece.







2009 December 17







2010 Strikes-Demonstrations

In 2010 are the first months of the new PASOK government. It is the year that our country will be put under the IMF mechanism and the first memorandum will be agreed on May.

In the months before the memorandum, an unprecedented plan of deceit takes place so as to cultivate the idea that the Greek people are responsible for the situation, that they must accept that "there is no money" and that "the recovery of national sovereignty" passes through the attack on the working class conquests and rights. It is an attempt to incriminate the people with the monumental phrase of PASOK MP Th. Pangalos "Together we ate everything".

In January 2010, the European Commission's report on the Greek Government's Debt and Deficit Statistics is issued, highlighting problems of "deliberate misreporting of data" and further doubts are raised about the accuracy of data beyond the latest revision of 20 October 2009.

Before the agreement of the memorandum there had already been measures taken and an overall attack on people's income and social insurance rights. Since the beginning of 2010, the government cabinet-at the time-had approved the imposition of additional harsh anti-popular measures, making full use of ECOFIN's decisions involving the government's economic staff, which endorsed the fierce attack.



The then Prime Minister, G. Papandreou, told his Cabinet that the additional measures were inevitable, while asking the ministers to "strictly adhere to the Stability and Growth Program" and "monthly control" of its results.

The government's target to accelerate the rhythms of the sweeping attack on workers' rights on social insurance, wages and other popular rights, in the name of the "rescue" supposedly of the Greek capitalist economy, it was presented as a "titanic national effort" and cultivated the path for the 'memorandums'. It was nothing more than the promotion and implementation of pre-decided measures, of the pro-EU, pro-capitalist strategy, of the objectives of the Lisbon Strategy and the new "Europe 2020" project.

The declared objective was to strengthen the "competitiveness" of large capital and to maintain its profitability during a period of capitalist crisis that had already begun to show its signs. Prior to the memorandum, Mr. Papandreou stated that "the crisis should be seen as an opportunity for necessary deep cuts and changes". The then government propaganda was based on the false argument that the "successful implementation of the stability program" would supposedly prevent new measures being taken.

Developments in the first five months of 2010 were stagnant. After the publication of the stability program, new announcements by the prime minister were announced and predicted wage cuts, social spending cuts, increase retirement age, new tax storm. At the same time, Finance Minister G. Papaconstantinou said that probably "the state budget has to be revised," and "there will be new measures".

During this period the bases for the imposition of measures were introduced on March, such as:

- Massive lay-offs of employees in the public sector (state companies, municipalities, etc.). Additional expanded non-renewal of limited-time contracts that were ending (equivalent to layoff), reduction of seasonal employment. All three measures will have a direct reflection on real unemployment.
- New reforms in the insurance system and pensions.
- Further privatization of Public Health.
- New reforms of working relations (abolition of collective agreements, liberalization of layoff limits).
- New privileges to big capitalists who were funded with €10 billion by the EU

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through the NSRF. At the same time, through the Investment Law, an additional €7.2 billion was given to business groups, and more than € 6 billion would be given to boost capital through "Public-Private Partnerships".

• The government had already announced a reduction of a unit tax rate on profits of large business to 24% from 25%.

The announcement of the appeal to the **support mechanism took place on 23 April 2010** in Kastelorizo by PM George A. Papandreou. Funding under the support mechanism was conditional on Greece taking fiscal adjustment measures and, in particular, on the condition that it would take fiscal consolidation measures

On May 3, 2010, Greece requested € 80 billion from the other 15 Euro countries and €30 billion from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The application was accompanied by three annexes:

- 1. Memorandum of Economic and Financial Policy
- 2. Technical Memorandum of Understanding
- 3. Memorandum of Understanding on Specific Economic Policy Conditions

On May 6th the Memorandum was passed in Parliament. On 8 and 10 of May, the "Loan Facility Agreement" with the Euro countries and the "Direct Funding Arrangement" with the IMF were also signed. All these agreements were named "Memorandum" and ranked No. 1 along with other agreements later.

A group of representatives of the European Commission (the European Commission), the European Central Bank (ECB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), also known as the "Troika", was formed, evaluating the progress of the program implementation of the Memorandum "deciding on the disbursement of the respective installments of the loan.

In June of the same year, anti-insurance law (3863-10) was signed, causing major strikes to insurance and pension rights.

In July 2010, the three-year National Collective Aggrement was signed imposing salary freeze, providing for increases of 0,18 EUR in 2011 and 0,21 EUR in 2012. In August, the plan for the abolition of the two public "Workers' Housing Organizations" and their merger with the OAED (Public Employment Organization) and the abolition of the construction projects was announced.

In December, the anti-workers' bill which destroys the collective agreements

was voted and became the podium for the later more negative developments.

Against this backdrop of developments in 2010, 13 National General Strikes were held, one of which was 48-hour and 16 major rallies. 5 strikes took place before the country's appeal to the IMF (in May), and the next 8 were after the appeal and the individual measures that were taken at each moment.

The militant actions in sectors, factories and workplaces show the first signs of dealing with the consequences of the capitalist crisis. Gradually, militant actions multiplied for the unpaid work, for changes in working relations and job rotation. The first half of 2010 was marked by the struggles of migrant fishermen-workers, the "stage-program" workers, the occupation of 'ELITE' factory, the strikes in the ports.

The events and developments of 2010, particularly in the first few months, must be remembered because, in the face of the chaos of the events that followed, there is the danger of forgetting aspects of the political and ideological confrontation at that time that were at the forefront.

The character of the crisis, its causes, the fake dilemma memorandum/antimemorandum as a way of hiding the actual rival camps, started in 2010 (actually beginning in late 2009) with the new PASOK government. It turned out that the



intensity of the anti-popular anti-workers attack had begun long before the aggrement on the memorandums in which it peaked.

In 2010, through our slogans, our speeches, our proposals and our positions, we see more distinctly the different orientation in the movement for the exit. More characteristic are the central slogans "NO MORE SACRIFICES FOR PLUTOC-RACY", "WE WILL NOT PAY FOR THEIR CRISIS"," NO TO THE BANKRUPTCY OF THE PEOPLE". The motto of the "red lines", used even today by the Greek governments, was initially formulated by the government of G. Papandreou. The 2day General strike Rally in April and the May Day 2010 rally set in the central speeches, the "red lines" of the class movement, the slogan "us or them" is heard for the first time(a slogan which SYRIZA later acquainted and changed its essence.)

At the same time were made the first attempts for the people's alliance to express themselves with its organizations (PAME, PASY, PASEVE, MAS, OGE). In September of the same year, joint action takes features of an alliance with its official constitution.

The strike on May 5th was, perhaps, the most massive of the time. However, it was marked by a bloody provocation that cut off the strike wave.

Development of the struggles on 2010

The first strike of the year 2010 took place on the **10th of February**, in 66 cities against the recent cutback of national insurance and pension rights.

The unions suggested that the people should not believe the scaremongering of the government and the plutocracy, who declared that Greece would go into bankruptcy, if the anti-people measures were not carried out.

The Executive Secretariat of PAME highlighted:

"No sacrifice must be made for the sake of plutocracy. The people should not trust the labour aristocracy and the GSEE-ADEDY, who are trying to deceive the workers and undermine the struggle. The leadership of GSEE deceits us when speaks about a political strike. With all their means, they support the government policies and the big capital. They argue that the government announcements on the pension programs are vague and un-

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clear, and that should the need arise, they will fight."

Then follows the strike of the **24th of February** which begins with the symbolic blockade of the Athens Stock-Market by the forces of PAME and the slogan: "The index of life for the workers and the people is the one to rise".

The National Coordinating Committee of STAGE-PROGRAM workers calls for demonstrations in Athens and other cities. A similar call is made for the workers in the Local Administration workers. The rallies and national strike manifests in 70 cities.

In the National General Strike of the **5th of March**, the forces of PAME call every Regional Trade Union center, union, Federation and the working class to arise and fight.

"The working class has a duty to respond to the war declared on them. A duty to itself, its children and the generations to come".

A week later and with tensions rising, the forces of PAME call for a new strike for the 11th of March. The forces of PAME call for the continuation of the response of the working class, against the anti-worker policies of the government, the capital and the EU. The call is addressed to all workers, students, pensioners, the youth, the immigrants and the unemployed to participate en mass, in the Strike of March 11. They call for the cancelation of governmental measures and the condemnation of ND and LAOS parties that both voted for and supported them.

"We are warning the workers that more measures are to come, concerning the National Insurance laws, the pensions and the working relations. It is their next barrage of assault. Already, the European Commission and the European Union demand it and capitalists rejoice and demand that the new measures (about holiday benefits etc) must be imposed in the private sector also. These new measures strike on the private and public sector alike."

The Coordination Committee of School Students in Athens calls for the participation in the strike of March 11th, also, having convened and elected representatives in more than 50 schools of the city.

"From today everyone will be at their feet. We will shut down all schools throughout the country. Not one classroom should be open, no students should attend classes. We will give them our own lessons in struggle".

This was the call of the Coordination Committee, in preparation of the strike, written in the form of an open address, to be read in all schools during the morning mass.

Strike rallies took place in 68 cities.

Vasilis Petropoulos, a member of the Executive Secretariat of PAME, in his speech captures the spirit of those days:

"There is no national danger, no national duty that calls for the sacrifice of the rights of the workers. The only thing that truly exists is the voracious desire of the capitalists to further expand their profits. They haven't been tired to repeat that these measures are the only way and that they are a necessity. On our part, we should not tire ourselves and repeat that these measures are the only way and a necessity only for the big capital and their profit... The profits of the plutocracy flood bank vaults, while the government steals from the people. They try to add on our backs, with a single stroke of the pen, a debt of 4, 8 billion Euros. As they pillage the last remnants of the popular property, the government leaves the concentrated wealth of the capitalists untouched."

On the **April 21-22**, days before the appeal of the Greek State in the IMF, a 48hour strike is accomplished. In its epicenter lies the strike movement of the shipping workers that is ruled out as illegal. 75 strike rallies occur, all over the country.

"We strike against the leveling of the life of the working and popular families. For the cancelation of anti-people laws and measures and the blocking of the new measures that being prepared, by the government, the EU and the IMF. The plutocracy should get bankrupt, not the people." is the call of PAME.

At the same time, a solidarity movement from workers' unions and organizations from all over the world support the Greek working class, in the upcoming 2day strike. The solidarity campaign launched by the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) is met with an unprecedented and immediate response by unions and federations, representing millions of workers across the globe and sending the message that they draw hope and strength from the fighting workers of Greece, rallied and organized by PAME.



Messages of solidarity with the struggle of the Greek working class and PAME, towards the 2day strike are sent by workers unions from all around the world.

Against the decision of Greek courts to pronounce the strike of the shipping workers as illegal, the Press Office of PAME makes clear the

"the prohibition of the strike is illegal and that the only law is the right of the worker".

Strike rallies take place in 69 cities of the country, answering to calls of PAME and PASEVE, PASY, MAS, EEDYE, OGE and School Committees all over Greece.

Giannis Tasioulas, president of the Union of Construction Workers of Athens focuses in his speech on the day of the general strike:

"Together with PAME and the class-oriented unions, we must take our lives into our own hands, our future and the future of our country. It's us or them. We are many. The right is on our side. Let us organize our forces, our struggle and enforce our right. Let us overthrow the anti-popular policies and their authority. Our vision is not to make the current system more humane or just. That cannot happen. Our vision is to rid ourselves from the cruel dictatorship of the capital... The crisis is born and raised by their system. The workers are not responsible for it. We will not accept to make any sacrifice for the plutocracy. Any sacrifice we are willing to make will be for our struggle, for a winning outcome on all levels".

The speech for the rally on May Day was addressed by Babis Vaiou, member of the Committee of Workers in the telecom company "Hellas Online". In his speech he noted that:

"This is our red line: Us or them. The capitalist growth and the welfare of the people do not go together. The system itself cannot be humanized. On the contrary, it becomes all the more brutal and barbaric. Only those who profit from it can support such a decayed and corrupt system. In between the pathetic supporters of this system, we find the trade-union leaders of GSEE and ADEDY, the trade union aristocracy... They totally distort the truth. The modern worker is not bound to the capitalists in order to live. It's the exact opposite: The workers are the ones to work in order to sustain their corrupt system, under the whip of poverty and starvation. Our country

can continue without the capitalists, but there is no future without the working class".

On the **5th of May**, as the government was filing the new bill, butchering the rights and vested prerogatives of the workers; a bill agreed by the EU and the IMF and supported by the parties of ND and LAOS, rallies and demonstrations break out in 68 cities of the country, while PASEVE calls for the closing of all shops and small businesses.

During the strike of the 5th of May, a well-organized provocation plan unfolds, aiming to smear the great strike rally of PAME and the struggle of the workers and people. Small groups of provocateurs, with the participation of neo-nazi groups of Golden Dawn and other fascist cells, attempted to drag the protestors in riots, so as to blame PAME and the class-oriented workers movement. At the same time, 3 employees are killed in a fire set by hooded provocateurs, in the branch office of Marfin Bank, in the center of Athens. The culprits of this provocation plan were soon revealed as later that day during the Parliament discussion, the president of the far-right party LAOS claimed that the forces of PAME had attempted to break in and burn the Parliament. Their plan was well-organized but did not succeed. Because of the readiness of the forces of PAME and its security teams, who managed to effectively push back all the provocateur elements.

The events of that day proved that a well-organized and self-protected class movement can express the popular anger and transform it into a political class-oriented power. It can refute all provocation plans that aim for the intimidation of people, no matter where they come from.

However, this provocation intercepted the tide of a movement in its birth. The strike rally of the 5th of May, may had been the largest of all those years. The streets of Athens and other cities were literally flooded with protesters and strikers. Ten minutes after the group of the Union of Construction Workers had reached Syndagma Square in front of the Parliament, the first riots broke out... Provocateurs climbed the stairs of the Parliament and started the well-known cat and mouse game with the police forces, stationed there.

On the 20th of May, strike rallies are organized in 67 cities of the country.

In its announcement, the Executive Secretariat of PAME salutes the strikers and demonstrators by noting:

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"The Executive Secretariat of PAME salutes the millions of strikers who, with their massive strike have sent a resounding message of rejection and condemnation to the barbaric anti-popular policies. The message is clear. We decisively continue towards the broadening of our struggle and the resistance against these policies. Against all provocation and slander, we will strengthen the front of PAME and build the social alliance of workers, self-employed together with the poor farmers... We pave the way of the social alliance for the dominion of the working class and its allies. Our motto: "No sacrifice, Plutocracy Must P ay for the Crisis".

On the same day, PAME occupied the Ministry of Labour, and raised a banner with the slogan:

"Reject The New Measures! Now Organize-Resist-Counterattack with PAME"!

The message sent by the strikers caused a great disturbance in the government and caused it to launch a new attack against the worker's struggle and the pioneering forces of PAME. As a result, during the parliamentary discussion on the bill of the Ministry of Labour, concerning the encoding of laws about security in the workplace, Andreas Loverdos, Minister of Labor, argued that "the demonstrations... prevent the government from functioning and cause serious repercussions on the political system." The context of his statement was repeated continuously, on the months to come.

On the **17th of June** during the rally organized by PAME, an agent of the Police Secret Services was caught pretending to be a demonstrator while giving information to the Police.

This agent, appointed by the government was Christos Tassakopoulos and was apprehended by demonstrators while talking on his walkie-talkie with the Police headquarters. He was immediately immobilized, and his radio and service ID was taken away.

On the **23rd of June** a new National General strike was organized. PAME noted that:

"We will not surrender our earned rights, the future of our people and that of our children without a fight. It is at these times when the wealth produced is huge that the working class can and must fight for its modern needs, aiming to overthrow the power of the monopolies that deprive the working class of all those it produces."

After 6 days, on the 29th of June, a new National General strike was organized and took place in 64 cities. It is during this June that developments on the social insurance issue will begin, ending with what is now known as Loverdos' Law.

Minister A. Loverdos confessed that the anti-workers' insurance policies mandated in this bill were planned by the government last December. He also announced a new actuarial study on Public Insurance that would follow the guidelines of the memorandum.

Before the demonstration begun, a call was addressed "To The Working Class Of All European Countries, All Militant Unions Of Europe And All Militant Unionists Of Europe". The call states the following:

"All of us, the thousands of protestors of Athens, declare yet again, our disagreement with the barbarous and anti-popular measures of the social-democratic government. These are measures that decimate the rights of the workers obtained by their struggle in the last ten years, all for the profits of the monopoly capital.

We continue without a step back in our class-oriented fight, with the goals of the class-oriented movement in our country expressed and represented



by the All Workers Militant Front-PAME, a front that rallies in its ranks thousands of workers from hundreds of unions and federations.

- During this period worker's struggle develop in many more European countries against their government's policies. We declare our support and solidarity. By all these big and small fights, we can draw some common conclusions:
- The working class of all European countries finds itself against a unifiedand well-planned strategy devised by the monopoly capital. This strategy not only aims at transferring all the consequences of the capitalist economic crisis, on the back of the working class, but mostly at securing the long-term profitability of the capital, with the total abolishment of every worker's right and the augmentation of the level of exploitation. We are witnesses of the most barbaric and coordinated assault at a pan-European level, as well as of the most wroth struggle of every capitalist country to claim for itself the lion's share. This is a competition that will result in new trials and tribulations for all the peoples.
- The governments, either liberal or social-democratic imply the same barbaric measures. They express the same interests.
- Achievements and basic rights claimed with years of hard struggle, blood and sacrifices are now taken back with the excuse of "exiting the crisis", a crisis born of course, by the capitalist anarchy and the capitalist superprofits. This is a deep and profound crisis that reveals the historical boundaries of the capitalist system. A system that is now rotting and laying the eggs of poverty, unemployment, war and oppression.
- The European Union proves to be a union of capitalists. A union that together with the IMF, the US and the governments form an alliance of scavengers, aiming to rob the people for the sake of the capital.
- The European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) proves that it is not a union organization, but a bureaucratic apparatus of the European capital, essentially supporting the strategies of the European Union. The responsibility of those forces is huge for disarming the labour movement, with their policy of reconciliation with the capital, of class collaboration and submission.

Internationalist solidarity, a matter of priority

Dear colleagues,

With this situation before us, today's need for a pan-European collaboration of all militant unions and all European workers is a fundamental PRI-ORITY.

Today, more than yesterday, we need:

Internationalism and worker's solidarity.

A coordination of militant unions.

A common class struggle, with common goals, in all countries of the Eurozone, all over Europe.

The reform of Social Security, of working relations, of Public Health and Education, the extensive privatization of all sectors, the massive unemployment, the cut-backs on salary and pensions are not temporary, but have a permanent nature. From within those subversions, the capital attempts to bolster the capitalist system by condemning the working masses to poverty and misery. Women, the youth and the children will pay a heavy price.

Workers of Europe We can wait no longer! We must coordinate.



We, the Greek workers, the unemployed, the immigrants, the women, the youth and pensioners express our solidarity to the workers of Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Italy, Romania, France and to the workers of all countries that take to the streets. We express our internationalism to all European workers that overcome- and leave behind- the compromised, bureaucratic leaderships and forge new paths, with new, honorable and fighting unions that organize our counterattack.

The goal of those fights must be the response to those new anti-workers' measures. These policies must not be implemented. We must demand for measures that answer the modern needs of the popular families. We must help the European working class to better understand that our future is not capitalism.

We fight to stop the exploitation of man by man.

PAME will continue to fight for the coordination of our forces for the common cause. For the future, we suggest a meeting in Athens or any other European country".

On the **8th of July**, a 24hour strike is organized, with rallies of PAME taking place in 63 cities of the country.

On the **8th of September**, an event of major importance took place, with the formation of the social alliance. As mentioned before, this was the first step that marked a "great initiative and decision", serving the need of a powerful movement. This movement aimed for the monopolies to be forced to pay for their own crisis, the popular masses to claim the wealth produced by them and fight for a decent living and a certain future for its children.

This initiative was important, not only for the organization of a common front against the consequences of the crisis, but also for planting the seeds of the social alliance, a fundamental prerequisite for another way of development and growth that will satisfy the popular modern needs and not the capitalist profits.

The proposal of the Executive Secretariat of PAME, addressed by Giorgos Perros, highlights:

"We understand clearly the responsibility we have undertaken... we are certain that this is the only way that ensures each worker and employee, the self-employed, the poor farmers and their families with permanent and

steady employment, a decent income, social rights and free time, without the anguish of survival. This is the way of common struggle for another way of development".

On the **7th of October** a new 24hour strike is decided in the Public Sector.

On the **15th of December** the last National General Strike of the year is organized, with the forces of PAME rallying in 63 cities.

National General Strikes of 2010

24hour National General Strike : 10th of February
 24hour National General Strike : 24th of February

3. 24hour National General Strike : 5th of March
 4. 24hour National General Strike : 11th of March
 5. 48hour National General Strike : 21-22nd of April

6. 24hour National General Strike : 1st of May
7. 24hour National General Strike : 5th of May
8. 24hour National General Strike : 20th of May

9. 24hour National General Strike: 23rd of June

10. 24hour National General Strike: 29th of June

11. 24hour National General Strike: 8th of July

12. 24hour National General Strike: 7th of October

13. 24hour National General Strike: 15th of December

Rallies and Demonstrations of 2010

- 1. Immigrants on the 21st of February.
- 2. Rally of the 4th of March (No new taxes, no cuts of salaries, no to the abolishment of the 14th salary, real raises now, for the salaries and pensions, measures of protection for the unemployed), Syntagma Square.
 - 3. Rally of the 8th of March, for the International Working Women Day.
- 4. Rally of the 8th of April (rise against the new tax-mongering committed against us).
 - 5. Rally of the 1st of June (against the anti-insurance governmental monstros-

ity. Preparation to strike).

- **6.** Rally of the **17th of June**, PAME- Public Sector (against the Presidential Decree, promoted by the government).
- **7.** Rally- concert (PAME- National Union of Musicians). **6th of June**, "A song for the fight."
 - 8. 10th of September, Thessaloniki.
- **9. 7th of September**, International Action Day of the WFTU. Actions in BP, OSE-Train Company, Coca Cola Factory in Patras, Ministry of Education.
 - 10. 8th of September, formation of the alliance.
 - 11. 17th-18th of September, Pan-European Conference of PAME.
- **12.** Collective rally of PAME-PASEVE-PASY-MAS-OGE, on the **23rd of September** (say no to the raise of taxes and prices for oil, electricity and VAT).
- **13. 17th of November**, rally of the alliance for the annual anniversary of the uprising of the Greek Polytechnic against the Junta.
- **14.** Joint rally of PAME-PASEVE on the **29th of November** for the Greek tax system, in the Ministry of Finance.
- **15.** Joint rally of PAME-PASEVE-PASY-MAS-OGE, on the **7th of December** against the visit of Strauss Kahn.
 - **16.** Rally on the **9th of December**, for the Collective Labor Contract.



2011 Strikes and Demonstrations

The crisis of the Greek economy continues to deepen. The latest assessments of the government estimate that the rates of decrease in the GDP, for the year 2011 range between 4,5% and 5,5%. Some sources of the Ministry of Finance estimate that the GDP rates will close at 5,3%, higher than the 4,5% of 2010. In addition to this, the government shifted its propaganda on the "exit from the crisis" with the new goal for a "milder recession on 2012 that would be far better than the deep recession of 2011 and by 2012, the current of economy would change".

In the construction sector, the recession in production reaches at a 45% of the equivalent of 2005, while in the sub-sector of building construction, a true breakdown occurs, with the rate of production reaching only a 27,5% of that of 2005.

In the sector of industry the most recent data (August 2011) reveal a shrinking rate of production of 11,7%, in comparison with the production rates of 2010. What is more, for the whole duration of 2011, with the exception of the month of July, the rate of industry production is lower than the level of 80% of that of 2005. Accordingly, in the processing industry, the rates of productivity plunged to an



11%, on the month of August 2011.

A major result of the deepening of the crisis was the scaling up of the rates of unemployment. Officially, the rate of unemployment exceeded 16,5%, with the unemployment in women exceeding 20%, while that of the ages below 25 years, surpassed 42%. For the ages of 25-34 years, the rate of unemployment exceeded 23% and for the young women may have exceeded 45%. The majority of the unemployed seeking employment for the first time is youths from 20 to 29 years old (60%).

On the 25th of May 2011, the first rally of the "indignads" takes place in the country. It is a movement following in the footsteps of the demonstrators of Plaza del sol, in Madrid, known as "indignados". There, we find an intentional effort to lead the reasonable popular anger, outside the organized union movement, with slogans like "Down with all parties", "down with all unions", aiming at the limitation of popular demands. There were also cases of open provocation against the organized movement and PAME.

On the 27th of October, the summit meeting of the European Union decides for a "haircut" of the Greek national dept, by 50%. In the meeting that took place in the Presidential Mansion of Greece, attended by Georgios Papandreou, Antonis Samaras and Karolos Papoulias, the first issue decided upon, was for a common coalition government. On the 10th of November the processes in the parties of ND, PASOK and LAOS were concluded. The new prime minister of Greece was decided to be Loukas Papadimos (former vice President of the European Central Bank). On the 11th of November, the new government of Loukas Papadimos took the parliamentary oath.

7 general strikes soon took place, 2 of which were 48hour strikes and one was a 24hour strike of Civil Servants. In addition to that, 15 big rallies took place all during that period.

The course of the struggles in 2011

On the 23rd of February a general National General strike takes place in 72 cities of the country.

On April of the same year, PAME, the class-oriented union movement and the





working class of Greece hosted in Athens the 16th World Congress of the WFTU, with the participation of 800 representatives from 104 countries, of the world.

WFTU noted, at the end of the Congress:

"The 16th World Trade Union Congress was completed with success on 6-10 April 2011 in Athens. On behalf of all the participants in the 16th World Trade Union Congress we are addressing a warm militant greeting to the international working class. The great success of the 16th World Trade Union Congress puts us all in front of new, great and heavy duties.

The Congress began in an enthusiastic and militant atmosphere with the official Opening Ceremony and the participation of 828 representatives from 101 countries of the world in front of 4.000 Greek working people. During the four days of the congress works that followed, 115 speakers from the five continents and the basic sectors took the floor.

All the acute, contemporary problems of the working people, the poor farmers, the self-employed, the youth, the women, the pensioners and the landless were discussed. Resolutions that strengthen the class-oriented character of the WFTU and aim for the strengthening of the international trade union movement have been voted.

Greeting messages from the General Secretary of UN, Ban Ki-Moon and many country leaders have been received.

During the days of the Congress were held Meetings by Region, as well as Youth and Working Women Meetings with very large attendance.

The Congress voted for significant improvements to the Constitution of WFTU and also elected new leadership with secret ballot.

598 representatives and 213 observers (811 in total) voted for the election of the new Presidential Council. The Presidential Council has now 40 members, 24 of whom are new members.

All of us who participated in the 16th World Trade Union Congress have evaluated that this was a historic and class-oriented Congress for its record of participations as well as for its adopted Resolutions and its democratic – open proceedings. On the same time, there was a unanimous optimism that the working class and its allies are the future of the world. All the materials of the Congress will soon be published and distributed to the members and

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2011 WFTU 16th Congress



friends of WFTU.

Finally, on behalf of all the participants, we want to thank PAME Greece for organizing this unique international trade union event with great success.

All of us who constitute the new leadership of WFTU are aware of the heavy duty, the responsibility we have undertaken, and we will do our best to correspond to the new elevated duties."

The Congress of the WFTU was a great class-oriented and internationalist event, for the international trade union movement, aiming within the harsh conditions of the capitalist crisis and the frontal assault of the capital, to boost the class struggle, in every country and internationally.

On the 1st of May a general strike is organized. Its principal speech highlights:

"Our movement is now at a crossroads. Today, in this moment of the struggle, the working class must decide if it will retreat and compromise or will respond militantly against this attack that aims to impose a state of terror and the law of the jungle. Now is the time for all of us to assume our responsibilities and fight.

To do this, a basic prerequisite is the reconstruction of the worker's movement, from within, the fight with a class orientation, a front against the capitalist employers, their laws and their state. The movement must be organized and massive, based on the workplaces and the sectors of work. It must be a movement clear from the employers' and the governments' control. A movement based upon and furthering the social alliance. A movement that will fight without retreating, that will stop the worst developments from coming that will put forward its claims, in crystal clear goals. Our struggle is for the whole of the needs of the modern working family, which means fighting to overthrow and cancel the working relations of exploitation. In conclusion, it must be an internationalist movement, for a common cause in each and every country."

On the **11th of May**, a 24hour National General strike takes place, with rallies in 73 cities of the country. In the main speech, Vasilis Stamoulis noted:

"Last Wednesday, fascist groups assaulted immigrant workers in Ath-

ens, without provocation, blaming them for the raise in criminality...this is the result of a world- their world- based on the logic of "your death, my life", promoted by the exploitation of man by man, and is in fact this world and this logic that cause the raise in criminality. ... The workers will not do you the favor and fight one another. Our motto is and always will be: Greek and foreign workers united".

On the **16th of May** a demonstration is organized outside the Athens Concert Hall, housing the 12th Conference of the European Trade Union Confederation(ETUC). The unions rallied with PAME condemned the presence of the European worker's aristocracy, in our country. With repeated announcements in Greek and in English, the class forces informed the people about the role that the European government and employer-controlled unionism is playing for the destruction of the worker's rights and the "decapitation" of the workers' movement.

On the **2nd of June** a strike is organized by the Federations of workers in the sectors of Foods-Drinks and Press-Paper Industries. Their demand is the signing of a satisfactory, collective contract.

During that period, PAME calls for a general strike in the days that the Parliament will begin discussing on the new anti-workers' measures. Rallies, in preparation for the general strike have already taken place in many cities of the country.

As noted in the main Press Release of PAME:



"These are critical hours for the lives and the future of us and our families. We can neither cry, nor leave the battle against the raging assault of the government, the capital, the EU and the IMF. We have a sacred duty to our children and to ourselves to cancel the plan of turning the workers into modern slaves. We have the duty to cancel their assault towards our rights, in order to stop the new "hellish" measures for the people. We must not allow for our children to work for starvation-wages. If we do not fight to overthrow this new policy, their future will be a living hell".

June 15, 24-hour national strike.

June 18, rallies in all the cities of the country for the organization of a new 48-hour national strike when the Parliament discusses the new mid-term program.

With the motto "No to the bankruptcy of the people, no time wasted", PAME calls for local demonstrations in all municipalities on Monday, June 27th, so that workers, the unemployed, the retired, the young, the self-employed can spread the message of the strike and the strong opposition to the measures.

At the same time, on the same day, a banner is lifted by the forces of PAME in Acropolis, under the slogan

"THE PEOPLES HAVE THE POWER AND NEVER SURRENDER ORGANIZATION - COUNTERATTACK»

28th and 29th of June, there is a 48-hour National General Strike.

At the end of the 1st day of the Strike the Executive Secretariat of PAME issued a Press Release to denounce the provocations of a few teams (who has their faces covered) with the Riot Police squads

"(they are) aiming at suppressing workers' struggles, terrorizing the working people and youth, preventing their participation in strike demonstrations and. The steady and selective appearance of these groups in strike rallies suggests specific role and reveals the mechanisms that use them. Workers should not be afraid of them, but they should be guarded and organized to respond to the provocative action of these mechanisms by massively participating in the mobilizations."

On June 29, 2nd day of the strike and PAME's demonstration is enormous,

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there are riots in front of the Parliament which escalate. The forces of PAME decide to head organized and disciplined for Omonoia Sq where they regroup. Christos Katsiotis, a member of the ES of PAME, states:

"Workers, we want to confirm that there is no one of us in front of the Parliament or in the surrounding streets, right now. The government, which we denounce, with its oppressive forces and mechanisms, which have been part in this far-reaching plan of today's hit, was aimed primarily at attacking PAME. We had information about it. That they wanted to engage us in this extended plan of provocation. They wanted to hit us. The developments confirmed this information."

About 20 minutes later, G. Skiadiotis, a member of the ES of PAME once again states

"the government, by using the state repression mechanism, in cooperation with the provocateurs' groups, is generalizing repression, not only in front of the Parliament, but also in the surrounding streets. The government should not believe that our movement can be intimidated by this kind of repression. We promise them and those who give the orders in particular, the monopolies and big capital, that they will pay dearly. They will pay dearly with an even more determined organization. We will continue even more decisively. We can make this promise to all those people who have expectations from PAME. "

On October 5, a 24-hour National Strike takes place at the State Companies. With a joint announcement, the Trade Unions in Local Administration, Energy, Health and Welfare, Committees for the Struggle in the Public Sector, Energy Sector, Hospital Unions and others call for massive participation in the strike and the demonstrations.

On 19-20 October, a new 48-hour National General Strike takes place.

On October 19, the PAME Executive Secretariat issues the following press release

"We welcome the Big Strike Demonstrations across the country, marking the starting point for a more decisive escalation of the struggle. The Executive Secretariat calls everyone to fight for the success of the second day of the 48-hour strike as well as the encirclement of the Parliament with

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2011 October 19-20 National Strike













even greater determination. The 48-hour strike and the encirclement of the parliament are not the culmination of our action but the starting point of an even more decisive escalation in forms and content"

On October 20 there is a plan of PAME to encircle the Parliament from all directions!

However, groups with masked persons under orders attack protesters in a premeditated plan to break the demonstration, to attack the class union movement that was demonstrating in front of the Parliament in Syntagma Square.

While Athens is flooded by people wishing to demonstrate their opposition to government, European Union and the capital, these teams hit the demonstration in cold blood. As a result of this attack dozens are injured and a member of PAME, comrade Dimitris Kotzaridis, cadre from the local Union of Construction Workers of Vyronas, is killed.

In a statement on the attack, PAME underlined:

"Forces hostile to the workers' and people's movement have attempted to hit and provocate the great protest outside the parliament. PAME, workers and youth responded to the attack with discipline and determination. These mechanisms now have to face the workers' movement. Let them be aware that the workers' and people's movement is strong and experienced so to stop them."

On October 31, 2011, workers at the HALIVOURGIA (or Greek Steelworks) Factory in Aspropyrgos, through a General Assembly, decide to go on strike after the employer demanded to cut the working hours and wages respectively. If the



employer's demand was not accepted, the employer threatened the dismissal of 180 workers.

The workers did not accept the blackmail and went on Strike. The strike started for 24 hours. And continued the next day and the next, till at the end lasted for 9 months. It was one of the highlights of this period's struggles.

In the 24-hour National General strike on December 1, a special presence at the Athens demonstration was the block of the strikers of "Greek Steelworks" that took their place among the other workers' blocks and then entered the front line of the demonstration. The importance of this presence was given by their representative, steelworker, vice president of their trade union Nikos Charokopos, who stated: "The fire of the struggle in the factories will light!" Then this slogan was heard:

"32 Days Of Strike –Till Christmas We Will Be At The Steelworks Factory»

The worker read the resolution of the General Assembly of the steelworkers who decided to continue the strike and, among other things, stressed:

"Dear industrialists, you are in deep delusion. We haven't said our final word yet! We are a fist. Ready for the toughest class struggle! We do not work in the fire and the iron for crumbs ... Our struggle concerns all workers (...). Wherever workers have retreated, the employers' attack grew stronger. There were layoffs, work intensification, and closure of businesses, with workers being unpaid for many months. There are thousands of examples. It's the industrialists that destroy us, not our struggle for jobs. We fight for our rights, we do not beg for them."

The rich experience resulting from the action of the people's Committees was mentioned by Christos Marganelis, on behalf of the People's Committee of Peristeri.

"The organized people through the People's Committees that increase their action daily, strengthens the conditions for the popular alliance. It will prevent the imposition of barbaric measures, express solidarity and give perspective. It is the solid basis for the building of the people's front. The formation of People's Committees proved to be a need and a proper prediction of the class trade union movement and the militant forces that took the

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2011 December 1 National Strike



initiative to form it a year ago. Today it is even clearer that it was necessary for people to fight in an organized way, to find solidarity, not to be alone in the crisis, to express what we call "one for all and all for one".

Next militant steps are the anti-taxation rallies on December 6 at Revenue and Customs services and the demonstrations for the protection of the unemployed on the 20th of the month.

A resolution to the working class of Europe was approved by the strike of PAME in Athens. The message was read by the President of the Union of Workers in Food and Drinks Industries of Athens, Apostolis Garbis and reads as follows:

Message To The Working Class Of Europe

(Read at the demonstration of PAME in Athens, December 1st 2011)

"To the working class of Europe

Dear colleagues, workers of Europe,

We express our solidarity with the fierce and difficult struggles you conduct in your countries. You must know that every mobilization and struggle you conduct, gives us new impetus and courage to continue more decisively our struggle. The struggle of PAME composes an integral part of your struggle.

We are at a very crucial crossroad. The generalized and global nature of the capitalistic crisis, the developments in Greece and within all the countries of Europe require the slogan "Proletarians of the world unit"! "No subjugation, no indulgence in capitalism" to be heard louder than ever.

Being taught by our own experience and the current reality, we must reject the lies of the plutocracy and of their staffs that the crisis was created due to the workers' rights or due to the bad management. The crisis is a crisis of capitalism and was created by the bleeding of the workforce, the immense profits of the big capital and their accumulation. Capitalism is a system which is rotten and outdated. It cannot be corrected. As long as capitalism exists, it will always bring only unemployment, hunger, war, brutal exploitation and oppression to the working class and the popular strata.

The situation we are experiencing now in Greece is neither special case, nor

an exception. We are facing a generalized attack that turns our lives and working conditions in the last century. It does not only concern the working class of Greece. This storm of antipopular measures is promoted unified everywhere by E.U., IMF, ECB, by liberal and social democratic governments, by their big coalitions, and by central-right or by central-left variants of them. Such governments serving the modern needs of the capital have usually the support of the nationalists and the greens.

Through the experience of the working class, of the popular strata the role of E.U. as a "wolf-alliance" and oppressor of the working class and the peoples is revealed. The myths that E.U. is supposedly "a union of solidarity and a sheltered harbour for the peoples" as the plutocracy and its supporters claim are demolished. The capitalist crisis in the eurozone will further deepen. E.U. will become more and more reactionary and the workers will live in conditions of huge poverty and degradation if they will not rise up. The fierce competitions between them, their divisions are not for the working popular interests. On the contrary, the governments in the framework of E.U. compete for the division of the plunder obtained through the smashing of the working popular rights. They have commonly the same agreed target: to make labour force (wages, salaries, health benefits, pensions etc.) even cheaper in order for the profits of the big capital to be further increased.

Life itself, experience itself clearly proves that in the framework of E.U., in the framework of the power of monopolies, there is no solution in favour of the people. The overthrow of the monopolies' power is required. A solution in favour of the people can not exist without their overthrow!

Huge responsibilities for the aggravation of the life of the working class in Europe, for the situation we are experiencing today, have also the leaderships of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) who declare the class cooperation, support the line of competitiveness, the subjugation to the employers, who spread illusions and disorientate the workers' struggle. The several mobilizations like these of indignants (movement of the squares) are not a solution, but they rather defuse the militant spirit of the people and are hostile to the class-oriented organization; these mobilizations try to encircle the indignation of the popular forces into a struggle without perspective.

Against the antiworkers' alliance of capital, the awakening of the working popular forces is imperative today; the immediate organization of their struggle in every workplace, every sector, every working popular neighborhood is necessary; the coordination at a national and international level is needed in more elevated forms of struggle; the release of the working class from the supporters of capital is also imperative.

We addressed a call from the Acropolis to the working class of Europe that the peoples have the power and that they must become organized today and counterattack.

We strongly believe in the slogan "no gear turns without you – worker you can make it without the bosses". This is the slogan that gives strength and courage to the workers of the Greek Steel Industry who are on strike for more than one month. This slogan applies for every country. We call you to coordinate our steps.

The response of the working class today cannot be limited only to defensive struggles. Organization, popular counterattack, struggle that overthrows the power of monopolies is necessary. We escalate our struggle for the release from E.U., for unilateral cancellation of the debt, for the socialization of the centralized means of production and the people at the helm of power.

We are positive that the really huge class-oriented struggles, that the most beautiful days are yet to come!

Long Live the class-oriented proletarian solidarity

Athens December 1st 2011"

National General Strikes of 2011

- February 23, 24hour National General Strike
- · May 1, International Workers Day Strike
- May 11, 24hour National General Strike
- · June 28-29, 2day National General Strike
- October 5, National Strike of Workers in State Companies

- October 19-20, 2day National General Strike
- · December 1, 24hour National General Strike

Rallies and Demonstration of 2011

- February 10, Rally of PAME, PASEVE, MAS, PASY, OGE demanding Collective Contracts, measures of protection for the unemployed, no layoffs
 - March 30, PAME Demonstration of workers in Healthcare and Education
- April 6, Opening of the 16th World Trade Union Congress of the WFTU in Athens
 - April 6-10, Works of the 16th World Trade Union Congress in Athens
- May 28, Demonstrations of PAME-PASEVE-PASY-MAS-OGE "No Compromise with the New Antiworkers' measures"
- June 3, PAME Rallies all over Greece "Rise Up! Now Preparation of General Strike"
- June 18, Demonstration of PAME "No to the New Brutal Measures-Counterattack-Organization in the Workplaces". Preparation of new strike
- July 20, Demonstration of PAME-PASEVE-PASY-MAS-OGE "Healthcare Exclusively Public-Free Services to People-No business activity in Healthcare"
 - August 24, Demonstration of PAME-MAS for Education
- September 10, PAME-PASEVE-PASY-MAS-OGE Demonstration in Thessaloniki
 - September 21, Protest against new taxations in Electricity bills
- October 3, Actions on the Occasion of the WFTU International Day of Action.
 Interventions in workplaces and big multinationals (Hilton Hotel, Berger Pharmaceutical etc)
- November 10, Demonstration Against the Black Front of Government-Employers-EU. Elections Now
- November 14, Demonstration in Solidarity with the strike of the HALIVOURG-IA Steelworkers
 - November 28, PAME Public Sector and State Companies Demonstration
 - · December 17, Big Rally in Solidarity with the Strike of Steelworkers
 - December 20, Demonstration for the Protection of the Unemployed

Strikes-demonstrations in 2012

The situation in 2012 is transitional. This concerns important features of the Greek capitalist economy, such as its position in the Eurozone which is linked to important political developments.

The economic crisis in Greece continues with depth, similar to the previous year's (reduction of our Gross Domestic Product estimated at 6.9%), while they are now open to further GDP reduction in 2013.

On February 12th, the Parliament discussed the draft law on the agreement of the 2nd Memorandum ("Approval of the Financing Facility Schemes between the European Financial Stability Facility, the Hellenic Republic and the Bank of Greece, the Draft Memorandum of Understanding between the Hellenic Republic, the European Commission and the Bank of Greece and other urgent provisions for the reduction of public debt and the rescue of the national economy ") submitted by the Papadimos government.

In April, elections are being announced for May 6th, which ultimately did not result in a government and the transitional government of Panayiotis Pikramenos swears in.

On June 17, 2012 elections are held, which eventually lead to the establishment of a coalition government with the participation of New Democracy (conservatives), PASOK and DIMAR (social democrats).

The Medium Term Financial Framework 2013-2016 will be submitted to Parliament in November. The bill was filed in Parliament on November 5, in an article of 216 pages, with the urgency procedure. It provided measures of EUR 18.9 billion, of which 9.4 billion relate to 2013. It was voted on November 7 with 153 votes from the parliamentary groups of the New Democracy and PASOK, in which there were also deputies who were differentiated.

In 2012, six national strikes are taking place, two of which are 48-hour strikes, one only for Attica and two 24-hour sectoral strikes for the signing of the sectoral collective agreements. At the same time there are 63 demonstrations and central interventions. Also, groups are created through the people's Committees, reconnecting electricity supply, supporting and relieving the unemployed and workers from all sorts of hardships.

PAME - All Worker's Militant Front



2012 May 1st in Solidarity with the Steelworkers 9month Strike



The course of the Struggles in 2012

On January 17, a Solidarity Strike in Attica is taking place to support the Steelworkers of HALIVOURGIA, with the slogan "A SINGLE FRONT OF RESISTANCE AND COUNTER-ATTACK. DOWN THE GOVERNMENT OF TAXES. TROIKA GO OUT FROM GREECE. EVERYONE IN THE PATH OF THE STEELWORKERS". There are also rallies in other cities in the country.

Steelworkers note in their speech:

"We know that now our struggle has entered a more difficult and complex phase, it becomes more difficult. Some believed that we would be tired or that they would be able to bend us, break us apart, keep our struggle away from other factories and businesses, turn us against the organized class movement against PAME where we belong since it has been supporting us. But now that they haven't succeeded in doing so, they will start to intervene more openly. They will pass on the attack with slander, lies, intimidation, with provocations, in order to damage our struggle.

They have already begun in various ways and forms. With press reports, through various events under the pretext of solidarity, through various anonymous articles on the Internet, through statements by politicians, calling on the government to use judges and Riot Police, through announcements of "Golden Dawn", deputies of the bourgeois parties, all of whom are reusing their boss's arguments. Some accuse our struggle of being a "blind conflict", or that "we want to close the factory," others say our struggle "is motivated by PAME." Others are trying to pull us "away from our unions and the organized class movement," "far from organizing the struggle within the workplace." Some others just want to take photos with us for the upcoming elections.

We respond to all those people that they should not be bothered; we are not easy for their teeth. We are not alone because we have honest workers and class unions on our side. As workers we knew a lot, and in the 79 days of strike we learned more so that we can discern friends from the enemies. We can distinguish words of support from support in practice. The organization of "struggle through the websites", from the actual organization of

struggles in factories and workplaces. The inexpensive big words, from the real bravery and the risk, seen in the factory at the workplace, where the actual class struggle that requires sacrifices takes place.

We tell them that we rely on the solidarity of all workers and we are asking them to step up in the days to come, because it helps us to continue. We tell them, however, that no one can buy us out, use us through solidarity, for which we did not start for our strike fight. We do not need such solidarity. First of all, we want everyone to carry the steelworkers' spark to their workplace and, above all, to the big companies in the iron and steel industry, whose chairman is our employer. This is what will determine the fate of our own fight and not the various parties, right and left. We know what forces we can rely on to achieve this. "

The main speaker of the strike of PAME was George Skiadiotis, member of the Executive Secretariat. He stressed:

"The struggle of the Steelworkers causes fear to the industrialists . They fear for the expansion, the spread of fire in every big factory, in every big branch. They are not afraid of the games around the parliaments, the big words and the chatter about anti-memorandum fronts and shapes. All this is pointless. The various sites and blogs do not organize struggles. It is a blistering fire, as was the case with the indignados. Struggle is strengthened in every factory and place of work in conflict with employers. This is what the struggle of the Steelworkers teaches us. This is the kind of fight PAME leads and calls on. It is this kind of struggle that the capitalists and their parties are afraid of".

Solidarity to the heroic struggle of steelworkers is widening in every corner of the world with the week of international solidarity (9-14 March), organized by the



European Regional Office of the WFTU and the TUI Metal of the WFTU.

On February 7, there is a 24-hour national strike with the slogan "Slogan "Down with the Government and the Troika. Do Not Sign Any New Memorandum, Any New Agreement. Plutocracy Must Pay." Demonstrations take place in 61 cities

On February 10 and 11, there is a 48-hour National strike with the slogan "No New Memorandum, No New Agreement To Destroy Our Lives". There are strike demonstrations in 65 cities. The day before the strike, PAME forces occupy the Labor Ministry.

The strike demonstration of May 1st 2012 takes place in Aspropyrgos, outside the HALIVOURGIA Factory in solidarity with the Steelworkers' Strike.

Giorgos Sifonios, President of the HALIVOURGIA Steelworkers' trade union of Aspropyrgos was the central speaker at the strike demonstration.

"Today's strike rally of International Workers' Day at the 'HALIVOURGIA' is not only symbolic. It aims at declaring our faith and determination to try and organize a hard and long-term struggle like the steelworkers. To stop the new anti-people attack that is coming after the elections. Some are wondering "what have the steelworkers' achieved so far "We tell them the following. History brought the steelworkers to be at the forefront of this struggle. But we know that this increases our responsibilities. No big fight has taken place or will take place, having won in advance. Such struggles do not exist in real life. They exist only in the minds of the bureaucrats, the frightened and the compromised. No real fight is done without sacrifices, even death. The story of May 1st confirms this very thing. No fight is lost, because we all learn to become better. Every fight is a continuation of the previous one and prepares the next one. It is a war made until workers finally abolish exploitation, overthrow their exploiters. Struggles are not assessed by how much you get or do not get in hand. There are struggles that offer much more than you get in hand, because they are preparing the next steps, the next battles in the working class as a whole. They helped significantly to awaken the workers as a whole, to break fear and became milestones. That's what the struggle of steelworkers really is, and these are the criteria on which it should be assessed."

During the demonstration of May 1st a delegation from the WFTU and USB

trade union of Italy also expressed their solidarity to steelworker strikers and workers in Greece.

2day national sectoral strike of the Federations of Workers in Paper, Textile, Food Industries takes place on May 15-16.

On May 27-28, the Federations of Workers in Paper, Textile, Food Industries repeat the Strike

On September 26, there is a 24-hour strike with a central slogan from PAME, "No More Sacrifices For Plutocracy. We Can Live Without Memorandums, Outside Of the EU"

During the strike demonstration, the effectiveness of struggles and the condemnation of the murderous action of Golden Dawn are mentioned in the central speech. More specifically:

"We welcome the initiatives of the Trade Union of Workers in Food Industries of Evoia condemning the action of the" Golden Dawn ", rejecting and denouncing fake solidarity."

In October 3, PAME participated in the International Day of Action of the WFTU and in the demonstration in front of the offices of the World Food Organization (FAO) in Rome.

On October 18, a new 24-hour National General strike was held under the slogan "Block the Measures. Stop The Memorandums And The Measures That Lead The People To Misery.."



On November 6 - 7, a 48-hour National General strike is held with the slogan "Overthrow the Measures. The Decision Belongs To The People. Us Or The Monopolies."

2012 National General Strikes

- 1. January 17th General Strike In Attica Region (Region Of Athens): Unified Front Of Resistance And Counter-Attack. Down With the Government Of The Brutal Taxation. Troika Out Of Greece. Everyone Follow The Path Of The Steelworkers Of HALIVOURGIA.
- 2. February 7 National General Strike: Under the Slogan "Down With the Government and The Troika. Do Not Sign Any New Memorandum, Any New Agreement. Plutocracy Must Pay."
- **3. 10 And 11 February,** 48 Hours: No New Memorandum, No New Agreement to Destroy Our Lives.
- **4. May 1:** 1st of May Strike. Central Strike Rally in front of the HALIVOURGIA Steelworks Factory at Aspropyrgos Industrial Zone.
- **5. May 15-16:** 2-Day Strike by the National Federations of Workers in Press-Paper, Textile-Clothing-Leather, Food and Milk Industries.
- **6. May 27-28:** 2-Day Strike by the National Federations of Workers in Press-Paper, Textile-Clothing-Leather, Food and Milk Industries.
- **7. 26 September:** No More Sacrifices for Plutocracy. We Can Live Without Memorandums, Outside Of The EU.
- **8. Oct. 18:** Block The Measures. Stop The Memorandums And The Measures That Lead The People To Misery.
- **9. 6 And 7 November**, 48 Hours: Overthrow The Measures. The Decision Belongs To The People. Us or The Monopolies.

2012 Protests and Demonstrations

- **1. January 16:** Mobilization at the Offices of DEI (Electricity Service) to block power cuts to the people who have not payed taxes.
 - 2. January 18: Protest at Offices Of GSEVEE (Greek Federation Of Trade

Companies) Against Social Dialogue.

- 3. January 20: Press Conference of PAME.
- **4. January 25:** Flash Protest at the Athens HILTON Hotel where is the Troika delegation
- **5. January31:** PAME, PASEVE, MAS, OGE And ASGME(National Federation of Parents) Protest At The Ministry Of Healthcare to condemn the liberalization of Drugs under the so called "Drug Code"
- **6. February 4:** Protest outside Megaro Maximou (Prime Minister's official residence) where is to take place the meeting of the party leaders who support the Government.
- **7. February 9**: Occupation of the Ministry of Labor against the Slaughtering of the Working Class and its rights.
- **8. February 9:** PAME Demonstration. Down with the Government and the Troika. Do Not Sign Any New Memorandum Any New Agreement. Plutocracy Must Pay.
- February 9: Call for Financial Support to the Strike of the HALIVOURGIA Steelworkers.
- **10. February 12:** PAME Demonstration. Now: Down with the Government of the BLACK FRONT and the Troika. No New antiworkers' measures. Elections Now!
- 11. February 20-21: PAME hosted the meeting of the Secretariat of the European Regional Office of the WFTU. The Secretariat visited the HALIVOURGIA steelworks' strikers and decided to organize a pan-European Solidarity Action Week on 9-14 March, with protests at the Greek embassies and interventions in metal industries across Europe.
- **12. February 22:** PAME Rally. Nothing Is Over. We Have The Power. We Will Overthrow Them.
- **13. February 23:** PAME Public Services Protest outside the EU Offices as part of the pan-European Action Day of the TUI Public Services of the WFTU
- **14. February 27:** Solidarity to Steelworkers of HALIVOURGIA European Action Week 9-14 March.
- **15**. **March 1:** Support to the protests of PASEVE all over the country against the destruction of Social Security. Athens Protest is held in front of the Minis-

try Of Labor

- **16. March 5:** Protest of the National Federation Of Construction Workers at the Ministry Of Labor against the cutting of the Unemployment Benefit.
- 17. March 7: Protests in OAED offices(Unemployment Agency) against the cutting of the Unemployment Benefit, demanding measures to protect the unemployed.
- **18. March 8:** PAME PASEVE MAS-OGE Rallies on the occasion of the International Women's Day
 - 19. March 11: PAME Campaign for Blood Donation.
- **20. March 21:** Protest In Hospitals By PAME Healthcare Services with People's Committees Against the measures Of Co-Government PASOK-ND that endangers the health of the people.
- **21. March 29:** PAME Public Services Demonstrations For Public And Free Healthcare
- **22. March 31:** PAME-PASEVE-PASY-MAS-OGE Action by opening roads with Tolls to Protest the imposed Prison Sentences to militants who participated in actions for the abolishment of Tolls.
- 23. April 2: Protest At the Ministry of Labor from The Youth Secretariat of PAME for delays in payment of benefits to apprentices.
- **24. April 4:** Meeting of The Youth Secretariat of PAME with the Ministry Of Labor for the problems of the apprentices and practitioners
 - 25. April 5: Protest at the Bank Of Greece.
- **26. April 17:** Protest At the Israeli Embassy in Athens on the occasion of the International Day of Action of the WFTU for the Release of All Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israeli prisons
- **27**. **May 15**: Rally in the HALIVOURGIA Factory in Solidarity with the Steelworkers' Strike against new attack by the employer Manesis.
- 28. May25: PAME Protests against the Abolishment of the Collective Contracts. PAME demands the cancelation of the new law which cuts wages by 22% and 32% cut for young people under the age of 25.
- **29. June 1:** Protest PAME Secretariat for Immigrants at the Police Headquarters of Athens to condemn racist attacks against immigrants.
 - 30. July 16: Meetings Discussions At many Offices of DEI (State Electricity

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Company) as part Of PAME's activities against the privatization Of DEI.

- **31. July 17:** Solidarity Meeting Organized By HALIVOURGIA Factory Steelworkers' Strike.
- **32. July 19:** PAME with the National Federations of Workers in Food, Pharmaceutical, and Textile campaigns in Mining and Power Stations against the privatization of DEI.
- **33. July 20:** Rally in the HALIVOURGIA Factory in Solidarity with the Steelworkers' Strike for protection from the suppression forces and the arrests of workers in Aspropyrgos.
- **34**. **July 23**: Demonstrations of Federations and Trade Unions in Solidarity to the Strikers Steelworkers.
- **35. July 24:** PAME Public Services Strike (Against the New Cut Of 22.6% Of Efapax benefits, and against the continuous attack on employees' wages, security and social rights.
- **36. July26:** Event at the ETMA factory Gates in Honor of martyr militant S. Vasilakopoulou.
- **37. July 26:** PAME Bank-Finance- PASY PASEVE organized joint tours to the employees Of ATE Bank against its privatization and to the factories of EBZ-SEKAP-DODONI against the selloff of the companies. Big rally in Alexandria, Emathia.
- **38**. **September 4:** Participation in the Mass Protest Demonstration of Pensioners Federation at the Ministry Of Healthcare against the cuts in Medicines.
- **39. September 8:** PAME-PASEVE-PASY-MAS-OGE big Rally in Thessaloniki.
- **40. September 8:** National Demonstration of Pensioners and Unions against the Cuts in Healthcare.
- **41. September 11:** PAME intervention in The Ministry of The Labor against the abolishment of the National Collective Contract.
- **42**. **September 22:** Demonstrations in preparation of the National Strike of September 26
- **43**. **October 3:** Delegation Of PAME in Rome, Italy at the WFTU Demonstration at the FAO and activities in Food Multinational Companies in Greece as part of the WFTU Action Day.

- 44. October 4: Protests in Public Hospitals by PAME
- **45. October 5:** Demonstration in front of the Courthouse in Athens in solidarity with 12 arrested metalworkers' unionists.
- **46**. **October 9:** Strike and Demonstration against the arrival of Germany's chancellor Merkel.
 - 47. November 11: Demonstrations against the State Budget.
 - 48. November 11: PAME Blood Donation.
 - 49. November 13-14: Strike of PAME Public Services and Demonstrations
 - 50. November 17: Rally in honor of the Polytechnic Uprising against the Junta
 - 51. November 21: Protest at IKEA
- **52. November 22:** Strike Of PAME Public Services and Demonstrations against the layoffs of thousands of workers
- **53. November 28:** Protest of PAME and National Federation of Textile Workers at the Embassy of Bangladesh for the death of 120 workers at a Bangladeshi factory.
- **54. November 29:** PAME Press Conference and Presentation of Proposal for National Collective Contract.
- **55. November 30:** Strike Of PAME Public Services and Demonstrations against the layoffs of thousands of workers
 - 56. December 6: Pensioners Rally against the Cuts of pensions
- **57. December 10:** Protest Demonstration of PAME-PASEVE-PASY-MAS-OGE at the Ministry Of Education for the problems of Greek Schools in other countries.
 - 58. December 12: PAME at the TEI Students Rally organized by MAS
- **59**. **December 16:** Solidarity Event of PAME- National Federation of Textile Workers Union of Private Employees of Athens with the workers of Bangladesh for the death of 124 workers.
- **60. December 18:** Demonstration of Public Services and State Companies' Employees against Layoffs
- **61. December 19:** Demonstrations of Peoples' Committees of Athens against the new tax system, the measures of impoverishment
- **62. December 19:** PAME Demonstrations against Unemployment-Taxation-Bills for Healthcare-Education
- **63. December 22:** Solidarity Event with FINTEXPORT Company workers (35 Days Occupation of the Factory Unpaid for more than 1 Year).

2013 Strikes and Demonstrations

At that time, took place the congresses of the two major parties, which were claiming the predominant role in bourgeois governance, seeking to promote the reformation of the bourgeois political system by shaping the new dipole, center right-center left, in the change of coalition government formations.

ND having a leading role in the ND-PASOK government, seeks to assert this role by using the support of international centers (visits to the USA), expanding its influence to the "right" (limiting the loss of its influence to forces that approached the fascists Golden Dawn and the extreme right ANEL), but also to the "center" (to forces moving between ND and PASOK). On the other hand, the SYRIZA



Congress, despite any seemingly radical declarations and controversies within it, confirmed its social democratic transformation, which was expressed by its formation into a multi-faction party.

The new measures by the ND-PASOK government are the ground upon which the attempt to organize resistance struggles to the policy against the people will unfold in the coming period. The reforms in healthcare, education, local administration, the promotion of privatization objectively form the reasons of confrontation.

April was marked by the murderous attack with shootings at the strawberries fields by the employers against the immigrant workers, in Manolada.

At the end of April a multibill is imposed that includes new taxes, liberalization of massive layoffs of employees in the public sector, activation of the measure of salary and pensions foreclosures for the occurring overdue "debts" to the Tax Office, further "releases" of professions characterized by relatively large dispersion of economic activity, are among the new measures against people – an offer of the government to the needs of capital competitiveness.

In June, DIMAR party withdraws from government because of the closure of ERT (Greek Public Television). On June 18, new legislature is voted by the government, which abolishes collective bargaining, brings thousands of redundancies to the state and municipalities and new taxes that annihilates the income of the people.

2013 is the year in which the fascist Golden Dawn increases their criminal activity, with continued attacks against workers and immigrants, culminating in the assassination of P. Fyssas in September. The same month and days before the assassination of P. Fyssas, Golden Dawn organizes a murderous attack against PAME cadres, members of Communist Party of Greece, unionists metalworkers of the Perama Shipyards.

In 2013, there are 5 General Strikes (including the first of May), one in the Region of Athens, in Attica in support of maritime workers and a 48 hour Strike in the public sector. Also, 52 central actions with demonstrations and protests took place.

It is a period when there is a clear retreat in participation in strikes. The promise of government change with the rise of SYRIZA to the position of the main

government opposition has created hopes for a solution "from the top" without rupture and confrontation with the exploitation system. SYRIZA played a decisive role in the deception and retreat of the movement, this is why it was selected shortly afterwards by the bourgeoisie.

The Struggles of 2013

On February 6, there is a strike of solidarity and support for the struggle of maritime workers. Through the joint statement of their unions, they list their demands

We demand:

- Immediately withdraw the law of the Maritime Ministry, which abolishes rights of decades and which condemns many Greek islands in isolation
- Keep your hands off from Collective Agreements. Pay now the salaries to the workers who are unpaid for months in the ships and every worker who works without being paid.
- Withdraw every law against the workers that cut wages and pensions. No distinction between old and new workers. Signing and renewal of the National General Collective Agreement and the Sectoral Contracts.
 - Withdraw all taxes.
 - Immediate protection measures for all unemployed.

Modern - safe ships with uninterrupted, sufficient connection of the islands with the mainland to serve the social needs of maritime transport.

THE TRADE UNIONS

 Metalworkers Of Piraeus, Association Of Electricians On Ships, Trade Union Of Ship Woodworkers, and Maritime Unions PEMEN, STEFENSON, PEEMAGEN, PES - NAT

On February 20, there is a 24-hour National Strike with the slogan "No to Modern Sweatshops. Keep Your Hands Off Collective Bargaining"

The participation of maritime workers in the strike, defying the "Civil Recruitment Act" (forced work as in time of was), as well as the large joint demonstration of workers - poor and poor farmers, the street blockades, show the way workers and the people have to follow more decisively to respond to the suppression, to

form the militant people's alliance against the common enemy, the monopolies, the EU. Many trade union organizations from all over the world expressed their solidarity to PAME for its consistent fight for the rights of the working class and on the occasion of the general strike.

On April 17, immigrant land workers are attacked by large landowners in Manolada, Ilia, because they claimed their wages. The wealthy businessmen attacked by shooting 200 people because they were asking their unpaid for six months' salary, injuring seriously more than 35 people. The response was immediate by the working class of the country to the murderous attack.

In the central square of Manolada, workers - Greeks and immigrants - from all over the region demonstrated against the growth watered in the blood and the suffering of the entire working class. Growth that allows big employers to exploit brutally the workers, even with, armed, murderous attacks.

On 19 April, a National Demonstration of Pensioners took place. The speaker, Dimos Koumpouris, President of the Federation of Pensioners of Greece, stated:

"We will stay here and we will fight for our class without illusions and we will continue our struggles with the working class, our children, because we know that capitalist crisis has not fallen from the sky that the politicians



and unionists who bless the EU and the competitiveness of capital try to convince us. Those who serve the Capital and the EU have brought the memoranda and have continued the anti-workers class measures. With our struggle and knowledge and mass action we can defeat fear, intimidation, false hopes, because when adopted they do not lead to something better, instead push the workers and other people into integration, demobilize, they abolish and undermine fights".

The pensioners presented their Resolution to the Prime Minister and stated their demands:

- Restoration in Primary and Secondary Pensions, in gifts, and allowances.
 No cuts in spending, for Medicines and Public Health. Abolition of the unbearable taxes, and every laws and memorandums that are against the pensions and the social security. Return all benefits for healing and tourism programs.
- No to the closure or merge of any public hospital, multi-hospital or of other Organization, and to re-open those that have been closed.
- immediate hiring of doctors, nurses, to meet our needs. With a permanent and stable job.
- Abolish any kind of payment of patients for health care, in clinics, public hospitals and Health Centers and their participation in medicines and examinations.
- Return the money that were taken from the reserves of the Organizations under the responsibility of the State. Not in the gambling that they have been placed. Immediate measures to combat evasion.
- Exclusively, public, free, single, universal Health and Welfare system funded by the state budget. Remove any business action in Health. Remove the social security contributions of workers and retired for health.

The 1st of May strike was launched with a Resolution signed by 200 immigrant land workers in Manolada, who had been brutally attacked by the guards of the owners of the strawberrie-fields a few days ago. The Resolution, noted:

"Manolada is torturing us, the immigrant workers, but we are fighting alongside with PAME and the World Federation of Trade Unions to stop being the slaves of the 21st century. We deserve a life with rights. To walk free, to give us papers, to be paid our salaries, our hard work. The bosses do not give for free the strawberries to the shops. They send tons of strawberries abroad. But they want us to





work for free and do not say a thing."

Andreas Sorris, president of the "MEVGAL" Workers' Union, at the Aspropyrgos factory, where workers have been on strike since 25 April demanding the payment of their accrued wages spoke at the central Rally

On June 13, there is a solidarity strike to ERT employees. Announcing the strike the Executive Secretariat of PAME notes:

"The Executive Secretariat of PAME denounces the tripartite government (ND-PASOK-DIMAR) which with the methods and practices of the doctrine of "law and order" decided to close public broadcasting and throw workers out on the steet, preparing to do the same with the Greek Defense Systems and with other public companies."

A number of new laws come in July. Based on this, many jobs are in danger:

- School guards (2,224 employees)
- The Municipal Police (a total of 3,500 employees)
- A series of specializations of High school teachers
- Drivers and technicians of the state car service.

On July 16, a new 24-hour strike takes place under the slogan

"We Respond With Organization, Counter-Attack Until The Final Victory. This Is Our Way."

The Executive Secretariat of PAME stated:

"PAME has given all its strength for the strike to be as successful as possible to overcome fear and illusions. Without this effort of PAME forces, the situation would be far worse. The current strike was from the beginning undermined by GSEE and ADEDY. Workers' participation could and should have been greater. It did not correspond to the depth of the problems and to the size of the attack that the working class is under. Those who have decided the strike are not trusted by the workers. The demands of the strike could not inspire and rally the workers. Those leaderships neither want nor wanted the conflict at the workplace to organize workers and employees against their employers, and under these circumstances neither the time of the preparation was adequate.

This situation shows that workers have to overcome fear and fatalism and turn indignation and subordination into organization and action at the





workplace, in the neighbourhood, everywhere. Wrath and indignation alone are not enough. At the same time they should not tolerate the government trade unionists and the minions of the employers. They have nothing in common with the workers and their families; they are a foreign body in the union movement. The same applies for SYRIZA trade unionists, the "reformed" socialdemocrats and others who prepare to become their heir. All of them work together to undermine and subordinate the trade union movement to the powerful employers, in today's and future governments. All those who are supposedly using revolutionary slogans for "political strike" and "long-lasting strikes" are the first scabs in the workplaces and industries. All those who "struggle" for the unity of the working class and supposedly promoted actions by challenging PAME for every reason and cause have done nothing to prepare and make successful today's strike.

For example, the trade union leaders in GENOP DEI, ELPE, OTOE, PNO, PASENT (maritime), FAMAR in Boeotia, GLAXO, ALAPIS, ION, ISAP and METRO in the Federation of Private Employees of supermarkets and department stores (ATTIKA, IKEA, SKLAVENITIS and so on), were not just scabs, not only they did not take part and did not make any efforts for the success of the strike, but in several places, no administrative councils took place and not even an announcement was made. These are some of the acts of government and employers' unionism. We have many to say about them ".

September is marked by the murderous action of Golden Dawn. After several cases of murderous-criminal activity which have preceded, the fascists proceed to organized attacks to communists, trade unionists, metalworkers in Perama.

The response is immediate. The afternoon of the following day, a huge demonstration took place in the streets of the city.

At the same time, at a meeting held by Piraeus Unions, they decided to organize a mass Rally for the condemnation of Golden Dawn and its murderous attack against members of the working class movement. The rally was held on Tuesday, September 17, at the Gateway of the Naval Repair Zone, following the invitation of: Metal workers of Piraeus, Ship Electrictricians, wood shipbuilders, PEMEN, STEFENSON, PEEMAGEN, PEPRN, PES NAT, Piraeus Employees,

Private Piraeus Employees, soap makers and workers in the Perama, Keratsini and Korydallos Municipalities.

In an announcement issued by PAME it is noted:

"The fascist Golden Dawn have targeted to the wrong place. There should be no union that will not condemn the dogs and lackies of the ship owners. They will only see workplaces from afar and in photographs. Workers and the people will take care of it."

Dozens of workers' unions, federations and Regional Trade Union Centers condemn with announcements the cowardly fascist

On September17, P. Fissas was murdered in Keratsini. The next day of the murder, many mass demonstrations take place against the criminal role of Golden Dawn across the country. A big demonstration takes place in Keratsini by the working class unions and others with slogans

"Block The Fascists", "The Fascist Murderers Out From Our Neighbour-hoods", "The Workers Movement Has Nothing To Do With Fascists, Murderers Of Workers."

On the day of the funeral, there is a new demonstration in Nikaia. The call is addressed by the trade unions that have organized the previous demonstrations in Keratsini.

In their joined statement they note:

"The workers' movement will cut off the hand of the fascists of Golden Dawn, which are the minions of the big employers. The workers, the people



will expel the fascists from all the neighbourhoods".

On the 18th and 19th of September, there is a 48 hour Public Sector Strike: The rally of PAME in Athens that ended with a march to Syntagma Sq, turned out to be at the same time, a condemnation of the murders from the bullies of Golden Dawn.

At the rally they stated their presence teachers, workers at the hospitals and the municipalities, workers from the social security funds, and there was a very strong block from University Students, MAS that called to a common front of university students – school students – workers against the monopolies. The slogans against the capitalist restructuring at the public sector would come the one after the other with the slogans against the actions and the role of the fascist Golden Dawn, the answer that must be given to the murderous long hand of the system, is the massive, organized, popular movement.

"No to all dismissals. Take life and the struggle at your own hands" was the main banner of the forces of PAME at the Public Sector, bringing the first matter of struggle at this critical period. The call of the strikers and protestors "worker make your case the future and the education that your child will have" met up with the slogan "You are what's rotten in this world, block the fascists in each neighbourhood". The demand "We want schools, teachers, books and not students for free work" that the protesters shouted for the anti-workers policy that prepares free workers, is not irrelevant with the role that organizations like Golden Dawn play... "Bullies murderers of the workers, you work for the bosses", as the protesters said,

On the 6th of November there is a 24hour strike against the anti-popular attack from the government. At the main speech, denounced the terrorism of the government and the employers that lined in at Tuesday night the Riot Police against the workers from distribution press agencies, at their strike picketlies. There was a special report at the newspaper "Rizospasis", the only newspaper that was not published, expressing this way their solidarity to the struggle of the workers at the agencies.

With the initiative from the federations of POETGTP and POEEP there was a meeting of the unions of COCA COLA and a strike was decided in order to show their support and solidarity at the 33 workers who were laid off at Thessaloniki factory.

PAME - All Worker's Militant Front





National Strikes 2013

- **1. 6th of February:** Athens strike of solidarity and support for the struggle of the maritime workers
- 2. 20th of February: No to the modern sweat shops. Keep your hands off the Collective Contracts
 - 3. 1st of May: Strike for the May Day
 - 4. 13th of June: Solidarity to the workers of ERT
- **5. 16th of July:** We Give Our Answer With Organization, Counter Attack Fight To The Final Victory. This Is Our Way
- **6. 18th and 19th of September, 48 hour strike of PAME public sector:** No dismissals— no suspension of Worker
 - 7. 6th of November: Against the anti-popular attack from the government

Rallies and Demonstrations of 2013

- **1. 11th of January:** Demonstration to the General Secretary of the Ministry of Development Competitiveness Structures Transportation and Networks, for the free transportation of the unemployed, the unpaid workers the students to all kinds of transportation.
- 2. 26th of January: Rally for solidarity at the workers at Public transportation.
- **3. 30th of January:** Arrest of 35 cadres of PAME, Presidents and General Secretaries of many unions, when they protested to the Ministry of Labor.
 - **4. 3rd of February:** Rally for solidarity from PAME to the struggle of the poor
- **5. 5th of February:** PAME Conference under the topic: Organization and Preparation of the Strike Of The 20th Of February.
- **6. 12th of February:** Demonstration against the repression and criminalization of the union action.
- **7. 22nd of February:** Delegation from PAME and from the Federation of Textile Workers gave to the workers of FINTEXPORT financial support that was gathered at the demonstration for the strike.
 - 8. 26th of February: Calling for participation with PAME to the National Dem-

onstration of People with Disabilities for cutting off allowances – wages etc.

- **9. 26th of February:** Common demonstration to the Ministry of Education (PAME PASEBE PASY MAS OGE)
- **10. 4th of March:** Conference on the conclusions from the strike and escalation of the struggle.
- **11. 5th of March:** Demonstration of PAME Farmers "All for one and one for all".
- **12. 8th of March:** Demonstration of PAME PASEBE PASY MAS OGE for Women's Day.
 - **13. 6th of April:** Demonstration Concert from the Metal Workers Union.
- **14. 9th of April:** Demonstration at the Ministry of Security and the Ministry of Labor for the murderous attack against the land workers of Manolada.
 - **15. 19th of April:** National Pensioners Demonstration.
 - 16. 1st of May: Strike for the 1st of May.
- **17. 9th of May:** The Executive Secretariat of PAME gave financial aid to the union of workers of MEVGAL to deal with the needs of their long lasting strike.
 - **18. 13th of May:** Demonstration for solidarity to the teachers.
 - 19. 23rd of May: Action for Collective Contracts
 - 20. 6th of June: Athens Demonstration for all Pensioners.
- **21. 17th of June:** Rally for solidarity to the workers of ERT and other public organizations.
- **22. 18th of June:** Event on the developments to the public and the wider public sector.
 - 23. 29th of June: Event for Migrants.
 - 24. 2nd of July: Demonstration at the Embassy of Israel.
- **25. 11th of July:** We give our answer with organization, counter attack fight to the final victory. This is our way.
- **26. 23rd of July:** Activity of Commerce workers and Self-employed Unions on Sunday holiday.
- **27**. **25th of July:** Demonstration in honor of the memory of martyr-militant Sotiria Vasilakopoulou.
- 28. 22nd of August: Press conference with the theme: Declaration of PAME and the answer from the class oriented movement to government's laws for the

second degree of education and the new school system.

- **29. 29th of August:** Strike from PAME at the Public Sector against the dismissals, to the privatizations and the anti-educational laws.
 - **30. 7th of September:** Demonstration of PAME at Thessaloniki.
 - 31. 10th of September: Action for Education.
 - **32. 15th of September:** Solidarity to the workers of LARKO at Larymna.
 - **33. 18th of September:** Demonstration for the conviction of Golden Dawn.
- **34. 19th of September:** Demonstration "Fascists go away from Piraeus and every workers neighbourhood".
- **35. 20th of September:** Massive people's rally and action. "Out with the Golden Dawn"
- **36. 3rd of October:** International Action Day of WFTU, for food, water, housing, books, for everyone. Demonstrations and events with comrades GS of WFTU Mayrikos. Demonstration at Volos that was organized by the local secretariat of PAME with Deputy Secretary of WFTU V. Pacho. Event at Heraklio of Crete demonstration from the local secretariat with Hilda Chakon Bravo from CTC Cuba. Demonstration at Thessaloniki.
- **37. 5th of October:** Against the anti-popular measures and calling for strike at the 23rd of October.
- **38. 10th of October:** Meeting of PAME with the Administrative Employees of the University of Athens and the National Technical University to express the solidarity of the unions against the suspensions and dismissals.
- **39. 11th of October:** Meeting of Federations and Regional Unions with the deputy minister of Labour for cutting off 2 billion from the government's budget from social security.
- **40. 11th-20th of October:** Call to the workers to visit and support this year's 7th Exhibition of Visual Arts and Photography that is held inside the Shipbuilding Zone at Perama by the union of Metalworkers.
- **41. 20th of October:** Demonstration of solidarity by the Secretariat of Immigrants of PAME.
 - 42. 17th 20th of October: Meetings from the branches at the offices of

PAME to organize the Strike at November 6.

- **43. 23rd of October:** Day of Action and preparation for the strike at November 6.
 - 44. 1st of November: Foundation of PAME web radio.
- **45. 12th of November:** Start of campaign for financial support to the people of Philippines that were stroked hard from the Haiyan hurricane.
- **46. 14th of November:** Demonstration for the law about trade unions rights and actions
 - 47. 17th of November: Demonstration of the Polytechnic Uprising.
 - 48. 7th of December: rallies against the anti-popular budget.
- **49. 17th of December:** Demonstration at the District Attorney's Office of the Supreme Court.
- **50. 18th of December:** Day of Action in Attica against the anti-popular measures for Health Care.
 - **51. 18th of December:** Protest at the president of the Supreme Court.



Strikes – Demonstrations at 2014 -

2014 is a period that significant economic changes happen, characterized by the transition of the economy from the phase of recession and crisis to the phase of contained revitalizing. At the same time the bourgeoisie management is adjusting, at its attempt to effect and to respond to these transitions, but also to manage the new contradictions that are created by the capitalist economy.

The dilemma "growth or austerity" that is put in its essence, but with a different way, by both sides of the new bourgeoisie two poles, is a fake dilemma. The governmental pole (ND – PASOK) mentions the "turning of economy" and promises better days that will come for the workers with the exit of the capitalist economy from the crisis.

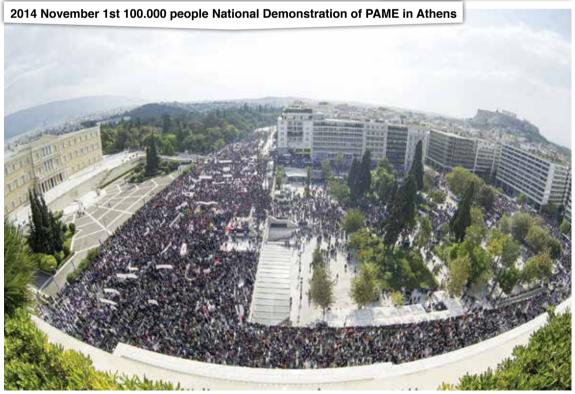
On the other hand, the pole of SYRIZA adopts at its substance fully the core of this statement that the people's wellbeing will come after the capitalist growth. It differentiates from the government and uses a hard rhetoric, arguing that the Governmental polices and the mixture of management that they apply condemns the economy to recession and the growth doesn't come. It calls the workers to vote this government to leave, so that SYRIZA becomes the government that will apply another financial mixture, so that capitalist growth will come sooner. In reality SYRIZA calls the workers to support the target of the capitalist growth and to choose them as its guarantor.

At the same time, the course of the Greek capitalist economy has not been decided. In this context escalates the fight within the bourgeoisie on the management mixture, the future of the baking sector, and which group will control the energy resources and structures of strategic importance, which are privatized.

The percentage of the officially recorded unemployment is spectacularly high. At January of 2014 the percentage of unemployment rose to 26.7%, increased against the 26.5% of the January of 2013, 21.7% at 2011 and 8.9% at 2009. The number of unemployed was about at 1.32 million and the number of the employed at 3.6 million. Unemployment of the young workers, of 15-24 years of age, reaches 57%, while at the next age group of 25-34 is at 36%.

PAME - All Worker's Militant Front





In March a new legislative package of "measures of support for the Greek economy" arrives. At its centre are anti-workers' measures of "correctional character", which are included at the "tool box" of the Organism for Economic Cooperation and Development, such as the "liberalisation" in branches and sectors of the economy, giving emphasis at the retail and especially for the professions that are still characterized with a certain dispersion of activity.

With the same target, of the improvement of the competitiveness of the businesses groups, the laws open the road for the full abolition of the employment benefit (salary raise for every three years of employment) and every benefit at the minimum wage, which will become law in 2017, while within 2014 there is 50% cut to the employment benefits of the long-time unemployed that find a job.

At the same time, the government reduces further the employers' insurance contributions by 3.9%. On the other hand, it forwards seizures against the self-employed and farmers that are indebted at their social security funds (money from tax returns, of VAT or grants and subsidies). The government abolishes funding to dozens of social security organizations, expands the slave-trade at the Public Sector through outsourcing companies.

At 2014 there were 3 National strikes (including the May 1st) and 3 strikes at the Public Sector of which one was a 2day National Strike. There are also 26 main rallies, many of which are in initiatives from the branches. An important intervention and probably the most massive and organized was the nationwide demonstration from the pensioners Federation. The work that was developed in front of the nationwide demonstration was an example of planning and action.

Of special importance was the initiative of PAME to call for a **National Demonstration at the 1st of November** in Athens, which resulted in the participation of over 1000 trade unions and more than 100.000 of people under the slogan "We Will Not Live With Crumbles".

On its Resolution the Executive Secretariat of PAME stated:

"...We salute the dozens of unions that even though they don't agree in everything with PAME, they weren't misdirected by the propaganda from the old and the new government-employers' controlled unionism and other forces for a so called "political party demonstration" and contributed with their decisions and participation at today's big people's demonstration.

PAME - All Worker's Militant Front





Today's big National Demonstration is a people's outburst of indignation, rage and demand. It sent a strong class oriented message to the government and the business groups, it highlighted the potentials and the path that can and must be developed for the class oriented workers – people's movement, so it will be able create obstacles to the anti-people's policies and to form the conditions to overthrow them".

The course of the struggles at 2014

The beginning of the year starts with the imposition of measures that hurt the pensioners. With anti-people's measures and unfair taxes that, as is commented by the Federation of Pensioners:

"The pensioners' benefit of EKAS is now a memory for everyone that is under 65. The auxiliary pensions receive, once more a stab in the back with an even bigger cut. The future of our pensions is uncertain according to everything that has been announced so far by the ministry of Labor. Beside the new taxes for housing, people incomes, Electricity Company, Public TV etc new orders are coming from the EU for "limited prescribing" for medications, and also visiting the doctors of Public Healthcare. With the new measures the government orders us to get sick 80% less than last year! (based on this percentage the doctors of the insured will have to provide their services, for anything further you have to go to private doctors). We call all the pensioners to act organized through their unions along with the rest of the union movement and our response should be on the streets of struggle, the true pressure that is understood by those who are responsible for the lives of our families. At 2014 there should be even bigger fights against these procedures"

On February there is a big rally in Athens, in solidarity with the poor farmers mobilizations.

On March 12th there is a strike organized at Public Sector. In Athens, the forces of PAME organized a rally, where the main speech by Tasos Zervos, a worker to be laidoff, noted:

"the privatization of a public services is attempted, to abolish permanent

and steady work, to change labour relations and to replace today's public employees with low wage, no rights workers".

There is a 48 hour strike of Public Sector workers on the 19th – 20th of March.

The pensioners, with their banners, made a massive demonstration. Dimos Koumpouris, president of the National Federation of Pensioners said:

"The Government's budget "surpluses" are taken from our pockets, from the social funds, to the the stock market, given to the bankers and business groups. They are our earnings made with blood, which in Healthcare are bloodier because people are in real danger. There is not even one anti-popular measure that doesn't have the signature of the EU. Everyone that supports the path of the EU – even opposition parties and union leaderships – are trying to terrify us that destruction will come if we leave the EU, if we take the economy in our own hands, if Healthcare isn't merchandise".

On **April 9th** there is a 24hour General Strike. The main speaker n Athens was Vasilis Stamoulis that mentions

"The measures are here to stay! We can delay the implementation of measures, to strike back, projecting and fighting our demands for increasing the wages, for permanent and steady work, for human conditions at work, against the dismissals, the unsecured work, for the abolition of all of these



anti-popular laws. This is how we must deal with the "multibill", we should not take nothing as inevitable and unpreventable. Because which one of us can compromise with his kid being unemployed, precarious work, instead of wage to be paid "pocket money"? Which one of us can compromise with the fact that after 40 and 50 years of work we will receive a pension that will not even be enough to give some pocket money to their grandchildren? Which one of us can compromise with the fact that any time the employer wants can fire us and not even give us compensation?

The measures will stay after the memorandums and the elections, as they were the demands of the employers even before the memoranda and the crisis. Here will remain even after the memorandums and the elections, the permanent supervision and the directions from the EU for making sure of the competitiveness. Here will remain all the anti-popular measures and they will be reinforced, because the capital can't get enough, it is fed by the escalation of the level of exploitation".

May 1st Strike

At the central May 1st Rally, in Athens in front of the Parliament, spoke George Perros, Chairman of the Executive Secretariat of PAME. He highlighted the 15 years since the foundation of PAME. He said:

"PAME's foundation gave strength, militancy, hope to the life and actions of the union movement. It helped to form the class oriented movement and to rally and form alliance with all those who suffer under the slavery of the monopolies, the European Union and the pro-EU, pro-capitalism parties. PAME contributed to the common response and action of all of those that are suffering by the anti-peoples policies. It strengthened the social alliance of workers, self-employed, poor-farmers, the youth, the women".

On the **19th of June in Athens** takes place a big national demonstration of pensioners' Unions.

At the rally also spoke Quim Boix, GS of the TUI of Pensioners of WFTU. He noted:

"The right to pension the workers conquered it after decades of hard, class oriented, union struggles. We are here because we know that their anti-workers policies have no ending. Until now we were paying in the name

of the capitalist crisis. Now we are called to pay in the name of the capitalist growth that is giving birth to it. We don't have any illusions. We know that a pro-peoples exit from the crisis on behalf of the people does not exist. Only with the strength of the organized struggle and the regrouping of the workers – peoples movement will be given solutions that are for the good of the people.

Our fighting demonstrations will not be the step to support that the system will change their governmental handlers, as the forces of the system desire. We know that in front of us we don't have to deal with just some fraudsters and some politicians incapable of managing, but a system unfair, exploitive, barbaric, and destructive. A system that had enough and only destruction can bring. We know that it is not unbeatable. That with the strength of the organized popular struggle, it can become history of the past".

On July 9, there is a new strike at the Public Sector. In Athens, the demonstration for the strike was moved at the Courthouse, where took place the State's claim for the State workers' Strike to be declared illegal and abusive and be stopped immediately.



The main speech at was made by Afroditi Rntziou, unionist of PAME at the Health sector. She condemned the decision of the government to go to Court against the strike, as well as the "Civil Recruitment" for the workers of the Electric Company (DEH). She said:

"We know that the imposition of the anti-people's policies come hand in hand with the increase of oppression and repression. We warn them, that no matter how many measures of intimidation and repression they might take, we will not be intimidated. On the contrary, this is a proof that they fear us...All this time the forces of PAME projected the need for total opposition at the law of evaluation, the need for total indiscipline and disobedience to a law hostile not only for the public employees, but totally for the popular strata"

At November 27 takes place a National General Strike condemning the hunger-wages and the pensions of starvation, for the protection of the unemployed. In the main speech Giota Tavoulari, from the ES of PAME, stated:

"From our actions, our fights, our demands depends our "salvation", decent lives, stable and permanent work with rights. We dismiss the illusions that if the governmental managers change this exploiting system will become humane. The waiting, putting our hopes on governmental changes has been proven to not bring gains. Doing nothing, delaying, creates only new retreats, new loses. Stabilizes poverty and misery.



National Strikes of 2014

- 1. 12th of March:- Public Sector
- 2. 19th 20th of March: 48hour strike in the Public Sector
- 3. 9th of April: General Strike
- 4. 1st of May: Strike for the May 1st
- 5. 9th of July: National Strike in Public Sector
- **6. 27th of November:** National General Strike condemning the hunger-wages and the pensions of starvation, for the protection of the unemployed

Rallies and Demonstrations 2014

- **1. 4th of February:** Rally against the anti-workers measures of the government in Healthcare
 - 2. 18th of February: Demonstration for Healthcare
 - 3. 19th of February: Rally for solidarity to the demonstrations of the farmers
 - 4. 6th of March: Demonstration by Trade Unions for the Unemployed
 - 5. 7th of March: Rally for Working Women's Day
- 6. 7th of March: Demonstration at the Ukrainian Embassy for banning the Communist Party of Ukraine
 - 7. 20th of March: Rally of Pensioners' Unions
 - 8. 27th of March: Rally by the Trade Unions for the Unemployed
 - 9. 30th of March: Rally against the voting of the multibill in the Parliament
 - 10. 1st of April: Protest in Athens against the meeting of ECOFIN
 - 11. 5th of June: demonstration at the Ministry of Education
- **12. 12th of June:** Demonstration at the Ministry of Labor for the approving of massive layoffs
 - **13. 19th of June:** Rally of Pensioners Organizations for Social Security.
 - 14. 19th of June: PAME Teachers' demonstration at the Ministry of Education
- **15. 5th of July:** Demonstration at the Ministry of Administrative Reform against the policy of forced mobilization of the Electricity Company (DEH) workers
 - 16. 9th of July: Protest Against the liberation of energy.
 - 17. 11th of July: Demonstration by PAME, EEDYE, EEDA, in front of the









Israeli Embassy in Athens in Solidarity with the people of Palestine

- 18. 15th of July: Rally against the criminalization of the struggles
- 19. 16th of July: Protest at the Ministry of Labor for the law against Trade Union Action
 - 20. 6th of September: Rally at Thessaloniki
- **21. 23rd of September:** Demonstration at the Ministry of Transportation demanding cheap transportations
- **22. 2nd of October:** Demonstration at the Ministry of Finance in front of the meeting of the government with the troika for the new measures
- 23. 4th of October: Rally for the unemployed the 3rd of October International Day of Action of WFTU
- **24.** 13th of October: Demonstration of PAME to the Manager of OAED Unemployment Agency, for the former Organization of Workers' Housing
 - 25. 1st of November: Rally for the unemployed
 - 26. 7th of December: Protest for Social Security



Conditions on 2015-2017

The year 2015 begins during the election period. National Elections take place on January 25 and the party of SYRIZA forms a government with the extremeright, nationalist party of ANEL.

On February 20, expires the extension period of the second memorandum signed by the previous government of ND-PASOK. That same evening, after long negotiations, a four-month extension of the second memorandum is given. The new agreement provides as a condition for the financing of Greece, special measures to be taken.

In April, the SYRIZA - ANEL government submits a new expanded list of restructuring and reforms to be assessed by the European Council - ECB - IMF. This list provides new additional anti-workers' measures of over 6€ billion for 2015, in conjunction with the steep increase of the "primary surpluses", even above the 3% which was the target of the memorandum at the time.

The list explicitly refers to privatizations, mergers of social security funds and the utilization of their property, cuts in public spending, it conceals new taxes, while in terms of Social Security and Labour issues, it includes ambiguities without any pro-people commitment.

Despite the implementation of additional measures, with the increase of an-



ti-people's taxes, the reduction of government funds related to meeting public needs, the coalition government detects and admits even new funding gaps, which reach to 19€ billion for the 2015. This leads, with mathematical accuracy, to a new loan agreement and memorandum, as will be confirmed with the new agreement that will follow.

At the end of April, in order for the state to cope with its internal obligations and to pay the salaries and pensions, the government withholds the reserves of public institutions to a single account in the Bank of Greece. This decision was a fixed "request of the institutions", as revealed by a high-ranking Eurozone spokesman. This same decision meets the reactions of unions, people's movement, but also of local administrations.

Entering May, there is a great rush to complete the anti-popular agreement. Thus, a multi-bill was announced with the first "reforms", many of which are anti-workers. It remains to "discuss" about the measures in the Social Security, Labour, VAT increase, with the government bargaining the time and the way of their implementation after June, with the new medium-term agreement.

At the same time that the government of SYRIZA-ANEL negotiates the new commitments with the EU and the creditors, it paves the way for new measures that will be added to what is already in force with the memorandum laws of the previous governments of ND - PASOK.

One week after, the joint announcement of Tsipras-Juncker prepares the new assault on Social Security, pension and workers' rights and on the Collective Agreements.

At the end of May, the SYRIZA-ANEL government calls for intervention of the USA in order to seal the new Agreement -Memorandum, which will include: Sharp increase of brutal taxation of popular strata through the increased VAT rates, abolition of so-called early retirement, cuts in the pensions, reforms in Labour Law, escalation of the program for privatizations.

The USA intervention confirms the anti-workers' nature of the agreement, as well as the commitments made by the government. This intervention also proves that the negotiation does not concern the people's interests, it is evolving in the context of the most general confrontation between Germany and the US, and the outcome will be certainly anti-popular.





June is intense because of the bargaining between the SYRIZA-ANEL government and the Troika "institutions", on the emerging conclusion of the anti-popular agreement. A barrage of new anti-popular measures is being prepared, which will be combined with securing the funding for the Greek bourgeois state and banking groups and, of course, the new memorandum accompanied by anti-people's restructuring.

The "problems" in the negotiations are used to escalate the anti-people's attack and the dilemmas.

The new Memorandum is baptized "a painful, but honourable agreement"! They are trying to shift the responsibility of the anti-popular decisions to the people who "do not want rupture with the EU".

It is a provocation for any militant, radical, left person that SYRIZA is trying to present the new commitments as "a necessary compromise in the negative correlation within the EU". This is the "realism of submission," which seeks to make the people choose every time the "lesser evil" and which afterwards turns into the "greatest evil".

It turns out that SYRIZA offers its best service to the system, which makes the people bleed. It aims to block any kind of radicalism, so that the people do not dare to think, today or tomorrow, that they may have a future beyond the present walls of barbarism.

The new Agreement-Memorandum will bear a multiplying burden at the expense of the workers' and popular needs. It is not "a comprehensive and viable agreement that solves the Greek problem", as the parties of the bourgeois EU administration claim. On the contrary, it paves the way for a new round of extortions at the expense of the people, and even at a time when the Eurozone is hardly recovering from the crisis and the conflicts are getting stronger. The government bears a great responsibility, because it involves the country in these conflicts, and goes so far as to talk about a new NATO base on an Aegean island.

They took and still take for granted the EU's principles! They negotiated the terms of service of an unbearable debt that would be paid by the people "in full" and aiming at the capitalist recovery, with the illusory promise that it would benefit the workers and the unemployed.

The government celebrates about the low primary surpluses, promises devel-

opment packages, displays as a "supreme goal" to make a commitment for future debt settlement, which will supposedly balance the anti-popular package. All of this is the "bait" of the new anti-popular agreement. All these do not happen for the satisfaction of the people's needs, but for the state support for capitalist profitability and for the business groups. Any development packages and sums saved by the debt settlement will be directed to the big capital.

The government celebrates, because they supposedly avoided the worst scenario for the people, which was the creditors' proposal or a GREXIT. In essence, the government joins the blackmailing dilemmas that ND and PASOK have been saying for so long, who support the new agreement of the government.

"SYRIZA raises the same blackmail, with a different communicative style. A typical case is the rallies organised by SYRIZA, so that supposedly the government would not go back, at the time when this same government was submitting – the one after another - its anti-popular proposals. Both the pro-government and the "opposition" rallies have a common basis, to make the people applaud the EU. The ones, having as a demand to "stay in EU at all costs" and the others, having the deceptive goal of "staying in the EU and to change it ". And all this, at a time when the people's questioning in the EU intensifies." This is what the PAME Executive Secretariat said in a statement.

On Sunday, July 30, 2015 and before the referendum, the ECB decides to discontinue ELA, resulting in closing the Greek banks and imposing capital controls.

On Sunday, July 12, a Summit of Eurozone leaders is convened.

On July 23, the second part of pre-requisites is voted.

On Thursday, August 13, the new Memorandum is signed with "emergency" procedures. The third memorandum is now, also typically, a reality. With the signatures of the SYRIZA-ANEL government, which proved to be worthy followers of the government of ND-PASOK, and the support of the parties ND - POTAMI - PASOK, the new slaughter of the Greek people arrives.

On August 20, the Prime Minister announces the resignation of his government and new elections in September.

In October, a new wave of measures is taking place in labour and salaries is-

sues, with the multi-bill submitted by the government, while the new massacre in the Social Security begins.

The course of struggles in 2015

On April 2 and 3, the workers in Forthnet Co (Telecom) hold a 48 hour strike, demanding to stop the policy of "outsourcing" workers and to sign a Collective Agreement.

On 23 April, PAME and USB Italy hold rallies of solidarity to the refugees, in Athens and Rome. In Athens, a march to the EU offices takes place. When the protesters arrived outside the EU offices, they hung a giant banner on the facade of the building, on which there was the slogan "Murderers-Thieves-Hypocrites Are the European Imperialists".



On May Day Demonstration PAME states:

"We are preparing to respond with a strike, with massive, decisive features. We are struggling for the workers' wages, for Collective Agreements. Our main motto and goal: Wage rises, coverage of losses now. Reestablishment of the Collective Agreements now! From the wage cuts of recent years, imposed by anti-workers laws, governments offered 14 billion euros to the employers! They threw us into poverty and debt. We do not give them away, we demand them, and we want them back".

At the core of the action of trade unions, People's Committees and organizations continue to be the great problems of public healthcare structures. On May 14, a rally outside the Ministry of Healthcare takes place.

On May 23, PAME organizes a conference on

"The developments in the social-insurance system and the positions of the class trade union movement"

PAME's document mentioned

"We do not want today's PAME initiative to be kept at a theoretical level and later to be forgotten, but we want it to become an updated ideological-political weapon of the workers' - popular movement and of its organizations.

We think the situation is critical. Social Security, especially lately, is among the first issues on the agenda every day. The bargaining of what we are going lose, the continued backward steps of the government hiding behind slogans and preelection commitments, which were not, anyway, corresponding to the popular needs, the new provocative claims of the industrialists, the reports of European organizations, the developments around the liquidity of the Funds after the looting of the cash holdings, the breaking or not of bonds, the miserable situation at Health Centres and hospitals, constitute an explosive situation with regard to the social security system.

The class trade union movement from its beginning sees Social Security with a view to serving the interests of the working-popular family. We believe that PAME's today proposal responds to the real needs of the workers, to the urgent need to stop the current situation and to gain certain conquests.

PAME sees Social Security as one of the greatest achievements of the workers. Social Security was not offered, it was not given to the workers, it was not

a gift. It was the result of years of bloody conflict throughout the world with the governments and the big capital of each country.

For the monopolies, Social Security is a profit factor, both by reducing the socalled non-wage costs and by the commercialization, the growth and widening of private initiatives in pensions, in healthcare and welfare.

For the government and other parties, the Social Security problem is financial-technical. They are looking for a solution in the numbers, many times they alter them. The solutions they propose are not based on popular needs, but on the competitiveness of the economy and the demands of employers. For this reason, they are partially insisting on the Funds' deficits, the mismanagement, the relation between the insured and the pensioners, the state's participation, the employers' contributions, the retirement age limits.

For PAME, the problem of Social Security is political and starts from a class level, as the boundaries of the exploitative system that is rotting are also revealed in this matter, which is in stark contrast to the satisfaction of the modern people's needs. The solution does not depend, for example, on a good or bad planning on this issue but, in our opinion, requires a centralized planning and an economy that against the interests of the business groups would put the modern people's needs.

For us, Social Security, apart from its relative autonomy as an issue, is an important part of the puzzle of the unified attack on the price of the labor force. Social Security, as well as income, working time, working relations, are aspects that escalate the exploitation and the constant drain of the working class.

The decline in the labor force price through the reduction of the so-called working costs has led, in the past years, to the brutal plunder of workers' rights. It was in the direction of enhancing the business climate, the competitiveness of the economy so that monopoly groups could not be affected by the crisis and further strengthens their profitability in the period of recovery.

That is why in the field of Social Security they are constantly taking aggressive measures, eliminating what is left of pension and insurance rights, so that insurance will become an individual case of everyone. That is why our starting point is different and non-negotiable. We consider that Social Security is a right. At the same time, we estimate that today there are all the conditions and possibilities,

given the unparalleled productivity gains over the past decades, to drastically reduce the retirement age limits and the working time, and at the same time to increase wages, pensions, to widen the health and Welfare benefits, the Social Rights ".

On June 11, takes place a large rally in Athens and other cities by more than 500 trade unions and people's organizations against the negotiations between the government-creditors on the new agreement.

The main speech of PAME expresses the response to the new blackmail:

"They are asking us to choose between two evils. Between the Juncker's Memorandum and the Memorandum of SYRIZA - ANEL. Our response is that we do not compromise with the black future of poverty, unemployment, work without rights and bankruptcy of the people for the profits of the monopolies.

We do not step back from our demand to abolish the memorandum of the 400 implementing laws, to recover the losses, to overthrow anti-popular measures, to claim our rights, all this that we deserve today. We reject both the new government memorandum and the one of the creditors.

In both documents, the government's and creditors', dominate the interests of the big business groups. For the rights of the working class they just copy the agreements of the European Union and the previous memorandums. They enforce the anti-workers' package with new measures!

With the fake argument that "we avoided the worst", they want the work-



ers, the people, to abandon their demands for the cancelation of the antipeople's agreements. They want to ratify all the memorandums, and seal off their undisturbed implementation.

With the new memorandum in their hands, the big employers will ask for more. The attack has no end. We must overthrow this barbarity. We must set our own "red lines". The government has no "red line". They spread lies and cultivate illusions. As they did during the pre-election period, they do so now. There is no honest compromise for the people, within the EU predatory alliance and the power of the capital.

There is one solution and we will come through our struggle. By enhancing the perspective that we need to meet our needs, getting the control of the wealth we produce for our benefit. PAME, as it has done since its foundation, till today, takes the initiative and calls for struggle, overcoming defeatism, the old and new trade unionism controlled by the governments and the employers.

Today's call, concerns all workers. Those, who until recently, have been thinking PAME's. Those who thought that the problems could be resolved by a change of government. Through a better management. Now, they have to draw conclusions, to join us. In the call we are addressing, every honest trade unionist has to respond.

Today's rally is a response and a call for new struggles. We have to wait for nothing. We intensify the preparation in the workplaces, in the neighbourhoods, in the cities and in the villages. The government, the capital and their allies should understand that: We do not surrender. We organize a massive popular militant response. We organize mobilisations, rallies; we are getting ready for massive strike response in all sectors."

At the same time with the Demonstration, with a surprise movement, trade unionists from Athens' unions, entered the Ministry of Finance, and from the roof of the building, they hang a giant banner on the facade.

The banner illustrated the Prime Ministers Papandreou, Samaras and Tsipras, in the shadow of the SEV(Greek Industrialists Association), surrounded by the stars of the EU flag, each one of them with the memorandum that they have brought (and are preparing to bring) to the people. Underneath, with PAME's sig-

nature, the slogan says:

"We Have Bled Enough, We Have Paid Enough!
People, Take The Situation In Your Hands!
Block The New Measures And Long Lasting Memorandums ".

On June 23, there is a National rally of the organizations of pensioners in Athens.

On June 30, PAME's call for the false referendum organized by the SYRI-ZA-ANEL government is published. The document underlines:

"We resist to the blackmail and intimidation that is under way and will be intensified in the coming days, before the referendum on Sunday! Fear, fatalism do not fit us!



We have bled enough! We have paid enough! We do not accept new antipopular measures, new memorandums, new plight, new suffering, no matter how they present them to us, no matter what names they give to them.

Monopolies, the EU and the government, their people, their mechanisms, the parties that support that EU is a one way, fully began the campaign of fear, to kneel the working class and the people, to accept new additional heavy sacrifices.

With brutal blackmail, they want our people to choose by themselves the memorandum that will bind them with handcuffs, will condemn them to constant poverty and misery for recovery of profits.

We will not become partners in crime with their anti-workers, anti-popular policy!

Our position must be expressed through a wide workers-people's militant wave and in the ballots on Sunday in various ways. A militant wave of opposition and condemnation of the memorandums and the EU, which imposes them on behalf of our exploiters.

We do not step back! We do not retreat! We demand the abolition of the memorandums and the applicable laws that turn our lives into hell. No new sacrifices for plutocracy! The future of our children does not fit into the chains of EU's, bankers', industrialists', ship owners'!

Rupture with the EU and the path of the monopolies!

Workers in the frontline, destroy now with a punch, memorandums and bosses!

All workers rallied in their unions and PAME, the pensioners in their unions, women in women's associations, the unemployed, the youth in their organizations, along with the People's Committees in the neighbourhoods. We organize, we strengthen the workers-people's solidarity, no one alone!

We immediately demand:

- To ensure the full payment of workers' salaries, of the unemployment benefits for the unemployed, of pensions. Right here and right now!
- To fully ensure the provision of healthcare and medicines without any burden to the people under the responsibility of the government! No cuts in public hospitals!
 - · Extension and generalization of the free use measure for all Public Trans-

ports. Abolishment of tolls.

- No layoffs or compulsory unpaid leave for workers, on the pretext of the closing of banks.
 - Freeze payments for taxes, housing and consumer loans.
- Freeze payments for electricity, water, telephone. No interruptions of connections.

We call for militant alert and vigilance to protect our rights, support the workers, our people."

On July 15, with a statement under the title "Down with the new Agreement of Barbarity and Shame", PAME calls the working class in new rallies, with the slogan: "All in the street! Fight now."

The announcement states:

"The SYRIZA-ANEL government, like the previous ones, is making us bleed, is killing us, in order to save the profits of the monopoly groups in any way. Without abolishing even half of the articles of the laws that bankrupt the people in the previous years, they bring new measures of total extermination of the workers



and the people.

Money, new privileges and protection for business groups!

PAME has well in advance warned workers about the role of the new government! Now that the time for the decisions has come, it has been proven the profoundly hostile role of the SYRIZA - ANEL government to the workers 'and the people's interests. Like the previous governments they have made no mistakes, they are not incapable. On the contrary, they are quite capable of bringing the whole bankruptcy package of the people together with the new memorandum that they have signed, to satisfy all desires of the industrialists - ship-owners –big employers.

We can rely only on our own power, on our organization!

We are getting ready for new, harder and tougher fights everywhere!

The government has been lying that the wealthy and the oligarchy will pay the new memorandum. The government has been lying that the measures will have as a basis "social justice". The goal is the constant drain of the people, the worsening of wages and pensions cuts, and the further exploitation of the workers.

THE NEW BARBARIC MEASURES MUST NOT PASS!

To be cancelled in every factory, in every workplace!

Every workers-people's neighbourhood to give an immediate response! "

On 22 July, before the signing of the new barbaric memorandum, a PAME rally in Athens is taking place. Leonidas Sakkas, President of the National Union of Printers, made the main speech at the PAME rally in Athens, where he highlighted:

"Workers and other popular strata we are facing a new anti-workers fire. The vote of the 3rd Memorandum from the new "alliance of the willing", the united reactionary front of the SYRIZA-ANEL-ND-PASOK-POTAMI parties was made on the order of the local and European capitalists. They are escalating their attack against the working class of our country and the working people.

New barbaric anti-people's measures are added to the old memorandum measures and they raise the burden and misery of the workers' families. They bind the people and the workers with new chains in order to make it harder for them to fight. The SYRIZA - ANEL government is provocative!



As we do not have enough of their frauds, hypocrisies, tactics, lies, fake referendums, they have, also, come to the point to say that in the new measures there is "social justice" and that they will "gently apply" the memorandum."

On August 7, the Trade Union of Municipality Workers of Attica holds an intervention in the Ministry of Labour, to address the acute problems of the workers in "community services" programs, the well-known "five-month contract" programs. The Trade Union, during the protests they held against the Minister of Labour, G. Katrougalos, and the General Secretary of the Ministry, they denounced the practice of municipal authorities to illegally place general duty workers in cleaning services, without even providing them with the basic personal protection equipment, resulting in three serious work-accidents during the previous days.

On September 5, on the occasion of the Thessaloniki International Fair, PAME calls for a big rally in the city.

On November 5, university students take the streets of Athens. The Students' Unions in their call note:

"We want to study without obstacles.

Our families cannot bear the unbearable cost of studies. That is why we have every reason to fight against the attack by the SYRIZA-ANEL government and the EU against our parents and us. As all the previous measures implemented by the previous governments that have reduced the income of our parents by 40% were not enough. We now have a new attack to the popular family, through the third memorandum, which consequently forces the majority of our colleagues to work since the first year of studies or they even abandon their studies. "

On October 15, day of the presentation of the antiworkers' "Wise Men's" report on Social Security by the Ministry of Labour, PAME makes an occupation of the Ministry building. The "celebration" for the presentation of the report is transferred to the Parliament and its document confirmed the disaster that comes, without exception, for all workers and pensioners. The government's attempt to disguise the attack on Social Security as "social dialogue" by people tested in implementing anti-social security measures, was answered as it should be by the class trade union movement

On the morning of Friday, October 16, an open press conference was held

outside the occupied Ministry on the Ministry's report and the developments on Social Security. In the afternoon of the same day, there are militant rallies against the outrageous measures.

Above the podium, a gigantic banner of PAME dominated the facade of the ministry and called for escalation, intensification of the preparations for rallies on October 22 and General Strike on November 12.

The Ministry of Labour remained under occupation by the class forces until the afternoon, when thousands of protesters began to march to the Parliament, where, at that time, the debate on the measures, along with the first prerequisites for the 3rd Memorandum, was taking place.

The slogans that dominated the protest were centred on Social Security and the determination of the class movement to give all its power to prevent the measures and their imposition, as the government was planning to do with new bill within the next month.

"Take your hands off Social Security, it is not for bargains and for dismantling," the thousands of protesters shouted as they arrived from Omonia square to the Ministry of Labour. Those who were already gathered there welcomed them in response to the slogan: "Medication, pensions and health, are turned into profits for the capitalists" and "Worker, PAME calls! They have declared war against you! Fight back!"

On October 22, there are rallies in several cities in the country. In the central speech of the rally in Athens, was stated:

"We are sending a message! On November 12, no one in the factory, in the office, in the shop, in the field. Nobody at workplace! No unemployed alone! All together united in the strike."

On November 11, in the city of Ioannina Riot police attacks against the workers who are on strike in a Recycling Factory. The workers were on strike against layoffs and wage cuts. The court, after lawsuit by the employer, declared the workers' strike in the factory illegal, however, the strike continued with the support of PAME and the local Regional Trade Union Center of Ioannina.

The riot police forces used tear gas in order to hit the picket-lines and to make it easier for the employers to set in motion its mechanism. The intimidation operation was completed with the arrest of eight people, a worker in the company and seven trade unionists, who were supporting the strikers' struggle. PAME responds:

"The government of SYRIZA - ANEL, who ordered the attack of the riot police against the workers who were fighting for their rights, bears a huge responsibility for the escalating intimidation operation. The SYRIZA government is acting as a bodyguard for those who layoff and cut the salaries of the workers.

We demand: Direct Release of all workers. The retreat of the riot police. All strikers' demands to be satisfied. We call on all trade unions to condemn these government-employers practices. To Massively Express Their Solidarity to the just struggle of the Workers in "General Recycling".

A National General Strike Takes Place On 12 November. In the central speech of the rally in Athens, Olga Siantou healthcare worker and a member of the Executive Secretariat of PAME, said:

"PAME initiatives disturbed also some forces, which until yesterday were side by side with SYRIZA. After trying to cancel the strike and the plan for escalation, since they did not succeed, they ended up calling for participation in the strike, so did SYRIZA! This is an old art of PASOK in the trade union movement! When they could not cancel a fight, they took part in it to undermine it, to weaken its radical content.

Now, they do the same thing. Instead of a struggle against the government-the big employers - the EU, instead of a struggle against the employers and the state, they seek to turn it into a confused anti-memorandum struggle, where everyone will fit. Both those who vote for the pension cuts and the pensioners, both those who put the houses in auctions and the poor ones who are losing their homes!



While SYRIZA was in the opposition, the workers 'unions and workers were used as a "stepping stone" to change the bourgeois governments. They tried to turn the movement into a supporter of the government, as they were, also, themselves!

Who can forget the slander over PAME, all the previous period, that "PAME only now remembered to go on strike"? Who can forget that these forces cultivated illusions about the so-called "first time a left government"? Who can forget about their pursuit to make the movement a supporter of the negotiation of SYRI-ZA-ANEL that negotiated for the interests of capitalist big employers? To support, they said, the "red lines" of the government.

They have serious responsibilities because they have contributed to the entrapment, the delay and the illusions. These are not forgotten! Their calls do not differ at all from the calls they made all the previous time. They lead to the same bankrupt road! They are the same ones, who were applauding Tsipras, when he was saying that the EU and NATO are our common home!

So, today, they are coming, raising war at PAME, the trade unions and the unions that are rallying with PAME. **Their attitude to the national general strike and PAME is a criterion.** They want to use the movement for the strategy of governmental change. They want a trade union movement that moves within the limits of the system, under a blurry anti-memorandum orientation, without actually confronting the capitalists' power.

We continue, step by step in every sector, every trade union, every workplace. With our demands, the goals and the direction of the struggle. In each city, in every village, in every neighborhood, we are informing everyone about the anti-workers social security criminal law and the criminal policy of the government. We are responding with a new general strike against the attack on Social Security. When we say that reforms in Social Security are a cause of war, we mean it!"

In the central speech there was a separate note on the issue of refugees.

"We cannot stop counting shipwrecks; we cannot stop counting dead, as if we are not talking about people! Each day, two young children, like little Aylan passes out of life, drowning in the wet tomb of the Mediterranean. It is frightening the image coming from Samos, Lesvos and Kos, where the refrigerators in the hos-





pitals are full, the dead are not buried! This is not the shame of "our culture and our society," as the murderers and their parrots are trying to present. This is the shame; those are the crimes of the capitalists, NATO and the European Union. "

The events that stand out from the strike on Nov. 12 include the participation in the strike of at least 1,000 bus-drivers in Athens who responded to the PAME Transport Secretariat's call to go on strike despite the fact that the decision of their Union was for 3hour symbolic work-stoppage. As a result, buses did not come out from bus stations, showing the militant moods in the industry.

In November, a solidarity rally is taking place in Heraklion, for workers in the Factory of "Recycling", who are claiming to remain in work with the same rights and do not accept their replacement. The rally was organized by the Union of Private Employees of Heraklion and the Workers' Committee of the Union at the "Recycling" factory.

On December 3, is launched a new National General Strike, the second one in 20 days. Massive rallies are organized by PAME in dozens of cities, giving the best response to the government's consensus attempts, to draw the movement into compromise and acceptance of anti-workers' measures.

National Strikes of 2015

- 1. 1st May: International Workers' Day Strike
- 2. 12 November: Strike Against the Destruction of Social Security
- 3. 3 December: Strike Against the Destruction of Social Security

Rallies and Demonstrations of 2015

23 April: PAME rally Against the deaths of Refugees in the Mediterranean

24 April: PAME Rally for Social Funds' Reserves

26 April: PAME Concert in the Olympic Complex for the 16-year Anniversary of PAME and WFTU 70 Years of Action

11 June: Rallies against new memorandum, new agreements

23 June: Rally against new memoranda, new agreements

3 July: Protest in front of the SEV Offices

10 July: Rallies in all cities Against the new Memorandum15 July: Rallies in all cities Against the new Memorandum22 July: Rallies in all cities Against the new Memorandum

5 August: Protest at the Ministry of Labor - Meeting with Minister of Labor

12August: Nationwide Rallies against the voting in the Parliament of the 3rd Memorandum

5 September: Demonstration in Thessaloniki for Thessaloniki International Fair

23 September: Solidarity rally for refugees and immigrants

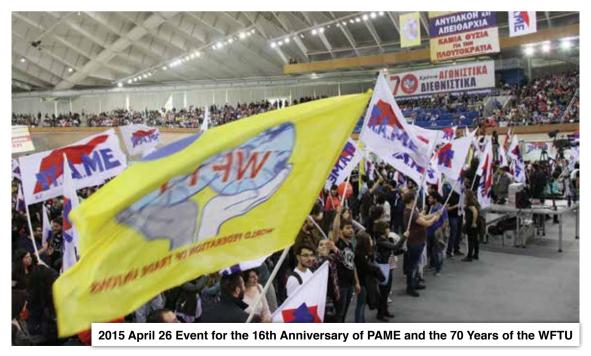
28 September: Protest at the Ministry of Labor on Social Security

16 October: Nationwide Rallies against the voting in the Parliament pre-requisite measures of the 3rd memorandum.

22 October: Rallies in all cities against the measures of the third memorandum on Social Security – Labor Relations

17 November: Rally for the Uprising of the students against the military junta

15 December: Nationwide Rallies against the voting in the Parliament of the Memorandum pre-requisites.



The course of the struggles in 2016

In the years 2016-2017, the third memorandum, which was voted by the SYRI-ZA-ANEL government, is specialized through evaluations. Dominant positions are the new reforms in social insurance, with the famous law-guillotine of 2016 and the attack against the workers' right to strike at the beginning of 2018. The government, along with the other parties in support of the exploitation system, consolidated the anti-workers framework that existed. It strengthened it, and reinforced it, implementing the constant demands of the industrialists, doing the "dirty job" that the previous governments could not do.

The provocative attack by the government and its personnel, against PAME, the class movement, and the development of workers' struggles, is part of an elaborate propaganda that aggressively seeks to support the government policy and the harsh measures against workers, by slandering the struggles, along with an attempt to abolish strike rights.

These practices are not new. The provocative attacks are on the path that PASOK (the old social democratic government) had previously used. But they are further developed, as many publications of "AVGI" (the official newspaper of SYRIZA), proving again the downfall of an opportunist party used by the bourgeoisie, now transformed into a social-democratic party that escalates shamelessly the anti-workers attack.

The action of PAME and the class movement is not determined by governmental changes. This is typical of the rotten government and employers' mechanism. The peak of the dirty work of the sold-out union leaders, who sit on the neck of thousands of workers, is their refusal to go on strike when the government brought to the Parliament, measures that aim the unions, the right to strike and workers struggles.

2016 begins with the National General strike on February 4 and the strike rallies organized by PAME throughout the country, against government's anti-social insurance plans, demanding their withdrawal. In this direction, class unions are deciding on continual multi-form mobilizations (moto-demonstrations, symbolic occupations, protests in social insurance institutions, town halls, workplaces).





On the same days, ship workers from PEMEN, "STEFENSON", PEEMAGEN maritime unions are proceeding to 48-hour national strikes demanding the withdrawal of the "law-guillotine" for social insurance.

A joint action of workers, self-employed, scientists, farmers is developed. A great battle is given so as not allow plans of division of the struggle. Unions controlled by the Government and the employers cultivated the idea "the law in general is not our concern, the important is for our sector to be excluded", aiming to break the unified response of the workers and the popular strata.

Against these joint actions multiply. In Athens takes place a huge rally of workers' welcoming the Farmers, who have held road-blocks all over Greece. The demonstration of farmers and workers in the center of Athens created a powerful image that made the round of the world. The farmers with lights on their tractors, frantic corners and sirens responded to the applause and slogans of the workers and the people of Athens welcoming them. This great demonstration showed the great strength of the social alliance of which PAME is leading.

At the same time PAME with its trade unions, plays a leading role in highlighting the problems faced by refugees. PAME is mobilizing and organizing solidarity by gathering material help. In a call PAME states

"For this situation, the workers of Greece will not stay with their arms crossed. We will not become accomplices in the crime of the imperialists. We will not let the racist, xenophobic cries -of those supporting the imperialist interventions that lead the people to refugee- dominate ... Now every trade union, every people's committee, everybody who wants to be called a human to organize the collection of Material Aid to Refugees. Immediately collect first aid materials (food, dry food, water, baby items, diapers, etc.) .."

In addition to the mood of "consensus" and the expectations systematically cultivated, by the capitalists, the government, other bourgeois parties and the forces of employers' and pro-government unionism, the government and the same bourgeoisie staff use now the slogan of "accelerating", "rapidly completing the measures" with all the anti-workers measures it involves.

During this time, struggles in sectors and workplaces such as Super-Markers, press agencies, chemical factories, food industries-ZOURAS, healthcare - euro-medica, transports, in Tourism, at the Athens Ledra Hotel and other. Several of







these struggles and strikes hold for a long time with many forms.

In May a new National General 48-hour strike is taking place against the "law-guillotine" on social insurance and new anti-worker measures.

In autumn, the government announces the government's intention to fire thousands of contract workers, citing the Court's decision that is "unconstitutional" to prolong the contracts till the end of 2017.

Mocking the workers, they presented as a "solution" the two-month contracts to temporarily cover the cleaning departments in municipalities and cultivates expectations for a limited number of recruitments in the future, away from the real staffing needs of municipalities. The unions that rally with PAME called for national strike in the Public Sector.

In October 2016, the draft law on collective agreements, drawn up on the initiative of 530 trade unions, was submitted in the Parliament by the Communist Party of Greece and was delivered to all the parties except the fascist Golden Dawn.

The draft law was to impose:

"The abolition of all the anti-workers provisions contained in the laws imposed by the previous and current government in recent years with the three memoranda. Full safeguarding of collective bargaining and collective labour agreements, restoring the obligation of collective labour agreements, with the principle of more favourable treatment for workers. Restore Of minimum salary In 751 Euro. Abolition of the unacceptable discrimination for the younger workers entering work. Restoration of 13th and 14th salary and allowances to workers and pensioners. Restoring the terms of sectoral agreements to levels before 2012, as a basis for collective bargaining. Abolition of flexible forms of employment, etc."

In October, PAME participates in the 17th Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) held in Durban, South Africa. The participation in the Congress reflects the organizational strengthening of the WFTU over the past five years since the previous 16th Congress (2011, Athens).

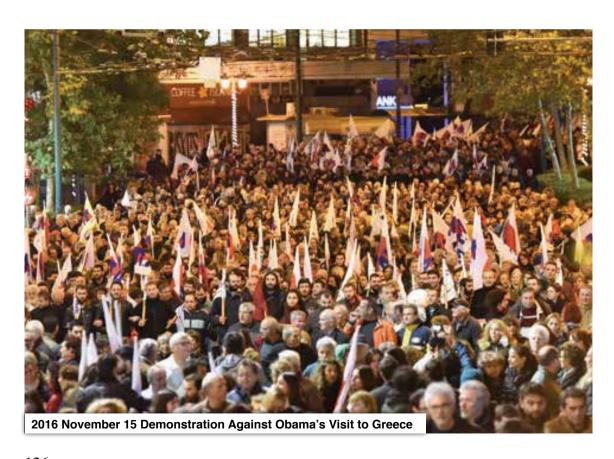
In November, the 4th National Congress of PAME is held in Athens, with great importance for the entire working class of Greece. Under the slogan "We are building a militant, class trade union movement of hope and overthrow", 1.224 representatives from 536 trade unions (12 National Federations, 15 Regional Trade Union Centers, 457 Trade Unions and 52 Workers' Committees) that were





elected through open, massive and democratic procedures, General Meetings, local congress and conferences, took part in the works of the Congress. Also present were 35 union delegations from more than 20 countries from all continects and the leadership of the WFTU, ICATU and other organizations. The Congress approved the new Action Plan of PAME and Demands' Framework and elected the new National Committee and Executive Secretariat of PAME.

In December, a new National General Strike takes place against new and old measures, which is realized by the class unions. Responding to the call of PAME, trade unions and committees proceeded to meetings and discussions in more than 1000 workplaces in preparation of the strike. These include construction sites, depots, premises from the metal and textile industry, food factories, large shops and supermarkets, hotels and food chains, pharmaceutical warehouses, companies in the telecommunications and energy sector, schools, hospitals, private clinics, training schools, etc.



National Strikes of 2016

- 1. 4 February: General strike on social insurance
- 2. 7 April: Strike in Public Sector
- 3. 6 7 May: 48 Hours strike for the new social insurance law
- 4. 8 May: International Workers' Day Strike
- 5. 24 November: Strike in Public Sector
- **6. 8 December:** National General Strike against the new and old anti-workers' measures

Rallies and Demonostratio9n of 2016

- 1. January 8: Protest outside the Prime Minister's Mansion
- 2. January 22: Occupation of the Farmers Insurance office
- 3. January 23: PAME Rally on social insurance
- January 26: PAME Rally on social insurance
- 5. 12 February: Rally of Solidarity with the poor farmers' struggle
- **6. February 13:** Rally of Solidarity with the poor farmers' struggle
- **7. March 31:** PAME Rally against the new anti-insurance- law and new taxes discussed in the Parliament.
 - 8. April 26: Rally against the anti-social security measures
- May 22: Rally against the imposition of the "law-Guillotine" for social insurance
 - 10. September 9: Rally against new anti-workers' measures
 - 11. September 10: Rally at Thessaloniki
- **12. September 16:** PAME Occupation-Protest against International Congress organized by the Ministry of Labour of Greece with the Participation of GSEE ETUC
- **13. October 31:** Rally during the trial of murderers of the Golden Dawn by the Athens secretariat of PAME
 - 14. 19-20 November: 4th National Congress of PAME
 - **15. December 16:** Protest at the Ministry of Immigration Policy



2016 September 16 PAME Protest Against Event by Ministry of Labour with GSEE-ETUC





Protest March from Patras to Athens Against Unemployment







2016 - 4th Congress of PAME















2016 - 4th Congress of PAME



The course of the struggles in 2017

In 2017 strikes in workplaces with demands for increases, collective contracts, stopping the attack are increasing. More specific forms of struggles and strikes are taking place under the demand for Sunday as a day of rest for the workers. Shipbuilding workers demand a new collective agreement. Also workers industries and companies like LARKO, Toxotis, Markét in and Karypides, Selecta, Pigasos, Kostas Georgios AE, NIKO INOX, HALK, Asterras Hotel Constuciton site in Vouliagmeni, Egnatia Odos SA, Vodafone, Victus, Frigoglass, Wind Telecom, ELINYAE, National Bank, INMAINT, ELAIS, LEVER, the cleaners in the Technical university, but also in primary healthcare and in several hospitals all over Greece. There is also a national strike of workers in tourism and at the press.

PAME along with other trade unions takes initiative against imperialist wars, exploitation, in solidarity with the refugees. In April the following statement is published:

"With the workers of all countries, for a world without exploitation, wars, and refugees.

This 1st of May we are in the eye of the imperialist storm. The outbreaks of armed conflicts are spreading through from Ukraine to the Black Sea, the Balkans, the Aegean Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East and North Africa.

Powerful forces are involved in the competitions, such as the United States, the EU, Russia with the active participations of the governments of our countries in for the control of oil, natural gas, the roads of energy transfer, markets, in the interest of the monopoly groups.

The war in Syria, which has claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and turned millions of others into refugees, is the result of intra-imperialist competitions, a multiform imperialist intervention. It shows how capitalism, which increases the wealth for a "handful" of exploiters, at the same time, it creates crisis, social problems, war, refugees, with devastating consequences for millions of workers.





The imperialists divide the world with the blood of the people; they create nationalist rivalries among the peoples.

The Balkans have experienced the bloody and destructive dissolution of countries by imperialist war, the change of borders.

NATO army and fleet spread over from the Baltic to the Balkans, the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, the Mediterranean, defending the interests of this "alliance of wolves", the interests of its monopolies in the area against their competitors.

The all-out attack which condemns the working classes in every country in unemployment, poverty and misery, is the one side of the coin of class policy.

The other side is the unfair imperialist war, which they wage in the interests of large monopoly groups.

Faced with the possibility of a widespread military conflict in our region, we build a wall of protection for the working class of our countries, for our people, in joint action and solidarity between the peoples and with the Trade Unions in the first line of this fight.

We fight for all of our rights, demanding the satisfaction of the contemporary needs of working-class families. We are fighting against exploitation and against our exploiters.

This fight is inextricably connected with the fight against any participation of our countries in the war prepared by our exploiters with their power, their governments and their alliances with USA – NATO – EU, against the workers in other countries.

The bourgeoisie promotes their class interest for profits as «national interest" both in times of «peace» and war.

We will not bleed for their profits; we will not become meat in their cannons.

There is nothing to divide among the working classes of other countries, among other people. On the contrary, we are united by the common interest of fighting for a life without riches and poverty, without bosses, this is the life that belongs to us.

That is why we are fighting for:

- No involvement in the imperialist interventions and wars outside the borders. No involvement in the slaughterhouses of NATO and the EU.
 - · Closure of all foreign military bases. NATO Out from the Aegean Sea and the

Balkans.

- No involvement in any capitalist political-military alliance.
- Against the change of borders and the change of treaties that guarantee them
 - · Against the abolition of trade unions rights and other freedoms.
- We say no to war expenditure for military action outside the borders, we demand funding to satisfy the needs of the working class, of workers' families.
 - · Against nationalism, racism, chauvinism.
 - · Solidarity with refugees, migrants, solidarity to all people.

We do not stand behind the foreign and hostile to us flag of the capitalists and their allies. We raise the flag of the interests of the working class. We are fighting against the unjust wars, to eliminate what causes them. Solidarity is the weapon of peoples».

The above statement is read in all May Day Rallies all over Greece and in many other countries. The declaration is signed by the following unions:

- PAME- Greece
- Nakliyat Is Turkey
- Sosyal Is Turkey
- Birlesik Metal Is Turkey
- Autonomous Trade Union of Employees in Agriculture, Food, Tobacco Industry Serbia
 - SLOGA Serbia
 - GFTU –Syria
 - WUCP Palestine
 - Left Bloc Austria
 - Cyprus KTOEOS
 - USB Italy
 - SGB Italy

In Lesvos, Samos, Kos, Kalymnos, Alexandroupolis, Xanthi, Komotini, at the May Day PAME Rallies, trade unionists from Turkey participate and saluted. In Athens, the 1st May rally also welcomed the Ambassador of Palestine in Greece, where he thanked the Greek people and PAME for the solidarity it expressed in

the righteous struggle of the people of Palestine

In the summer, PAME continues the activity that started on May. PAME organizes a two-day Balkan Anti-war and Anti-imperialist Action of Trade Unions on June 24th and 25th in Thessaloniki. The first day takes place a big demonstration with workers from all over Greece, that reached outside the local NATO Head-quarters. On the second day takes place an international Conference of trade unions and trade unionists from the Balkans and countries of the wider region.

In the International Trade Union Conference participated representatives from the WFTU, Federation SLOGA (Serbia), KSOM (FYROM), Pancyprian Federation of Labour, Unione Sindacale di Base (USB) from Italy, Workers Union Coalition from Palestine, KTOEOS from Cyprus, GFTU from Syria, η GTUA-FILW from Egupt, Nakliyat - Is, TOLEYIS and Birlesik Metal Is from Turkey. The Specific initiative from PAME saluted the trade unions from Bosnia, Cuprus, Palestine, Iraq and trade unionists from USA.

Similar initiatives continued the next weeks under the responsibility of the Regional Trade Union Centers, members of PAME on the North Aegean Islands and Eastern Thrace.

On September 9, the SYRIZA-ANEL government together with the ND voted in parliament a reactionary amendment to respond to the generalized reactions of the workers in the Public Sector. The workers with their determined stance, had practically stopped the law of "evaluation", which combined with other laws (payroll, clerical code, mobility etc.), formed a unified mechanism to force the public sector workers to promote faster and more effectively the imposition of the anti-peoples polices.

The amendment was punitive for those who refused to be "evaluated" by depriving them of the right to apply for promotion, and canceling their benefits. The punitive amendment was followed by an attack with blackmails and slander against those who were fighting. The class forces responded with militant initiatives, recording a series of positive steps, activating workers and unions that played a leading role in the fight strengthened their influence.















National Strikes of 2017

- 1. May 17: Strike Against the 4th Memorandum
- 2. May 22-23: Strike of contractors in municipalities
- **3. December 14:** General Strike to sign National Collective Agreement, demanding 751 minimum wage, sectoral contracts with increases, hands off our right to go on strike, ban on house auctions by the banks.

Rallies and Demonstrations of 2017

- **1. January 11:** Protest at the Office of the Minister of Immigration Policy on the acute problems of refugees in Hot Spots
 - 2. February 14: Solidarity Demonstration with the Struggle of Farmers.
- February 21: Demonstrations across Greece against the new anti-workers' measures
- **4. April 7:** Nationwide rallies during a Eurogroup meeting, under the slogan: "Down With the Measures And Countermeasures Of The Government EU Monopolies, Fight And Struggle To Satisfy The Modern Needs Of The Workers".
- **5. May 7th:** Nationwide Demonstration of Commerce-Retail employees against the Abolition of Sunday as a day off
 - 6. May 11: Occupation of the Ministry of Finance for the 4th Memorandum
 - 7. 18 May: PAME Demonstration on the day of the 4th Memorandum
 - 8. 18 May: Demonstration of the Pensioners across Greece
 - 9. 15 and 18 May: Demonstrations of the workers in municipalities
- 10. 26 May: Anti-imperialist Concert of PAME, National Union of Musicians of Greece and Turkish Musicians of the NAZIM HIKMET Cultural Center
- **11. 9 June:** Demonstration in front of the Parliament because the government directly brings as an amendment the prerequisites (pension freeze, trade union law, massive layoffs, etc.)
- **12. 24-25 June:** 2day Anti-imperialist action in Thessaloniki. June 24th demonstration at the NATO headquarters in Thessaloniki and June 25 Organization of the Balkan Anti-War Trade Union Conference.

- 13. 9 September: Rally at Thessaloniki
- **14. September 27:** Protest in Piraeus against the pollution in the area of Saronic Gulf and government policy for the environment and people's health
- **15. October 11:** Protests by Trade Unions and People's Committees in Attica (Secretariat of Attica) against auctions of houses by the banks.
 - 16. October 12: Protest at the Ministry of Labor for the trade union law
- **17. October 18:** Protests by Trade Unions and People's Committees in Attica (Secretariat of Attica) against auctions of houses by the banks.
- **18. October 25:** Protests by Trade Unions and People's Committees in Attica (Secretariat of Attica) against auctions of houses by the banks.
- 19. November 1: Protests at the Ministry of Finance against auctions and seizures.
- **20. November 2:** PAME Occupation at the Ministry of Labor and Press Conference from the Office of the Minister
- **21. November 9:** A rally for the Protection of the right to strike and workers' organization, against auctions.
- 22. November 29: protests in Athens, Piraeus and Nikaia, against auctions attacked by Police forces
- 23. December 5: Demonstration in Athens against the trade union law on the right to strike that was urgently brought to the Parliament on 4 December.
- **24. December 12:** Protest at the SEV offices. The trade unions "subjected" to the facade of the building the basic demands of the class trade union movement with red paint
- **25. December 17:** Call of trade unions and mass organizations for a rally in Elefsina, the government is organizing a fiesta with the "development conference" after the floods in Mandra area where 30 people were killed.

government tabled an amendment to the Parliament to prosecute anyone who stops auctioning, with a prison sentence of 3 to 6 months at a minimum

27. 21 December: Demonstration in Athens because the government is voting in the Parliament on the amendment to the auctions that is automatically prosecuted by anyone who stops auctioning, with imprisonment.





Photo Album

Farmers-Workers Alliance



2016 February Demonstration of Workers and Poor Farmenrs in Athens





2016 February Demonstration of Workers and Poor Farmenrs in Athens



For the Right to Strike



2018 January 11 PAME Occupation of the Ministry of Labor-Hands Off Workers' Right to Go on Strike









Internationalist Action of PAME















2016 September 23 Solidarity with MEDLOG MSC Workers in Turkey









2016 WFTU 17th Congress in Durban South Africa





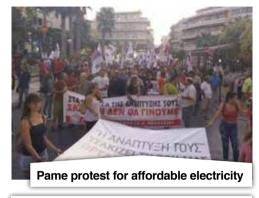


National and Multiform Action of PAME























2015 May 23 Conference of PAME on Social Security

















2016 June 6 Conference on Collective Contracts



Solidarity With Palestine











Solidarity With Refugees and Migrants







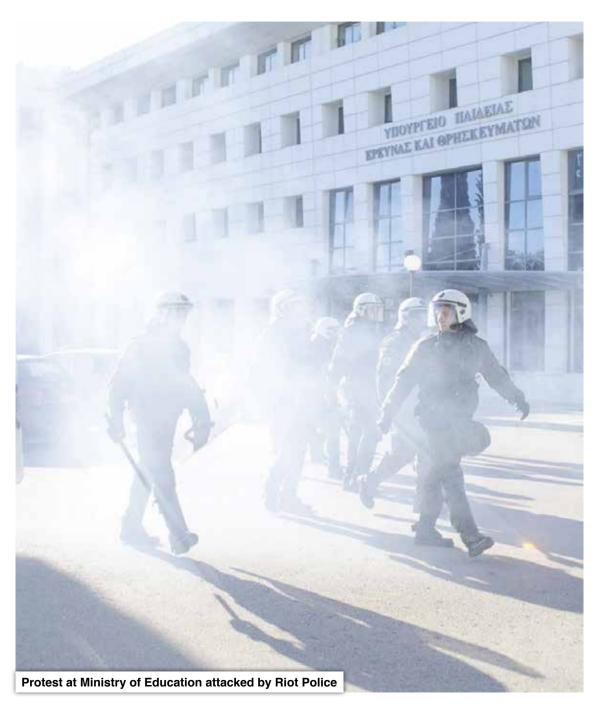
2017 January 21-PAME Campaign of Solidarity with The Refugees-Welcoming of Refugee Children to Greek Schools



2017 January 21-PAME Campaign of Solidarity with The Refugees-Welcoming of Refugee Children to Greek Schools



Struggle Against State Oppression











2015 November 15 Picket line of workers in Giannena city attacked by Police



Workers Unions -



















Action of PAME for Youth Women Culture —



















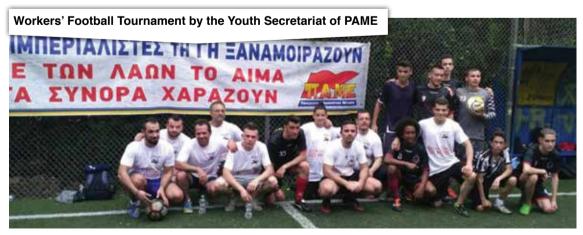






Workers' Football Tournament by the Youth Secretariat of PAME







WE FIGHT FOR A SOCIETY FREE OF DRUGS- Youth Secretariat of PAME







