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## Another kind of globalization and the prospects for socialism

For the establishment, globalization has become a leading excuse for the lack of alternatives to current developments. Globalization is invoked when workers are let go, terms of employment are weakened, public services are privatized and political decision-making is subordinated to the economy. Like the famous *Sampo* of the *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finland, globalization is on the other hand portrayed as a machine for generating affluence.

Scientific and technological developments have made possible the workings of the market on a global scale nearly in real time. More and more production has also been organized globally. At the same time, commercialism and the power of money are increasingly sweeping aside all human values. This remoulds ways of life, reduces the richness of cultures and encroaches on the diversity of nature.

Bourgeois theories present the global development of the economy as an endogenous power to which we just have to adapt. Reformist doctrines suggest the reduction of the ill effects of globalization by means of regulation — without meddling with the power of multinational corporations and international finance capital; the relations of ownership.

## The actuality of the theory of imperialism

**Karl Marx** and **Friedrich Engels** predicted in the *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* that capitalism would give birth to a world market, by means of which the bourgeoisie would globalize the nature of production and consumption. The driving force behind this development is the tendency of capital to expand continuously and to achieve as large a surplus value as possible. Increases in the capital invested in the means of production produce unemployment constantly.

The concentration and accumulation of capitals gave birth to monopolies. They are simultaneously an attempt by capitalists to counter crises as well as the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. In his *Imperialism*, **Lenin** analyzed this monopolist phase of capitalism, which is characterized by a growing tension between the social nature of production and the relations of production based on the private ownership of the means of production.

Multinational corporations currently control around two thirds of world trade and one quarter of the total production. For instance, the nearly 40 % share of *Nokia* in the cellular phone market and its annual profit of billions of euros tell us about its monopolistic position. The use of cheap labour by *Nokia* and its subcontractors, especially in third world countries and in Eastern Europe, tells about its aims to maximize profits and the exploitation of wage labour, which is the main source of monopoly profits.

The growth of corporations does not end competition completely, but it does limit it and replace it by monopolistic competition. This changes the distribution of profits and increases the power of finance capital formed by the intertwining of industrial and banking capital. Speculative capital, the purpose of which is to make money with money, is snowballing at the expense of the rest of the economy and society. At the same time, the exportation of capitals and currency speculation have

increased. Every day, the world currency market shifts over 1 500 billion dollars, of which sum only five per cent are used in purchasing goods and services. Neoliberal politics serves the interests of finance capital by dismantling the regulation of the movements of capital, by weakening the job security of workers and by privatizing public services.

At the same time as the riches of a small elite have reached positively astronomical heights, over two billion people have to make do with less than two euros a day. Over one billion people lack fresh water and suffer from hunger. There is now a 75 fold gap between the richest and the poorest fifths of humanity. Millionaires such as **Jorma Ollila** of Nokia make tens of times more in a day than a worker of the same company makes in a month. The aim of maximizing the profits of shareholders destroys jobs even in companies making record profits. Mass unemployment has become a continuous problem in capitalism. The ballooning of capital income at the expense of earned income and the lightness of capital taxation are eroding the base of funding public services and social security.

The increasing power of high finance is demonstrated by the fact that the social functions of the state and the basic rights of citizens, which were developed in the struggles of the labour movement and citizens' movements, are being reduced. The activities of the state take on the role of assimilation of the working class and other working people to the power and hegemony of high finance. It is here, in the securing of continuity for capitalism, that the bourgeois class nature of the state, which is based on the concentration of economic power in the hands of big business.

### **The dangerousness of imperialism is growing**

The accelerating armaments of the United States of America and the expansion of its network of military bases tells about the aim of the most reactionary imperialist circles to secure by force of arms the continuity of a world system based on the subordination of peoples, the exploitation of natural resources and a market dominated by multinational corporations. The United States has soldiers in 140 countries; its annual military budget is over 400 billion dollars; and it has additionally used 250 billion dollars every year in special military operations. The United States and NATO have reserved themselves the right to pre-emptive strikes and wars of aggression without regard for the UN and international law.

The aggressiveness of imperialism is caused by the aim of the armaments industry at maximal profits and by the increasing dependence of imperialist centres on the energy resources and other natural resources of other countries. At the same time, imperialist powers seek to cement permanently the change in international power relationships caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the new markets it opened for capitalism. They are using many different ways of pressuring China, Cuba and other countries that have taken the road of building socialism. By tightening its military grip in the Middle East, in Central Asia and in Latin America, the leaders of the United States also seek to secure control of the energy market.

The present capitalistic globalization represents a new, even more dangerous phase in the development of imperialism. Claims that globalization can be controlled without tackling the power of international finance capital are not realistic. The nature of monopoly capital involves an aim to establish domination and authoritarian power. The spending of ever-increasing sums on armament, the subordination of the majority of humanity to misery and the ignoring of environmental threats such as climate change show that imperialism has become a mortal danger to humanity.

## **The superpower ambitions of the European Union**

The leaders of the European Union aim at making it "the most competitive region in the world" with means that are largely the same as those used by the United States; by enlarging the market for cheap labour, by lobbying for trade agreements favourable to large corporations, by privatizing the public sector and by arming itself. Because of this, even the enlargement of the EU is being carried out in a grotesquely unequal way.

The preparations for the EU constitution reflect intentions to join the powers of states and high finance on a new level and to narrow the democratic and social rights achieved by the labour movement. The constitution has the aim of transferring an ever-increasing part of legislative power to supranational EU organs, which it is hard for citizens to influence and which narrow the independence of countries, especially small ones. The constitution has the purpose of "constitutionalizing" neoliberal doctrines about the freedom of capital and the lack of alternatives. The politico-commercial powers of the EU is to be extended to treaties governing public services. In this way, the basic rights of citizens can be turned increasingly into commodities, and environmental values have to give place to the freedom of competition.

At the same time, the European Union is being militarized. The member states agree in the constitution to increase armaments, to guarantee the security of each other, to form combat forces and to cooperate more tighter with NATO. Like the United States and NATO, EU is also prepared to use force of arms without the authorization of the UN.

## **The necessity and possibility of another kind of development**

During the cold war period, the political leadership in Finland still rejected the stance of the centres of imperialism in favour of a policy of neutrality, military non-alignment and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Nowadays, however, the Finnish government and parliament have subordinated themselves more and more to the EU and are taking Finland towards NATO. The fact that the Finnish government and the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions have taken a stand against measures intended to prevent climate change shows how widely both political leaders and the leaders of the labour unions have accepted a way of thinking according to which globalization requires supporting big national and international business in the competition over the world market.

The ideologues of neoliberalism claim that the world has changed: the age of class struggles, which dominated the twentieth century, is over, and there is no longer any alternative to capitalism. The global anti-war movement, the strike struggles of the labour movement, the social forums, women's movements and also the tendencies evident in many countries to free themselves from the imperialist world order led by the United States, all show how imperialism gives birth to a counterforce even today. These forces can together change the direction of development.

*The Communist Party of Finland works towards a more just distribution of the fruits of new technology and new work. We want to eliminate poverty, unemployment and social exclusion.*

Workers and the unemployed can not defend their interests by competing against the workers of other countries by offering to do the same job cheaper. In each country there has to be a struggle against the power of capital; the power of labour has to be united internationally. Defending and developing job security, public services and social security, which were created thanks to the activities of the labour movement and citizens' movements, is an important part of the international struggle for a more just world. This is especially important in the liberation of women from

subordinate positions. The increase in the productivity of labour has created a possibility of shortening the general working hours without reducing wages. This would also help decrease unemployment.

*The Communist Party of Finland works towards the sustainable reconciliation of economic development with the capacities and diversity of nature.*

We oppose the economic model of global capitalism, which wastes energy and natural resources, destroys local means of livelihood and transfers products needlessly around the world. >From an economy of wasteful expendability we have to move to an economy based on recycling and principally renewable sources of energy, the development of which is more and more dependent on a proportional increase in information-related, service-related and other non-manual work.

Climate change is an alarming sign of the urgency of structural change in the ecology. The realization of the Kyoto Protocol and even more extensive treaties is not to be delayed because of the reactionary stance of the United States and of big business. We have to help give developing countries a chance to improve the conditions of living of their peoples in a way that simultaneously takes the road of ecologically sustainable development.

*The Communist Party of Finland is part of the wide movement against war, militarism and racism. We are opposed to NATO and the militarization of the EU. To us, security is co-operation towards a more just world and towards the guaranteeing of human rights for all.*

We demand that the Finnish government disassociate itself from the "war against terrorism" declared by the United States, from the European army and from NATO projects, and that it return to a non-aligned stance. By military non-alignment, Finland can keep away from wars, avoid the threats of international terrorism and decrease military spending. Non-alignment does not mean isolation; it means the furtherance of peace and security. It is action towards a more just world, diplomacy aimed at preventing wars and work towards developing the roles of the UN and of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). In place of armaments, more funds should be given to repelling the real threats of everyday life — to employment, to public services, to protection of the environment and to development co-operation.

*The Communist Party of Finland works in favour of the democratic rights of citizens and demands that a referendum be organized concerning the EU constitution. We want to open a road to another kind of Europe by rejecting the constitutional agreement and by withdrawing from the EU.*

Citizens have to have a say in the adoption or rejection of the EU constitution, which erodes the democratic possibilities of citizens and changes the conditions of EU membership substantially. We are against the adoption of the constitution and are working on behalf of a democratic, peaceful Europe based on equality between citizens and peoples. Europe is larger than the EU, and the well-being of human beings and nature is more important than the freedom of capital and competition. We don't want a fortress-Europe.

We oppose the subordination of employment, public services and social security to the power of the EU and the World Trade Organization. We want to build an Europe which is a forerunner in the development of public services and which adopts measures such as the Tobin tax, which rein in speculation and direct funds for use in furthering employment and the general welfare and in helping developing countries.

## **Socialism or imperialist barbarism?**

*The development of the world is at a crossroads. The alternatives for the future development of humanity are ultimately imperialist barbarism and socialism. The Communist Party of Finland is part of the international labour movement, which aims at liberating man and humanity from the power of capital, from exploitation and from all kinds of subordination.*

The future of humanity and dignified human life cannot be based on the logic of capitalist profit-seeking, in which nearly everything is for sale and subordinated to the surplus value of capital. This kind of development is becoming more and more untenable. As Marx and Engels noted, modern bourgeois society, "with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells".

The right has always sought to denigrate socialism and to portray it as the opposite of ideals of freedom. In reality, socialism is the first form of social organization not to be based on the compulsion of the economy; it is based instead on the aim of the working class and other working people to build a free, equal and just community. Without attempting to gainsay the mistakes and crimes committed under really existing socialism, we can say that socialism has left a lasting, positive mark on social development throughout the world.

The inequality that is being brought to a head and the global threats of disaster make ever more urgent the need for seeking an alternative to capitalism. We communists trust in the ability of people to solve problems and create new things. This is precisely the reason why the struggle on behalf of democracy is at the root of our conception of socialism. In the struggle on behalf of their own aims and their own influence, workers and other subordinate groups of people become aware of the necessity of limiting the power of high finance and overcoming the limits of the capitalist framework.

The struggles and organizing of the labour movement and of citizens' movements create the power required to change the direction of politics, to realize reforms limiting the power of high finance and to open the way towards socialist revolution, — the building of workers' power and a new kind of democracy. This new kind of democracy means liberating the majority from the power of the minority that owns the means of productions under capitalism. The decisive significance in this struggle is held by the working class, which can liberate itself from wage slavery only by liberating the whole of society from all exploitation and subordination. Socialism is a transitional phase on the way to classless society, communism.

## **A change in the economy and in the relations of ownership**

The attitude towards the shared ownership of the means of production is "the alpha and omega, the cornerstone" of every socialist movement, as even the 1903 Forssa congress of the old Labour Party already emphasized. This does not mean the nationalization of everything and the abolition of all personal ownership, as bourgeois propaganda claims. It means the transfer to shared ownership of the most important means of production, which in capitalism are controlled by banks and large corporations; this would create the basis for the development of a real democracy free of the limitations of bourgeois democracy. In socialism, shared ownership takes many forms, such as state-owned companies, municipal institutions and co-ops. It has to play a decisive role in the economy so that development can be directed in a democratic, methodical and ecologically sustainable way.

Socialism does not solve all problems, but it creates conditions in which everyone can be guaranteed a subsistence income and in which unemployment, poverty and inequality can be ended — thanks to conditions where the economy is driven by the needs of people and not the maximization of profit. Socialism also releases science and culture from the grip of money and guarantees everyone the possibility to develop his talents fully. The abolition of economic inequality facilitates the defeating of a patriarchal, male chauvinist culture which demeans women; it opens the way to equality between the sexes. Socialism also means transforming the productive resources, means of production and means of consumption which have emerged under capitalism, into ones which are in accordance with the sustainability of nature.

## **A new type of democracy**

Experience shows that the phase of the building of socialism can be quite long. Even though socialism removes the irreconcilable tensions based on the economic position of social classes, it still involves tensions having to do with the unequal position of different social groups and various inequalities in the development of different parts of society. The reconciliation and settlement of these tensions emphasizes the significance of the independent supervision of the interests of labour, of self-government and of developing a wide democracy. That economic power is no longer concentrated in the hands of a minority, as in capitalism, lays the foundations for a new type of democracy.

Pre-empting the emergence of a state bureaucracy, which was to be the experience of the Soviet Union among other countries, requires a democracy built upwards from down below — a democracy built on extensive self-government of labour, an active civil society and the guaranteeing of the democratic rights of every individual. This means the freedom of speech and opinion, free elections, the right to strike and the securing of the rights to function of parties, labour unions and civic organizations. Citizens have to have the right to direct their representatives even in the time between elections, by means of referenda, citizens' initiatives and the withdrawal of mandates. This calls for a democracy and rule of law which exclude Stalinism and all other crimes against human rights and the principles of socialism. At the same time, socialism guarantees equal rights to all people regardless of sex, nationality, language or sexual orientation.

Socialism opens real possibilities for ordinary people to influence and participate in decision-making. It raises their needs and aims into the centre of politics and the economy. As Lenin emphasized, socialism is not built merely by a vanguard; it can only be done by the majority of the working class and other subordinated groups. This requires that the labour movement be able to cooperate with the middle classes, the intelligentsia, farmers and small entrepreneurs in a way that these large groups of people can perceive as offering better prospects to even them. The aim of the communists is not only the liberation of the working class but the ending of the entire system of exploitation; the opening, by democratic and peaceful means, of a way to freeing the entire society from the power of capital and all that stands in the way of human freedom.

If leftist politics is, in the style of the Social Democratic Party and the Left Alliance, reduced to ideals and a mere movement, it will in the end adapt to the framework of capitalism. To us communists, socialism means not only a scientific theory and the international labour movement, but also the replacement of capitalist relations of ownership and power with the kind of new relations that secure democracy, equality, general welfare, ecologically sustainable development and peace. In the modern world this is a challenge that is more international than before.

## **The international nature of socialism**

Transformations aiming at socialism requires local, national, regional and international means to direct and control the use of natural resources, the movements of capital, foreign trade and the utilization of the achievements of technology and culture. As social development proceeds at different paces in different parts of the world, it is important to act on behalf of the democratization of the international system and the dismantling of militaristic structures, so that the striving of peoples for freedom are not suppressed by means of international force or isolation. International cooperation between the labour movement, the citizens' movements opposing imperialist globalization, national liberation movements and the various countries aiming at building socialism, is important here.

Socialism and communism are a deeply humane aim, in which man is the meaning of social development and the maker of his own history; in which the free development of individuals is a requirement for the free development of everyone; and which unites the human race and helps man live in harmony with nature.

**Another kind of world is possible. Socialism is the future!**