



“DECLARATION OF THE UNITED LEFT”

**THE MOVEMENTS OF THE LEFT PRESENT AT THE
“SOKOA-II” INTERNATIONALIST SESSIONS**

Having discussed four fundamental aspects of this neoliberal, antidemocratic, imperialist Europe that is being designed:

- 1.- migration,*
- 2.- liberalization of services,*
- 3.- foreign policy, and*
- 4.- peoples' sovereignty,*

Declare that

- 1) It is an urgent necessity and a priority to stand up to the constitution of this police State, this exclusive and imperial Europe which subjects the rights of peoples, cultures and minorities to those of its member states and elites.
- 2) To do so, common grounds and motives must be defined to create alliances between the political and social forces of the Left among the peoples and nations with or without states that together make up the EU today, as well as all the movements in other lands where people fight for their dignity and sovereignty in the present phase of the globalization of imperialism.

And in this sense, we adopt the following CONCLUSIONS AND AGREEMENTS with respect to the respective areas discussed:

A.- REGARDING *the attack* ON THE RIGHT TO MIGRATION AND ASYLUM launched by the present-day European imperial stronghold and its member states,

- 3) We understand that migration has been a constant and recurrent theme throughout the history of humanity. However, slavery and forced relocation resulting from the process of Western colonization have been fundamental instruments in the constitution and consolidation of capitalism and of today's states. The present phase of imperialist globalisation is the main reason behind poverty, political conflict, cultural uniformity and destruction of biodiversity throughout the planet; all of which further migration, relocation and exile among hundreds of millions of people. Therefore the forces of the left in peoples and nations with or without states must fight against the political, economic and cultural causes that bring about migration and exile in the world.
- 4) The rights to citizenship, residence and nationality are basic democratic rights the control and application of which should be exercised by peoples and nations with or without states, following criteria shared by migrant and asylum-seeking individuals and collectives and likewise by their peoples of origin.



- 5) We feel that the fight for the right of the millions of individual migrants, asylum seekers and persons fleeing from persecution, as well as the hundreds of groups residing in the states and nations without states in the contemporary European Union, irrespective of whether they originate from peoples within the Union or elsewhere, should be one of the motives for alliance.
- 6) The status of migrants and asylum seekers in the construction of the European Union and its present member states, far from being an issue which affects only the individuals and collectives in question, proposes a whole new concept of citizenship, from which the full recognition of safeguards for equality and difference is absent. This requires us to set going a provocative debate which outlines and questions the model of society and civility with which we have been familiar and even the ideals for which we fight..
- 7) Therefore, first of all, respect for and recognition of these democratic rights implies the **OPPOSITION TO, AND DENUNCIATION OF**, restrictive, racist, sexist and authoritarian policies regarding aliens, immigration and asylum. Such policies, which adversely affect individuals and collectives who, for political, economic or other reasons, are forced to leave their places of origin inside or outside the European Union, derive from the Schengen, Dublin or Laeken Agreements and constitute the basis of the constitution of the present European imperial stronghold and of most of the States comprising it.
- 8) Second, the democratic recognition of full citizenship for migrants and asylum seekers or fugitives from persecution, and their collectives, implies the need for the forces of the Left to undertake a **COMMON STRUGGLE FOR THESE PERSONS' RIGHTS** in at least four areas of political work:
 - a. For the basic right to residence and work and social rights
 - b. For the right to be considered full civil and political subjects. Recognition of residence and of asylum should mean not only active and passive suffrage but also rights of assembly, association, demonstration and participation, and of a single shared nationality. In the context of this policy's anti-discrimination dimension, special attention should be given to the relevance of giving priority to the struggle against legal and political gender discrimination/subordination, which has been reinforced by these European instruments of immigration and asylum policy.
 - c. For the right to respect and recognize diversity in terms of culture, language, identity or religion, to adopt efficient measures to stop discrimination on grounds of nationality, culture, religion or sex and to act against expressions of racism and xenophobia. Civil coexistence should ensure the compatibility of the common culture of the shared public space of the country of arrival with the original cultures of migrants and asylum seekers and their collectives.
 - d. For the possibility of working together in reciprocity through relations of solidarity and mutual cooperation between the political, trade union,



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social and cultural forces of the countries and places of origin and residence of individual migrants and asylum seekers and their collectives.



B.- THE BOLKESTEIN THREAT. A European directive to privatize services.

- 9) **1.- There is still time to prevent this atrocity.** It is not too late to stop EU officials from leading us down a blind alley which will destroy the little that remains of the European welfare state, and all for the absurd purpose of competing with the US on the playing field of the leading world power.
- 10) The price of such a strategy will be paid by European workers in the way of precarious employment, later retirement age and longer working hours, worse living conditions, less decision-making capacity, increased social exclusion and greater insecurity - all in the interest of major European transnational corporations that will absorb the available public resources to bolster the struggle for world hegemony.
- 11) The plan for world hegemony is based on forcing the nations of the world to accept an economic policy that devours the Earth's natural resources, transforms technological progress into weapons of mass social destruction, turns culture into an enemy which must be wiped out by the media and the military, and imposes its decisions with no political and social control by representative political institutions.
- 12) **2.-** The problem as we have defined it is clearly a matter of global domination; therefore, **it is essential to coordinate defensive strategies to counterbalance these coordinated aggressions** and offensive strategies, and establish new references in economic policies. To do this we must develop and strengthen the popular struggle, seeking a militant and radical orientation in the workers' and trade unions movements and the forces of the left.
- 13) Today the basic reference capable of encouraging society to become involved in the design of economic and social policies are "peoples". By peoples we mean autonomous entities with decision-making powers and full validity of the right to self-determination in political, institutional, economic and social matters.
- 14) **3.- The strategy of international relations must be founded on recognizing and respecting the human, political and economic rights of individuals and peoples.** To this end, the international decision-making instruments must be reformed and the curtain brought down on the IMF and the World Bank. The United Nations must undergo a new phase of reconstruction based on these principles, and provided with instruments to further human development, culture, education and health care as tools for distributing wealth and protecting basic rights.
- 15) **4.- Specific measures must be put in place to create development funds by taxing speculation of capital** and, cancel the debts of underdeveloped countries. Such funds must be democratically administered so as to redistribute wealth and socialize advances in technology; and this must all be done by promoting an environmentally efficient model of social development.

C.- MAIN CONCLUSIONS FROM THE DEBATE OVER FOREIGN POLICY



- 16) The EU is attempting to widen its legitimacy in the face of US imperialism and attract the reformist forces and bourgeoisie who have not yet resigned themselves to disappear into the dollar zone. This is, obviously, a false, deceptive and self-interested image because it hides the atrocious crimes against humanity committed by the dominant European classes inside and outside of the continent, and above all it hides its current policy of European imperialism. In spite of the interest of European firms in extending their influence, owing to internal contradictions in the European centres of power, the United States military strength and a joint interest in quelling popular resistance, often time European exterior policy settles for the demands dictated by US imperialism.
- 17) In such external and internal conditions, we the nations without a State, as nationally oppressed peoples within the EU, suffer in particular and are left in a state of defencelessness in the face of these changes. There is a lot of evidence that confirms that we are used as bargaining chips in negotiations and international transactions without ever having the possibility of defending ourselves.
- 18) Given such a situation, the movements here represented commit themselves to defend the following GUIDELINES FOR THE LEFT'S RESPONSE TO THE EUROPEAN UNION'S FOREIGN POLICY:
- 19)
- We say **NO** to war as an instrument of EU Foreign Policy.
 - We say **NO** to EU involvement in international military structures, and call for the EU to abandon NATO.
 - We say **NO** to the arms race and the creation of a great European Army.
 - We say **NO** to an EU Foreign Policy in the service of European transnationals.
 - **WE SAY NO TO NEW EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM!**
- 20)
- We say **YES** to political, social, trade-union and institutional anti-war mobilizations.
 - We say **YES** to the strengthening of European Internationalist Solidarity as a framework for anti-imperialist struggle.
 - We say **YES** to recognising peoples' sovereignty and Right to Free Determination and the social rights of individuals.
 - We say **YES** to the defense of political, economic and social interests of the majority and promote relations of equality and justice between all, starting with the cancellation of debts.
 - **WE SAY YES TO INTERNATIONALIST EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY**

D.- THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, substantial key to redefining a fair world



- 21) **1.- The right to self-determination is an integral and universal right**, not a 'remedial' right as some would like it to be. This means that a community has the right to determine itself and be master of its own destiny with respect to the will of the community as a whole, not only when the suffering or infringement of rights has been extreme. The left has to recover the integrity of this right and end the disintegration that liberal theory imposed upon it with the conception of the double internal and external dimension. What all this means simply is that the International Community must make itself responsible and recognise the practice of this right.
- 22) **2.- The emergence of new transforming centres of power is the basis for a fairer world** and a new internal order. To achieve this it will be necessary to open a debate on the current institutions of world governing, putting in motion the necessary procedures for the materialisation of this change, reworking International Law in the bases mentioned earlier and creating the pertinent organs which ensure the respect and fulfilment of this right and prohibit state infringements.
- 23) **3.- Self-determination and emancipation.** Self-determination is a collective and individual right and is intimately related to the concept of emancipation both of individuals and communities. It is emancipating because a society based on the Right to Self-Determination is a creative, participating and critical society; consequently it is an alternative to the model of capitalist development that prevails today. It allows us to work towards social justice and redistribution of income and respecting the ecosystem and helps end all forms of patriarchal, racist or xenophobic discrimination. And it is emancipating because it allows for the recognition of new political and judicial subjects in the great order of peoples on our planet, generating new relations between them.
- 24) **4.- The Right to Self-Determination and the *bios*.** A fair world order requires the creation of a *bios* or new social space as a way to reduce tension and conflict, favouring heterogeneity and bio-diversity, and create an alternative to the patchwork of oppressions maintained and supported directly by imperialism.
- 25) **5.- The Right to Self-Determination and internationalism** are two sides of the same coin. The Right to Self-Determination redefines international relations and internationalism, understood as a process of converging peoples and emancipating the entire planet. This entails a fundamental change in today's international economic and political relationships, now based on relations that thwart solidarity and communication between cultures.

For all these reasons, we believe that opposition to the constitution of this political, excluding, imperialist Europe is an urgent necessity and priority for the Left.

A different Europe is necessary! A different World is necessary!



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Sokoa II.
Etxarri-Aranatz, the 18th of June, 2005