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## Il-Haddiema Foqra

Jidher li n-numru ta' mpjeggi part-time f'Malta se jkompli jizdied. Dana kien ikkonfermah wkoll rappreżentant ta' MHRA f'seminar ta' ġurnata organizzat mill-GWU u FORum Unjins Maltin għal festa ta' Jum il-Haddiem. Infatti n-numru ta' haddiema b'impjeg part-time fejn dan it-tip ta' xogħol hu l-uniku sors ta' dħul għalihom, jlahhaq it-32,000 haddiem. Ċifra li mhix żgħira u li għandha tqajjem thassib lil kull minn qed jmexxi/jew se jmexxi l-pajjiż fi ftit xhur oħra. Kwazi għandna ma' wiehed minn kull hamsa tal-haddiema kollha f'Malta b'impjeg part-time (*Total Workforce 158,256 - June 2012*)

Il-fenomeni tal-'working poor', iġifieri haddiema f'qar mhix xi holma, qiegħda magħna u se tkompli tizdied. Statistika globali tax-xogħol turi li l-maġġoranza ta' mpjeggi maħluqa fil-pajjiżi żviluppati huma fuq bażi part-time jew b'kuntratt defenit (fixed term). F'Malta ma nsibu l-ebda statistika kemm huma dawn il-haddiema b'kuntratt defenit. Dawn il-haddiema b'impjeg part-time u defenit jesperjenzaw pagi baxxi, u kundizzjonijiet inferjuri tax-xogħol

Dan l-fenomeni qed jiġri minhabba diversi fatturi, fosthom dawk marbuta ma' l-istess sistema ekonomika globali. Imma l-aktar waħda kruċjali hi li s-sistema ekonomika preżenti 'neoliberali' qed tftitex swieq godda fejn iżżid il-profitti tagħha (maximisation of profits), fejn is-suq tax-xogħol hu aktar deregulat, iġifieri fejn il-kundizzjonijiet tax-xogħol huma minimi jew f'hafna mill-każi ma jeżistux. *Viviane Forrester* fil-ktieb tagħha 'Economic Horror' issejjaħ dan il-fenomeni "Globalisation of Poverty".

### Gewwa....

Malta Aktar Korrotta!!! - Editorjal

Intervista ma' Peter Mayo

Kitbiet oħra minn....

Micheal Briguglio  
Sammy Camilleri  
GWU Youths  
Alfred Consiglio

## Tnaqqis fit-taxxa minn 35% għal 25%

# Il-Komdu se jibbenefika askapitu tal-haddiem

Il-politika neoliberali tkompli tifrex l-idejn tagħha fis-sistema ekonomika, bħal ma tagħmel qarnita, issa anke fil-kwistjoni tal-ġbir u l-evażjoni tat-taxxa. Il-politika tagħha hi waħda li tiffavorixxi lil minn hu ġa komdu fis-soċjetà askapitu ta' dawk kollha li jsibuha diffiċli biex jgħixu hajja decenti.

Din it-tip ta' politika giet applikata b'tant pompożità mill-Ex Prim Ministru Taljan Silvio Berlusconi u kapijiet oħra ta' l-istess fehma politika. Ir-riżultat tagħha llum nafu x'kien, falliment tal-finanzi tal-pajjiż, aktar taxxi fuq il-haddiem u tnaqqis fil-benefiċċji soċjali, kura u edukazzjoni. Filwaqt li komplew jikbru l-vantaġġi u l-benefiċċji għal min hu ġa komdu fis-soċjetà.

Wiehed allura ma jistax ma jikkritikax il-miżura mhabbra mill-Gvern fil-baġit ta' tnaqqis fit-taxxa ta' dħul minn 35% għal 32% fl-2013, sa 25% fl-2015 għal dawk li jaqalghu bejn €20,000 u €60,000 fis-sena.

Din il-miżura finalment se twassal għat-tnaqqis fil-finanzi tal-pajjiż ta' bejn wiehed u iehor €50miljun fis-sena.

Fl-istess waqt Statistika uffiċjali ta' NSO turi li fl-ewwel 11-il xahar ta' 2012, id-defiċit żdied €64 miljun, filwaqt li d-dejn nazzjonali żdied b' €200 miljun, meta mqabbel mal-istess perjodu tas-sena li għaddiet.

Dana juri ċar kemm il-Gvern huwa irresponsabbli fl-imġieba tiegħu meta filwaqt li cifri qed juru li defiċit kompli jizdied 2012, il-Gvern qed jkompli bil-hsieb tiegħu ta' tnaqqis fit-

l-ġustizzja soċjali u l-finanzi tal-pajjiż jibqgħu fl-livelli sostenibbli. Anke persuna waħedha bil-paga minima kienet tiġi eżentata mit-taxxa ta' dħul, filwaqt li dawk bil-paga baxxa, medja u ta' fuq mill-medja kienu lkoll jiggwadanjaw mit-tnaqqis fit-taxxa.

Fl-istess waqt il-Gvern reġa' naqas milli jzied il-paga minima nazzjonali. L-argumenti li ġab il-Gvern u l-għaqdiet ta' Min Ihaddem

ma jagħmlux sens, aktar u aktar meta issa hareġ ċar li l-finanzi tal-pajjiż u l-kompetittività mhux se jkun f'livelli sostenibbli minhabba l-miżura ta' tnaqqis fit-taxxa u l-evażjoni tat-taxxa.

Għandhom raġun il-Partit ta' l-Alternattiva Demokratika, l-Partit Komunista Malti u Ekonomisti bħal Profs Karm Farrugia li jikkritikaw il-miżura tal-Gvern ta' tnaqqis fit-taxxa.

Wiehed jistenna, aktar u aktar issa li ġejja l-elezzjoni, x'se jkun l-alternattivi ta' kif se tithares bis-serjetà s-sostenibilità tal-finanzi pubbliċi, l-ġlieda kontra l-evażjoni ta' taxxa, l-investment pubbliku fl-enerġija rinnovabbli u l-problema dejjem tizdied ta' nies relattivament foqra fis-soċjetà.

*Ritratt: il-Qarnita tissimbolizza l-protesta kontra n-Neoliberalizmu fit-toroq ta' l-Amerika.*



taxxa tad-dħul, li finalment se tnaqqas id-dħul tiegħu u iżżid il-piż fuq il-poplu, għax minn x'imkien dawn il-flus iridu jiġu.

L-alternattiva għal dan hija aktar miżuri ta' awsterità għax il-Gvern se jkollu jnaqqas l-infieq tiegħu minn fuq oqsma oħra soċjali, jew isib mezz oħra biex idahhal dawn il-flus bħal per eżempju jzied it-taxxa tal-Vat jew servizzi oħra essenzjali għall-haddiem fil-hajja ta' kuljum.

Il-miżura ta' tnaqqis fit-taxxa tippromwovi aktar il-kultura ta' l-individwalizmu u egoizmu. Kultura li għabet magħha kollass ekonomiku fis-sistema globali.

Il-gvern setgħa applika l-istess loġika, imma minflok naqqas ir-rata ta' taxxa, setgħa ntroduċa revizjoni fuq l-ammont ta' dħul intaxxat (tax bands) fid-diversi faxex.

B'hekk tkun qed tithares

# 1848: IR-REBBIEGĦA TAL- POPLI

minn Alfred Consiglio

F'Novembru 1831 kważi ghoxrin elf haddiem f'Lyons qabdu l-armi, ixejru l-bandiera s-sewda, li fiit ġimghat qabel il-haddiema tat-thaffir fit-toroq ta' Rheims kienu xejru għall-ewwel darba quddiem folla haddiema. Kien l-ewwel irvell mill-haddiema; kienet reazzjoni spontanja mill-haddiema b'difiża għall-pagi tagħhom, u ma kienet imnebbha minn ebda ideoloġija. Kontra dak li talbu l-haddiema Ingliżi, il-haddiema ta' Lyons ma talbux id-dritt tal-vot.

Izda s-sena 1834 kellha tara grajja sensazzjonali. Fid-9 t'April 1834 dimostrazzjoni enormi kontra l-gvern saret f'Lyons, u meta nstama' tir, il-haddiema qabdu l-armi. Il-ġlied dam sejjer mid-9 sat-12 t'April. L-ghada, l-herba ssiġillat id-destin tax-xewwiexa.

Ir-rewwixta t'April kienet episodju wiehed minn hafna fl-istorja rivoluzzjonarja ta' Franza. L-irvell introduċa karatteristiċi eċċezzjonali; kien l-ewwel konsegwenza fil-holqa, li ma sehhitx qabel fi Franza, bejn l-aspirazzjonijiet tal-haddiema u l-ideal repubblikan, u pprova l-mudell uniku għall-moviment awtonomu armat li l-eżempju tiegħu impressjona lill-kapitali.

Wara l-1834 l-ispirtu rivoluzzjonarju naqqas mill-qawwa mal-fegġ tal-proletarjat tal-fabbriki. Meta wara s-snin 1840s, fabbriki bdew jinbnew fis-subborgi, il-bdiema, goffi u doċili, li qabel kienu jahdmu ma' haddiema aktar tas-sengħa, u issa maqtughin minnhom, iffurmaw tip ġdid ta' proletarjat li l-miżerja tiegħu u l-injoranza zammewh milli jahseb.

Kien minn Pariġi biss li Franza, u wkoll l-Ewropa, ittammat jew beżgħat, li tara lehha tax-xrara rivoluzzjonarja. Ta' kuljum, l-istampa Franciża eżaltat lil Franza ta' qabel l-1815. Ir-rivoluzzjonarji harsu 'l quddiem lejn futur li jibda minn rikostituzzjoni legġendarja tal-passat rivoluzzjonarju.

F'linja parallela mal-mit Bonapartist, aktar għaqli izda dejjem vigoruż, il-mit Gakobin kien mogħti s-sahħa mill-ġdid bl-attivitajiet ta' Filippo Buonarroti (1761-1837),<sup>(1)</sup> ir-rivoluzzjonarju xih li kien il-mexxej tal-Carbonari. Il-ktieb tiegħu '*Historie de la Conspiration pour l'égalité dite de Babeuf*' halla influwenza enormi fuq il-haddiema.

Il-haddiema tas-sengħa kellhom ikollhom, minn dak in-nhar 'il quddiem, żewġt 'allat', għax Buonarroti, fl-ahħar snin ta' hajtu, irnexxielu li jirrikonċilja lil *Robespierre* ma' *Babeuf*; li f'komun, is-sehem tal-mezzi kollha tal-produzzjoni, kif ippriedkat minn *Babeuf*, ikun irrealizzat mill-metodi dittatorjali ta' *Robespierre*.

Franza tal-1848 kienet għadha nazzjon ta' bdiema u artigġjani. Marx ma kienx żbaljat li saħaq fi *Class Struggles in France*, 1848-1850 fuq il-predominanza ekonomika tal-aristokrazija finanzjarja fuq il-borgeżija ndustrijali u n-numru bla saħħa tal-haddiema tal-fabbriki.

Il-bdiema kienu l-akbar massa tal-klassi l-baxxa, imbarrin sal-1848 mill-hajja politika. Huma, egoisti u moħħhom jilhqilhom, kienu mfarrkin bit-toqol tad-dejn tagħhom; kienu ġa hassew li kienu saru l-vittmi tal-progress. Il-mekkanizzazzjoni tal-industrija tat-tessuti aċċentwat il-mibgheda tal-kerreġja u l-apprendisti, imhallsin fiit. Sal-1845 l-insiġ bl-idejn irrappreżenta disa' minn kull għaxra tal-produzzjoni tal-ghazel, izda kien qed jisparixxi, għax l-insiġ rurali naqas. Il-bidwi, li trieghed bil-hsieb li jitlef it-tieni qligh



tiegħu, qala' anqas mill-haddiem tal-fabbriki.

Il-haddiema bidwin fin-Normandija, l-ghada tal-qawmien ta' Frar, kellhom ifarrku l-magni; f'Alsace il-kotra attakkat il-propjetá tal-Lhud, akkużati b'uzura. Huma hasbu li billi jiddistruggu r-registri tat-taxxi kienu sa jeqirdu wkoll it-taxxi ndiretti. Dawn ir-rewwixti bla rabta għamlu mpossibbli biex jistabbilixxu minn kienu l-mexxejja.

Il-proletarjat industrijali, salbidu tal-mekkanizzazzjoni, kien għadu minoranza. L-artigġjani fformaw is-sinsla tal-moviment tal-haddiema. Il-fratellanzi, id-drawwa antika tal-iffurmar ta' għaqdiet tas-sajja, kienu ipperpetwati f'forom anakronistiċi. Il-membri tas-sajja "nobbli", bħal ma kienu l-bennejja, il-mastrudaxxi u dawk li jahdmu s-serraturi, kienu maqsumin b'regoli diversi.

Madankollu, is-sistema tal-fratellanzi kienet qed tmajna. Fidell tal-soċjetajiet ta' benefiċċju mutwali, li għabru haddiema tal-istess sengħa, fegġew is-soċjetajiet ta' rezistenza. L-għan veru tagħhom kien li jkopru r-riskju ta' qgħad matul strajk. Għaqda

bl-għan li jiksbu zieda fil-pagi kienet għadha kontra l-liġi, u huma nqasmu fi gruppi żgħar.

Sfurzati li jinfexxu f'soċjetajiet sigrieti, is-soċjetajiet ta' rezistenza raw lill-membri l-aktar ferventi jahdmu herqanin f'organizzazzjonijiet rivoluzzjonarji għal twaqfif ta' repubblika soċjalista. Elit politiku, u mhux trejdunjonista, kellu jirrekluta lir-ribelli ta' Frar u jwarrbu l-monarkija.

Ir-rivoluzzjoni tal-1848 dehret bħala r-rebħa tal-haddiema fuq l-borgeżija. Il-mitejn elf privileġġati, li kienu thallew li jeleġġu deputati, iffurmaw il-"borgeżija kwalifikata". Din l-espressjoni ambigwa kienet applikata lill-gruppi soċjali varji li d-dhul tagħhom kien divers hafna fl-ammont u orijini. Numru żgħir ta' fiit eluf kienu jinkludu l-finanzieri ta' Pariġi, is-sidien

mbagħad ipperikolat il-kriżi politika ta' Frar. Mistagħġbin u mmeraviljati, il-membri tal-Kamra tad-Deputati raw eluf ta' Pariġini jidderieġu l-barrikati u jwarrbu l-monarkija u s-sistema parlamentari.

Il-jiem ta' Frar f'Pariġi xxukkjaw lil Franza u l-Ewropa. Il-gvern għex f'biża' kontinwa li jkun imwarrab. Iffaċċjati bi grajjiet li kienu skuncertanti, in-nies harsu lejn ispirazzjoni għaż-żmien tar-Rivoluzzjoni. F'belt tfur b'ferment, appelli lit-truppi holqu sitwazzjoni anarkika. Meta Francois Guizot (1787-1874), Ministru tal-Intern, tnehha, naqset it-tensjoni.

Il-mexxejja mhux tant magħrufin, li kienu hadu t-tmexxija fuq il-barrikati, ma hadux pjaċir b'dan. Pero incident dak il-lejl bejn it-truppi u l-haddiema bidel irvell f'rivoluzzjoni. It-truppi fetħu n-nar u hamsin ruh inqatlu. Hafna kontemporanji staqsew jekk l-incident bediex minhabba att ta' provokazzjoni minn naħa tal-Fizzjal Lagrange, veteran tal-qawmien tal-1834, jew jekk kienx ġest bla hsieb tas-Surgent Giacomini, li haseb li l-kap tiegħu kien f'periklu.

Ir-rivoluzzjoni, li qatt ma kienet mahsuba mill-borgeżija, kienet madankollu mibdiya minhabba r-rivalitá ta' bejnithom. Ix-"xellug" politiku, wara l-esperjenza tal-1830s, iddizintegra.

Il-mexxejja borgeži nsistew li l-monarkija titwarrab u jinħatar gvern provizorju. Meta l-Gwardji Nazzjonali nvadew il-Kamra tad-Deputati, id-destin tan-nazzjon kien deċiż, u giet ipproklamata r-repubblika.

Imma min kienu l-mexxejja li kienu fdati mill-haddiema? Jacques-Charles Dupont de l'Eure (1767-1855), avukat, li kien nominat president, kien simbolu f'għajnejn in-nies ta' oppożizzjoni parlamentari. Alphonse Lamartine (1790-1869), kittieb u poeta, kien igawdi, fost dawk mhux kolti, prestigju mogħti lillu mill-kotra; l-artigġjani ammirawh bħala storiku tar-Rivoluzzjoni. Francois Arago (1786-1853), matematiku u astronomu, saħaq li r-Repubblika kienet mixtieqa minn studjużi rivoluzzjonarji; għal snin huwa kien meqjus bħala mudell ta' onestá u integritá politika; kellu juri ostilitá lejn it-talbiet tal-haddiema. Louis-Antoine Garnier-Pagés (1803-1873), sensar onest, promotur ta' riformi, kien il-moħħ wara t-taxxa ta' "45 centime". Adolphe Cremieux (1796-1880), avukat ta' dixxendenza Lhudija, Pierre-Marie Marie (1795-1870) u Alexandre Ledru-Rollin (1807-1874), kollha avukati moderati. Ledru-Rollin kien mexxej bombastiku tad-demokrazija soċjali. Armand Marrast (1801-1852), editur ta' *National*, kellu jsir għadu ddikjarat tax-xellug estrem. Ferdinand Flocon

l-igfna ta' Bordeaux, Nantes u Marseilles, il-merkanti, li kienu wkoll il-kapijiet ta' intrapriži sparpaljati, u l-manifatturieri.<sup>(2)</sup>

Il-"borgeżija medja" nkludit merkanti ohrajn, avukati, nutara, prokuraturi, impjegati taċ-civil anzjani u sidien ta' bini. L-espressjoni vaga ta' "pikkola borgeżija" kienet applikata lil dawk li ma qiesux lilhom bħala haddiema bħal ma kienu nies professjonali. In-negozjanti żgħar, sidien ta' hwienet, b'impjegati magħhom, iffurmaw kategorija marginali.<sup>(3)</sup> Għala "il-pikkola borgeżija" saret rivoluzzjonarja fi Frar?

Il-"pikkola borgeżija" kienet tilfet it-tama li tipparteċipa fl-affarijiet politiċi. Hafna mill-haddiema fl-ibliet u l-kampanji ma kienux konxji jew ma fehmu, li kunflitt kien imminenti. Il-haddiema ta' Pariġi ma emmnuw fl-istituzzjonijiet rapreżentattivi. Privi minn libertá li jingemghu flimkien u mid-dritt ta' għaqda, huma assoċjaw lir-regim parlamentari mal-politika ta' reazzjoni.

Skond Marx fi *Class Struggles in France 1848-50*, il-kriżi ekonomika tal-1847 ipprovokat kriżi soċjali li

ikompli f'pagna 3

## Editorjal

# Malta aktar Korrotta !!!!

Skond Transparency International, organizazzjoni nternazzjonali li tanalizza l-korruzzjoni fil-pajjiżi kollha tad-dinja, il-perċezzjoni li Malta hija korrotta żdiedet sew u mid-39 post inżilna għal 34 post fil-lista ta' pajjiżi korrotti

Matul l-2011 kien hemm agha pubblika kontra l-korruzzjoni li waslet għal protesti li heżzu d-dinja. Il-messaġġ kien wiehed... il-popli jridu aktar trasparenza u akkontabilitá mill-mexxejja tagħhom. L-ebda reġjun jew pajjiż fid-dinja mhu immun għall-hsara tal-korruzzjoni.

L-indiċi tal-perċezzjoni tal-korruzzjoni hija bbażata fuq stharrig minn istituzzjonijiet indipendenti. L-istharrig jinkludi mistoqsijiet dwar tixhim ta' uffiċjali pubbliċi, misappropriazzjoni ta' fondi pubbliċi u kemm huma effettivi l-isforzi kontra l-korruzzjoni.

L-istharrig huwa dwar perċezzjoni għax il-korruzzjoni hija hidma mohbija u diffiċli li titkejjel imma tul iż-żmien il-perċezzjoni giet ipprovata bhala stima tajba tal-korruzzjoni f'pajjiż. Il-pajjiżi jinghataw skor minn 0 (l-iktar korrotti) għal 10 (l-iktar indaf). FI-indiċi ta' l-2011 Malta

kellha skor ta' 5.6 u kienet fid-39 post fil-lista. FI-2012 nizlet għal 43 post.

Wiehed forsi jirraguna li dan mhux hażin meta jitqies li l-lista fiha aktar minn 180 pajjiż. Imma m'għandhiex inqabblu lil Malta mal-Mali, l-Malawi u s-Somalja. Għandna nqabbluha mal-pajjiżi Ewropej.

Min-naħa l-oħra fost il-pajjiżi inqas korrotti minn Malta nsibu l-Botswana, Dominica, Slovenia u Santa Lucia.

M'hemm ebda dubju li hafna Maltin jemmnu li l-pajjiż huwa mifni bil-korruzzjoni. Min sema' d-diskors tal-Baġit tal-Kap tal-Partit Laburista, Dr Muscat ma setghax ma sahhahx dan it-twemmin meta sema' l-lista ta' każi li jinvolvu l-miljuni.

Dr Muscat għamel lista ta' proġetti fejn l-istimi marru bi żmerċ bil-kbir u ntefqu akar milli kien stmat. Infatti l-figura mogħtija kienet ta' 668 miljun ewros f'hela. In-nies jistaqsu min kien responsabbli għal din il-hela u jekk kienitx tort ta' żbalji ġenwini jew għax kien hemm xi whud li mlew buthom.

Meta tisma' li l-ispiza fuq il-proġett tal-moll ta' l-Imġarr kienet 30 miljun ewros aktar minn dik stmata tithasseb bis-serjetá jekk l-inġinieri u s-surveyors li għamlu l-istima humiex tant ċwieċ li jieħdu żball tant kbir.

Il-poplu jesigi li gvern ġdid iwettaq eżerċizzju ta' awditjar, anke bl-ghajnuna ta' esperti barranin, biex dawn il-proġetti u oħrajn jiġu miflija biex jinstab kif intefqu l-flus u fejn u kif marru l-flus imberbqa.

Il-korruzzjoni tfisser tbatija għall-bniedem, hija taxxa li l-vittima tagħha huma l-foqra u l-vulnerabbli speċjalment għax twassal biex il-gvern ma jkollux il-fondi bżonnjuzi għas-saħħa u infrastruttura essenzjali.

Ta' min jgħid li Transparency twettaq xi 13-il stharrig biex tasal għal dawn il-konkluzjonijiet. Minn naħa l-oħra l-mistoqsijiet isiru lil nies involuti fin-negozju dik il-klassi ta' nies li hija l-aktar involuta fit-tixhim ta' uffiċjali pubbliċi. Kieku l-istharrig isir fost iċ-ċittadini ordinarji m'hemm ebda dubju li l-perċezzjoni tal-korruzzjoni fost it-tmexxija tal-pajjiż tkun ferm aktar vasta u mxerrda.

## L-Għaqda Żminijietna -Lehen ix-Xellug

*Żminijietna -Lehen ix-Xellug huwa moviment xellugi u jinkludi membri tal-Partit Komunista, il-Partit Laburista, l-Alternativa Demokratika, ħaddiema, akkademiċi, studenti, trejdn-unjonisti, ġurnalisti u pensjonanti.*

*Żminijietna hija l-lehen tax-xellug. Il-mira ewlenija hi li l-għaqda jkollha preżenza ikbar fis-soċjeta' permezz ta' attivizmu minn perspettiva xellugija, b'emfażi fuq il-prinċipji ta' l-ugwaljanza, gustizzja soċjali u sostenibiltá ekoloġika.*

*Din ir-rivista hija waħda mill-ħidmiet ta' l-Għaqda u wiehed jista' jabbona permezz ta' ċekk jew money order ta' 5 euros fl-indirizz: 14/8, Vincenti Bldgs, Triq id-Dejqa, Valletta.*

*Kull korrispondenza għandha tintbagħat fl-indirizz ta' hawn fuq jew zminijietna@yahoo.com*

**Il-kitibiet fir-rivista huma l-fehmiet u opinjonijiet tal-kittieba u mhux bil-fors jirriflettu l-policy uffiċjali ta' l-Għaqda Żminijietna. Ir-riklami huma bi hlas.**

**Il-gazzetta Żminijietna hija pubblikazzjoni ta' kull tlett xhur ta' l-Għaqda Żminijietna. Disinn KoPri Koperattiva u stampar Union Print, Marsa.**

### jaqbad minn paġna 2

(1800-1866), ġurnalist, lagħab parti importanti fl-irvell. Louis Blanc (1812-1882), soċjalist favur riformi, kien herqan li jipprova t-teorija tal-organizzazzjoni tax-xogħol. Alexandre Martin (1815-1895) mekkanik umli li wara l-waqa' tal-gvern provizorju sab postu fis-soċjetajiet sigrieti.

Dawn 'l hekk mexxejja tar-rivoluzzjoni kienu milqughin b'sens ta' umoriżmu mill-kotra. Karl Marx sejjah lir-rivoluzzjoni, b'ironija, "ir-rivoluzzjoni misthoqqa". Dawn kienu l-jiem ta' tama u romantiċiżmu. Meta f'it gimghat wara, f'Gunju, bdew id-diżappunti, ir-rivoluzzjoni denja nbidlet f'imrar u dmija.

Qatt il-poplu ma kellu daqshekk gwidi herqana li jiżguraw il-ġid tagħhom. Is-soppressjoni ta' ċedoli u sisa wassal għal zieda bir-rimi b'mod tal-ghageb ta' ġurnali. Bejn Frar u Marzu aktar minn tliet mitt ġurnal feġġew. Din l-istampa mmirat lejn l-informazzjoni; kien hemm ukoll stampa ħarxa li kisbet is-saħħa mit-tradizzjoni tal-1793.

L-attivitajiet tal-istampa kienu mdellin minn dawk taċ-ċirkoli.

L-iskop prodigjuż tagħhom kien l-espressjoni ta' sensazzjoni ta' rilassament jew liberazzjoni. Fi f'it gimghat aktar minn erba' mitt każin fetħu. Opinjoni pubblika laqgħet il-Club for the Emancipation of Women, mibdi minn Eugenie Niboyet, b'simpatija ironika. Hafna mill-każini gawdew, b'mod kompletament hażin, reputazzjoni tal-biża'. Is-Central Fraternal



Society ta' Etienne Cabet (1788-1856) kienet waħda minnhom.

Is-Society of the Rights of Man kienet ippreokkupata li tingaġġa agenti ta' fiduċja lesti li jwieġbu ma' l-ewwel sejjah għal qawmien.

Louis-Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), hekk kif inheles mill-habs, waqqaf is-Central Republican Society. Armand Barbes (1809-1870), mehlu mill-habs hekk kif faqqa' l-irvell, waqqaf il-Club of the Revolution f'Marzu. Barbes kien il-bniedem tal-1848, sentimentali u affaxxinanti.

Għall-ewwel holom, kif għamlu oħrajn, li jibdel is-soċjetá billi johloq klabb u jibdlu f'kumitat elettorali formidabbli. Rivaltá ma' każini oħrajn bidlu l-pożizzjoni tal-klabb għal dik tax-xellug rivoluzzjonarju. Dan il-kambjament, frott ta' firda, kellu jimmarka l-impenji kollha tal-kelliema.

L-elezzjonijiet t'April kienu diżappunt gravi għax-xellug. Minn 900 deputat, nofshom kienu monarkisti, xi 350 kienu favur il-kawża klerikali għall-edukazzjoni,

u f'it soċjalisti.<sup>(4)</sup> Iddisprati li xi tibdil soċjali qatt ma kien sa jsehħ, hafna aġitaturi ppruvaw, f'Mejju 1848, li jwarrbu l-Assemblea. Dimostrazzjoni enormi dahlet fil-Kamra iżda kienet imferrxa mill-Gwardji Nazzjonali. Ir-riżultat kien li l-mexxejja politiċi xellugin sfaw arrestati, fosthom Blanqui u Barbes.

Fit-23 ta' Gunju 1848 irvellijiet faqqghu meta ġew imneħħjin n-National Workshops, li kienu ta' ghajnuna għall-ħaddiema. Meta ntemmu l-irvellijiet tliet ijiem wara, eluf kienu sfaw mejta, aktar minn 1500 xkubettjati u għaxart elef mitfughin il-habs jew deportati.

Noti:

1) Filippo Buonarroti kien soċjalist rivoluzzjonarju u ġurnalist Taljan, aġitatur l-aktar attiv fi Franza.

2) J. Sigmund: 1848, The Romantic and Democratic Revolutions in Europe, 1973.

3) ibid.

4) J.A.S Grenville: Europe Reshaped 1848-1878, G.B. 1976.

# Bagit ta' incertezza

Michael Briguglio

Il-bagıt li ppropona il-Gvern Nazzjonalista kien wiehed ta' incertezza għal iktar minn raġuni waħda.

Ibda biex, dan il-bagıt gie propost f'kuntest politiku ta' incertezza li kienet ilha tiddomina x-xena għal iktar minn sena. Malta ilha f'kampanja elettorali għal dan iz-zmien kollu, u l-prezenza ta' billboards politiċi madwar il-pajjiż huwa xhieda ta' dan.

Il-poplu għadda minn kalvarju politiku sakemm thabbret id-data ta' l-elezzjoni ġenerali, liema data missa ilha li thabbret, għaladarba il-maġġoranza parlamentari tal-Partit Nazzjonalista kienet ilha f'sitwazzjoni dubjuża, u għaladarba Franco Debono kien ilu xhur shaħ jgħid li ser jivvota kontra l-bagıt.

Hemm incertezza wkoll dwar jekk dan il-bagıt huwiex ser jiġi mplimentat. Mhux qed nitkellem biss dwar jekk il-Gvern li jiġi elett ikollux ir-rieda li jimplementah, iżda qed nitkellem ukoll dwar is-sostenibilità tal-bagıt innifsu.

Hija tassew stramba kif il-Gvern qed jippjana zieda fid-dhul ta' €83 miljun, minn €840 miljun fl-2012 għal €923 miljun fl-2013, meta l-istess Gvern ippropona tnaqqis fit-taxxa fuq id-dhul (income tax) għal dawk li jaqilghu bejn €19,500 u €60,000, minn 35% għal 32% fl-2013, sa 25% fl-2015.

Sabiex issehh din iz-zieda fid-dhul, l-ekonomija trid tikber b'rata ferm akbar mit-tkabbar ta' dawn l-aħhar snin. F'kuntest globali ta' krizi ekonomika, huwa diffiċli ferm li wiehed jantiċipa tkabbir ekonomiku ta' dan it-tip. Minkejja li, relattivament, l-ekonomija Maltija m'għaddietx mill-problemi li esperjenzaw ekonomiji oħrajn fl-Ewropa t'isfel, il-previżzjonijiet tal-Gvern Nazzjonalista huma wisq ottimistiċi biex jittiehdu bis-serjetà, speċjalment meta ser ikun hemm elezzjoni ġenerali hekk qrib tal-bagıt.

Huwa evidenti li t-tnaqqis ta' taxxa li ppropost mill-Gvern kien immirat għal persuni li x'aktarx huma fil-mira strateġika tal-PN għal voti fl-elezzjoni. Jekk dan it-tnaqqis ta' taxxa jiġi approvat, hemm ċans tajjeb li jkollna nħallu għall-impatt tagħhom fuq il-finanzi pubbliċi permezz ta' tnaqqis ta' servizzi pubbliċi, iktar self jew zieda ta' taxxa biex tikkumpensa għal dan. Din m'hijiex politika sostenibbli.

It-tnaqqis ta' taxxa kif propost mill-Gvern Nazzjonalista m'hijiex

soċjalment ġusta. It-tnaqqis huwa rigressiv minhabba li ma jibbenifikax lill-maġġoranza assoluta ta' haddiema li jaqilghu inqas minn €19,500. Għar minn hekk, min hu single u jaqla l-paga minima ser jibda jiġi ntaxxat!

Il-politika rigressiva tal-Gvern hija ċara wkoll meta wiehed iqis



li għal darb'ohra, il-paga minima ma zdidietx, filwaqt li l-pensjoni ta' diżabilità baqgħet tammonta għal figura miżera ta' 55% tal-paga minima. Ta' min ifakkar li Alternattiva Demokratika hija l-uniku partit li ser jikkontesta l-elezzjoni ġenerali li jaqbel li l-paga minima u l-pensjoni ta' diżabilità għandhom joghlew.

Inizjattivi pozittivi fil-bagıt, bħaż-zieda fic-childrens' allowance (u zieda akbar għal min għandu paga minima) u l-estenzjoni għall-elegibilità għal persuni li japplikaw għall-pensjoni ta' diżabilità jikkumpensaw parzjalment għal dawn l-inugwaljanzi, iżda dan m'huwiex biżżejjed. Għalhekk, is-sitwazzjoni ta' persuni li

għandhom dhul baxx jew medju tibqa' waħda incerta.

Il-bagıt ta' l-incertezza jikkaratterizza wkoll il-politika ta' l-enerġija. Filwaqt li nċentivi għall-enerġija rinnovabbli u effiċjenza huma pozittivi, jidher biċ-ċar li dawn m'humiex priorità għall-Gvern. Il-kwistjoni ta'

l-enerġija mir-riħ tibqa' mhux riziolta. Il-proposti għall-użu ta' bini pubbliku għall-enerġija rinnovabbli u proposti għal rimedju għal persuni m'caħhda minn aċċess għall-enerġija nadifa, jibqgħu vagi. Il-fatt li l-Gvern ippubblika proposti għall-politika ta' l-enerġija wara li thabbret id-data ta' l-elezzjoni, u hekk kif bdew il-festi tal-Milied, juru kemm dan il-qasam qed jiġi trattat b'nuqqas ta' serjetà.

Ta' min jgħid ukoll li t-tnaqqis propost fil-feed in tariff (minkejja li l-iskema giet estiża bħala terminu ta' żmien), x'aktarx ser tkun ta' diżincentiv għal persuni li għandhom dhul baxx jew medju li kellhom interess li jinvestu f'enerġija mix-xemx. B'hekk,

huwa ċar li l-bagıt jipproponi ftit wisq sabiex titnaqqas id-dipendenza fuq fossil fuels. Din it-tip ta' enerġija, kemm jekk hijiex żejt jew gass, x'aktarx ser tibqa' toghla fil-prezz fis-snin li ġejjin. Għal darba oħra, ser inħallu għal politika nsostenibbli.

F'dak li għandu x'jaqsam ma' l-ilma, huwa pozittiv li l-poplu ser jingħata apparat li jzid l-effiċjenza fl-użu ta' l-ilma. Izda s-serq mill-boreholes jibqa' ma jingħatax importanza. Din il-politika nsostenibbli ser ikollha riperkussjonijiet soċjali, ambjentali u ekonomiċi fis-snin li ġejjin. Il-popoliżmu taż-żewġ partiti l-kbar fuq din il-kwistjoni hija tassew irresponsabbli.

Il-politika soċjali li giet trattata fil-bagıt tibqa' waħda restrittiva. Per eżempju, l-investment tal-Gvern fic-childcare centres huwa baxx wisq biex jiżgura aċċess universali. Pajjiżna għandu bżonn politika soċjali holistika li tiżgura li kulhadd ikollu l-opportunitajiet li jsib xogħol diċenti b'paga u kundizzjonijiet xierqa. Iz-zieda fil-prekarjat u fl-inugwaljanza m'humiex inkuraġġanti f'dan ir-rigward.

L-inizjattivi pozittivi fil-bagıt ma' jikkumpensawx għall-orjentazzjoni rigressiva u nsostenibbli tiegħu. Servizzi pubbliċi universali jehtiegu politika fiskali progressiva, u ekonomija sostenibbli tehtiegu politika li tagħti priorità lill-oqsma soċjali u ambjentali. Minflok, għandna bagıt ta' incertezza f'nofs kampanja elettorali.

## “Tnaqqis fit-taxxa ta' dawk bi dhul għoli hi theddida għas-sostenibilità finanzjarja” - Zminijietna - Lehen ix-Xellug

“Il-proposta tal-gvern għat-tnaqqis fit-taxxa ta' dhul minn 35% għal 30% hija mhux biss propost li tipperikola s-sostenibilità tal-pensjonijiet, edukazzjoni, saħħa u servizzi soċjali oħra, imma hija wkoll propost li tumilja lil hafna familji bi dhul baxx u medju”, saħqet l-għaqda Zminijietna.

“Nqisu din il-proposta bħala miżura neo liberali, li finalment se tkompli żżid il-qasma bejn il-klassijiet soċjali. Biex jiġi sostnut it-tnaqqis fi dhul tal-gvern minhabba din il-miżura, il-gvern se jkollu jew iżid it-taxxi fuq dawk bil-paga baxxa u medja jew inkella jkollu jnaqqas servizzi u benefiċċji soċjali.

Zieda fit-taxxa ta' dwana

(excise duties) mhiex biżżejjed biex tnaqqas l-impatt negattiv ta' din il-miżura.”



“Din hija l-istess propost li giet ntrodotta mill-Amministrazzjoni ta' Reagan fl-Istati Uniti u sabet l-appoġġ fl-Italja mill-gvern ta' Berlusconi. Din il-proposta gabet magħha kollass ekonomiku u soċjali kull

fejn giet ntrodotta”.

Zminijietna tappella l-Gvern biex jirrevedi l-pożizzjoni tiegħu u jintroduċi miżuri biex jgħinu dawk l-aktar vulnerabli fis-soċjetà, bħal pensjonanti, nies b'diżabilità, u haddiema bil-paga minima.

“Sostenibilità ta' servizzi soċjali, universali u bla hlas jirrikjedu aktar dhul fil-finanzi tal-gvern. Nheggu organizzazzjonijiet oħra progressivi biex ma japprovawx proposti bħal dawn.

L-Alternattiva Demokratika u l-Partit Komunista Malti huma lkoll kontra din il-miżura,” konkludiet l-għaqda Zminijietna - Lehen ix-Xellug.

# The Politics of Indignation

An Interview with Peter Mayo  
The Politics of Indignation  
by HRVOJE SIMICEVIC

Peter Mayo is an author and professor of sociology at the University of Malta. His latest book is *"Politics of Indignation - Imperialism, Postcolonial, Disruptions and Social Change"*

The following interview with Peter Mayo was conducted by Croatian journalist Hrvoje Simicevic.

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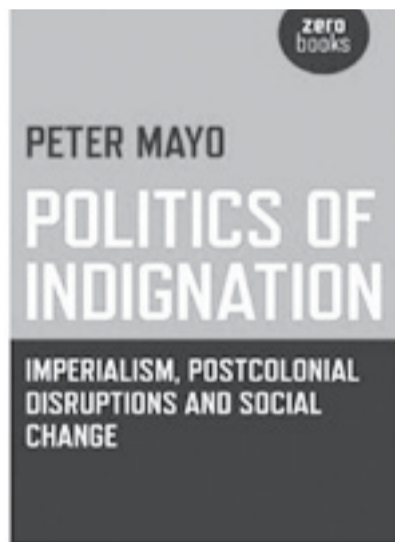
**HRVOJE SIMICEVIC:** *The range of topics in your latest book "Politics of Indignation - Imperialism, Postcolonial, Disruptions and Social Change" is broad and includes the Arab Spring, the Pinochet coup and September 11th, migration in the Mediterranean, labour issues in Europe, neoliberalism in education and protests in the West, from New York to Rome. What is in common to all these issues?*

**PETER MAYO:** I would say the struggle for human emancipation against the violence, symbolic and/or physical, that characterizes the universe of capital. It is also about the struggle for human dignity and the carving up of greater democratic spaces, often collectively. Another common element is the quest for the safeguarding and amelioration of worker's rights, including the right to work and to protest collectively against inhuman structures of oppression, economic, social and imperial -the three are often intertwined.

*In your book you put the accent on the importance of migration from the South towards Southern Europe. How do you explain this phenomenon?*

I suppose Walter Rodney's classic *"How Europe Underdeveloped Africa"* provides some of the answers. Why do we receive so many immigrants in our part of the world? The reasons are legion. Common reasons would include civil wars fueled by an arms industry and an exacerbation of tribal conflicts often resulting in rape and being disowned by family, the attempt among women to avoid female genital mutilation, the negative effects on African farming of subsidies provided to farmers in other continents, the negative effects of climate change, an impoverished environment (the ransacking of Africa) and a colonial ideology which presents the West as the

Eldorado and a context for the 'good life,' structural adjustment programs, the quest for better employment opportunities ... and one can go on, perhaps falling prey to western stereotypes and constructions of 'Africa', as a friend, Handel Kashope Wright of UBC, originally from Sierra Leone, recently wrote. There is however one major global reason, as provided by David Bacon with regard to the US and Mexico, namely the quest for low cost labour by corporations and other businesses alike which serves as a 'push and pull factor.' As he argues, hegemonic globalization necessitates migration, but it is the same victims of this process who are rendered illegal and criminalised as a result, often victims of the 'carceral state.'



*You paraphrased Slavoj Žižek who said that 'in the much-celebrated free circulation opened up by global capitalism, it is "things" (commodities) which circulate freely, while the circulation of "persons" is more and more controlled'. Why is that so?*

Quite simply, we are under the illusion that everything moves freely under conditions of hegemonic globalization but ask immigrants and that is quite not true. While financial capital moves freely and fast and so do goods (although much depends on their provenance, as any Palestinian would tell you; Palestinians cannot move their own local produce in their own country), labour power embodied by breathing human subjects has to face several hurdles to move from one context to the other. It encounters multiple hurdles, ranging from tedious visa applications and refusals, detention centres -closed and open- and the whims of the security forces who oscillate between either strict refusals or turning a blind eye when it suits the authorities to depress local wages. Even so, those who travel or are smuggled in are kept outside the boundaries of citizenship and therefore suffer lots of exploitation as a

consequence, with the threat of being discovered and deportation hanging over them. And there are those like Palestinians who are severely impeded from moving within the land of their birth, through the infamous wall and several checkpoints. As I said, even their goods cannot move freely.

*Can you explain what the metaphor of 'carceral state' means in the context of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa knocking at the gates of "Fortress Europe"?*

The carceral state is a notion I gathered from the work of Henry Giroux who in turn borrowed it and developed it from Michel Foucault's notion of a carceral society. It is used in the context of surveillance, of the heavy handed guarding of public schools as in the USA, the increasing culture of militarisation and the criminalisation of specific sectors of the population such as Afro-Americans in the USA where more find themselves languishing in a privatised prison industry than in public education and often for the flimsiest of reasons. The same applies to the many young Palestinians who lose many school days because of imprisonment for participating in the Intifada or even for being caught with carrying a petard (petards are a common feature of Arab festivities). I use 'carceral state' with reference to the criminalisation of immigrants from the South seeking new pastures outside their country and who are placed in detention centres, especially closed centres where they are left for long stretches in what are cages that can easily render a human being insane. Fabrizio Gatti's Bilal which deals with the situation on the island of Lampedusa captures the meaning in which this phrase is intended. Even my country has been accused of such carceral treatment of immigrants, as many local activists and international observers have pointed out.

*Why do you think some governments and parties in European countries inflate talk of immigration and indicate that immigrants are part of their economic and social problems in general?*

We have to understand the current situation concerning the intensification of what we fashionably term globalisation which has brought in its wake not only the mobility of capital but also mass mobility of potential workers across the globe – two types of mobility which, of course, as I have just

explained, do not occur on a level playing field. This situation is certainly evident throughout the Mediterranean, which has frequently been described, owing to the migration of people from its southern shores to its northern ones, as the 'new Rio Grande'. Who is to say that these people are unwanted in the receiving countries? It has been argued that the economy of certain countries requires certain types of labour and these requirements cannot be met or are deliberately not met (to minimize labour costs) by the internal labor market – and all this despite the high levels of unemployment experienced within a number of the receiving countries. Put crudely, rather than these immigrants being 'unwanted,' the presence of immigrants can suit unscrupulous employers in the receiving countries fine; these employers can avail themselves of a pool of potential workers who can perform the job at hand at a rate substantially lower than that paid to the local workers. So all this nationalistic fervour is complete nonsense. It serves to pit worker against worker, a new form of labour market segmentation along ethnic lines. I have been arguing against this for years.

As I argue in my book, *Politics of Indignation*, and something I also argued in a paper on *'Gramsci, the Southern Question and the Mediterranean'*, with its implications for today, the notion of worker solidarity in this day and age should traverse national boundaries and encompass the plight of immigrants as well as that of the many self-styled or actual autochthonous population. When I was invited in 2008 to speak on the significance of Workers' Day at a seminar organized by the largest trade union in my country, I emphasized this aspect of worker solidarity. The kind of worker solidarity called for is international – not national. The latter is very much the hallmark of National Socialism with its racist, ethnocentric underpinnings. Readers need no reminding of that approach's historical outcome. This is one of the greatest challenges facing those committed to a genuinely democratic socialist politics in this region. Work of an unmistakably educational nature is required, and the kind of educational work in which one must engage, in the contemporary context, is a lengthy one. With local working class people living in a state of precariousness being the ones most likely to suffer from the devastating effects of neoliberal globalisation policies, this work

*jkompli f'pagna 6*

### *jaqbad minn paġna 5*

becomes ever more urgent. Unless such an educational strategy is developed, it is more likely that working class people become attracted to the kind of populist right-wing and often neo-fascist discourse that plays on their fears and leads to further segmentation and antagonism among workers on ethnic or other lines of division. This can result in misplaced alliances (the false alliance between so called national capital and labour against the 'competition,' as if capital has ever been just national!) and obfuscation of the fact that both they and immigrants share a common fate: that of oppression and being subaltern victims of a ruthless process of capitalist exploitation. There have been cases in which traditional socialist parties, once champions of the labouring classes' cause, have been accused of shunning the responsibility of working toward fostering interethnic solidarity among workers. Their apparent rationale is fear of losing electoral votes, a situation which bodes ill for a genuinely democratic politics predicated on worker solidarity across ethnic and national, and not only class and gender, lines.

***A few months ago Alain Badiou accused all the French governments (especially those on the left), from that led by Mitterrand until the present, for deliberately inflating the problem of immigrants to conceal that they "primarily serve the economic interests of the oligarchy." He also accused intellectuals of shamelessly filling the void, caused by low currency of communist ideas, with racist nonsense about the "Islamic threat and the destruction of our 'values'." He claims: "This helped the mental development of fascism which is now spread to alarming proportions and therefore they should be called to account". What are your thoughts on this and do you see this problem in other European countries?***

Badiou is talking about France but I have seen this occurring in other countries especially among the Left and parties once referred to as Left – parties engage in this kind of populism to win over the electorate which in turn are fed myths that increase their insecurity. Security therefore becomes an issue on which parties strive to score points. As I said earlier on and have written – see once again my article on "Gramsci, the Southern Question and The Mediterranean," first published in the open access 'Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies in 2007'. I

have seen traditionally socialist parties avoiding the responsibility of working toward fostering interethnic solidarity among workers. Badiou goes a step further and states that they fan the flames of xenophobia and ethnic prejudice, abetted by intellectuals. One of their apparent rationales is fear of losing electoral votes, a situation which bodes ill for



a genuinely democratic politics predicated on worker solidarity across ethnic and national, and not only class and gender, lines. The issue that arises is whether there can really be a genuinely socialist programme, predicated on inter-ethnic solidarity, within the context of a state whose primary function is the accumulation of capital. This is a question that disturbs me but it is one that needs to be posed.

As for values and identities, those are contentious terms. Whose values? Whose identities? I argue in the same 'Southern Question' paper that these are tied to relations of hegemony where national identity is nothing but the identities of a dominant set of groupings articulated, thanks to a variety of intellectuals, conceived in the Gramscian sense, as universal when they are actually very partial.

***You have just said that, unless an educational strategy is developed, it is more likely that working class people become attracted to the kind of populist right-wing and often Neo-fascist discourse that plays on their fears and leads to further worker divisions on ethnic or other lines. You are actually talking about the populist conversion of the obvious class issues into nationalism? What are the risks and possible consequences of the spread of this discourse in Europe during the current financial crisis?***

Well I have been observing so called socialist parties or one time socialist parties lapsing into this kind of populism to win over the electorate. At the risk of sounding somewhat elitist, I detect an element of anti-intellectualism being rampant in this age of 'dumbing down' media

and infotainment, and also parties moving to the centre in a way that creates a situation when the only contrast is not ideological (mainly where they stand on crucial issues) but simply centers around who has the least scandals and who is the better manager. This renders populism even more of a palatable option for our power seeking political class, or many

of them since I do not like to tar everyone with the same brush. And this is why I feel people are looking for new forms of doing politics, having lost hope in party representative democracy. Even the so called left-liberal press in the west has indulged in this form of populism serving the interests of capital as a recent book by Stephen Harper called Beyond Left and Right. The Communist Critique of the Media so cogently argues – a scary and demoralizing situation. By left he is referring not to any obsolescence of a real Left, far from it (I would never subscribe to that) but what he rightly calls the liberal left that dominates the discourse left of centre in the Western press. He refers to The Guardian, The Nation and the New Statesman among these.

***In your book you have written that the state is an active player and central to the neoliberal scenario and that we underestimate its centrality at our peril. How can we see this connection in the context of (public) education, especially in Europe, and is there there any efficient way to fight against it in the future?***

The state has in many ways used public funds to support private interests. It plays an important role in providing would be investors with the conditions which make things profitable for them.

But back to your central point: the state plays an important role in blurring the divide between public and private always skewed in favour of the private. Let's take higher education as an example and so called public Higher education at that. Nowhere is the role of the state as economic player more evident than in

this sector. So-called "public universities" are exhorted to provide services governed by the market and which have a strong commercial basis. Furthermore, the state engages actively through direct and indirect means, sometimes including a series of incentives. It does this to create a higher education competitive market as part of what Philip Cerny calls the "competition" state – it helps foster competition between different entities as part of sustaining a market in this and other fields, all in keeping with the neoliberal ideology. In short, the state is an active player and has not gone away. It is central to the neoliberal scenario and we underestimate its centrality at our peril! And if there had been any lingering doubts about this, they should have been dispelled by the role which the State played in many countries in bailing out banks and other entities during the credit crunch, using taxpayers money to make good for the gross theft of the filthy rich carried out at the expense of the rest of the population in the first place. Paulo Freire was prescient when he stated that when the stock market falls in a country far away and we have to tighten up our belts, or if a private national bank has internal problems due to the inability of its directors or owners, the state immediately intervenes to 'save them.' And, to add insult to injury, it pays the CEOs of these same entities obscene bonuses while shifting the austerity measures onto the rest.

The state has simply changed its guise but its role in terms of capital accumulation remains intact. The idea of the state having receded into the background is a neoliberal myth.

***And, what is the long term legacy of the massive student protests during last few years in Europe?***

I am not prepared to stick my neck out and make all kinds of predictions. Others have been doing this and I fear we have too much of this going on. Some, like Saskia Sassen, commenting on the riots in Britain, have even suggested historical analogies with the transition from the Middle Ages to Modernity. I am one of those who have witnessed too many false dawns to endorse such assertions. What I am prepared to say at this stage is that there is a groundswell that indicates that people, students and others have been penetrating the ideological surface of neoliberalism and capitalist triumphalism and are mobilising, making important alliances in the process. The question remains:

***jkompli f'paġna 7***

**jaqbad minn paġna 6**

are these just spontaneous responses or is there conscious direction. If it's the latter, where is the conscious direction coming or likely to come from? This is a question which Gramsci constantly posed: "Spontaneità" and "direzione consapevole." Nevertheless it's the sort of action with which any forward looking movement must connect.

**How do you see radical adult education and radical scholarship developing in future?**

The role of education is to not simply integrate people into the logic of the present system but to enable people to develop the acumen and attitude to be able to change the system both individually and collectively. It is about forming people as social actors rather than simply reducing them to two dimensional human beings (thankfully, people will always be more than that), namely consumers and producers. Critical literacy is the key element of a genuine education, in my book, very much that element which is often conspicuous by its absence in dominant policy discourses. I have often criticised the Lifelong learning discourse in Europe and specifically within the EU because of this. Education is not simply to earn but to learn to live fully and to contribute to the development of democratic public spaces, spaces which alas are being eroded by the onset of privatisation and commodification. The final chapter in my book deals with this and gives prominence to the kind of pedagogy I embrace: critical pedagogy. This draws inspiration from Paulo Freire, Lorenzo Milani, Maxine Greene, Henry Giroux, Paula Allman, Michael Apple, Antonia Darder and, luckily, a host of others, including the very influential writer and teacher Roger I Simon, formerly of OISE/University of Toronto, who alas just passed away. It draws from a great intellectual tradition including members of the Frankfurt School, the British Cultural Studies tradition and the best of independent working class education, as well as Latin American popular education and subaltern southern social movements. Where is this heading? I trust that the recent struggles as manifest in the Arab world and among the Occupy movements and indignados will bring social class issues back into the equation. As Michael Apple once put it, class is not discourse. It has never gone away. It is real. It matters. And yet many people who subscribe to the 'post' word have done much to throw out the class baby with the class

bathwater. This does not mean that the other issues of difference and oppression are not important but I feel that we will now witness a greater appreciation of the way capitalism serves as a totalising force, structuring different forms of entities on gender, ethnic, and nationality lines, with class having a transversal presence. I take my cue from Antonia Darder on this. This is my hope for the future of radical critical pedagogy, and of course many have been espousing this view all along.

**You also co-wrote an interesting piece called 'The promise of Cuba' where you said that, 'if left to freely develop its socialist vision of democracy, Cuba might serve as a credible and more viable alternative to US-led capitalism'. What do you mean by that?**

Well I recall a conversation on a plane from Frankfurt to Los Angeles as I was stretching my limbs. An American passenger courteously asked me about the purpose of my visit to LA. My response was that I was meant to give a few presentations at a Freire forum at UCLA. I anticipated the follow up question: who is Paulo Freire? I said he was a Latin American educator. The quick response was: will those guys down there (i.e. Latin America) ever get their act together? Typical 'common sense' crap, I thought. My response was: if you guys allow them to do so! I was of course referring to not all Americans and the many decent ones at that – I have many wonderful American friends, many of whom have and continue to inspire me in my work- but, as you would imagine, the US government, be it Republican or Democrat, and the interests it historically represented and continues to represent. I do not romanticise Cuba and there is much that I criticise. But there are some important principles which are worth taking on board, especially the notion of international exchange in a delinking fashion, its investment in education, health, sport and science and its sustainable development track record recognised by WWF. But of course no state in this US sphere of influence is allowed to develop the way its people (I mean majority) want. There is simply too much at stake for multinationals and the political forces that advance their interests. Chomsky and several others have been revealing this for donkey's years.

**Last year, on the 38th anniversary of the Pinochet's CIA assisted military coup in Chile, you characterised this event as the first, symbolically speaking, September 11th.****What have we learned from this case? Or, more accurately, what haven't we learned from this infamous historic event?**

We should have learnt that there is a ruthless and violent streak in Capitalism and that Neoliberalism was born within the context of brutal fascist regimes. I recently wrote another piece focusing on the September 12 (practically a second September 11) in Turkey. Once again, this was a military coup which was a catalyst for the onset of neoliberal policies in the country. Human rights were abused, people disappeared or were brutally beaten to death sometimes in custody etc. What we should have learnt is the extent of the forces of reaction whenever change based on principles of social justice is being attempted to be carried out. We should also have learnt that, despite the semblance of consensus democratic politics (Chile had the longest tradition of parliamentary democracy in the region), one must not underestimate the forces of coercion that are always present. Allende underestimated this, despite alleged warnings in this regard from Castro.

Recent reflections on September 11 lead us to focus on what is valued in society, who is deemed worthy of living or being disposed of, what is it that is fundamentally repudiating about western imperialist politics and what is it that breeds so much resentment against western imperialist powers in many parts of the world to lead to such a barbarous and callous attack on ordinary civilians as happened on that particular day in 2001. But it should lead us to reflect on the earlier September 11 and what it represents in terms of the way western economic interests are safeguarded at the expense of so many innocent lives as was the case in Chile, with the creation of the right (if you can excuse the pun) conditions (toppling an elected government which had been nationalising services), and the rest of what we call the 'majority world' including Africa, Asia and Latin America – the tri-continental world.

These infamous September 11/12ths and their immediate aftermaths lead us to reflect on how critical thinking, dissent and the construction of plausible democratic alternatives become the first casualties in these situations – when economic interests, at the expense of human rights, occupy centre stage in the foreign policies of western nations. I am sure that critical thinking, dissent and the construction of plausible democratic alternatives figured in the dreams and narratives of the many persons, young

and old (including high school children in Argentina during the 'night of the pencils'), who disappeared and lost their lives in Chile, Argentina and later East Timor and Turkey. This makes a mockery of the exaltation of these very same democratic virtues in these western nations' discourses regarding the basis of a democratic education.

The connection between the Pinochet regime and the destruction of any semblance of a democratic education was reinforced last year as a result of massive student protests in Chile which earned the support of other sectors of the population. The Chilean coup d'état brought to an end not only a long democratic tradition in the country but also the idea of education as a human right. At all levels, including state provision at elementary and secondary schooling, education was rendered a consumer good. Students together with a host of other sectors of society, social organisations and trade unions, such as the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Chile (CUT), came together to clamor for the right to a free education in a country where one must pay for public education and where university fees are quite steep, leading families into huge debts, legacies of the Neoliberal restructuring occurring since the time of the Pinochet dictatorship. Chilean students have been clamoring for an end to this most undemocratic of measures calling for the right of every citizen to an education, irrespective of means, to be enshrined in the constitution and therefore putting an end to a shameful legacy of the Pinochet rule. Fancy, having to pay for state sponsored elementary and secondary education! This represents the case of stretching the neoliberal thinking with regard to service provision to its extreme. Not that other countries fare much better since any free provision is often poor, underfunded and often of despicable quality which renders the whole issue of choice a farce. Either pay or be fobbed off with a poor quality service – such is the Neoliberal mantra.

**Is the brutalisation and militarisation of American culture and education actually one of the truly long-term consequences of the 9/11 terrorist attack, bearing in mind all the extraordinary measures taken by the U.S. government from Bush to Obama? And is it true that, as Henry Giroux said, 'war has become one of most vaunted and cherished national values in USA?'**

*jkompli f'paġna 8*

### jaqbad minn paġna 7

All the signs available to me seem to suggest that this is very much the case. As an American, Giroux is in a much better position than me to make these observations. My sense, expressed by many others, is that 9/11 has provided successive governments in the USA and elsewhere with a carte blanche to impinge on all kinds of civil liberties in the interest of the war on terror and to fuel further interests of the military-industrial complex. We have seen this in many of the senseless wars being carried out not least the war in Iraq which was based on what hitherto comes across as a fabrication, the presence of WMDs. It also led to the global enforcement of an established world order which brooks no deviation and possibly dissent, one in which blood is traded for oil.

**Tariq Ali has described the right and (nominally) left governments in most countries today as "extreme centre", that are focused on adopting programs of neoliberal reforms, while, at the same time, they wage wars against other countries and oppress their own people with austerity measures. What are your comments on this?**

I partly answered this question earlier on and we see little difference in terms of what parties opposing each other within bourgeois representative democratic politics stand for. I see this in my home country as well as in many other parts of the world. This probably has much to do with the end of the Cold War and the presence of one hegemonic body of political and economic thinking. Part of the groundswell and reactions of the electorate in countries like Greece voting in the latter case for small but ideologically markedly different parties is a dissatisfaction with centrist, accommodating politics which has sold them short, to put it mildly. Hence the quest for new forms of doing politics in various parts of the world through a variety of grassroots movements or networks of social creation in say Italy and other countries... disenchantment with traditional party politics. Of course this disenchantment does not guarantee any particular political trajectory. The issue of who provides the conscious direction if any to the indignant movements remains a central one in my view.

Some of the most prominent Western media strongly attacked Argentina for nationalising the corporation REPSOL. The Wall Street Journal and Financial Times declared their move as

"economic piracy" and the Economist proposed the exclusion of this "pirate state" from the G20 and the introduction of visas for its citizens. A similar thing happened before the elections in Greece, when some European mainstream newspapers openly railed against the political options that were put forward as alternatives to the austerity measures.

**To what extent do you think the mainstream media are responsible for globally maintaining the political and economic status quo?**

Once again this brings me back to the point I made regarding Stephen Harper's book on the nature of the media, not so much your obviously outrageously right wing sources such as Fox News but the more authoritative, much revered and perhaps even ostensibly left leaning media. The former is very much 'in your face', easy to see through, banal if you will. The latter is more insidious and therefore more

effective in hegemony building, and Harper is not talking about the Wall Street Journal here but, as I said, ostensibly left leaning papers or simply papers respected for their 'balanced' and 'authoritative' views. Harper suggests that the latter type of media, despite the left wing posturing of some of them, cement capitalist hegemony, gesturing in the direction of the actions you describe.

**How much are mass movements like Occupy Wall Street or Spanish Indignados important in confronting most of issues mentioned in your book (like racism, privatisation of education, corporate capitalism, austerity measures...)? Did the social media help in raising international awareness of and mobilising to confront these problems? Can we expect an increase of international solidarity in the future?**

Yes I think they carry part of the fight and have served as an inspiration for my writing articles

in Truthout and CounterPunch which provide the basis of my Politics of Indignation book. The book's title indicates an inspiration from one of the movements you mention. 'We are not merchandise in the hands of bankers and politicians' was one of the cries in Spain which gets to the heart of some of the issues dealt with.

The book is very much based on critique but also explores possibilities based on inter-ethnic understanding, without, I hope, obscuring the different power dynamics involved. It foregrounds issues of anti-racism and social class both of which, in Cornell West's terms, continue to 'matter.' My hope is that there will continue to be political struggles for greater international solidarity first and foremost among subaltern groups on both sides of the North-South global divide. This is an ongoing struggle without any point of arrival. It is part of the struggle for a 'democracy in process.'

## IS BRAZIL GOVERNED BY FUNDAMENTALISM?

Something bothers me: the "denominationalism" of politics. During the election of Dilma Rousseff as president, the subject of religion was more relevant than government programmes. In the recent election for mayor of Sao Paulo, pastors and bishops conflicted and Father Marcelo Rossi became a political icon.

Modernity separated Church and State. The state is now secular. Therefore it cannot be guided by a particular religious belief. All have a right to spread their message and promote public demonstrations, as long as they respect those who believe or think differently.

The State should be at the service of all citizens, believers or otherwise, without being manipulated by this Church or that religious denomination.

The West's past proves that mixing religious power and political power enforces fundamentalism and thus, in troubled waters, prejudice, discrimination and even exclusion (Inquisition, "heresies" etc.) as well. Even today, in the Middle East, prioritising religious doctrine in certain countries produces obscurantist policies.

I fear that the serpent's egg is also being hatched in Brazil. Religious denominations appoint their pastors for political positions, religious lobbies are formed in legislative assemblies, the faithful are mobilised according to the back and forth struggle between good and evil, Churches identify with political parties and religious proselytism takes up much space in the media.

Is something dangerous not being born? The class struggle and its ideological profile are no longer important. Nor is fidelity to the party programme. What matters is belief, fidelity to a determined doctrine or to religious leaders, "voluntary dependence" on the faith that moves hearts and minds.

What would become of a Brazil whose National Congress was

dominated by legislators who would approve laws, not for the benefit of the whole population, but in order to include all under the shield of a confessional doctrine, whether they have faith in that doctrine or not?

We know that no law can force a citizen to embrace a religious principle like that. But the law can oblige him or her to submit to a system which is against reason and science, and only makes sense in light of a religious principle, such as forbidding blood transfusions or the use of preservatives.

"Let us not be deluded: history does not follow a linear movement. At times, it retreats. And that which was, will still be if we are not able to believe that love – which knows no bounds and "endures all things" as Paul the apostle says – must always prevail over faith."

**Frei Betto is a writer and author, together with Marcelo Gleiser, of "Conversa sobre a fé e ciência" (Conversation on faith and science) (Agir).**



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## Żjara mill-GWU Youths f' Reggio Calabria.

Matul is-Sajf li ghadda, iż-żgħażaġh fi hdan il-GWU Youths kellhom l-opportunità li jsahhu u jespandu l-ħbiberija tagħhom internazzjonalment. Il-*General Workers' Union* għandha ħbiberija qawwiya mal-ikbar unjin fl-Italja, il-*Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro* (CGIL). Iż-żgħażaġh tal-GWU imexxielhom jespandu din il-ħbiberija f'żewġ reġjuni partikolari. Fir-reġjun tal-*Campania* li Napoli hija l-kapitali tagħha il-ħbiberija ilha s-snin, iżda din is-sena twieldet ħbiberija ġdida fir-reġjun tal-*Calabria* li jiġi n-naha t'isfel tal-Italja.

### Kalabrija ribelluża

Wahda fost is-sensjela ta' laqgħat illi kellna, kienet ġewwa c-Centru Don Milani, meta ltqajna ma' Deborah Cartisano li rrakkuntat l-istorja li ma titwemminx u tassew drammatika ta' missierha li kien kburi li huwa Kalabriz "ħieles".

Dan il-helsien sakemm ma tismax dwaru ma tkunx tista' tifhem x'inhu minnhabba l-fatt li l-Italja mhux pajjiż mahkum minn xi pajjiż iehor, imma f'partijiet minnha tinħass il-hakma mill-kriminalità organizzata li tnawwar il-libertà tal-persuna, li wara kollox huwa dritt fundamentali ta' kullhadd.

Intant, Deborah bdiet tirrakkonta kif missierha kien persuna li jhobb hafna "rahal twelidu" u li kien dejjem jgħallim lil uliedu fuq dan ir-reġjun. Kien ihegġiġhom jibzghu għall-ambjent li jinsab madwarhom. Lollo', għax hekk kien jismu missier Deborah, kien ġie mitlub ihallas il-"Pizzo". Dan huwa hlas illegali li jiġi mitlub sabiex persuna bin-negozju tithalla fil-paċi mill-mafja. Dan Lollo' m'aċċettax u rraporta b'dan lill-pulizija. Dan wassal biex il-familja Cartisano ġew esklużi soċjalment, minn attivitajiet soċjali u konversazzjonijiet ma' bosta whud fil-lokalità.

### Hatfuh

Fit-22 ta' Lulju, 1993, Deborah tirċievi telefonata fejn qalulha li l-ġenituri tagħha ġew mahtufa. Hija spjegat kif dakinhar il-ġenituri tagħha

kien qed jirritornaw lura mill-bahar. Malli waslu quddiem il-grada tad-dar tagħhom, missierha fetax il-bieba tal-karozza, iżda fil-pront, raġel armat sa snien mbuttaħ 'l ġewwa u flimkien ma' iehor, dahhlu ġewwa l-karozza b'pistoli ppuntati ma' ras il-ġenituri tagħha.



Qalulhom biex isuqu lejn il-muntanji u kif wasslu fl-ewwel destinazzjoni li kienet propju fejn Lollo' kien iħobb jimxi flimkien ma' martu u wliedu dawk il-passiġġati favoriti tiegħu, harġu lil martu u rabtuha ma' sigra. Bil-manku tal-pistola tawha daqqa bis-sahha fuq rasha li tilfitha minn sensiha. Iż-żewġ kriminali reġġu komplew triqithom flimkien ma' Lollo'.

Kien hafna t-ftittxijiet li saru sabiex jinstab il-missier iżda kull attentat irrizulta fix-xejn. L-omm instabet u reġġet lura magħhom. Din is-sitwazzjoni gabet ir-rejazzjoni tal-ahwa Cartisano li kien jhossuhom dgħajfa, wehidhom u mingħajr il-protezzjoni ta' hadd. Minkejja l-pariri ta' whud mir-rahal ta' Bovalino sabiex joqogħdu kwieti u ma jqanqlux l-ilmijiet, dawn waslu għal għażla kuraġġuza li jinzlu fil-pjazza sabiex jagħmlu dimostrazzjonijiet paċifiċi. Waqt id-dimostrazzjonijiet

hadu sehem nies li sa dakinhar qatt ma kien lissnu nofs ta' kelma jew irrejagixxew b'xi mod, għall-ingustizzji tal-*Indrangheta'* (*hekk tissejjah il-Mafja tal-Kalabrija*). Dan kien turija li l-ahwa Cartisano ma kienux wehidhom u li kien hemm ohrajn lesti jservu ta' sostenn fil-battalja tagħhom.

### Tasal ittra

Wara din il-protesta, l-ahwa baqgħu jiktbu artikli fuq il-gazzetti biex jappellaw għas-sejba ta' missierhom li la kien jafu jekk kienx għadu ħaj u lanqas jekk qatluhx. Għall-ewwel dan kien jagħmlu kull xahar imbagħad kull sitt xhur u wara ta' kull sena. Wara għaxar snin, fl-2003 waslet ittra minn għand wiehed mis-sekwestraturi li qalilhom fejn kien missierhom. Kitbilhom li kien jinsab midfun fi *Pietra Cappa*, propju fil-post li Lollo' tant kien iħobb matul ħajtu.

Il-Pulizija mill-ewwel bdew it-ftittxija fil-post indikat u hemm instab il-katavru ta' Lollo' Cartisano. Fit-3 t'Awwissu 2003, sar il-funeral u b'hekk missier Deborah kellu difna dinjituza u l-ahwa

kellhom post fejn jistgħu jibku t-telfa tiegħu serenament.

### Il-Maġistrat

Din iż-żjara waslet fi tmiemha fit-12 t'Awwissu 2012. L-ahhar attivita' li hadna sehem fiha kienet tinkludi diskors tal-Maġistrat Nicola Gratteri. Gratteri ilu 27 sena maġistrat, u issa ġie magħzul biex jahdem bhala Maġistrat Kontra l-Mafja. Wara kollox din hija l-istess kariga li kellhom personaġġi kbar bhala Borsellino u Falcone. Huwa kellem lill-udjenza taht għajnejn il-pulizija li joffru s-sigurtà tiegħu.

Il-Maġistrat Gratteri qal li z-żgħażaġh għandhom jifhmu l-veru valuri fil-ħajja, dan għaliex f'dinja konsumista fejn irridu "kollox u issa", qiegħda tinholoq sitwazzjoni fejn ikun faċli li wiehed isib ruhu f'ħajja ta' delinkwenza. Fuq kollox, spjega kif tfajla tftitx il-ħajja "komda u lussuza", iżda ma tafx kemm għad trid taqsam qalbha għal dawk l-ulied li tarahom jidhlu f'dan ic-cirku kriminali, għaliex l-*Indrangheta'* trid it-tkattir tal-ulied maskili halli dawn ikunu s-suldati fuq il-front u b'hekk il-poter jibqa' jirrenja f'idejn il-familji li fuq "il-front" ma ssibhom qatt. "Imma dik it-tfajla li ssir omm, il-futur joffrilha biss funerali ta' wliedha x'tattendi jew jekk tigiha tajba, zjajjar fil-habs" qal il-Maġistrat. Huwa kompli jzid li "l-Italja tehtieg sitt ħabsijiet ohra sabiex tilqa' għad-domanda, meta bl-istess flus jistgħu jinbnew sptarijiet, skejjel u binjiet ohrajn, li kieku l-valuri tagħna jkun dawk li titlob soċjetà ġusta".

Minn qalbi nawgura li l-forzi tal-ordni u s-soċjetajiet' ċivili fl-Italja u madwar id-dinja qatt ma jaslu jaċċettaw l-mafja bhala stat ta' fatt, iżda jikkumbattuha għall-ġid ta' kullhadd. - (youths@gwu.org.mt)

## Infakkra Attivista favur is-Sigar

Fix-xahar ta' Diċembru thabbret il-mewt ta' Rebecca Tarbotton, attivista favur is-sigar u l-foresti u li kienet prominenti fil-Rainforest Action Network, fejn kellha l-kariga ta' Direttriċi Eżekuttiva.

Rebecca Tarbotton li kellha 39 sena, kienet l-ewwel mara li mexxiet l-organizzazzjoni Rainforest Action Network biex kisbet hafna rebħiet fit-taqtiegħa għall-ippreservar tal-foresti mhedda u drittijiet ta' l-abitanti Indijeni tal-foresti.

Riċentament ghenet fit-tfassil ta' ftehim storiku mall-kumpanija Disney li wassal biex il-kumpanija biddlet il-mod kif tixtri u tuza l-karta.

Hija ffukat l-isforzi tagħha biex tixpruna l-popli biex jahdmu



favur bidla soċjali u ambjentali u biex l-ikbar kumpaniji li jnigġsu jirrifurmaw l-aġir tagħhom.

Hi tibqa magħrufa għad-diskors

li għamlet f'Ottubru 2012 fejn saħqet "li rridu niftakru li x-xogħol tagħna mhux marbut biss mall-bidla tal-klima, imma mall-ħtieġa li nbiddlu kull haġa dwar kif ngħix fuq din id-dinja".

Hija hadmet ma kumpaniji ewlenin u wasslet għal rebħa kbira ohra meta l-banek aċċettaw politika li jillimitaw l-finanzjament ta' power stations godda li jahdmu bil-faham, u b'hekk ma nbnewx 200 mpjant ġdid li jahdem bil-faham.

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# IX-XELLUG FL-ITALJA U L-ELEZZJONI

**Il-Partit Komunista Malti f'it ilu laqa' ghandu r-rappreżentant għall-Affarijiet Internazzjonali tal-Partit Komunista Taljan (PdCI), Maurizio Musolini. (Ara l-intervista mieghu hawn isfel)**

**Tahseb li għad hemm futur ghax-xellug fl-Italja?**

Fl-Italja meta titkellem dwar Partit Komunista jgħid f'moħħok pożittivament l-era ta' wara l-gwerra sa snin 90 (meta l-partit kien partit kbir fl-Italja). Il-Partit jibqa' magħruf kemm f'dawk li huma kisbiet għad-drittijiet tal-haddiema, tal-poplu nġenerali, studenti u anke għall-istess demokrazija. Dan huwa rikonoxxut minn kullhadd illum fl-Italja. Fl-aħħar ta' snin 80 kien hemm tentattiv biex jiġi żmantellat il-Partit Komunista Taljan u tinholoq forza oħra, li huwa l-Partit Soċjal Demokratiku. Forza li kellha twassal għal xellug aktar moderat u modern, imma li wasslet biex dan il-partit innega l-ideoloġija u l-ġlieda tal-klassi tal-haddiema biex ingħaqad mall-forzi ideoloġiċi liberali. Il-Partit spicċa wkoll jbatu biex jiddefenixxi lilu nnifsu anke bħala "soċjal demokratiku", partit aktar fuq il-lemin, aktar "neoliberalista".

Il-ġlieda komunista favur il-klassi tal-haddiema baqgħet hajja illum minn żewġ partiti (llum iżgħar) li huma l-Partit Komunista Taljan (PdCI) u Rifondazione Komunista (PRC). Illum dawn qed jaħdmu flimkien biex jergħu isibu l-għeruf fis-soċjetà. Illum ilna 3 snin fejn dawn il-partiti qed jaħdmu flimkien go federazzjoni tax-xellug. Mhux faċli għax hemm differenzi, fejn wiehed hu aktar tradizzjonali (marbut mall-ġlieda komunista tal-klassi tal-haddiema fuq livell globali) u l-iehor aktar moderat (marbut aktar ma' movimenti soċjali u anqas ideoloġiku). Imma jibqa' l-fatt li qed naħdmu u nohorgu għall-elezzjonijiet flimkien, minflok maqsumin. Mill-esperjenza naraw li f'hafna pajjiżi x-xellug huwa maqsum. Huwa tajjeb li x-xellug jifhem li jew jingħaqad jew inkella qatt ma jista' jkun forza governattiva li jista' jgħid il-bidliet favur il-klassi tal-haddiema.

Kompla jgħid li f'elezzjonijiet lokali tellajna kunsilliera madwar l-Italja kollha u f'hafna postijiet għibna bejn 3 u 5% tal-voti. Hija l-ewwel darba fl-istorja li x-xellug komunista mhux rappreżentat fil-parlament u dan in-nuqqas qed jinhass anke min-nies fis-soċjetà.

Fuq livell Ewropej il-front komunista qed jiffaċċja l-istess problema. Għalkemm illum il-blokk tax-xellug magħqud (GUE/NGL) jiġbor flimkien numru mhux hażin ta' partiti komunisti u xellugin (whud osservaturi) fosthom hemm il-Partit Komunista Grieg u dak Portugiz. Imbagħad hemm il-grupp ta' Solidnet li jgħaqad flimkien partiti komunisti minn madwar id-dinja. L-aħħar laqgħa f'Ateni, iltaqgħu flimkien ma' 100 partit komunisti.

Nemmen li x-xellug fl-Ewropa irid jingħaqad u jiġġieled ġlieda Ewropea wahda kontra l-kriżi ekonomika. Jekk le l-kriżi ekonomika se tispiċċa

taqşam l-istati membri għalihom (fejn kull stat iħares l-interessi tiegħu), u b'hekk tispiċċa tintilef l-ġlieda wahda għall-emanċipazzjoni tal-klassi tal-haddiema fl-Ewropa.

Ix-xogħol li qed nagħmlu aħna hu li nippruvaw nġaqqdu flimkien il-partiti Komunisti u tax-Xellug fl-Ewropa fuq kuncetti preċiżi; fosthom l-attakk fuq il-welfare state, l-attakk fuq is-suq tax-xogħol, sanità u affarijiet oħra soċjali. Irid



ikun hemm din l-għaqda, jekk le fl-elezzjonijiet il-partiti se jiffaċċjaw il-konsegwenzi. L-elezzjonijiet tal-parlament Ewropej ta' 2014 għandhom jkun mezz biex nohorgu bħala front komunista, xellugi u ekoloġista nordiku aktar magħqud fi hdan il-blokk tax-xellug Ewropej (GUE/NGL). Irridu naħdmu fuq affarijiet li jgħaqduna flimkien. Huwa fatt li fil-blokk hemm differenzi bejn il-partiti.

**Kif tharsu lejn ir-Rebbiegha Għarbija?**

Bħala Partit aħna kontra kull intervent militari "imperjalista" fis-Sirja u l-istess konna kontra intervent militari fil-Libja. Rifondazione Komunista għandha opinjoni kemmxejn differenti fuq is-Sirja. Dak li sehh f'dawn il-pajjiżi ma niddefenixx bħala revoluzzjonijiet, imma rivolti. Revoluzzjoni ssehh meta qed tiddel is-sistema ta' poter. L-interessi ta' illum fit-Tuneżija u l-Eġittu għadhom l-interessi tal-bierah.

L-istess aħna maqsumin fuq jekk għandniex naħdmu aktar fil-qrib ma' partiti soċjal demokratiċi jew le. Rifondazione Komunista temmen li ma għandniex naħdmu magħhom. Aħna nemmu li rridu naraw aktar dak li jgħaqadna milli dak li jifridna. Illum jidher li huwa aktar faċli li l-forzi jaħdmu flimkien, s'intendi kullhadd jibqa' izomm l-indipendenza tiegħu.

Fi 12 ta' Mejju li għadda organizzajna manifestazzjoni flimkien (PdCI ma' PRC) għewwa Ruma kontra l-kriżi ekonomika li kienet suċċess. Għaliha attendew ma 30,000 persuna. Magħna nġaqqdu anke partiti oħrajn. Prezentament qed naħdmu hafna flimkien fuq il-kwistjoni tal-Palestina. Fil-futur nixtiequ li jkun hemm Partit wiehed Komunista (fejn kull persuna komunista taljana jkollha

leġittimità). Flimkien naħdmu ma forzi oħra progressivi u ekoloġisti fis-soċjetà. L-istess lkoll flimkien irridu naħdmu fil-qrib u niddjalogaw mal-partit demokratiku u l-partit soċjal demokratiku. Jekk le se jibqgħu jiggvernaw il-koalizzjoni ta' Berlusconi.

**X'differenza hemm bejn illum u 1996, fejn il-gvern kien magħmul minn alleanza xellugija?**

Sa illum niddikjaraw ufficjalment li għad ma hemmx "alleanza di governo". Fuq soluzzjonijiet għall-kriżi nsibu li hemm hsibijiet li huma opposti. Imma fl-istess hin qed noffru l-partit Soċjal Demokratiku ftehim fuq alleanza parlamentari, fejn anke jkun hemm qbil fuq punti li naqblu magħhom, li dawn għad

iridu jiġu diskussi, eżempju is-separazzjoni tal-Istat u l-knisja, l-edukazzjoni pubblika etc. Dawn it-temi ta' diskussjoni żgur li bihom se tiggwadanja kemm is-Soċjal Demokratika u l-front komunista u progressiv b'rappreżentanza fil-Parlament. Għandna naħdmu fuq proposti konkreti li jimbuttaw il-quddiem l-alleanza, u mhux lura. "Għalkemm aħna, mhux ha niggvernaw flimkien, se nġinuh biex jiehju l-gvern. Mhux faċli, imma rridu nippruvaw bħala Komunisti".

**X'inhil-pożizzjoni tagħkom illum mal-partit ta' Di Pietro (Italia Dei Valori) u l-Partit Sinistra, Ekoloġija u Libertà (SEL) ta' Vendola?**

Kuljum qed niddjalogaw. Imma sa illum ma nafux il-liġi elettorali kif ha tkun. Kuljum johorgu proposti differenti. Aħna bħala Komunisti rridu nagħmlu front komuni, sabiex meta mmorru quddiem il-Partit Soċjal Demokratiku nippruvaw jingħaqad f'dan il-Front. (Front ta' progressivi, ekoloġisti u Xellugin).

Nieħdu eżempju ta' Napoli u Palermo, fl-elezzjonijiet komunalni PdCI, RPC, Italia Dei Valori u SEL ingħaqadna flimkien u rnexxilna nirbhu lill-forzi tal-lemin. Sondagg riċenti juri li flimkien fuq livell nazzjonali għandna ma 15% tal-voti.

**X'inhil-pożizzjoni tagħkom fuq il-hatra ta' Monti?**

Is-sistema politika Taljana tagħti mandat li jinħatar wiehed teknokratiku. Monti biex nkunu gusti kien diġà fil-hajja politika, għax kien inħatar ministru għall-parlament Ewropej taht it-tmexxija ta' Berlusconi. Teknikament il-proċess kien leġittimu (ma hemmx x'tiddiskuti fuq din, mhux qed tikser il-konstituzzjoni). Il-Parlament jista' jaħtar il-President hu. Imma moralment wiehed jista' jargumenta

hux hażina jew le din id-deċizzjoni. Eż, huwa gust li persuna mhux eletta tkisser l-istat soċjali? Moralment aħna bħala komunisti nemmu li huwa hażin. Politikament il-Partit Komunista Taljan huwa favur li ssir elezzjoni kemm jista' jkun malajr ha jiddeċiedi l-poplu.

**X'inhil-pożizzjoni tax-xellug fl-Italja fuq l-Artikolo 18, liġi tax-xogħol li tinforza "hire and fire"?**

Il-front progressiv u xellugi (PdCI, PRC, SEL u l-Italia Dei Valori) huma lkoll kontra. Bħala komunisti nemmu li kull liġi li tnaqqas id-drittijiet tal-haddiema tmur kontra l-istess libertà tal-persuna. "Jekk il-persuna mhiex libera fuq il-post tax-xogħol, mhi libera qatt. Jekk hemm rikatt fuq il-post tax-xogħol, ifisser li int rikattat f'kollox".

Bhalissa minhabba li qegħdin fi zmien ta' elezzjoni, ma jistax jsir referendum. Imma wara l-elezzjoni se naħdmu biex isir referendum biex nwaqqaw din il-liġi (articolo 18) li kien dahhal il-Gvern lemini ta' Berlusconi. Se naħdmu biex niġbru l-firem biex isir dan ir-referendum, b'kollox irridu niġbru 500,000 firma. Nisperaw imma li fl-elezzjoni li ġejja jkun hemm bidla fil-gvern u li dan il-gvern għid ta' magħoranza jnehhi din il-liġi. Il-problema illum hi li ma hemm l-ebda oppożizzjoni fil-Parlament, u din hi theddida għad-demokrazija.

Jekk tiehu fl-Ewropa, il-problema komuni huwa l-qgħad. Flok indaħħlu liġijiet biex noholqu x-xogħol, l-Ewropa neoliberalista qed iddaħħal liġijiet biex il-haddiema jitkeċċew aktar malajr... dan hu paradoss. Għalhekk hemm bżonn għal "Unita Ewropea" tal-klassi tal-haddiema "lotta Ewropea dei lavoratori". Jekk le l-Ewropa se tiffel il-vokazzjoni tagħha għal "civiltà Ewropea".

**Teżisti alternattiva għas-sistema ekonomika kapitalista?**

L-alternattiva għandha twassal għall-komunizmu, soċjetà differenti minn ta' illum fejn ma jkunx hemm sfruttament. Fl-immedjat imma rridu naħdmu biex intejbu l-kundizzjonijiet tan-nies "ir-realtà ta' illum".

**Imma b'dan l-aġir mhux qed terġa ssahhah is-sistema kapitalista?**

Le, għax fl-istess waqt nemmu li l-Istat għandu jkollu aktar rwol centrali fl-ekonomija biex jkun jista' jimplementa dawk id-deċizzjonijiet fl-interess tan-nies. Kif inhu illum l-istat tilef l-eżistenza tiegħu fl-ekonomija (fosthom bil-privatizzazzjonijiet). L-istat qed jimxi skond il-kurrent li jtuħ forzi oħra b'interessi ekonomiċi b'sahħithom. Imma fl-istess waqt nemmu f'Ewropa magħquda ta' gustizzja soċjali u solidarjetà. Jekk le se mmorru għall-Ewropa egoista fejn se naraw jittellgħu mill-għid il-hitan bejn il-pajjiżi.

● (Riċenti thabbar il-holqien tal-Front Maqgħud Xellugi msejjah Revoluzzjoni Ċivili magħmul minn Federazione della Sinistra; Italia dei Valori; Federazione dei Verdi; ; Movimento Arancione).

## Capitalism is working just fine... that's the problem

by Sam Camilleri

In Manila, Mexico City and Delhi communities of people make their livelihood sifting through massive garbage dumps on city's edge. In London, lavish shops and middle class stability stand amid massive unemployment, yet there is a bafflement when rioting and looting break out. A global economy – think Greece, Spain, the United States – leveraged to the hilt and showing signs of the instability that got that got the world into so much trouble in the last century. Despite the endless chatter about business cycles, supply and demand, the consumer economy, this is simply the flower of 21<sup>st</sup> century capitalism. If one is grounded in Karl Marx's 1867 masterwork *Capital*, it is clear that there is no malfunction here, things are working just fine. That is the view one gets by reading the Marxist cultural critic Fredric Jameson's new book, *'Representing Capital': A Reading of Volume One*. (Photo)

For Jameson the capitalism of Marx is a dialectical construct, "A peculiar machine whose evolution is at one with its breakdown, its expansion at one with its malfunction, its growth with its collapse." This is a strikingly different view than that of the assorted experts always quick with insights about how to get, "the economy back on track," and other pipe dreams of controlling something largely outside of anyone's control. It also stands at odds with a determinist view that capitalism is heading for its inevitable doom – a view that

infected many communists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and still lurks as wishful thinking among those trying to understand this monstrous construct. For Jameson none of this holds. He sees a reassertion of the structural imperatives of capital as what drives things. Then he offers a provocation:



"Capital is not a book about Politics, and not even a book about Labour: it is a book about unemployment." This, he notes – because it is not a conventional Marxist interpretation – is a scandalous assertion."

Scandalous or not it is worth considering. It is in *Capital* that Marx explains that the accumulation of wealth is a set piece, with misery and abundance being opposite poles. It garners wealth from those working while it generates a "reserve army" (the unemployed), an entire strata of people, pauperized by it all.

A look at today's world with the

massive transfer of populations to cities, the ripping up the last vestiges of the peasantry, the phenomenon of a "planet of slums" all speaks to what Marx set down. Marx saw unemployment and pauperization as fundamental to the working of capitalism and called it the

absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.

Jameson hones in on this while highlighting an often-missed point: Marx's best work looked at capitalism operating on a world scale.

From that Jameson makes the provocative point, "to think of all of this as a kind of global unemployment rather than this or that tragic pathos is, I believe, to be recommitted to the invention of a new kind of transformatory politics on a global scale, whether or not one agrees, those who care about the

future ought to jump into the debate and dig more deeply into Marx's best and most challenging work.

Midway through the book Jameson makes a compelling case for why "Marx alone sought to combine a politics of revolt with the poetry of the future and applied himself to demonstrate that socialism was more modern than capitalism and more productive." "To recover that futurism and that excitement is surely the fundamental task of any Left discursive struggle today."

### Corporate Terrorist

We need protection from our multi-millionaires, corporate terrorists, the ones who rip off our old age pensions, destroy the environment, deplete irreplaceable fossil fuels, in the name of profit, deny us our right of universal health care, take people's jobs away whenever the mood hits them. What do you call a 19% increase in the homeless and hungry from 2001 to 2002 in the USA? These are not acts of terrorism of the worst kind? Do they not cost lives? It is not all part of a calculated plan to inflict pain on the poor and the working poor, just so that a few rich men can get even richer?

We have our won "terrorists" to deal with, and we need our entire focus returned so that the wealthy learn that they have to pay for their actions. We want to live in a world that believes in sharing its riches with the less fortunate, that everyone can get a fair share, and where fear is seen as the only thing we truly need fear.

## Greening Malta's Industrial South-East region

by Andre' Damato

Malta's south-east region has for decades been subject to heavy industry, dense traffic, fossil-fuel energy generation and a relatively higher black dust particle presence. A hidden price tag for all of this is the health detriment to its population; problems ranging from respiratory difficulties to other more serious medical complications. A problem which doesn't seem to be deteriorating; the dedication of present industrial space for an eco-industrial park for firms specialising in green innovative technologies would surely be a step in the right direction.

The government could select unused physical space within one of the industrial parks found in the south-east region to be re-developed into an eco-industrial park. The selected area would be dedicated to research, development and innovation of green related technologies and energy efficiency; possible specialisations could also relate to technologies catered particularly for Mediterranean countries.



This incentive can be organised in collaboration with private enterprise and foreign stakeholders who would lease industrial area within the eco-park from government at attractive commercial rates.

The eco-park will also be administered by Malta Industrial Parks under Malta Enterprise, where the leasing of land will be dedicated to the green manufacturing, assembly, maintenance, consultancy and

research & innovation oriented purposes.

A park of this type in Malta will surely be beneficial for the greening of Malta's south-east region. Whilst surely helping in the creation of jobs and the development of technical skills, this park will also help indirect supporting industries together with aiding the spillage of green technical and manufacturing skills into adjacent areas. This cluster would also be in a position to provide technologies and advice to local firms to help greener their infrastructure and practices. EU established firms within the green industry can use this eco-park as a stepping stone to Middle East and North African countries.

As the idea of eco-park is complementary to the EU Commission's aims it would not be very hard to acquire direct EU funds for this project; whilst EU regional funds can also be allocated for this initiative.

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# MANIFEST ELETTORALI 2013

## – Alleanza Liberali

L-Elezzjoni Ġenerali waslet u se ssir is-Sibt 9 ta' Marzu 2013. L-Alleanza Liberali għal darb'ohra se tippartecipa. Minn hawn nappella lilkom il-qarrejja ta' dan il-ġurnal progressiv biex tagħmlu għażla tajba meta tmorru tivvotaw. Vot lil Alleanza Liberali, huwa Vot Favur Soċjetà Liberali.

Ahna l-Alleanza Liberali, bhala moviment assoċjati mal-Liberali tal-Ewropa. Wara l-kwistjoni tal-Kummissarju Malti John Dalli u sakemm inhatar minflok Dr. Tonio Borg, nittama li l-Maltin tghallmu min ahna u x' soċjetà nixtiequ li intom tghixu fiha. Nippretendu li fil-Parlament Malti jkollna mqar membru wiehed Liberali biex taraw kemm ahna nagħmlu d-differenza mill-partiti l-oħra li hemm bhalissa, l-Partit Nazzjonalista u dak Laburista.

Anzi, ahna mmorru aktar minn hekk, ahna nappellaw lill-poplu Malti u Għawdx biex kemm fil-Parlament Ewropew u dak Malti jelegi membri parlamentari mill-erba' gruppi politici ewlenin, igifieri: PN (EPP), PL (S&D), AL (ahna ALDE) u AD (Greens). U dan qed ngħiduh fi sfera fejn ahna l-Liberali għandna tmien Kummissarji Ewropej (it-tieni l-aktar fl-Ewropa), waqt li l-EPP għandhom tlettax (inkluż Barroso), l-S&D sitta (tnejn inqas minnha) u l-Greens b'dispaċir ngħid li m'għandhom xejn. Ahna l-Liberali qegħdin fil-gvern f'diversi pajjiżi Ewropej, aktar mis-Socjalisti u l-oħrajn, minbarra l-EPP.

Hawn għalhekk qed nippresentaw fil-qosor lilkom il-qarrejja punti mill-Manifest Elettorali tagħna (Alleanza

Liberali) għall-Elezzjoni Ġenerali ta' Malta li se ssir fid-9 ta' Marzu 2013.

Alleanza Liberali se taħdem fis-soċjetà biex tipprowa ggib xogħol għal kulhadd. Nemmu li ż-żgħażgħ għandhom jkunu f'impjeg u studju, akkost ta' kollox. Minn naħa l-oħra ma naqblux li l-anzjani għandhom jibqgħu jahdmu wara l-età tal-irtirar (65sena) meta għandna numru ta'



żgħażgħ bla xogħol. Il-pensjoni għandha tkun biżżejjed biex wiehed jgħix hajja deċenti. Dan mhux għax ahna għandna xi haġa kontra l-anzjani, anzi bil-kontra nemmu li l-anzjani għandhom jgawdu jiem ta' mistrieħ. Filfatt ma naqblux li l-età tal-pensjoni titla' għal 67 sena, anzi rridu li l-età terġa tinzel għal 61 sena.

Rigward il-Prezidenza, l-Alleanza Liberali taqbel li l-President ta' Malta jkun elett mill-poplu. Nemmu wkoll li kull partit politiku, kemm jekk ikun rappreżentat fil-parlament jew le, iżda li jkollhom kandidati għall-elezzjoni, jkunu rappreżentati wkoll fl-Awtorità tax-Xandir, fil-Kummissjoni Elettorali, fil-MEPA u awtoritajiet oħra ta' ċertu mportanza. Dan isahha id-demokrazija rappreżentattiva u parteċipattiva.

Alleanza Liberali favur il-proposta ta' finanzjament mill-

Gvern tal-partiti politici, dment imma li l-partiti jingħataw l-istess trattament. Is-sistema preżenti tohloq lok għal abbuż. Nemmu li kulhadd għandu jiġi mghejjun, anke kandidati ndipendenti. Naqblu wkoll li l-Gvern għandu jiffinanza numru ta' billboards għal partiti żgħar u kandidati ndipendenti. Għax mhux sew meta l-partiti l-kbar jgawdu l-appoġġ ta' ċertu żviluppaturi, għandhom il-Midja kollha f'idejhom bit-TV, Radju, Ġurnali, Billboards u kullimkien tagħhom!!!

Proposti Oħra:-

\* Jekk niġu eletti naħdmu biex innhdu l-Privileġġ Parlamentari li hafna drabi jkun abbużat minn l-istess membri parlamentari biex jattakkaw in-nies tatriq u hadd ma jkun jista' jiddefendi lillu niifsu kontriom.

\* Nippresentaw abbozz ta' ligi privat biex l-użu personali tal-Kannabis (haxixa) tiġi dikriminalizzata.

\* Fi żmien elettroniku li ninsabu fih, jekk l-Alleanza Liberali telegi mqar siggu fil-Parlament Malti, ahna se naħdmu biex tidhol sistema ta' votazzjoni kompjuterizzata fejn anke l-Maltin barra minn Malta jkunu jistgħu jivvutaw fl-Ambaxxati rispettivi.

\* Nippresentaw abbozz ta' ligi privat biex l-Abort jiġi dekriminalizzata. Tfajliet u nisa tqal jiġu mghejjuna jagħmlu l-għażla hielsa tagħhom u mhux jintbagħtu l-habs. Bhala Moviment Liberali ahna favur "Pro-Choice", fejn il-mara tkun hi li tagħzel.

\* Naħdmu sabiex legalment jkollna "Bajja għan-Nudisti": Jekk inkunu eletti se nimbottaw 'l quddiem il-htieġa li ssir bajja għan-nudisti bhal ma ssib f'hafna pajjiżi oħra, speċjalment fl-Ewropa. B'hekk jizdied dan it-tip ta' turizmu speċjalment meta ahna għandna klima shuna f'hafna mix-xhur tas-sena. Il-Bajja tal-Ġnejna u anke Kemmuna diġa' huma magħrufa għal dan.

\* Se naħdmu wkoll biex iċ-ċensura titneħħa totalment, anke fuq kotba u materjal iehor pornografiku bhalma jeżisti f'pajjiżi oħra Ewropej. Ahna rridu li Malta ssir aktar liberali bhal Amsterdam, Ibiża u postijiet oħra vera progressivi.

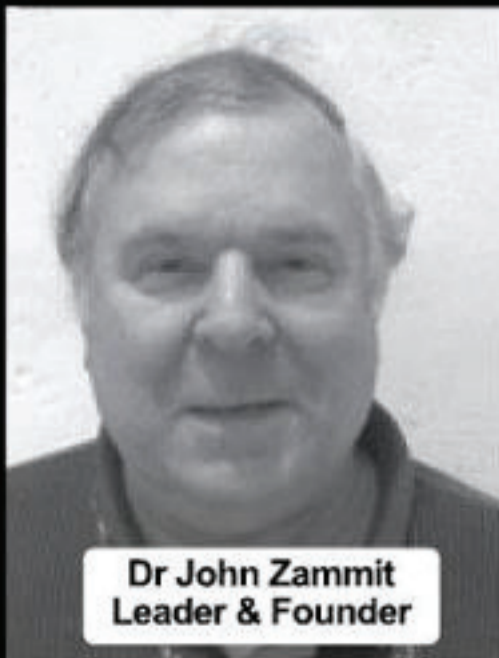
\* L-aħhar iżda mhux l-inqas, nippresentaw abbozz ta' ligi privat biex persuni "gay" ikuni jistgħu jizzewgu ċivilment "gay marriages". Ahna ilna ngħafsu favur dawn it-tip ta' żwiġijiet minn meta ġie mwaqqaf il-partit. Ahna nemmu fid-diversità li hemm u tippromwovi l-istess Ewropa u allura aktar u aktar ma nistgħux niċhdu dan id-dritt lil dawn in-nies.

Barra minn hekk nemmu fid-drittijiet ta' l-annimali, aktar finanzi għall-edukazzjoni, libreriji u arkivji, u aktar drittijiet għat-tfal. Fir-rigward tal-immigrazzjoni rregolari, nemmu li għandu jkun hemm aktar tqassim ta' dawn fil-pajjiżi Ewropej (burden sharing). Fejn jidhol dritt ċivili u l-libertà tal-kelma u tal-Istampa, qed nippromu li l-libell kriminali jitneħħa kif ordna l-istess Kunsill ta' l-Ewropa u l-OSCE.

Preżentament diġa' għandna kuntatti kbar mal-Liberali ta' l-Ewropa.

*Fir-ritratt jidher rappreżentant ta' (AL) John Zammit, mal-Ministru ta' l-Affarjiet Ewropej Michael Link fl-uffiċċju tiegħu fil-Bundestag f'Berlin, il-Ġermanja.*

## ALLEANZA LIBERALI (MALTA LIBERALS)



Dr John Zammit  
Leader & Founder

### VOTE JOHN ZAMMIT Promoter of Civil Liberties and Rights

Candidate for the coming General Elections  
on the 2nd District (Vittoriosa  
Senglea, Cospicua, Zabbar, Kalkara, Xghajra)  
& For The 6th District (Qormi, Siggiewi, Luqa)

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