The International Journal of INCLUSIVE DEMOCRACY, Vol. 7, No. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011)

## The Greek "indignados" and Global Research

## **PANOS LIVITSANOS**

The following letter was sent to the Editors of "Global Research"\* on June 28<sup>th</sup> 2011, as a reply to Mr. Yorgos Mitralias' article "The Battle against Neoliberalism: Massive Popular Uprising in Greece", which was published in their portal. It was followed by a kind request from the author to know about their view on the matter, as Mr. Mitralias' article is, to my view, "deeply irrelevant to the cause of the anti-globalization movement, important part of which is Global Research", I thought that, ideally my reply should also be published in their portal, so that a balance between, on the one hand, the reformist view on Neoliberal Globalization and the movement of the "Indignants", and, on the other, the anti-systemic view could be achieved.

Nothing happened, and the author sent again a letter to the editors of Global Research on July 10<sup>th</sup>, asking again (at least) for their opinion on the matter and whether they considered publishing the author's reply. Yet again, no reply was given to the author, not even a formal one to swiftly reject his submission, this way showing that the editors of this anti-Globalization portal do not even abide by the standard principles that bound all serious editors and electronic journals and portals in the World.

So, it makes no surprise that although "Global Research" does a good job in exposing the mechanisms of propaganda and geo-political expansionism used by the elites of the US and some European countries, it never scratches the surface of a mainly "geostrategic" and sometimes "conspiracy-theory" kind of analysis and conclusions, without even implicitly referring to the crucial systemic factors underlying these mechanisms. And this is why utterly reformist views like these of Mitralias, or Chomsky for instance, are welcome to their portal, whereas antisystemic views are virtually non-existent!

Dear Editors of "Global Research",

I have been following your Newsletters and posts for a while now, as I consider that many of the articles posted at your web site provide very useful and sometimes extremely revealing insights about the effects of the spreading of Neoliberal Globalization and the role of the transnational elite and their media during this process. The criminal war of the transnational elite against the Libyan people, particularly, which the Inclusive Democracy Network thoroughly examined from the first moment it took off —a campaign which was morally justified with the help of the "Degenerate Left" (see Takis Fotopoulos' thorough analysis on the matter[1])— was also a striking example of how useful and important the anti-globalization inquiry proved to be during such pivotal events. Especially when the inquiry is combined with rational analysis and argumentation by anti-systemic analysts who have offered a significant part of their life research in exposing the mechanisms of the —nowadays internationalized—system and the elites who mainly control it.

Having said this, and also having acquired some personal experience from the movement of the "Indignants" in Greece and the way their popular assemblies have been organized and unfortunately manipulated, with the decisive "help" of "Real Democracy Now", the reformist "Left" and their parties, as well as the "Greek Committee Against the Debt" (an umbrella organization which unites this reformist "Left" and various MPs in Greece), it came as a very bad surprise to see that Global Research, a primarily anti-globalization media web site, published an article called "The Battle against Neoliberalism: Massive Popular Uprising in Greece" by Mr. Yorgos Mitralias, who is a founder of the so-called "Greek Committee Against the Debt" [2]. And it was mostly an unfortunate surprise, because I suspect that you decided to pick his article, without checking either the general validity of the author's "overrevolutionary" claims, nor —more importantly—the role of the "Greek Committee Against the Debt" in regards with Neoliberal Globalization, and its connection specifically with the European Union, which is the basic Institution for the integration of European countries (particularly those in the European periphery, i.e. the South and the countries of the former actually existing socialism') into the internationalized market economy, which Neoliberal Globalization expresses[3].

## I will try to explain my position here in brief:

First of all, the claims of Mr. Mitralias, who tries to connect the lines between the popular insurrections in North Africa with those in Europe, even though the former were mostly anti-regime protests and not anti-globalization protests, (and that is why in fact in Egypt and in Tunisia it was only the personnel which changed, and the US-controlled army continues to have the upper hand), could be easily deemed as childlike, especially when only a small part of the reformist "Left" in Greece makes this connection:

"While fairly different from the similar movement in Spain through its dimensions, its social composition, its radical nature and its political heterogeneity, the movement on Syntagma shares with Tahrir square in Cairo and Puerta del Sol in Madrid the same hatred against the economic and political elite that has grabbed and emptied of any significance bourgeois parliamentary democracy in times of arrogant and inhuman neoliberalism (emphasis added by me). The movement is stirred by the same non violent

democratic and participative urge that is to be found in all popular uprisings in the early 21st century."

Second, Mr. Mitralias reveals his utterly reformist view on the nature of Neoliberal Globalization and the Internationalized System, when, in addition to the above, he writes that:

"Going back to the Greek 'Outraged', or 'Indignés' or Aganaktismeni, we have to note that the movement is getting more and more rooted among lower classes against a Greek society that has been shaped by 25 years of an absolute domination of a cynic, nationalist, racist and individualist neoliberal ideology that turned everything into commodities."

And, moreover,

"Should we therefore conclude that those demonstrators are schizophrenic? Of course not. As there are no miracles, or politically 'pure' social uprisings, the movement is becoming gradually more radical while still branded by those 25 years of moral and social disaster. But mind: all its 'shortcomings' are subsume into its main feature, namely its radical rejection of the Memorandum, of the Troika, the public debt, the government, austerity, corruption, a fictional parliamentary democracy, the European Commission, in short of the whole system!"

So, for Mr. Mitralias, the "whole System" is comprised by the Memorandum, the Troika, the...public debt (!!!), the government, austerity, corruption, a "fictional" parliamentary democracy, and the European Commission, i.e. by some of the...means and state organs used by the Internationalized System of the Market Economy and Representative "Democracy" and the transnational elite, and their local counterparts, so as to impose the New World Order of Neoliberal Globalization!

Furthermore, the attribution of Neoliberalism just to a "bad ideology" that this author maintains, is another staring indication that Mr. Mitralias adopts an extremely reformist and "illiterate" view on Neoliberal Globalization, despite the fact that there has been a thorough dialogue on the nature of Neoliberal Globalization in Greece for over 20 years, with the antisystemic trends to consider it clearly as a *systemic* phenomenon, due to the expansion of transnational corporations—a new phenomenon that emerged in the last 40 years or so, and not just an "ideology" imposed by some "bad elites" (implying that this phenomenon can be reversed if some "good elites" come in power — namely the reformist ones!)[4]

Lastly, and even more importantly, Mr. Mitralias jumps to the point of sheer speculation just for the sake of the special interests that he seems to serve, when he adheres that:

"It is surely not by chance if for the past two weeks demonstrators shout such phrases as 'We owe nothing, we sell nothing, we pay nothing', 'We do not sell or sell ourselves',

'Let them all go, Memorandum, Troika, government and debt' or 'We'll stay until they go'. Such catchwords do unite all demonstrators as indeed all that is related to their refusal to pay for the public debt.[2] This is why the campaign for an audit Commission of the public debt (my note: a campaign indirectly promoted heavily by the Greek mass media) is a great success throughout the country. Its stall in the middle of Syntagma square is constantly besieged by a crowd of people eager to sign the call or to offer their services as voluntary helpers...[3]"

This is because it is truly enraging that Mr. Mitralias managed to "explain" that the popular masses who protest all over the country are united by their "refusal to pay for the public debt", as he implies! So, for the author, it is not mainly the huge crisis expressed by the climbing unemployment, the criminal unprecedented cuts on the public spending for covering the basic needs of the population, the wages, the social services, etc. that united the people to "get indignated", but just the question of who is going to pay the public debt, which as can be shown, is strictly a symptom of the crisis in Greece and the European South and not the cause of it[5]!! Besides, even if we accept that, indeed, a brainwashed, by the mass media, part of the population, considers that the public debt is the "root of the evil" today, what is then the role of the reformist "Left", of which Mr. Mitralias is a prominent member, in demystifying this systemic ideology? And why the, manipulated by this sort of "Left", "general assemblies of the squares" which are supposedly "direct-democratic" but, in fact, are insidiously controlled by members of the reformist parties and the "Greek Committee Against the Debt" itself, through various methods as we have revealed elsewhere[6], also promote, every crucial day that passes, the myth that the problem —and the unifying factor of the enraged people— is the public debt, in the public dialogue?

So, it is more than obvious that the reformist "Left" that Mr. Mitralias and his associates express, is in fact playing an important role *in* the general public disorientation about the true causes of the crisis in Greece today, and therefore, about the possible way out from this. However, this does not only happen because this reformist "Left", of which the "Greek Committee Against the Debt" is a proud counterpart, is prevalent in the pro-system media and the "alternative" media, which do not challenge Neoliberal Globalization in Greece. It is now well-known that some of the major global gatherings and means of propaganda of this Committee, such as their costly convention in Athens last month, was financed by the European Union itself, i.e. the major institution which integrates Greece into Neoliberal Globalization[7]! No wonder that Mr. Mitralias and the reformist "Left" do never directly challenge EU as part of the system and their catalytic role in creating the chasm between consumption and production, which was the main factor that led to the crisis today, that threatens to turn Greece and their people in a protectorate of the transnational elite for the indefinite future.

I hope that my letter provided you with some crucial facts about the struggle "from below" that is ongoing in Greece and the role of the degenerate "Left" (as we call the reformist "Left") in censoring implicitly —and sometimes explicitly— the public dialogue about the true causes of the Greek crisis, which has to do with the integration of the country into the Neoliberal

Globalization through EU, a process that accelerated the crisis. I am certain that you will take my letter into account and, if you see fit, you could publish it as a new post/reply to Mr. Mitralias' article, so that, at least, a sort of balance is restored, in view of the significant disorientation and misinformation it may have created to the wide international audience of "Global Research". Even more importantly, when your web portal seems to be one of the few alternative media left internationally, trying to expose the mechanisms and the role of Neoliberal Globalization and the New World Order which it introduced.

Tha	ank	٧O	п
1110	มเเเ	v	u.

**Panos Livitsanos** 

Member of the Editorial Committee of "The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy"[8]

- [1] Takis Fotopoulos, *The Pseudo-Revolution in Libya and the Degenerate "Left"* http://inclusivedemocracy.org/journal/vol7/vol7 no1 takis Libya part1 pseudo revolution.html
- [2] Yorgos Mitralias, *The Battle against Neoliberalism: Massive Popular Uprising in Greece* www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=25219
- [3] For a very topical article about the role of EU and the stance of the reformist "Left" towards it, v. Takis
  Fotopoulos, Greece: The Implosion of Systemic Crisis
  http://inclusivedemocracy.org/journal/vol6/vol6 no1 takis Greece the implosion of the systemic crisis.htm
- [4] About the nature of Neoliberal Globalization and the meaning of Transnational Elite, v. Takis Fotopoulos, Globalisation, the reformist Left and the Anti-Globalisation 'Movement' <a href="http://www.democracynature.org/vol7/takis\_globalisation.htm">http://www.democracynature.org/vol7/takis\_globalisation.htm</a>
- [5] Takis Fotopoulos, *The Latin-Americanization of Greece and the lessons for the European South* http://inclusivedemocracy.org/journal/vol6/vol6 no1 takis Greece the implosion of the systemic crisis.htm
- [6] v. articles (in Greek) which denounce the manipulation of the popular assemblies of the squares: http://www.inclusivedemocracy.org/brochures/28\_05\_2011\_ekklisi\_laiki\_sinelefsi\_sintagma.html http://inclusivedemocracy.org/brochures/2011.06.09\_\_exeftelismos\_amesis\_dimokratias.html
- [7] Eurodad: Debt and Austerity, From the Global South to Europe Global Gathering in Athens, Greece, 6th-8th May 2011 <a href="http://www.eurodad.org/uploadedFiles/Whats\_New/News/Agenda%20draft\_online2104%281%29.pdf?n=4317">http://www.eurodad.org/uploadedFiles/Whats\_New/News/Agenda%20draft\_online2104%281%29.pdf?n=4317</a>
- [8] The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy <a href="http://www.inclusivedemocracy.org/journal/">http://www.inclusivedemocracy.org/journal/</a>

The Greek "Indignados" and the Global Research | Panos Livitsanos