

THE ELECTORAL PROGRAMME OF "PEACE, EARTH AND DIGNITY"

19/03/2024

Two peoples, victims, Europe in flames, the world in danger, growing impoverishment, the earth trembling, all of us without peace.

With the European elections, Europe's salvation can begin if it rediscovers itself and, starting with the reconciliation between Russia, the USA and the West, turns to the world to build peace.

Peace

Peace does not stand alone. Peace, Earth and Dignity are the three primary common goods of a policy that can restore hope and confidence in the future, especially to young people, and promise the still unfulfilled 'right to the pursuit of happiness'.

Everyone says they want peace in the world, but it is impossible to even think about it without first ending the massacres in Ukraine and the Middle East, without ending the 'third world war in pieces' that stretches all the way to the Pacific. Peace does not only mean the absence of armed violence and war practices, it means no antagonistic relations or military challenges or genocidal sanctions between states, it means giving priority to diplomacy, it means closeness and help to all peoples in times of difficulty.

Today the question shouted by Pope Francis resounds for Europe: "Where are you going, Europe? What has happened to you, Europe, mother of peoples and nations? "The European soul was born from the meeting of civilisations and peoples, greater than the

current borders of the Union. But today it is in danger because it has betrayed the reasons for its birth.

In order to fulfil its mission, it must reject weapons as a means of insulting other peoples and settling international disputes, achieve a ceasefire in Ukraine and intervene with ceaseless energy until the peoples of Gaza and Palestine are restored to the value of life and human coexistence.

We see war as the most extreme manifestation of patriarchal power, based on the logic of power, oppression and violence. The cultures and practices of the women's movements that oppose it can be decisive in building a new, peaceful and just world, based on care, caring for differences and opposing inequalities.

We do not see politics, including elections, as a clash between friend and foe. That is why we take part in them, not to win seats, but to move Europe away from war and to invite all political forces to recognise what is essential for all and to explore the paths to another possible world. That is why we call on the Parliament and the European institutions to make these choices:

- 1. With regard to peace in Europe, do not confuse solidarity with the aggressor with supplying him with weapons and inciting him to confrontation by promising him impossible victories, fuelling an endless conflict that could lead to a third world war, to the point of resorting to nuclear weapons and the destruction of man and nature. It is necessary to stop sending arms to Ukraine and to support it in a negotiation that guarantees mutual security for the parties and resolves the conflict over the disputed land through democratic procedures and self-determination.
- With regard to the horrors in Gaza, Europe reiterates its condemnation of the massacre of 7 October and the right of Israelis to live in peace and security. Europe also condemns the ongoing massacre of women, children and civilians, the expulsion of millions from their homes, the territories occupied in defiance of UN resolutions, the ethnic cleansing, the illegal settlements, the apartheid regime and the suppression of Palestinian civil rights; Europe joins the Hague Court which, in the case brought by South Africa, ruled that "Israel, in accordance with its obligations under the Genocide Convention, must take all measures at its disposal to prevent the commission of all acts" sanctioned by the Convention as genocide against the Palestinians in Gaza, that it must

"ensure with immediate effect that its armed forces" do not commit any of these acts, that it must "prevent and punish direct and public incitement to commit genocide against members of the Palestinian group in the Gaza Strip", and that it must "take immediate and effective measures to enable the provision of urgently needed basic services and humanitarian assistance to address the adverse living conditions of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip". While this should include an immediate ceasefire, Europe, equally concerned about the fate of the kidnapped hostages, must join the Court's call for their 'immediate release', as well as that of Palestinian political prisoners, starting with Marwan Barghuti. All those held without charge in Israeli prisons must also be released. Europe must commit itself to mediating and promoting the search for a solution to the Palestinian question, as well as the reconstruction of Gaza, the return of its inhabitants to their destroyed homes and an extraordinary humanitarian and health aid plan.

- 3. The solution of 'two peoples in two states', envisaged from the outset, pursued until Rabin's assassination and now rejected by Israel, now seems more difficult to achieve because of the colonisation and progressive occupation of territories to which the Palestinians must be able to return to live in peace. Europe should therefore also encourage the exploration of a possible coexistence of the two peoples in one country, guaranteeing full political rights for the Palestinians including the right of return - and a comprehensive and welcoming institutional arrangement for both peoples. An international peace conference under the auspices of the UN could facilitate this process of peace and reconciliation between the two peoples as the only way out of decades of conflict. Otherwise, the recognition of the state of Palestine in the occupied territories, from which withdrawal would be implemented, would be a must. And while a genocide trial is under way, Europe should propose to all states that the war itself be recognised as genocide and included in genocide legislation, without prejudice to the right of defence.
- 4. Europe should stand up for the rights of the Kurds and for the release of Abdullah Ocalan and the political prisoners in Turkey. The idea of democratic confederalism is Kurdish, the resistance against Isis is Kurdish, the peace project for the Middle East is Kurdish, the slogan 'Woman, Life, Freedom' adopted by the movements in Iran and around the world is Kurdish.

- 5. Europe is a union of states, but it must not become a superstate that understands sovereignty as a supreme power, superior to any other power and culminating in the right to war. Consequently, the creation of a European army is out of the question. On the contrary, Europe, a federation of states, will have to open a new phase of cooperation between peoples, work to return to the path of disarmament treaties and military and civilian denuclearisation, reduce military expenditure, promote public control of the production and exchange of arms and establish the conversion of its war industries to civilian use. Peace means negotiating to reduce the presence of nuclear weapons in Europe and Italy. The resources diverted from war spending must be used to reduce debt and inequality, to tackle the great challenges of pandemics, climate and migration, and to ensure that every woman, man and child has sufficient food, water, medicine and the right to a better future. We demand that Italy ratifies the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.
- 6. Europe's mission is to cross the Mediterranean, also in order to develop relations with the Middle East and the Arab-Muslim world. It is through this sea that Europe's vocation extends to Africa and Asia, and it is a contradiction that must be resolved to have turned Sardinia into a firing range and Sicily into an aircraft carrier that threatens war.
- 7. We want a Europe that is a set of peaceful communities open to the world, independent, friendly but not subservient to the United States or any other power, respectful of diversity, a protagonist in a multipolar world, not subject to the domination of an absolute ruler who arrogates to himself the mission of universal guardian.
 - It must escape the logic of blocs and vassalage to the strongest, sacrificing its own interests for the interests of others. Europe must cooperate with Russia, China and the countries that make up the BRICS archipelago.
- 8. The Rome Summit of November 1991 confirmed the existence of NATO, despite the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, but only in a defensive sense: "None of its weapons will ever be used except in self-defence, nor will it consider itself an

adversary of anyone".

Contrary to this commitment, the Alliance has sought to replace the UN as the repository of military power, expanding globally, starting with the war in Yugoslavia, and eastwards to the point of threatening Russia's borders, ignoring its demand for security, thus giving rise to the Russian intervention in Ukraine. As a result, turning the unacceptable Russian invasion of Ukraine into a world conflict, abandoning the path of diplomacy and aiming at the defeat of the Russian state, has led to an unbearable price in Ukrainian and Russian victims, the destruction of an entire country and the sacrifice of European hopes for economic recovery after the pandemic. We must silence the guns, find the way back to dialogue and consensual disarmament. On the other hand, Giorgia Meloni's initiative is unthinkable, even if it is taken without understanding its implications: a military pact with Ukraine in the middle of a war with Russia, outside NATO itself, which objectively puts us in a state of conflict with Russia, of which we are not enemies, as if Italy's harrowing experience with the expeditionary corps sent to sacrifice itself in Russia in 1941 during Operation Barbarossa were not enough. The insistence with which Stoltenberg continues to propose Ukraine's entry into NATO, thereby fuelling the continuation of the conflict, is irresponsible. On the contrary, we believe that the end of the war will make it possible once again to imagine a Europe capable of playing an autonomous role in promoting peace and fraternal relations between peoples, together with a rapid overcoming of the military differences between the blocs and NATO itself. A goal that seemed possible before the war in Ukraine.

We call on the European Union to suspend the threatening 'Steadfast Defender' military exercises planned by NATO for the coming months and to reject out of hand the idea of projecting the Atlantic Alliance into the Indo-Pacific and into armed confrontation with China.

We also believe in the need for mutual security guarantees for all states and we consider the claim to impose by force 'our values', 'our idea' of freedom and democracy and the technological and military supremacy of the West as a threat to peace.

Europe will have to promote the culture of peace in schools and universities, support the right of conscientious objection and refusal to fight throughout the world, create a European civilian peace corps.

- 9. Europe must reject the criterion of international relations as 'strategic competition' between the great powers, as conceived by the United States. This doctrine involves economic and military behaviour that makes a third world war likely. This is what is feared in the Red Sea crisis, which could lead to a dangerous escalation involving Lebanon, Syria and Iran, and in the Taiwan dispute, which could be devastating for China, India, Japan and Australia. We are now living in a multipolar world and Europe, which has no interest in building a wall between West and East, must work for peaceful coexistence between all states and listen to the different voices of the new world.
- 10. The European Parliament must have the legislative initiative and participate in the decision-making process in the field of common foreign and security policy. In the context of a gradual reorganisation of international relations, the UN Security Council must be restored to its role of defending peace by reviewing the right of veto, developing democratic procedures and admitting other major countries such as Brazil, India and South Africa as permanent members.
- 11. In a more general perspective, the European Union must promote a world constitution with the creation of effective institutions to guarantee peace and the effectiveness of the rights and values recognised as common to the whole of humanity.

The Earth

The world's debt is three times the world's gross domestic product; speculation dominates economic transactions and determines the price of energy and food; inflation is fought by raising interest rates, i.e. the cost of money, worsening the conditions of the population. Financial speculation now threatens democracies by diverting resources from the needs of society and productive labour. War confirms its dominance.

It is not so much the increasing demand for goods and rising wages that cause prices to rise, but the excessive profits of a few colossal oligopolies and large corporations that

dominate politics and force it into a gregarious role. At the global level, there are no international institutions and laws capable of exercising control and imposing sanctions: the global market is deregulated.

The lives of hundreds of millions of people depend on betting on the future of paper securities, the futures that determine the price of goods. Even in Europe, more than 90 per cent of finance is used for purely speculative short-term and very short-term activities, absorbing resources from the real economy; only a few per cent of financial capital is used to actually support productive activities.

- The task of the European Union is to prevent the flight of capital abroad and the uncontrolled globalisation of finance, to introduce the Tobin tax on speculative movements, to tax fossil fuel companies (whereas today 87% of emissions are free), to extend and increase the carbon tax, to detax green technologies and to abolish all tax deductions for polluters. We need extraordinary taxes on the great wealth, the extra profits of banks, energy industries, arms factories and digital platforms. Multinational companies must be taxed where they make money, and tax havens in Europe must be abolished.
- 2. There must be a clear separation between deposit banks, which have to look after the savings of citizens, and commercial banks, which operate at risk on the financial markets, in order to prevent savers' deposits from being exposed to speculative risks on the markets. Currently, only commercial banks are allowed to have current accounts with central banks that are preparing to issue a new digital currency. But central banks must be open to the public, operate transparently and manage a public digital currency directly for the benefit of citizens, businesses and public institutions: a safe currency because, unlike commercial banks, the central bank can never go bankrupt.
- 3. A country's economic policy must be decided by democratically elected parliamentarians, not by the ECB or Brussels technocrats. Intergovernmental bodies governing 540 million people and the world's largest economy are behaving like a cabinet of big finance. The euro is a single currency for 20 very different countries, a currency that only deflates and holds back the economy.

The ECB usually acts with the aim of fighting inflation, giving priority to price stability. In the United States, the Federal Reserve also acts as a regulator of the economy to defend employment and promote development: around 40 per cent of GDP is spent on equalisation, transferring resources from the federal state to the individual states. Political decisions are needed that cannot be delegated to the market. The EU institutions with real decision-making power (EU Council, EU Commission, Eurogroup) are not elected but appointed by the governments. The Parliament counts for little and, above all, the ECB can raise interest rates without anyone being able to effectively criticise its decisions. The European Parliament must be able to discuss economic and monetary policy decisions in a meaningful way.

4. Commercial banks have 7 out of every 10 euros tied up in fossil fuels, and if they switched to renewable energy they would go bankrupt. We cannot entrust the future of the planet to bankers. We must change the ECB's banking policy: low interest rates (down to 0% or less) for those who invest by reducing carbon emissions and creating jobs; no loans for those who relocate and pollute. We must aim to limit warming to one and a half degrees by 2030. To achieve this, we must reduce the temperature of our homes by one degree, eat less meat, fly as little as possible and not waste water in domestic use; but 70% of the reduction in CO2 emissions depends on political and collective decisions. Europe must consider forests, mountains and the sea as common goods to be protected. Without rules and controls, and without an active community to look after them, they will end up as private property. Those who carry out fishing, farming and stockbreeding activities must be able to be considered as public service operators, as long as their work is carried out in the interests of protecting the landscape and fauna, respecting nature and producing quality food. The European institutions must ban the import of food from third countries that has been treated with substances not authorised in the Union. Border controls must be designed to protect European producers from unfair competition from third countries that do not respect European public health and food safety standards. The principle of reciprocity must be strictly observed in order to avoid unbalanced relations in favour of competing countries which erect technical administrative barriers to prevent EU products from entering their markets.

- 5. We support the call by leading European economists for the cancellation of the public debt held by the ECB, which amounts to a quarter of the total deficits of the Member States. European citizens owe 25% of their debt to themselves. The ECB could provide the European states with the means to rebuild themselves in an environmentally sustainable way and to heal the social, economic and cultural divide that has caused the health crisis and the wars. We are talking about 2.5 trillion for Europe as a whole. The ECB can afford such an action, as many economists, even those who oppose such a resolution, recognise: a central bank can easily operate with negative equity. Private individuals would not be harmed and public finances would be relieved of an enormous economic, developmental and social burden.
- 6. The ecological transition must be a radical change in the way we produce, consume and live. Interventions must be inspired by the circular economy, which aims to produce zero waste.

In EU countries, buildings account for 45% of energy consumption. Renovating them energetically improves their thermal comfort while reducing their carbon footprint and energy bills, and the savings on household energy bills will pay for the necessary investments over a number of years. As not all households will be able to meet the upfront costs, it is the role and interest of government to meet these costs as well, for reasons of social justice.

The objective to be pursued in waste management is the progressive reduction of the amount of waste that needs to be disposed of. This has two directly proportional advantages: the reduction of pollution caused by industrial installations and the reduction of disposal costs. Separate collection must be very thorough in order to obtain homogeneous materials that can be sold and used as secondary raw materials. Environmentally sound waste management reduces operating costs and increases profits. If the companies that manage them are public rather than private, the profits are not distributed to shareholders as dividends, but can be converted into reductions in waste collection taxes. The same approach can be applied to water, an essential resource for life and productive activity, which is becoming increasingly scarce due to the drought. The main objective is to reduce the losses of aqueducts, which can amount to up to 60% of the water extracted from aquifers, and to

manage the networks with much less energy consumption. Water is a common good and its public ownership must be guaranteed.

7. Peace and an exit from the infernal debt mechanism are indispensable to tackle the root causes of migration. The management of borders today is based on a military logic that turns those who seek political asylum and are forced to migrate for climatic and economic reasons into an enemy to be fought. As if we were facing an armed invasion. But you cannot send the Frecce Tricolori to bomb the boats or cover the peninsula with detention centres to imprison all those who land on our shores. A defenceless person in distress cannot be considered an invader. Not only Europe, but the entire Western world must take responsibility for migration. It is time to pay interest on stolen resources, on the pollution and exploitation of fossil fuels that cause floods and disasters, to cancel or reduce the debts of developing countries, to draw up plans not for aid but for investment in the places where the migratory wave is strongest. The reception policy must be based on respect for legality and human rights, with an organised network of assistance, training, work and study cooperation. Detention centres must be closed.

Dignity

In the age of deregulated global liberalism, China's influence in the world and Beijing's financial power have led the US administration to react with a unilateral and aggressive protectionism that is one of the main causes of the current winds of war. So far, the European Union has remained on the sidelines, while it seems more urgent than ever to set up a negotiating table at the UN to create the 'economic conditions for peace', as called for by the world's leading economists.

1. We propose a complete overhaul of the Maastricht Treaty, which gave birth to the Union and the so-called austerity policies. A new treaty should provide for full employment, reduction of inequalities, public intervention in the economy, regulation of capital and finance. The Stability and Growth Pact, which imposes anti-social constraints on spending on health, education and services and only allows exceptions for new armaments, should be abolished. The Italy of the last thirty years has, unfortunately, moved towards low wages, the reduction of workers'

rights, the economy of pensions and financial and real estate assets, greatly increasing inequalities.

The price has been paid mainly by women: the poorest, the most precarious, the most underpaid, on whose shoulders the stranglehold of free reproductive, care and caring work continues to weigh. The welfare state has been increasingly eroded. Robots, automation and artificial intelligence are changing the balance of power between man and machine. The technologies themselves are not a risk to workers, but the centralisation of the fate of innovation, information and culture in a few hands and a few countries is. Many will lose their jobs to artificial intelligence and the ecological transition. The state must guarantee employment and lifelong learning and retraining for all. In order to manage transitions from unemployment to work, from employment to self-employment, from work to training, all precarious forms of work must be abolished, unless they are technically justified, such as seasonal work. A European fund must be created for social housing, public services and employment needs.

- 2. There is an urgent need to introduce universal economic support for the unemployed. Work must be decent, respect the environment, recognise trade union rights and take account of personal and family priorities. Work must be a right, not the result of blackmail. The large number of unemployed forces people to accept unfair and sometimes inhuman conditions. Especially women, young people and foreign workers are forced to accept any conditions and any wages, forced with criminal job offers, inhuman working hours and insecure conditions. Income earners must participate in training courses that take into account their skills and aspirations. The European minimum wage directive must be revised to force its introduction in all countries, including Italy, with decent wage levels to put an end to starvation wages, downward competition and relocations.
- 3. Working time should be reduced to 32 hours per week in Europe. We are convinced that today it is necessary to work less to recover time and living space: The very concept of working time, or rather of "the time in which one is available", needs to be changed, giving the right to disconnect and not to confuse work and private tools. Working fewer hours (in the office) but being available at all times and in all places makes us victims of an "endless working time".

- 4. The gulf between mega-profits (of the few) and wages has become a chasm. Reducing working hours cannot therefore be dissociated from increasing wage levels, not least because this could lead to the paradox that certain categories of workers who have more time for themselves do not have sufficient resources to use it profitably, for example to travel, to take a training course or, more banally, to join a gym. Automatic mechanisms for adjusting salaries and pensions to inflation should be introduced.
- 5. In our country, the cutbacks in education policy since 2008 have led to a 10 per cent drop in university enrolment, so much so that we rank last in Europe in the percentage of female graduates in the 25-34 age group, with a figure of 27 per cent, while the EU average is just under 40 per cent. Despite this disastrous and worrying situation, very few manage to find a job that matches their level of education and are forced to emigrate or compete for low-level, precarious jobs. We live in the myth of a meritocratic system, which, according to Joseph Stiglitz, means that "90 per cent of those born poor will die poor, however clever and hard-working they may be, and 90 per cent of those born rich will die rich, however idiotic or idle they may be. It follows that merit has no value.
- 6. There is a need to support craftsmen and family businesses, to reduce disparities between regions, to offer equal opportunities to young people and young women who are forced to migrate from weaker regions to stronger ones, and to halt the process whereby education no longer leads to economic, social and civil growth. At the same time, an efficient European infrastructure network must prevent the peripheralisation of an important part of our continent.
- 7. Large state-owned industries have been dismantled, with consequences for education at all levels, from schools to universities and research. The countries that will grow the most tomorrow, such as China, India and South Korea, are those that have been better able to strengthen and diversify their industrial, research and innovation systems today. A major European public programme for green conversion, renovation and refurbishment of public buildings (schools, hospitals, offices) can reverse this trend.

- 8. We support Carlo Rovelli's proposal, signed by fifty Nobel Laureates, for a balanced reduction in military spending. The aim is a reduction of two per cent a year for five years, one trillion euros, to be used to fight global warming, extreme poverty and pandemics.
- 9. After the pandemic, the European Union should have put prevention and health protection at the centre of its policies. Spending on weapons should be reduced and spending on health should be increased, taking into account the interests of the citizens and not those of the multinational pharmaceutical companies.
- 10. Austerity policies have made it impossible to invest in human resources for public administration. But a public employment plan with the recruitment of highly qualified young people is essential to modernise the state, social administrations, schools and research. The digitalisation of public administrations must be accelerated with open source software that is transparent, cannot be manipulated by foreigners and foreign agencies, can be developed 'in-house' and is not dependent on large global corporations.
- 11. Europe recognises its identity in its cultures and will strive to give them the freedom and energy they need to grow and renew themselves. Europe is nourished by its relations with other cultures.

All European citizens must be guaranteed equal civil and human rights and full freedom of expression. In order to defend European identity, the emergence of European societies, European platforms for cultural production and online commerce must be encouraged.

Only by getting out of the war system will it be possible to take care of people and open a new era for the world. Homo sapiens has been fighting with weapons since the beginning of his existence. This does not mean, however, that war is inherent to man and should not be prevented, as should the crime of genocide.

Cardinal Martini wrote: "The memory of accumulated suffering fuels hatred when it refers only to one's own just cause. If each people looks only at its own pain,

revenge will always prevail. But if the memory of pain is also the memory of the suffering of the other, of the stranger, even of the enemy, it will be able to constitute the premise of any future policy of peace."