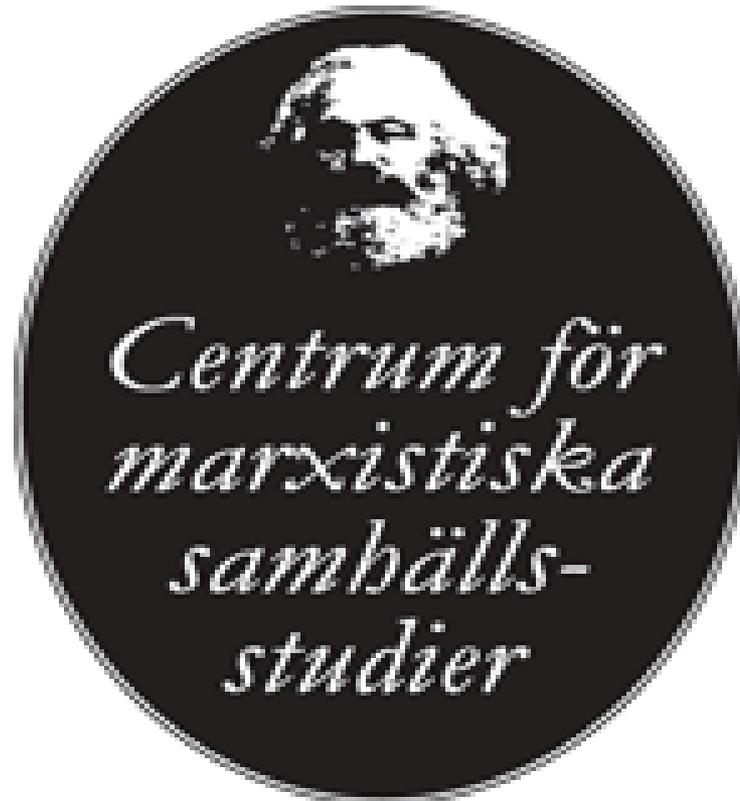


STOCKHOLM – 16 february 2013



Strategies for a Left in a Precarious World

**The portuguese side of labour,
precarization and the
social-economic crisis**

By Cristina Andrade

cris.andrade.1977@gmail.com

00 351 96 230 39 57

Portugal

- Independent since 1143
- Republic since 1910
- More than 40 years of dictatorship ended in 1974
- Colonial war: Angola, Mozambique, Guine-Bissau
- Democracy: 25 April 1974 Revolution

Portugal

- 10 million people
- 5 million workers (half of them precarious)
- 1,5 million unemployed
- 485 euros (4100 SEK) minimum wage
- Few collective bargaining

Portugal

- European Economic Union: 1986
- Euro: 2002

Abstract of the presentation

- Brief historical information
- Workers organizations
- Precarization
- Precarious workers organizations
- Where we stand now
- Challenges and Questions

Brief historical information

Important moments

- Before 5 October 1910
- 5 October 1910: Republic
- Dictatorship
- Revolution of 25 April 1974
- Precarious movements: 2007...
- Troika: International Monetary Fund (IMF) / European Central Bank (ECB) / European Commission (EC) in 2011

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: during monarchy

- 8 hours work journey: 23 march 1891
Only for men and for one job (tabacco workers)
- Right of association: 9 may 1891
- Motherhood: women are forbidden from working on the 4 weeks after deliverence, without any payment

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: during monarchy

- First law on security and hygiene on the working place: only to construction sites; 12 years becomes the minimum working age for this area
- Several legislation on the end of the XIX century: pressure from international workers rights organizations, republican thoughts and *Rerum Novarum*

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: I Republic

- 5 October 1910: Abolition of monarchy; Portugal becomes a Republic
- 1911: weekly compulsory day off
- 1913: responsibility of employers for work accidents, implying they had to pay for medical care.

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: I Republic

- There was no public protection system, welfare or health care: workers had to depend on charities (Misericórdias).
- Workers created societies of mutual help (associações de socorros mútuos)

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: I Republic

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Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: I Republic

- 1919: Treaty of Versailles ends World War I and creates International Labour Organization (ILO).

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: I Republic

Constitution of ILO defines the need to:

(i) regulate the limits of daily and weekly working hours

(ii) protect workers in case of illness or accident

(iii) protect children, youngsters, women, elderly people and immigrants

(iv) recognize the right to free association

(v) equal payment for equal jobs.

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: I Republic

Portugal signed only 3 proposals, years after and with no result:

- 1926: C1 (working hours in factories) and C6 (night working hours for youngsters)
- 1932: C4 (night work for women)

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: I Republic

Working conditions were far from workers expectations:

- no working contracts;
- paymanent by work done (à jorna);
- women and children work exploitation;
- no diference between day and night working hours;
- high mortality: accidents and tuberculosis;
- no welfare.

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: Dictatorship

Drawback on workers rights:

- Strike is forbidden
- Dissolution of General Work Conference (Confederação Geral do Trabalho - CGT)
- 1933: National Work Status, inspired by "Carta del Lavoro", from Italian fascism - work is defined as a duty of social solidarity that should be paid the minimum, allowing survival.

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: Dictatorship

- Very few work legislation was produced during these years
- Portugal was sanctioned several times by ILO

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: Democracy

25 april 1974: Revolution

The Constitution recognized:

- Everyone has the right to work
- The state has the responsibility of to assure the right to work
- Firing without a cause is forbidden

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: Democracy

The Constitution recognized:

- Access to all jobs regardless of gender
- Right to a salary
- Right to work with hygiene and safety
- Right to weekly non working days and payed holidays

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: Democracy

The Constitution recognized:

- National minimum wage
- The state has to protect women during pregnancy and after deliverance
- Protection of children and child labour
- Free association
- Right to strike
- Forbids lock-out

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: Democracy

The Constitution recognized:

- Social protection in illness, retirement, incapacity, for orphans, for widows, on unemployment and on all cases of lack of subsistence.
- Creates the National Health Service (SNS), general and free.

Brief historical perspective of workers rights in Portugal: Democracy

But, in 28 october 1976, contracts with a term were created...

Workers organizations

Workers organizations

- 1853: Promoting centre for the well-being of the working class (Mutualities)
- Workers movements were mainly marxists and anarcho-syndicalists
- In the beginning of the XX century, working movements were led by anarcho-syndicalists

Workers organizations

- 1914: National Workers Union (UON) - the first confederation of unions (markxists and anarcho-syndicalists were represented)
- 1918: First national strike (huge failure)
- 1919: Extintion of UON; creation of General Confederation of Workers (CGT),

Workers organizations

- 1919: Portuguese Maximalist Federation (their members will create in 1921 the Portuguese Communist Party).
- CGT expels the Maximalists
- Tensions lead to CGT loosing 45 000 affiliates between 1919 and 1923

Workers organizations

Employers take advantage of internal tensions on CGT:

- Organize themselves in federations
- Influence political parties to get their representatives elected

Workers organizations

1933 (Dictatorship)

- CGT is extinct.
- Dictatorship creates the National Working Status, inspired by "Carta Del Lavoro" from Italian fascism.
- This originates a big strike, strongly repressed which debilitated even more the workers movement.

Workers organizations

- During the dictatorship: unions should respond to the superior interests of the nation;
- Participation on international organizations needed state approval;
- in 1969, 59% of workers were on unions (state ruled unions).

Workers organizations

- The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), working underground, was very active.
- Elected members to some unions direction board;
- When the Revolution took place, PCP became the leading tendency on unions.

Workers organizations

- 1975: I Congress of Unions. Tensions with socialists and social-democrats (Open Letter – Carta Aberta).

- 1977: II Congress of Unions - break up

CGTP: confrontation

UGT: dialogue

These are still the two confederations of workers in Portugal

Precarization

Precarization

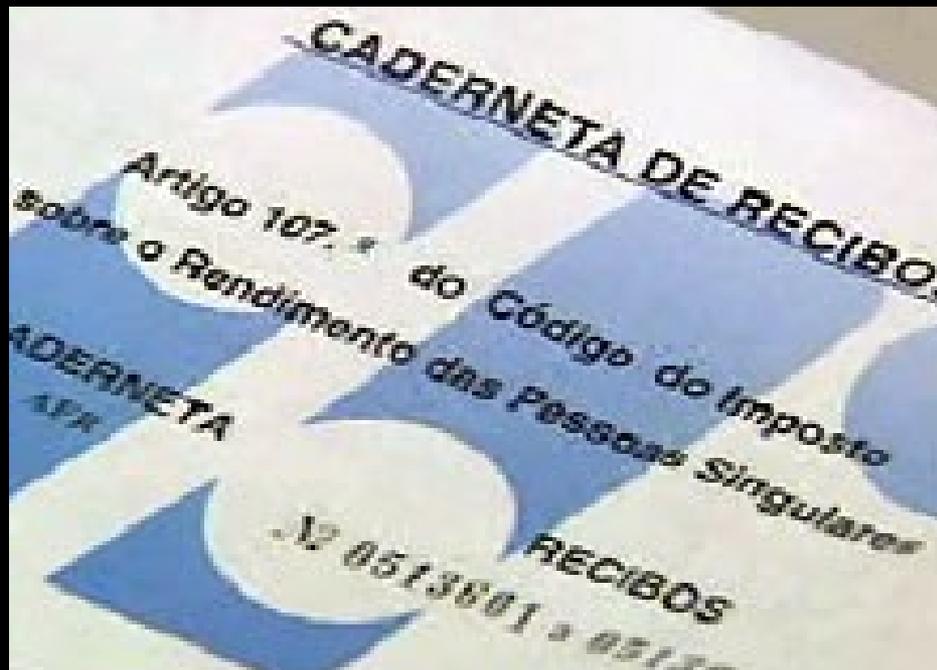
- Despite the Consitution, many workers never worked with a contract...
- Growing precarization of working relations
- Child labour was reduced in the the early '90's

Precarization

- Public workers: 35 hours/week
- Contracts without term: 40 hours/week
- Contrats with term
- Internships in the state
- Internships without payment
- Temporary workers

Precarization

- Fake independent workers (green receipts)



Precarization

- Fake independent workers forced to become enterprises
- Workfare programs (CEI / CEI +): 70 000
- Payment of part of the wage with receipts
- University investigators: scholarships
- Artists: on and off work

Precarization

- 17% of workers are on unions
- of these, only 13,5% are precarious workers

(White Book For The Working Relations)

Precarious workers organizations

Precarious workers organizations

-2002/2003: Association of students with scientific investigation scholarships (ABIC)



Precarious workers organizations

- 2002: STOPPrecariedade (call centres)
- 2006: Platform of on and off workers from show business, radio and TV (PIEA)

They became a Union in 2012: CENA

Precarious workers organizations

- 2007: MayDay Lisbon 2007
- 2007: FERVE (Fed Up of These Green Receipts)

Precarious workers organizations



Precarious workers organizations

- 2007: Precários Inflexíveis (inflexible precarious workers)



Precarious workers organizations

- 2009: MayDay Porto



No Borders



No Precarity



. BERLIN . BREMEN . DEN BOSCH . GENEVA . GENT . GORNJA RADGONA . HAMBURG . HANAU . HELSINKI . LIEGE . LISBOA . MALAGA . MILANO . PALERMO . PORTO . ROMA . TERRASSA . TUBINGEN . WIEN . ZURICH . TOKYO . TORONTO . FUCHU . FUKUOKA . SAPPORO . KYOTO . SENDAI . TSUKUBA .

MAYDAY 009



FIGHT 4 SOCIAL RIGHTS

€uros 4 Precarious, Not Banker\$

**Freedom from Police Repression
For Immigrants and Social Spaces, Basic Income,
Culture, Housing and P2P Democracy 4 All**

MAYDAY: make'em pay...

www.euromayday.org

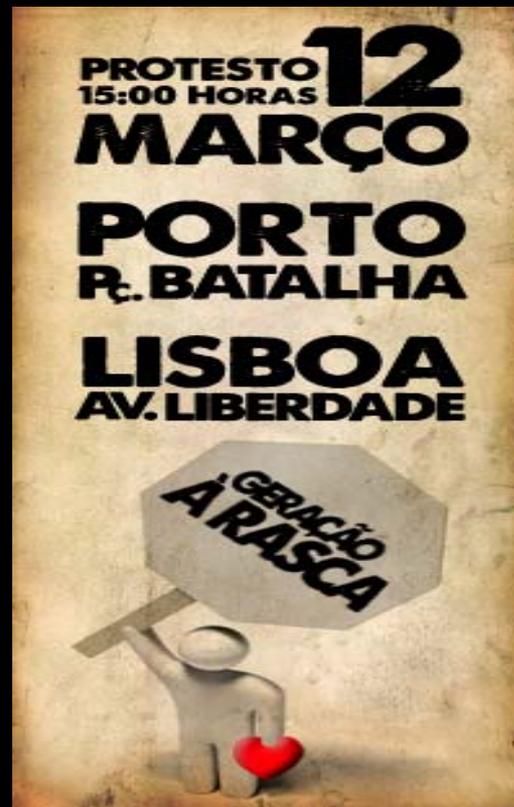
Precarious workers organizations

- 2009: From MayDay Porto – APRE!
- 2009: Movements of teachers because of extra curricular activities
- 2010: Damm Architecture (Maldita Arquitetura)

Precarious workers organizations

- 12 march 2011: Facebook organized protest, after a concert by the portuguese band Deolinda and the song "Parva que Sou" (How stupid am I / To be a Slave/ I have to Study)
- Several protests all over the country and abroad (biggest protest in decades)

Precarious workers organizations



Precarious workers organizations

After 12 march:

Legislative Citizens Law: Law Against
Precarity

40 000 signatures on paper

- M12M
- FERVE
- PIEA (show business workers)
- Inflexible Precarious Workers
- 12 march/Porto



LEI CONTRA A PRECARIIDADE

Todos a favor?

Iniciativa Legislativa de Cidadãos
ASSINA AQUI!

www.lei.contraaprecariidade.net

Precarious workers organizations

-2011: 15 october protest

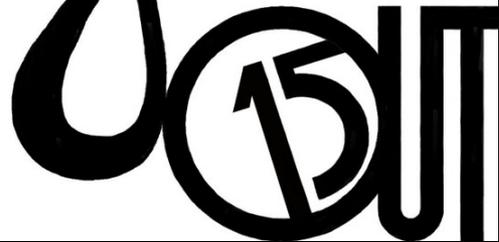


A DEMOCRACIA SAI À RUA!

indignados,
móis?



...vemo-mos
gregos



Precarious workers organizations

- 2012: Inflexible Workers became an association of precarious workers

15 setembro

Damm Troika protest (Que se lixe a Troika)

- 1 million people

- More cuts were announced after the troika evaluation of Portugal

Precarious workers organizations

- 13 october: Damm Troika / cultural event
- 2012: 2 general strikes
- Yesterday: protest on the Parliament, singing "Grândola Vila Morena"
- Today: protest organized by CGTP
- 2 march 2013: Damm troika protest

Where we stand now

Where we stand now

2011: IMF/ECB/EC

June 2011: right wing government
(coalition CDS/PSD)

President of the Republic: Cavaco Silva
(right – PSD, ex-Prime Minister)

Where we stand now

Unemployment is up to the highest rates ever:

- 40% unemployment for young workers
- 17% official unemployment rate
- 1.5 million unemployed people
- 1 million without social benefits

Where we stand now

- Wages went down 16% in one year
- Highest emigration wave since the 60's (Europe, Angola, Mozambique, Brasil)

Where we stand now

Indirect salary cuts:

- University fees
- Public Transport
- Fees on roads
- Higher prices on gas, electricity, water (23% VAT)

Where we stand now

Indirect salary cuts:

- Restaurants pay 23% tax (several first need products pay this tax)
- National Health Service has taxes/co-payments: 20€ for an emergency at an hospital

Where we stand now

Deliberate cuts on wages and social protection:

- Cuts on christmas and holiday wages
- Limitation of unemployment care and social care benefits
- 4 national holidays were taken off

Where we stand now

Deliberate cuts on wages and social protection:

- Cuts on retirement pension
- Holidays were reduced 3 days: 22 now
- Charity is growing
- Privatizing

Where we stand now

- Liberalization of house renting
- People loosing their houses to banks
- Minimum wage: 485 euros (4100 SEK)

Challenges and Questions

Challenges and Questions

- Crisis of capitalism, created by capitalism that is being "solved" by capitalism!
- Deliberate intention of lowering wages, workers rights and the cost of work

Challenges and Questions

- Brutal attack to welfare state, social protection and social solidarity

Fear and inevitability:

- "this is the only way out"
- "we lived above our possibilities"
- we must have the welfare state we can have"
- "there was no money for pensions or salaries"

Challenges and Questions

Prejudice

"People from southern european countries are lazy, work very few hours and have a lot of holidays"

"These people pay no taxes"

"Portugal is not Greece"

"Portugal is a good student"

Challenges and Questions

- How to mobilize people to defend welfare state if they are left out of it? Workers pay more taxes for less rights.
- How can we organize workers when unemployment and precarity are widespread?
- How can the left react and respond to this crisis of capitalism?

Workers of the world, unite!