ROSA LUXEMBURG
FOUNDATION
BRUSSELS OFFICE

BUILDING A NEW GLOBAL SOLIDARITY: BRUSSELS PERSPECTIVES

The jointly decided declaration of the international conference "The World Crisis and Beyond: Alternatives and Transformation Paths to overcome the Regime of Crisis-Capitalism" in Brussels, 28th October 1st November 2009

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EDITORIAL: THREE DAYS IN BRUSSELS...

In October 2009, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, the World Forum for Alternatives and the Transnational Institute invited a number of important leftist intellectuals and activists from around the world to Brussels for three days to discuss alternatives to the global crisis. The preparatory work for this Conference took more than six months. The participants from North and Latin America, from eastern and western Europe, from the Maghreb and from sub-Saharan Africa, from India and from China submitted their position and background papers early, which enabled them to form the basis for a synopsis. This was in turn made accessible to everyone prior to the Conference, allowing them to prepare for the debates. Thus, the attempt was made not only to gather unilateral statements, but also to really enable a common debate at the meeting itself.

The goal of the Conference was to reveal the causes of the crisis and to discuss strategies for overcoming it. The crisis was seen as an opportunity to overcome the destructive capitalist mode of production. Five different dimensions of the crisis were central to the debates:

- The necessary transformation of the international economic system;
- Food sovereignty and agricultural development;
- The role of the state and the social movements in the policy of transformation;
- The ecological question;
- Ideas for a world beyond the crisis: Continuation of crisis capitalism or post-capitalism?

The results of the discussions at the conference were adopted under the title the Brussels Perspectives and translated into all major world languages. This call is addressed to all progressive people, to fight together against the destruction of human and natural resources caused by the capitalist crisis.

As a follow-up to the Three Days of Brussels, a series of activities dedicated to the development of transformative projects which open up future perspectives is planned by the three organisers. At the same time, we will continue to work on global alternative networking. In the upcoming period, the World Forum for Alternatives will devote special attention to the development and propagation of a universal charter of the common assets of humankind.

We are herein transmitting to you the Brussels Declaration of the Conference in all major world languages, as well as a synopsis of contributions of the participants and the Report of the Conference.

We would like to request that you disseminate the Brussels Declaration in your networks.

Birgit Daiber and Roland Kulke, RLF Brussels

THE WORLD CRISIS AND BEYOND

International conference on Alternatives and Transformation Paths to overcome the Regime of Crisis-Capitalism, 28 Oct. – 1 Nov. 2009 in Brussels, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, World Forum for Alternatives, and Transnational Institute

Building a New Global Solidarity: Brussels Perspectives

We, the signatories of this declaration, as intellectuals and activists from the Global South and the Global North, met in Brussels in the midst of an historic upheaval and severe crisis. National governments are rescuing capitalism and restoring neoliberalism, yet it is not too late for radical intervention. We wish to inspire new paradigms of social relations and of relations to nature, and so we are proposing elements for alternative systems at all levels based on a new global solidarity. Let us concentrate on people's needs and thus fight increasing poverty and pauperisation, control and downsize the financial sector, and struggle for climate justice, reclaim the commons and stop the wars. The people must decide. The entanglement of ecological, economic and social crises is structural and urgently requires action to be taken.

The crisis is over, they say. No. The world is in the midst of an historical upheaval, although looking at the G-20, the European Union and partly even the UN, it seems as if it's only a question of minor re-arrangement. Real change is not in sight. Instead, the financial market bubble is being followed by a political bubble.

They try to restore neoliberal dominance and the logic of crisis-capitalism. Yes, they do – and, in respect of the global power structures, we must confess: Yes, they can.

Global capitalism has dragged the world into a severe crisis. The crisis is accompanied by the ongoing plundering of the planet's natural and energy resources, foremost in the South, imminent climate collapse, food crises with its devastating results like resulting hunger, poverty and migration. Moreover, the world faces growing social inequalities and deepening class division, along with the growing power of transnationals, wars and a tendency to authoritarian solutions. All of these various forms of crises are the consequences of a logic shaped by capitalism, patriarchy, imperialism, (neo)colonialism, militarisation and the exploitation of humans and nature. This logic should be replaced or the globe and humankind will face further pervasive conflicts.

New paradigms

It is time for radical interventions. This means designing a vision connected to concrete projects of change with a clear perspective of transformation to solidarity societies. The most important goals are: rescuing the earth, stopping warfare, overcoming starvation and poverty, and achieving social equality and full emancipation.

Throughout the world numerous social and political movements and many local initiatives are organizing resistance and constructing new paradigms. The main requirements for human life on the planet include: priority of the needs of each person on the planet in a production process controlled by the people; reversal of the exploitative relations to nature to relations of respect as a source of life; and full democracy in all social relations and political, economic and cultural institutions. This also means equality for women in all sectors of the societies. Multiculturalism will give the possibility to all cultures and knowledge to contribute to the world vision and to the ethics necessary for transformation.

The struggle for transformation implies connecting and strengthening the social and political movements worldwide. Since the call of the Zapatistas and the emergence of the global movement of movements in Seattle, protest and resistance has been growing at all levels. Yet it remains fragmented. Nevertheless there are encouraging examples: the landless and peasant movements, women's and indigenous movements, social justice movements, workers movements and initiatives for decent work, immigrant and refugee movements, movements for climate justice, for paying back the debt to the South and, last but not least, for peace.

Alternatives

Let us concentrate on the needs and aspirations of the people. As first steps we demand: the immediate and radical redistribution of wealth from private owners to the peoples of the South, to the lower classes globally as well as to the public sphere – 75 % less wealth in the hands of the rich and the super-rich. We won't pay for the crisis and the ensuing new national debts. These demands may initially be met by means of heavy taxation on fortunes, corporate profits, personal high incomes, and inheritances as well as financial and currency transactions. The debt incurred through private expropriation, colonial plundering and exploitation should be repaid.

Support the struggles of the popular classes! World resources should be marshalled primarily for the struggle against hunger, starvation and poverty as well as for compensating the destruction of natural resources and living conditions and for the funding of sustainable development. Generally, investments in public infrastructures and services have to be enforced. Salaries, along with investments in social and ecological development, need to take precedence over shareholder value. The right to work and to food has to be guaranteed. Public employment must be increased in order to counteract precarisation. This means expanding collective and cooperative forms of work, which efficiently contribute to human development and enrich human relations and which are not oriented to the production of surplus value.

Control and downsize the global financial sector: 75 % off now! We demand the prohibition of toxic assets, derivatives, hedge funds and private equity. We demand the prevention of further liberalisation, the tightening of bank, financial, and capital controls and the closing of tax havens. We need to establish a solidarity global currency and a financial and trade order that promotes the equalisation of trade and current account balances and that promotes sustainable development and (minimum) social and political standards. It is not

only banks but investment as such that has to be socialised and become a public function, reversing the priority of profits over people.

A dramatic and urgent shift of the whole mode of production, distribution and consumption is necessary. This requires: the socialisation of the core sectors of the economies, of natural resources; the immediate initiation of a radical ecological conversion; increased quality and sustainability of products to reduce wasteful consumption; the replacement of agribusiness monoculture by cooperative peasant agriculture. 75 % reduction in the use of energy and resources as well as 75 % less emissions. Climate justice!

Let people decide! This means filling representative electoral democracy with content and promoting a meaningful participatory democracy with *consultas populares*, people's planning processes, councils and participatory budgets where effective decisions are taken. This entails a democratisation of the economy that goes beyond classical workers' co-determination and establishes genuine participation by workers, unions, public consumers and other stakeholders in company decision-making (with impact on the whole transnational production chain). The goal is to displace the capitalist boards of directors with collective boards of directors, embedded in territorial and community councils.

Reclaim the commons! Basic needs should be available as common goods, that is, there should be essentially free access to land, seeds, water, and unpolluted air. There must be no more patents on life. Knowledge, technology and research should also be part of the commons, as well as free local transportation systems and free access to all other basic goods of general interest. Any attempt to privatise public property has to be stopped, and the trend of selling out the common sphere has to be reversed. Public social security systems must be defended and extended, and concrete policies have to respond to housing needs in the South and North.

Let us concentrate on a *solidarity care economy*, a reorientation towards health, education and training, research, food sovereignty and land reform, social services, caring for children, the elderly and the ill, as well as for our natural environment. This would also be a contribution to an ecological mode of production, to an emancipatory rearrangement of gender relations and the development of a practice of *bien vivir*. This reorientation towards de-commodification, the domestic market, regionalisation, and, in part, de-globalisation counters export-led, industrial growth models, privatisation and valorisation, as well as rising inequities and imbalances in the world.

Withdraw all Western armies and shut down foreign military bases. The greatest waste of all is the enormous amount of money spent for destructive means of force. We therefore demand: at least 75 % reduction in military expenditures; abolish the veto rights in the UN Security Council; dismantle NATO; ban all nuclear weapons.

Programme of work

We have helped develop an analysis, predicted the crisis, and contributed to the delegitimisation of neoliberalism. But we have not yet been able to overcome the prevailing power structures. Neoliberal capitalism has begun to lose credibility but is still dominant.

Our common objective is to break this dominance. There is a convergence of the different struggles, there is intense communication, expressed solidarity, practiced cooperation

and experiments with concrete initial projects. We in turn give our full support to the different struggles and work to connect them. As intellectuals, we try to lend coherence to our perspectives and practice.

Urgent action needs to be taken to prevent the crisis from becoming even more serious and causing yet more damage. This immediate action includes:

- Participation in the World Climate Summit in Copenhagen or organisation of decentralised actions for climate justice; the rejection of market mechanisms such as carbon trading; the immediate transformation of the energy chain; the rejection of nuclear power;
- The rejection of further liberalisation; the blocking of the upcoming WTO negotiations as well as the so-called Economic Partnership Agreements and Free Trade Agreements with the South;
- Preventing the reduction in state expenditures in order to pay the state debt resulting from the crisis; supporting the struggles against the crisis; the banning of derivatives, short selling, and the shutting down of tax havens; the prohibition of speculation on food and energy; a moratorium on debt payment by the South;
- The re-appropriation of the commons, factories, the land, and the public as well as participation in political action;
- Stopping the wars, disarming the world.

New global solidarity

The new global solidarity is built on the struggle of the victims of the dominant economic system, the nations of the South, which are the targets of imperialist policies, and the subaltern classes of the North and the South, either exploited or made vulnerable. It implies cooperation between the large regions of the world on the basis of complementarity. It requires the respect and the protection of the planet and a dialogue between the various cultures of the world. It means the realisation of the common good of humankind. Global solidarity is the only guarantee of hope for the future of humanity.

We have the numbers and the ideas. They still have the power. Let us seize it!

Signatories

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LA CRISIS MUNDIAL – Y MÁS ALLÁ

Conferencia internacional sobre alternativas y vías de transformación para superar el régimen del capitalismo en crisis, 28 de octubre - 1 de noviembre de 2009, Bruselas, Fundación Rosa Luxemburg, Foro Mundial de Alternativas e Instituto Transnacional

Por la construcción de una nueva solidaridad global: Perspectivas de Bruselas

Nosotros, los firmantes de esta declaración, en tanto que intelectuales y activistas del Sur y del Norte globales, nos reunimos en Bruselas en mitad de una agitación histórica y una grave crisis. Los gobiernos nacionales están rescatando el capitalismo y restaurando el neoliberalismo, pero, no obstante, no es demasiado tarde para la intervención radical. Deseamos inspirar nuevos paradigmas de relaciones sociales y de relaciones con la naturaleza, y por consiguiente proponemos los elementos para unos sistemas alternativos a todos los niveles basados en una nueva solidaridad global. Vamos a concentrarnos en las necesidades de las personas y así combatir el aumento de la pobreza y el empobrecimiento, controlar y reducir el sector financiero y luchar por una justicia medioambiental, recuperar los bienes comunes y detener las guerras. Las personas deben tomar las decisiones. El enredo de la crisis medioambiental, económica y social es estructural y exige que se tomen acciones urgentes.

La crisis ha terminado, o eso dicen. No. El mundo se encuentra en medio de una agitación histórica, si bien a decir del G-20, la Unión Europea e incluso en parte la ONU, parece que se trata solo de una cuestión de reajuste menor. No hay ningún auténtico cambio a la vista. Por el contrario, a la burbuja de los mercados financieros le está siguiendo una burbuja política.

Intentan restaurar el dominio neoliberal y la lógica del capitalismo en crisis. Sí, así hacen, y en relación con las estructuras del poder global, hemos de confesar que: Sí, pueden hacerlo.

El capitalismo global ha arrastrado al mundo a una crisis profunda. A la crisis le acompaña el actual saqueo de los recursos naturales y energéticos del planeta, principalmente en el Sur, el inminente colapso climático, la crisis alimentaria de devastadores resultados, como el hambre, la pobreza y las migraciones. Por añadidura, el mundo se enfrenta a una desigualdad social cada vez mayor y a una división entre clases cada vez más profunda, además de al creciente poder de las multinacionales, a las guerras y a la tendencia a las soluciones autoritarias. Todas estas distintas formas de crisis son las consecuencias de una lógica conformada por el capitalismo, el patriarcado, el imperialismo, el (neo)colonialismo, la militarización y la explotación de los seres humanos y la naturaleza. Esta lógica debería

cambiar, o el planeta y la humanidad deberán enfrentarse a mayores y omnipresentes conflictos.

Nuevos paradigmas

Ha llegado la hora de las intervenciones radicales. Esto significa diseñar una visión conectada a proyectos concretos de cambio con una clara perspectiva de transformación hacia unas sociedades de solidaridad. Los objetivos más importantes son: rescatar a la Tierra, detener las guerras, superar la desnutrición y la pobreza y lograr la igual social y la completa emancipación.

Por todo el mundo numerosos movimientos sociales y políticos y muchas iniciativas locales están organizando la resistencia y construyendo nuevos paradigmas. Las principales exigencias de la vida humana en este planeta incluyen: la prioridad de las necesidades de cada persona del planeta en un proceso colectivo controlado por el pueblo; el cambio de unas relaciones de explotación con respecto a la naturaleza a unas relaciones de respeto como fuente de la vida; y una democracia plena en todas las relaciones sociales y en las instituciones políticas, económicas y culturales. Esto también implica la igualdad para las mujeres en todos los sectores de la sociedad. El multiculturalismo brindará la posibilidad de que todas las culturas y los conocimientos contribuyan a una visión mundial y a la ética necesaria para la transformación.

La lucha por la transformación implica conectar y fortalecer los movimientos sociales y políticos de todo el mundo. Desde el llamamiento de los zapatistas y el surgimiento del movimiento de movimientos global en Seattle, la protesta y la resistencia ha ido creciendo en todos los niveles. A pesar de ello, siguen fragmentadas. No obstante, contamos con ejemplos esperanzadores: los movimientos campesinos y de los sin tierra, los movimientos de las mujeres y los indígenas, los movimientos por la justicia social, los movimientos obreros y las iniciativas en favor de un trabajo digno, los movimientos de los inmigrantes y los refugiados, los movimientos en favor de la justicia medioambiental, en favor de la restitución de la deuda a los países del Sur y por último, pero no menos importante, en favor de la paz.

Alternativas

Concentrémonos en las necesidades y las aspiraciones de la gente. Como primeros pasos, exigimos: la redistribución inmediata y radical de la riqueza de los propietarios privados a los pueblos del Sur, a las clases bajas de todo el mundo así como a la esfera pública: el 75 % menos de riqueza en manos de los ricos y los súper ricos. No vamos a pagar la crisis ni la emisión de nuevas deudas nacionales. Estas demandas podrían satisfacerse al principio mediante una fuerte imposición de las fortunas, los beneficios empresariales, los altos ingresos personales y las herencias, así como las transacciones financieras y de divisas. La deuda en que se ha incurrido a causa de la expropiación privada o el saqueo y la explotación colonial debería ser satisfecha.

¡Apoya las luchas de las clases populares! Los recursos del planeta deberían ponerse al servicio en primer lugar de la lucha contra el hambre, la desnutrición y la pobreza, así como de la compensación de la destrucción de los recursos naturales y de los hábitats y para

poner las bases de un desarrollo sostenible. Las inversiones en infraestructuras y servicios públicos en general deben reforzarse. Las rentas del trabajo, junto con las inversiones en desarrollo social y medioambiental, deben prevalecer por delante de los beneficios de los accionistas. El derecho al trabajo y a los alimentos debe estar garantizado. El empleo público debe incrementarse para contrarrestar la precariedad. Ello significa extender las formar colectivas y cooperativas de trabajo, que contribuyen de manera eficiente al desarrollo humano y enriquecen las relaciones humanas y que no están orientadas a la producción de plusvalías.

Controlar y reducir el sector financiero global: ¡El 75% fuera YA! Exigimos la prohibición de los activos tóxicos, los derivados, los fondos de cobertura y el capital riesgo. Exigimos la prevención de nuevas liberalizaciones, la restricción de los controles bancarios, financieros y del capital y la eliminación de los paraísos fiscales. Debemos establecer una divisa global solidaria y un orden financiero y comercial que promueva la igualdad en el comercio y el equilibrio en las cuentas corrientes y que promueva asimismo el desarrollo sostenible y unos estándares (mínimos) sociales y políticos. No son solo los bancos, sino también la inversión como tal los que deben ser socializados y deben convertirse en una función pública, invirtiendo la prioridad de los beneficios por la de las personas.

Es necesario un giro drástico y urgente de la totalidad de los modos de producción, distribución y consumo. Y ello exige: la socialización de los sectores clave de las economías y de los recursos naturales; emprender inmediatamente una conversión medioambiental radical; el incremento de la calidad y la sostenibilidad de los productos para reducir la generación de residuos; la sustitución de la industria agraria monocultura por una agricultura campesina cooperativa. La reducción del consumo de energía y recursos en un 75 %, así como de las emisiones en otro 75 %. ¡Justicia climática!

¡Dejen decidir a las personas! Esto significa llenar de contenido la democracia representativa electoral y promover una democracia participativa llena de sentido con *consultas populares*, que la gente planifique los procesos y participe en los ayuntamientos y en la elaboración de presupuestos, allí donde se toman las decisiones efectivas. Ello conlleva una democratización de la economía que va más allá de la clásica codeterminación obrera y establece una auténtica participación de los trabajadores, los sindicatos, los consumidores y otras partes interesadas en la toma de decisiones de las empresas (con impacto en toda la cadena de producción transnacional). El objetivo es desplazar las juntas directivas capitalistas por juntas colectivas de dirección integradas en los consejos territoriales y comunitarios.

¡Exijamos los bienes comunes! Las necesidades básicas deberían estar cubiertas por los bienes comunes, es decir, debería existir un acceso esencialmente gratuito a la tierra, las semillas, el agua y el aire limpio. No deben existir patentes sobre la vida. El conocimiento, la tecnología y la investigación también deben formar parte de los bienes comunes, así como unos sistemas de transporte local gratuitos y acceso gratuito a todos los demás bienes básicos de interés general. Cualquier intento de privatizar la propiedad pública debe detenerse y es preciso invertir la tendencia de vender todo lo que pertenece a la esfera común. Deben defenderse y extenderse los sistemas de seguridad social públicos y unas políticas concretas deben responder a las necesidades de vivienda en el Sur y el Norte.

Concentrémonos en una *economía del cuidado solidario*, una reorientación a la salud, la educación y la formación, la investigación, la soberanía alimentaria y la reforma agraria, los servicios sociales, el cuidado de niños, ancianos y enfermos, así como a nuestro entorno natural. Esto también supondría una contribución a un modo ecológico de producción, a un reajuste emancipador de las relaciones de género y al desarrollo de la práctica del *buen vivir*. Esta reorientación hacia la desmercantilización, el mercado doméstico, la regionalización y, en parte, la desglobalización contrarresta los modelos de crecimiento industrial orientados a la exportación, la privatización y la valorización, así como el aumento de las desigualdades y los desequilibrios en el mundo.

La retirada de todos los ejércitos occidentales y el cierre de las bases militares extranjeras. El mayor derroche de todos es la enorme cantidad de dinero gastado en los medios de destrucción. Por lo tanto, exigimos: la reducción del gasto militar en al menos un 75 %; la abolición del derecho de veto en el Consejo de Seguridad de la ONU; el desmantelamiento de la OTAN; la prohibición de todas las armas nucleares.

Programa de trabajo

Hemos contribuido a desarrollar un análisis, hemos previsto la crisis y contribuido a la deslegitimación del neoliberalismo. Pero todavía no hemos logrado superar las estructuras del poder dominante. El capitalismo neoliberal ha empezado a perder credibilidad, pero todavía es predominante.

Nuestro objetivo común es quebrar este dominio. Existe una convergencia de las distintas luchas, una comunicación intensa, una solidaridad expresa, una cooperación practicada y los experimentos con proyectos iniciales concretos. Nosotros, por nuestra parte, damos nuestro apoyo total a las distintas luchas y trabajamos para ponerlas en comunicación. Como intelectuales, intentamos dotar de coherencia a nuestras perspectivas y nuestra práctica.

Es necesario emprender acciones urgentes para evitar que la crisis se haga todavía más seria y cause aún más daños. Tales acciones inmediatas incluyen:

- la participación en la Cumbre Mundial sobre el Clima en Copenhague o la organización de acciones descentralizadas en favor de la justicia climática; el rechazo de los mecanismos de mercado como el comercio del carbón; la transformación inmediata de la cadena energética; el rechazo de la energía nuclear;
- el rechazo de la profundización en las liberalizaciones; el bloqueo de las próximas negociaciones de la OMC así como de los llamados Acuerdos de Asociación Económica y los Acuerdos de Libre Comercio con el Sur;
- la prevención de la reducción del gasto público para sufragar la deuda pública resultante de la crisis; el apoyo a las luchas contra la crisis; la prohibición de los derivados, de la venta corta y de los paraísos fiscales; la prohibición de la especulación con los alimentos y la energía; una moratoria en el pago de la deuda por parte de los países del Sur;
- la reapropiación de los bienes comunes, las fábricas, la tierra y el sector público, así como la participación en la acción política;

- el cese de las guerras y el desarme mundial.

Una nueva solidaridad global

La nueva solidaridad global se basa en la lucha de las víctimas del sistema económico dominante, de las naciones del Sur, que son el objetivo de las políticas imperialista, y de las clases subalternas del Norte y el Sur, a las que se explota o se hace vulnerables. Esto implica la cooperación entre grandes regiones del mundo sobre la base de la complementariedad. Exige el respeto y la protección del planeta y el diálogo entre las distintas culturas del mundo. Significa llevar a cabo el bien común de la humanidad. La solidaridad global es la única garantía de esperanza en el futuro de la humanidad.

Nosotros tenemos el número y las ideas. Pero ellos todavía detentan el poder. ¡Hagámonos con él!

Las signatorias, los signatorios

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LE MONDE EN CRISE – ET APRÈS ?

La conférence internationale sur les alternatives et les voies de transformations possibles pour vaincre le régime du capitalisme en crise, 28 octobre – 1 novembre 2009, Bruxelles, organisée par la Fondation Rosa Luxemburg, le Forum Mondial pour les Alternatives et le Transnational Institute

Construire une Solidarité Nouvelle et Globale : Les perspectives depuis Bruxelles

Nous, les signataires de cette déclaration, ainsi que des intellectuels et des activistes du Sud Global et du Nord Global, nous sommes rencontrés à Bruxelles lors d'un bouleversement historique et d'une crise sévère. Bien que les gouvernements nationaux viennent au secours du capitalisme et restaurent le néolibéralisme, il n'est pas trop tard pour une intervention radicale. Nous souhaitons inspirer de nouveaux paradigmes quant aux rapports sociaux et aux rapports à la nature. Nous proposons donc des pistes pour des systèmes alternatifs à tous les niveaux, basés sur une nouvelle solidarité globale. Concentrons-nous sur les besoins des peuples pour lutter contre la pauvrété et la destitution qui ne cessent d'augmenter, contrôlons et réduisons l'importance du secteur financier, oeuvrons pour la justice climatique et la réclamation des biens communs, et arrêtons les guerres. C'est aux peuples de décider. L'enchevêtrement des crises écologiques, économiques et sociales est structurel et nécessite que l'on agisse de toute urgence.

La crise est passée, à ce qu'on dit. Non. Le monde est pris dans un bouleversement historique, bien qu'en considérant le G20, l'Union Européenne et même les Nations Unies dans une moindre mesure, il semble qu'il ne soit question de procéder qu'à un réaménagement mineur. Un réel changement n'est pas en vue. En revanche, la bulle des marchés financiers se fait talonner par une bulle politique.

Ils tentent de restaurer la domination néolibérale et la logique du capitalisme de crise. Si, c'est ce qu' ils font et – en tenant compte des structures du pouvoir global - nous devons bien admettre que : Oui, ils le peuvent.

Le capitalisme global a entraîné le monde dans une crise sévère. Cette crise s'accompagne du pillage continu des ressources naturelles et énergetiques de la planète, surtout dans le Sud, de l'imminence d'une catastrophe climatique, de crises alimentaires avec ses conséquences dévastatrices telles que la faim, la pauvrété et la migration. En outre, le monde connaît une augmentation des inégalités sociales et un approfondissement des divisions de classe, mais aussi le pouvoir croissant des multinationales, des guerres et une tendance à recourir à des solutions autoritaires. Toutes ces diverses formes de crises sont les conséquences d'une logique façonnée par le capitalisme, le patriarcat, l'impérialisme, le (néo) colonialisme, la militarisation et l'exploitation des êtres humains et

de la nature. Une autre logique doit la remplacer ou alors des conflits envahiront la planète et l'humanité encore et encore.

De nouveaux paradigmes

C'est l'heure des interventions radicales. Cela signifie concevoir une vision liée à des projets de changements concrets, avec une vraie perspective de transformation vers des sociétés solidaires. Les principaux objectifs sont: sauver la planète, arrêter les guerres, vaincre la faim et la misère, et réaliser l'égalité sociale et la pleine emancipation.

A travers le monde, de nombreux mouvements sociaux et politiques ainsi que de nombreuses initiatives locales organisent la résistance et construisent de nouveaux paradigmes. Les principales conditions pour la vie humaine sur la planète incluent : la priorité aux besoins de chaque personne dans un processus de production contrôlée par les peuples, un renversement des rapports d'exploitation envers la nature en faveur de rapports respectueux pour cette source de vie, et la pleine démocratie dans tous les rapports sociaux et les institutions politiques, économiques et culturelles. Cela signifie l'égalité pour les femmes dans tous les secteurs des sociétés. Le multiculturalisme permettra à toutes les cultures et les savoirs de contribuer à une vision mondiale et à l'éthique nécessaire pour une réelle transformation.

La lutte pour la transformation implique la connexion et le renforcement des mouvements sociaux et politiques à l'échelle mondiale. Depuis l'appel des Zapatistes et la naissance du mouvement global après les événements de Seattle, les protestations et les resistances n'ont eu cesse de proliférer à tous les niveaux. Pourtant, elles restent éparses. Néanmoins, il y a des exemples encourageants : les mouvements des sans-terre et des paysans, les mouvements des femmes et des indigènes, les mouvements pour la justice sociale, les mouvements des travailleurs et les initiatives pour un travail convenable, les mouvements des immigrés et des réfugiés, les mouvements pour la justice climatique et pour la restitution de la dette des pays du Sud et enfin, et surtout, les mouvements pour la paix.

Des alternatives

Nous devons nous concentrer sur les besoins et les aspirations des peuples. En premier lieu nous exigeons une redistribution immédiate et radicale de la richesse des proprietaires privés aux peuples du Sud, aux classes les plus pauvres en général et aussi au domaine public – délester 75 pour cent des biens des mains des riches et des super-riches. Nous ne paierons pas pour la crise et les prochaines dettes nationales qui en découleront. Ces exigences pourraient dans un premier temps être satisfaites par un lourd impôt sur la fortune, sur les profits des multinationaux, sur les hauts revenus personnels, sur les héritages et par la suite sur les transactions financières et les marchés monétaires. La dette contractée par l'expropriation privée, le pillage et l'exploitation coloniales se doit être restituée.

Soutenons les combats des classes populaires! Les ressources mondiales devraient surtout être mises à disposition de la lutte contre la faim, la famine et la pauvreté mais aussi pour compenser la destruction des ressources naturelles, des conditions de vie et pour financer le développement durable. Les investissements dans les infrastructures et les vices publics doivent être augmentés de manière générale. Les salaires ainsi que les in-

tissements dans le développement social et écologique doivent être contentés avant ceux des actionnaires. Le droit au travail et à la nourriture doit être garanti. On doit augmenter l'emploi au service public pour contrer la précarité. Cela implique l'expansion de formes de travail collectives et coopératives ce qui contribuera de manière efficace au développement humain et enrichera les rapports sociaux, ces formes de vie n'étant pas orientées vers la réalisation de plus-values.

Contrôlons et reduisons l'importance du secteur de la finance globale: 75 pour cent en moins tout de suite! Nous exigeons la prohibition des biens toxiques, des produits dérivés, des *hedge funds* et des actions privées. Nous exigeons l'arrêt de davantage de libéralisation, le durcissement des contrôles bancaires, financiers et du capital ainsi que la fermeture des paradis fiscaux. Nous avons besoin d'établir une monnaie globale de solidarité et un ordre financier et commercial qui promeut le développement durable et les normes sociales et politiques. Ce ne sont pas seulement les banques mais aussi l'investissement tel qu'il existe qui doivent être socialisés et devenir des fonctions publiques, pour renverser la priorité aux profits sur les peuples.

Un changement réel et urgent de tout le mode de production, de distribution et de consommation est nécessaire. Cela exige : la socialisation des secteurs clés de l'économie et des ressources naturelles, le lancement immédiat d'une conversion radicale pour l'écologie, une amélioration de la qualité et de la durabilité des produits afin de réduire la consommation à outrance, le remplacement de la monoculture issue de l'agro-industrie par une agriculture paysanne et coopérative. Réduire de 75 pour cent l'usage de l'énergie et des ressources ; 75 pour cent d'émissions en moins. Justice pour le climat!

C'est au peuple de décider! Cela implique de pourvoir à une démocratie électorale représentative et de promouvoir une vraie démocratie participative issue d'un *consultas populare*, la planification des projets par les peuples, par les conseils populaires et une participation budgétaire là où les décisions concrètes sont prises. Cela implique aussi une démocratisation de l'économie qui dépasse la co-gestion classique des ouvriers et qui permette une réelle participation des travailleurs, des syndicats, des consommateurs ou de tout autre agent, aux prises de décisions dans les entreprises (ce qui aura un impact sur toute la chaîne de production transnationale). L'objectif est de remplacer le conseil administratif capitaliste par des conseils administratifs collectifs qui garantissent les intérêts des conseils communautaires et territoriaux.

Réclamons le commun! Les besoins de base étant des biens communs, ils devraient être accessibles à tous, à savoir que l'accès libre à la terre, aux semences, à l'eau et à l'air non pollué est indispensable. Plus jamais de brevets sur la vie. Le savoir, la technologie et la recherche doivent également faire partie du commun, autant qu'un système de transport local gratuit et que le libre accès à tout autre bien de base d'intérêt général. Il faut stopper net toute tentative de privatisation des propriétés publiques, et renverser la tendance à démunir le domaine public. Il faut défendre le système de la sécurité sociale et l'élargir ; et une politique concrète doit satisfaire les besoins de logements des pays du Sud et du Nord.

Concentrons-nous sur la réalisation d'une *économie solidaire et responsable,* portons notre attention sur la santé, l'éducation et l'instruction, la recherche, le droit absolue à la nourriture et à la réforme agraire, les services sociaux, les soins prodigués aux enfants, aux personnes âgées et aux malades, ainsi qu'à notre environnement naturel. De plus, cela ap-

portera une contribution à un mode de production écologique, à une nouvelle forme d'émancipation des rapports homme-femme et au développement d'une pratique du *bien vivir*. Une nouvelle orientation qui tende vers la démarchandisation, le marché local, la régionalisation, et qui, en partie, aille à l'encontre de la mondialisation et de son commerce d'exportation des modèles de production industrielle, de la privatisation et du système de valorisation, ainsi que les inégalités croissantes et les déséquilibres dans le monde qui en découlent.

Faire se retirer toutes les armées occidentales et fermer toutes les bases militaires à l'étranger. Le plus grand gaspillage revient à la colossale somme d'argent dépensée pour les moyens de destruction. C'est pourquoi nous exigeons : un minimum de 75 pour cent de réduction des dépenses militaires, l'abolition du droit de veto du Conseil de Sécurité des Nations Unies, le démantèlement de l'OTAN, la proscription de toute arme nucléaire.

Programme de travail

Nous avons aidé à développer une analyse, prédit la crise et contribué à la délégitimisation du néolibéralisme. Pourtant nous n'avons pas encore pu triompher des structures prévalentes du pouvoir. Le capitalisme néolibéral a commencé à perdre de sa crédibilité, mais il reste dominant. Notre objectif commun est de rompre cette dominance. Il y a une convergence des différentes luttes, il y a une intense communication et une solidarité explicite, une coopération et des expériences éprouvées qui ont donné lieu à des projets concrets. À notre tour, nous donnons notre plein soutien aux différentes luttes et travaillons pour les mettre en relation ou les connecter entre elles. En tant qu'intellectuels, nous essayons d'apporter de la cohérence à nos perspectives et à nos pratiques.

Il y a un besoin d'action urgente pour éviter que la crise ne devienne encore plus grave et ne créée encore plus de dégats. Cette action immédiate signifie :

- participer au Sommet Mondial sur le Climat à Copenhague ou à des actions décentralisées pour la justice climatique ; rejeter les mécanismes du marché comme celui du carbone ; transformer immédiatement la filière énergétique ; refuser l'énergie nucléaire ;
- refuser davantage de libéralisation ; faire obstacle aux prochaines négociations de l'OMC, ainsi qu'aux soi-disants accords de partenariat économique et à ceux qui règlent le libre-échange avec les pays du Sud ;
- prévenir la diminution des dépenses de l'Etat afin de payer la dette étatique qui résulte de la crise ; soutenir les luttes contre la crise ; interdire les produits dérivés et la vente à découvert ; fermer tous les paradis fiscaux ; prohiber la spéculation sur l'alimentation et sur l'énergie ; exiger un moratoire sur les paiements de la dette des pays du Sud ;
- se réapproprier les biens communs, les usines, la terre et le domaine public, mais aussi participer à l'action politique ;
- cesser les guerres ; pousser au désarmament à l'échelle mondiale.

La nouvelle solidarité globale

La nouvelle solidarité globale est construite sur les luttes des victimes du système économique dominant - les nations du Sud - qui sont les cibles des politiques impérialistes, et les

classes subalternes du Nord et du Sud, qui sont soit exploitées soit rendues vulnérables. Cela implique une coopération entre les grandes régions du monde sur la base d'une complémentarité. Cela nécessite le respect et la protection de la planète et un dialogue entre les diverses cultures du monde. Cela signifie la réalisation du bien commun de l'humanité. La solidarité globale est la seule garantie d'espoir pour le futur de l'espèce humaine.

Nous sommes en nombre et nous avons les idées. Ils ont toujours le pouvoir. Prenons-le!

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JENSEITS DER WELTKRISE

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Für eine neue globale Solidarität: Brüsseler Perspektiven

Wir, die Unterzeichner dieser Erklärung – Intellektuelle und Aktivisten aus dem globalen Süden wie dem globalen Norden –, haben uns in einer historischen Umbruchphase, inmitten einer beispiellosen Krise in Brüssel versammelt. Die nationalen Regierungen sind dabei, den Kapitalismus zu retten und den Neoliberalismus zu restaurieren. Für radikale Interventionen ist es dennoch nicht zu spät. Wir setzen uns für neue Paradigmen der sozialen Beziehungen ebenso wie der Beziehung zur Natur ein und schlagen Elemente für alternative Systeme auf allen Ebenen vor, die auf einer neuen globalen Solidarität fußen. Im Vordergrund müssen die Bedürfnisse der Menschen stehen – und daher gilt es, wachsende Armut und Verelendung zu bekämpfen, den Finanzsektor einzuhegen und massiv zu kontrollieren sowie sich für Klimagerechtigkeit, die Wiederaneignung der gemeinschaftlichen Güter der Menschheit und das Ende aller Kriege einzusetzen. Lassen wir die Menschen entscheiden. Die Verzahnung der ökologischen, ökonomischen und sozialen Krisen ist strukturell bedingt. Unser Handeln ist dringend erforderlich.

Sie sagen, die Krise sei vorbei. Falsch. Die Welt steht mitten in einem Umbruch historischen Ausmaßes. Die Verlautbarungen der G-20, der EU und teilweise auch der UNO hören sich freilich so an, als gehe es nur um kleinere Neujustierungen des Systems. Tief greifende Veränderungen sind nicht in Sicht. Auf die Blase an den Finanzmärkten folgen politische Sprechblasen.

Die Eliten und globalen Institutionen sind bestrebt, die neoliberale Dominanz und die Logik des Krisenkapitalismus wiederherzustellen. Ja, sie tun das. Und angesichts der globalen Machtstrukturen müssen wir zugestehen: „Yes, they can" – ja, sie können es auch.

Der globale Kapitalismus hat die Welt in eine schwere Krise gestürzt. Sie geht einher mit der andauernden Plünderung der Natur und der Energieressourcen des Planeten insbesondere im globalen Süden, dem drohenden Klimakollaps, mit Lebensmittelkrisen samt ihrer verheerenden Auswirkungen wie Hunger, Armut und Migration. Die Welt ist zudem mit wachsender sozialer Ungleichheit und zunehmender Klassenspaltung konfrontiert, mit der wachsenden Macht transnationaler Konzerne, mit Kriegen und einer Tendenz zu autoritären Lösungen. Die verschiedenen Ausprägungen der Krise sind Folge einer Logik, die Kapitalismus, Patriarchat, Imperialismus, (Neo-)Kolonialismus, Militarisierung und der Ausbeutung von Mensch und Natur entspringt. Diese Logik muss ersetzt werden – sonst drohen der Welt und der Menschheit weitere langwierige Konflikte.

Neue Paradigmen

Die Zeit für radikale Interventionen ist gekommen. Es gilt eine Vision zu entwerfen, in der konkrete Projekte des Wandels mit einer klaren Perspektive der Transformation hin zu solidarischen Gesellschaften verbunden werden. Die wichtigsten Ziele dabei sind die Rettung der Erde, das Ende von Kriegen, Hunger und Armut sowie soziale Gleichheit und volle Emanzipation.

Auf der ganzen Welt setzen viele soziale und politische Bewegungen sowie lokale Initiativen der neoliberalen Dominanz ihren Widerstand entgegen und lassen zugleich Ansätze für Alternativen erkennen. Die Hauptbedingungen für das künftige Zusammenleben sind: Vorrang für die Bedürfnisse jeder und jedes Einzelnen in einem von den Menschen gesteuerten Produktionsprozess; Abkehr von der ausbeuterischen Beziehung zur Natur hin zu ihrer Achtung als Quelle des Lebens; vollständige Demokratie in allen sozialen Beziehungen sowie politischen, ökonomischen und kulturellen Institutionen. Das schließt die Gleichheit von Frau und Mann in allen Bereichen der Gesellschaft ein. Schließlich: Ein Multikulturalismus, durch den alle Kulturen und Wissensformen zur Vision der Welt und zu einer Ethik beitragen können, die für eine Transformation nötig ist.

Der Kampf für Veränderung erfordert die weltweite Vernetzung und Stärkung sozialer und politischer Bewegungen. Seit dem Aufruf der Zapatistas und der Gründung der globalen Bewegung der Bewegungen in Seattle wächst Protest auf allen gesellschaftlichen Ebenen. Allerdings ist er noch zersplittert. Dennoch gibt es ermutigende Beispiele: Bewegungen der Landlosen, Bauern sowie Arbeiterinnen und Arbeitern; Initiativen von Frauen, indigenen Völkern und Flüchtlingen; Bewegungen für soziale und Klimagerechtigkeit, sinnvolle Arbeit, die Rückzahlung der Schulden an den Süden, und nicht zuletzt: für den Frieden.

Alternativen

Konzentrieren wir uns auf die Bedürfnisse und die Hoffnungen der Menschen. Als erste Schritte fordern wir: Die sofortige und radikale Umverteilung privater Besitztümer an die Völker des Südens und die unteren Klassen weltweit sowie an den öffentlichen Sektor – 75% weniger Vermögen in den Händen der Reichen und der Superreichen! Wir werden nicht für die Krise bezahlen und die von ihr verursachten neuen Staatsschulden begleichen. Dieses Ziel ließe sich in ersten Schritten durch hohe Steuern auf Vermögen, Unternehmensgewinne, große Einkommen, Erbschaften sowie Finanz- und Währungsgeschäfte erreichen. Die Schulden des Südens – entstanden durch private Enteignung und koloniale Plünderung – müssen zurückgezahlt werden.

Unterstützen wir die Kämpfe der unteren Klassen. Die Ressourcen der Welt sollten in erster Linie für den Kampf gegen Hunger und Armut, als Wiedergutmachung für ausgebeutete Bodenschätze und zerstörte Lebensbedingungen sowie für die Finanzierung nachhaltiger Entwicklung eingesetzt werden. Investitionen in öffentliche Infrastruktur und Dienstleistungen müssen verstärkt, Löhne und Gehälter ebenso wie Investitionen in die soziale und ökologische Entwicklung den Vorrang vor dem *shareholder value* haben. Recht auf Arbeit und Recht auf Nahrung sind unabdingbar. Zugleich muss der öffentliche

gungssektor ausgebaut werden, um der zunehmenden Prekarisierung entgegenzuwirken. Das schließt den Ausbau von kollektiven und kooperativen Arbeitsformen ein, die nicht an die Erzeugung von Mehrwert orientiert sind, effizient zur menschlichen Entwicklung beitragen und menschliche Beziehungen bereichern.

Kontrolle und Rückbau des globalen Finanzsektors: 75 % runter, sofort! Wir fordern ein Verbot von „Giftpapieren", Derivaten, Hedgefonds und Private Equity-Beteiligungsmodellen. Es darf keine weiteren Liberalisierungen geben – dafür schärfere Kontrollen des Banken-, Finanz- und Kapitalwesens sowie die Schließung der Steueroasen. Eine solidarische Weltwährung ist erforderlich und eine globale Finanz- und Handelsordnung, die Ungleichgewichte beseitigt, die nachhaltige Entwicklung fördert und soziale wie politische (Mindest)-Standards sichert. Investitionen an sich – und somit nicht nur die Banken – müssen vergesellschaftet und zur öffentlichen Aufgabe werden. Der Vorrang von Profiten vor Menschen würde umgekehrt.

Es bedarf dringend einschneidender Veränderungen in der Produktions- und Konsumweise sowie dem Verteilungssystem. Dazu ist unerlässlich: die Vergesellschaftung der Kernsektoren der Wirtschaft sowie der Bodenschätze; der umgehende Einstieg in eine radikale ökologische Umwälzung; höhere Güte und längere Lebensdauer von Produkten, um verschwenderischen Konsum zu verringern; das Ersetzen agrarindustrieller Monokulturen durch eine kooperative kleinbäuerliche Landwirtschaft. 75 % weniger Verbrauch von Energie und natürlichen Ressourcen, 75 % weniger umweltschädliche Emissionen. Klimagerechtigkeit jetzt!

Lassen wir die Menschen entscheiden. Die repräsentative parlamentarische Demokratie muss inhaltlich gefüllt werden. Zudem heißt es, eine sinnvolle partizipative Demokratie mit Entscheidungsmacht zu schaffen – mit bindenden Volksbefragungen, Planungsprozessen von unten, Räten und Bürgerhaushalten. Es bedarf der Demokratisierung der Wirtschaft jenseits der klassischen Mitbestimmung, mit echter Beteiligung von Arbeiterinnen und Arbeitern, Gewerkschaften, Verbrauchergruppen und anderen Betroffenen bei Unternehmensentscheidungen. Dies hätte Auswirkungen auf die gesamte transnationale Produktionskette. Das Ziel muss sein, die kapitalistischen Aufsichts- und Verwaltungsräte sowie Vorstände abzulösen durch kollektive Gremien, die eingebettet sind in Regional- und Kommunalräte.

Lasst uns das Gemeingut zurückholen! Der Grundbedarf muss aus gemeinschaftlichen Gütern gedeckt werden durch kostenlosen Zugang zu Land, Saatgut, Wasser und saubere Luft. Es dürfen keine weiteren Patente auf das Leben erteilt werden. Wissen, Technik und Forschung müssen ebenso Gemeingut werden wie der öffentliche Nahverkehr und der Zugang zu Gütern von allgemeinem Belang. Jeder Versuch, öffentliches Eigentum zu privatisieren, muss gestoppt und der Ausverkauf des öffentlichen Bereichs rückgängig gemacht werden. Es gilt, die Sozialversicherungssysteme zu verteidigen und auszubauen sowie konkrete politische Ansätze zu entwickeln, um dem Wohnraumbedarf im Süden wie im Norden zu decken.

Konzentrieren wir uns auf eine *solidarische Versorgungswirtschaft*, die Neuorientierung auf Gesundheit, Bildung und Ausbildung, Forschung, Lebensmittelsouveränität und Bodenreform, soziale Dienste, die Pflege von Kindern, Senioren und Kranken sowie unserer natürlichen Umwelt. Dies wäre auch ein Beitrag zu einer ökologischen Produktionsweise, zu

emanzipatorischen Geschlechterbeziehungen sowie zur Entwicklung einer Praxis des Guten Lebens (*bien vivir*). Binnenmarktorientierung, Regionalisierung und ansatzweise auch Deglobalisierung stehen gegen das exportgetriebene, industrielle Wachstumsmodell, gegen Privatisierung und Verwertung, gegen zunehmende Ungerechtigkeiten und Ungleichheiten in der Welt.

Wir fordern den Abzug aller Armeen des Westens und die Schließung aller ausländischen Militärstützpunkte. Die größte Verschwendung überhaupt sind die enormen Ausgaben für Waffen und Kriegsgerät. Die Militärausgaben weltweit müssen um mindestens 75 % sinken! Das Vetorecht im UNO-Sicherheitsrat ist ebenso abzuschaffen wie die NATO. Alle Kernwaffen müssen verboten werden.

Arbeitsprogramm

Wir haben an der Analyse des gegenwärtigen Kapitalismus mitgewirkt, haben die Krise vorhergesagt und zur Entzauberung des Neoliberalismus beigetragen. Aber es ist uns nicht gelungen, die herrschenden Machtstrukturen zu überwinden. Der neoliberale Kapitalismus verliert zwar inzwischen an Glaubwürdigkeit, aber er bleibt dominant.

Unser gemeinsames Ziel ist es, diese Dominanz zu brechen. Es gibt ein Zusammengehen der verschiedenen Kämpfe, eine intensive Kommunikation, Solidarität und Kooperation sowie Experimente mit konkreten Einstiegsprojekten. Wir unterstützen die diversen Kämpfe mit voller Kraft und bemühen uns um deren Vernetzung. Als Intellektuelle sind wir bestrebt, unseren Einschätzungen und Empfehlungen Kohärenz zu verleihen.

Dringende Aktionen sind nötig, damit sich die Krise nicht verschärft und sie nicht noch schlimmere Schäden anrichtet. Dazu zählen:

- die Beteiligung am Klima-Gegengipfel (Klimaforum) in Kopenhagen oder die Organisation dezentraler Aktionen für Klimagerechtigkeit; die Ablehnung von Marktmechanismen wie den Kohlenstoffhandel; die unmittelbare Transformation der Energiekette; die Ablehnung der Atomkraft;
- die Ablehnung weiterer Liberalisierungen; die Verhinderung der bevorstehenden WTO–Verhandlungen sowie der so genannten Wirtschaftlichen Partnerschaftsabkommen (EPAs, *Economic Partnership Agreements*) und Freihandelsabkommen mit dem Süden;
- das Verhindern von Kürzungen bei den Staatsausgaben, mit denen die höheren öffentlichen Schulden infolge der Krise beglichen werden sollen; Unterstützung der Kämpfe gegen die Krise; ein Verbot des Derivate-Handels und von Leerverkäufen sowie das Schließen der Steueroasen; ein Verbot der Spekulation mit Nahrungsmitteln und Energie; ein Zahlungsaufschub für die Schulden des Südens;
- die Wiedereroberung des Gemeingutes wie der Fabriken, des Bodens und der Öffentlichkeit, sowie die Beteiligung an politischen Aktionen;
- das Ende der Kriege und eine weltweite Abrüstung.

Neue globale Solidarität

Die neue globale Solidarität basiert auf den Kämpfen der Opfer des herrschenden Wirtschaftssystems, der Länder des Südens als Ziele imperialistischer Politik sowie der subal-

ternen Klassen des Nordens wie des Südens, die entweder ausgebeutet oder verwundbar gemacht werden. Sie schließt die Kooperation zwischen den großen Regionen der Welt ein, die sich gegenseitig ergänzen sollten. Die neue globale Solidarität erfordert die Achtung und den Schutz des Planeten und eines Dialogs zwischen den Kulturen. Sie bedeutet die Verwirklichung des allgemeinen Wohls der Menschheit. Nur globale Solidarität kann der Menschheit eine Hoffnung für die Zukunft geben.

Wir haben die Massen und wir haben die Ideen. Sie haben die Macht – noch. Lasst sie uns erobern!

Unterzeichnerinnen und Unterzeichner:

ABIOLA, Hafsat (Nigeria); ALTVATER, Elmar (Germany); AMIN, Samir (Senegal); BAWTREE, Victoria (France); BEAUDET, Pierre (Canada); BELLO, Walden (Philippines); BRENNAN, Brid (Netherlands); BRIE, Michael (Germany); CANDEIAS, Mario (Germany); CANEPA, Eric (Italy); CASSEN, Bernard (France); CATALINOTTO, John (USA); CHACHRA, Sandeep (India); COX, Jennifer (USA); DAIBER, Brigit (Germany/Belgium); DIERCKXSENS, Wim (Honduras/Costa Rica); DRISSI CHALBI, Hassania (Tunesia); ESKELINEN, Teppo (Finland); FOUNOU, Bernard (Cameron/Senegal); GAUTHIER, Elisabeth (France); GEORGE, Susan (France) GILLS, Barry K (UK); HABASHI Mamdouh (Egypt); HAGEN, Mark (Germany); HEINE, Henning (Germany); HOUTART, François (Belgium); KEET, Dot (South Africa); KULKE, Roland (Belgium/Germany); LANDER, Edgardo, (Venezuela); LAU Kin Chi (Hong Kong); MASSIAH, Gustave (France); MENON, Meena (India); MERKUSHEV, Vitaly (Russia); MOYO, Samson (Zimbabwe); MURTHY, P.K. (India); NAKATANI, Paulo (Brasil); OSMANOVIC, Armin (Germany); PÁEZ, Pedro (Ecuador); RILLING, Rainer (Germany); ROCHAT, Florian (Switzerland); SCHOLZ, Helmut (Germany); VERVEST, Pietje (Netherlands); WACHTEL, Howard (USA); WEN Tiejun (China); YAKUSHIK, Valentin (Ukraine)

LA CRISI MONDIALE... E OLTRE

Conferenza internazionale su alternative e vie di trasformazione per superare il regime del capitalismo in crisis, 28 ottobre – 1 novembre 2009, Bruxelles, Fondazione Rosa Luxemburg, Forum Mondiale delle Alternative e Instituto Transnazionale

Per la costruzione di una nuova solidarietà globale: Prospettive da Bruxelles

Noi sottoscritti, firmatari di questa dichiarazione, come intellettuali e artisti del Sud e del Nord globali, ci siamo riuniti a Bruxelles nel mezzo di uno sconvolgimento storico e di una grave crisi. I governi nazionali stanno procedendo al salvataggio del capitalismo e restaurando il neoliberismo, ma malgrado ciò non è troppo tardi per un intervento radicale. Vogliamo ispirare nuovi paradigmi di relazioni sociali e di rapporti con la natura e perciò proponiamo gli elementi per un sistema alternativo a tutti i livelli, fondato su una nuova solidarietà globale. Vogliamo portare in primo piano le necessità delle persone e combattere l'aumento della povertà e l'impoverimento, vogliamo controllare e tagliare il settore finanziario, lottare per una giustizia ambientale, recuperare i beni comuni e frenare la guerre. Sono le persone che devono prendere le decisioni. L'intreccio della crisi ambientale, economica e sociale è strutturale ed esige azioni urgenti.

La crisi è finita, o almeno dicono. No. Il mondo si trova nel mezzo di uno sconvolgimento storico, anche se a detta del G20, dell'Unione Europea e in parte anche dell'ONU sembrerebbe solo una questione di semplice aggiustamento. Non c'è in vista alcun cambiamento autentico. Al contrario, alla bolla dei mercati finanziari sta seguendo una bolla politica.

Cercano di restaurare il dominio neoliberista e la logica del capitalismo in crisi. Sì, lo stanno facendo, e guardando alle strutture del potere globale dobbiamo confessare che possono farlo.

Il capitalismo globale ha trascinato il mondo in una crisi profonda. Alla crisi si accompagnano l'attuale saccheggio delle risorse naturali ed energetiche del pianeta, principalmente nel Sud, l'imminente collasso climatico, una crisi alimentare dagli effetti devastanti come fame, povertà e migrazioni. Inoltre il mondo si confronta con una diseguaglianza sociale sempre più profonda e una divisione fra le classi sempre più accentuata, oltre al crescente potere delle multinazionali, alle guerre e alla tendenza a soluzioni autoritarie. Tutte queste diverse forme di crisi sono la conseguenza di una logica creata dal capitalismo, dal patriarcato, dall'imperialismo, dal (neo)colonialismo, dalla militarizzazione e dallo sfruttamento degli esseri umani e della natura. Questa logica dovrà cambiare, oppure il pianeta e l'umanità dovranno affrontare conflitti più gravi e pervasivi.

Nuovi paradigmi

E' giunta l'ora degli interventi radicali. Ciò significa delineare una teoria legata a progetti concreti di cambiamento con una chiara prospettiva di trasformazione verso una società di solidarietà. Gli obiettivi più importanti sono: salvare la terra, far cessare le guerre, eliminare la denutrizione e la povertà e ottenere la completa emancipazione sociale.

In tutto il mondo numerosi movimenti sociali e politici e molte iniziative locali stanno organizzando la resistenza e costruendo nuovi paradigmi. Le esigenze principali della vita umana sul pianeta includono: la priorità dei bisogni di ogni singola persona nel contesto di un processo collettivo controllato dal popolo; il passaggio dagli attuali rapporti di sfruttamento rispetto alla natura a rapporti di rispetto come fonte della vita; e una democrazia completa da attuare in tutti i rapporti sociali e le istituzioni politiche, economiche e culturali. Ciò comporta anche l'eguaglianza per le donne in tutti i settori della società. Il multiculturalismo offrirà a tutte le culture e le conoscenze la possibilità di contribuire a una visione mondiale e all'etica necessaria per la trasformazione.

La lotta per la trasformazione esige di collegare e rafforzare i movimenti sociali e politici di tutto il mondo. Dall'appello degli zapatisti e dalla nascita del movimento dei movimenti a Seattle, la protesta e la resistenza sono andate crescendo a tutti i livelli. Malgrado ciò, continuano ad essere frammentati. Tuttavia abbiamo esempi che danno speranza: i movimenti contadini e dei *sem tierra*, i movimenti delle donne e degli indios, i movimenti per la giustizia sociale, i movimenti operai e le iniziative per un lavoro degno, i movimenti dei migranti e dei rifugiati, i movimenti ambientalisti, quelli per la restituzione del debito ai paesi del Sud e, ultimo ma non meno importante, quello per la pace.

Alternative

E' necessario tenere presenti anzitutto i bisogni e le aspirazioni della gente. Come primi passi, esigiamo le redistribuzione immediata e radicale della ricchezza dei proprietari privati ai popoli del Sud, alle classi inferiori di tutto il mondo e alla sfera pubblica: il 75% in meno di ricchezza nelle mani dei ricchi e dei superricchi. Non dobbiamo pagare né la crisi né l'emissione di nuovo debito nazionale. All'inizio queste rivendicazioni si potrebbero soddisfare per mezzo di una forte imposizione fiscale sulle grandi fortune, sui profitti delle imprese, sugli alti redditi personali e le eredità, e anche sulle transazioni finanziarie e i movimenti di divise. Il debito formatosi per l'espropriazione privata o il saccheggio e lo sfruttamento coloniale dovrebbe esser restituito.

E' necessario appoggiare le lotte delle classi popolari. Le risorse del pianeta devono porsi al servizio in primo luogo della lotta contro la fame, la denutrizione e la povertà, e anche per compensare la distruzione delle risorse naturali e degli habitat e per porre le basi di uno sviluppo sostenibile. Vanno rinforzati gli investimenti per infrastrutture e servizi pubblici in generale. I redditi da lavoro e gli investimenti per lo sviluppo sociale e ambientale devono prevalere rispetto ai profitti degli azionisti. Bisogna garantire il diritto al lavoro e all'alimentazione. Va incrementato l'impiego pubblico per contrastare la precarietà. Ciò significa estendere le forme collettive e cooperative di lavoro, che contribuiscono in modo

ciente allo sviluppo umano, arricchiscono i rapporti umani e non sono orientate alla produzione di plusvalore.

E' necessario controllare e tagliare il settore finanziario globale: via subito il 75%!. Esigiamo il divieto di *assets* tossici, di derivati, di *hedge funds*, *private equities* e di capitale a rischio. Vogliamo che si prevengano nuove liberalizzazioni, che si intensifichino i controlli bancari, finanziari e del capitale e che siano eliminati i paradisi fiscali. Bisogna stabilire una moneta globale di solidarietà e un ordine finanziario e commerciale che favorisca l'eguaglianza nel commercio e l'equilibrio negli scambi, e che favorisca anche lo sviluppo sostenibile e degli standard (minimi) sociali e politici. Non soltanto le banche, ma anche gli investimenti in sé devono venir socializzati e convertiti in una funzione pubblica, invertendo la priorità a favore delle persone e non dei profitti.

E' necessario un mutamento drastico e urgente della totalità dei modi di produzione, distribuzione e consumo. E per questo bisogna: socializzare i settori chiave delle economie e delle risorse naturali; iniziare immediatamente una conversione ambientale radicale; incrementare la qualità e la sostenibilità dei prodotti per ridurre la formazione di rifiuti; sostituire l'industria agraria di monocultura con un'agricoltura contadina organizzata in cooperative. Bisogna ridurre il consumo di energia e di risorse naturali del 75% e le emissioni di CO2 per un altro 75%. Vogliamo giustizia climatica!

Che siano le persone a decidere! Ciò significa dare contenuto alla democrazia rappresentativa elettorale e promuovere una democrazia partecipativa con consultazioni popolari; la gente deve pianificare i processi e partecipare all'amministrazione dei comuni e all'elaborazione del bilancio, dove si prendono le decisioni effettive. Ciò comporta una democratizzazione dell'economia che va oltre la classica cogestione operaia e stabilisce un'autentica partecipazione dei lavoratori, dei sindacati, dei consumatori e di altri interessati alla presa di decisioni delle imprese (con impatto su tutta la catena di produzione transnazionale). L'obiettivo è di sostituire gli organi direttivi capitalisti con consigli direttivi collettivi inseriti nelle strutture amministrative locali, territoriali e comunitarie.

Dobbiamo esigere i beni comuni! Le necessità di base vanno coperte con i beni comuni, cioè dovrebbe esistere l'accesso fondamentalmente gratuito alla terra, alle sementi, all'acqua e all'aria pulita. Non devono esistere brevetti sulla vita. La conoscenza, la tecnologia e la ricerca devono far parte dei beni comuni, al pari di un sistema di trasporti locali gratuiti e di accesso gratuito a tutti i beni fondamentali di interesse generale. Va impedito qualsiasi tentativo di privatizzare la proprietà pubblica e bisogna invertire la tendenza di vendere tutto quanto appartiene alla sfera comune. Vanno difesi ed estesi i sistemi pubblici di assicurazione sociale e bisogna rispondere con politiche concrete alle necessità abitative sia nel Sud che nel Nord.

E' necessario creare un'economia della cura solidale, ritornare a occuparsi della salute, l'istruzione e la formazione, la ricerca, la sovranità alimentare e la riforma agraria, i servizi sociali, la cura di bambini, anziani e malati, nonché dell'ambiente naturale. Ciò costituirebbe anche un contributo per creare un nuovo modo di produzione ecologico, per modificare i rapporti di genere nel senso dell'emancipazione della donna, e per sviluppare la pratica del viver bene. Bisogna orientarsi verso la de-mercatizzazione, il mercato interno, la regionalizzazione e, in parte, la de-globalizzazione in modo da contrastare i modelli di crescita

triale basati su esportazione, privatizzazione e valore di scambio, che provocano l'aumento della diseguaglianza e gli squilibri in tutto il mondo.

Vogliamo il ritiro di tutti gli eserciti occidentali e la chiusura delle basi militari straniere. Il maggior spreco di tutti è l'enorme quantità di denaro speso per i mezzi di distruzione. Perciò esigiamo la riduzione delle spese militari di almeno il 75%; l'abolizione del diritto di veto nel Consiglio di Sicurezza dell'ONU; lo smantellamento della NATO; il divieto di tutte le armi nucleari.

Programma di lavoro

Abbiamo contribuito a sviluppare un'analisi, abbiamo previsto la crisi e contribuito a delegittimare il neoliberismo. Ma non siamo ancora riusciti a superare le strutture del potere dominante. Il capitalismo neoliberista ha cominciato a perdere credibilità, ma domina ancora sul mondo.

Nostro obiettivo comune è infrangere questo dominio. Esiste una convergenza delle diverse lotte, un'intensa comunicazione, un'esplicita solidarietà, una cooperazione concreta e ci sono i primi esperimenti con progetti iniziali concreti. Noi, da parte nostra, diamo un appoggio totale alle diverse lotte e lavoriamo per metterle in comunicazione. Come intellettuali, cerchiamo di dare coerenza alle nostre prospettive e alla nostra prasi.

E' necessario iniziare azioni urgenti per evitare che la crisi diventi ancor più seria e causi danni maggiori. Le azioni immediate comprendono:

- la partecipazione al Vertice mondiale sul clima a Copenhagen o l'organizzazione di azioni decentralizzate a favore della giustizia climatica; il rifiuto dei meccanismi di mercato come il commercio delle quote di carbonio; la trasformazione immediata della catena energetica; il rifiuto dell'energia nucleare;
- il rifiuto di ampliare le liberalizzazioni; il blocco dei prossimi negoziati dell'OMC e dei cosiddetti Accordi di associazione economica e Trattati di libero scambio con il Sud;
- la prevenzione di tagli della spesa pubblica per compensare il debito pubblico causato dalla crisi; l'appoggio alle lotte contro la crisi; il divieto dei derivati e di vendite allo scoperto e la chiusura dei paradisi fiscali; il divieto di speculare con gli alimenti e l'energia; una moratoria del pagamento del debito da parte dei paesi del Sud;
- la riappropriazione dei beni comuni, le fabbriche, la terra e il settore pubblico, e la partecipazione nell'azione politica;
- la cessazione delle guerre e il disarmo mondiale.

Una nuova solidarietà globale

La nuova solidarietà globale si fonda sulla lotta delle vittime del sistema economico dominante, delle nazioni del Sud, che sono oggetto di politiche imperialistiche, e delle classi subalterne del Nord e del Sud, sfruttate e rese vulnerabili. Per questo è necessaria la cooperazione fra grandi regioni del mondo sulla base della complementarità. Il nostro pianeta va rispettato e protetto e va aperto il dialogo fra le diverse culture del mondo. Ciò significa realizzare il bene comune dell'umanità. La solidarietà globale è la nostra unica garanzia di poter continuare a sperare nel futuro dell'umanità.

Noi abbiamo i numeri e le idee. Ma loro detengono ancora il potere. Prendiamolo noi!

Firmatorio:

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O MUNDO EM CRISE – E DEPOIS?

Conferência internacional sobre as alternativas e as vias de transformaçoes possíveis para vencer o regime do capitalismo em crise, 28 de outubro – 1º de novembro de 2009, Bruxelas, Fundação Rosa Luxemburgo, Fórum Mundial pelas Alternativas e Transnational Institute

Construie uma Solidariedade Nova e Global: Perspectivas a partir de Bruxelas

Nós, os signatários desta declaração, bem como intelectuais e ativistas do Sul Global e do Norte Global, encontramo-nos em Bruxelas durante uma reviravolta histórica e uma crise severa. Ainda que os governos nacionais venham a socorrer o capitalismo e restaurem o neoliberalismo, não é tarde demais para uma intervenção radical. Desejamos inspirar novos paradigmas quanto às relações sociais e às relações com a natureza. Propomos, assim, pistas para sistemas alternativos em todos os níveis, baseados em uma nova solidariedade global. Concentremo-nos sobre as necessidades dos povos para lutar contra a pobreza e a destituição que não cessam de aumentar, controlemos e reduzamos a importância do setor financeiro, abramo-nos para a justiça climática e a reivindicação de bens comuns, e paremos as guerras. Cabe aos povos decidir. O emaranhado de crises ecológicas, econômicas e sociais é estrutural e necessita que ajamos com toda a urgência.

A crise passou, é o que se diz. Não. O mundo se encontra em uma revirovalta histórica, ainda que, considerando-se o G20, a União Européia e mesmo as Nações Unidas em menor escala, pareça que é apenas questão de se proceder a uma pequena reorganização. Uma mudança real não está em vista. Em compensação, a bolha dos mercados financeiros é atormentada por uma bolha política.

Eles tentam restaurar a dominação neoliberal e a lógica do capitalismo de crise. Sim, é o que eles fazem e – tendo em vista as estruturas do poder global – nós devemos mesmo admitir que: Sim, eles podem conseguir.

O capitalismo global arrastou o mundo para uma crise severa. Esta crise está acompanhada do saque contínuo dos recursos naturais e energéticos do planeta, sobretudo no Sul; da iminência de uma catástrofe climática; de crises alimentares com suas consequências devastadoras, como a fome, a pobreza e a migração. Além disso, o mundo conhece um aumento das desigualdades sociais e um aprofundamento das divisões de classe, mas também o poder crescente das multinacionais, as guerras e uma tendência a recorrer a soluções autoritárias. Todas estas diversas formas de crise são as consequências de uma lógica moldada pelo capitalismo, o patriarcado, o imperialismo, o (neo) colonialismo, a militarização e a exploração dos seres humanos e da natureza. Uma outra lógica deve substituí-la, ou então conflitos invadirão o planeta e a humanidade, hoje e sempre.

Novos paradigmas

É hora de intervenções radicais. Isto significa conceber uma visão ligada a projetos de mudanças concretas, com uma verdadeira perspectiva de transformação rumo a sociedades solidárias. Os principais objetivos são: salvar o planeta, pôr fim às guerras, vencer a fome e a miséria e realizar a igualdade social e a plena emancipação.

Por todo o mundo, numerosos movimentos sociais e políticos, bem como numerosas iniciativas locais organizam a resistência e constroem novos paradigmas. As principais condições para a vida humana sobre o planeta incluem: prioridade às necessidades de cada pessoa em um processo de produção controlado pelos povos, inversão das relações de exploração da natureza em favor de relações respeituosas para com esta fonte de vida e plena democracia em todas as relações sociais e instituições políticas, econômicas e culturais. Isto significa igualdade para as mulheres em todos os setores das sociedades. O multiculturalismo permitirá que todas as culturas e os saberes contribuam para uma visão mundial e para uma ética necessária a uma real transformação.

A luta pela transformação implica a conexão e o fortalecimento dos movimentos sociais e políticos em escala mundial. Desde o chamado dos Zapatistas e o nascimento do movimento global depois dos eventos de Seattle, os protestos e as resistências não cessaram de proliferar em todos os níveis. No entanto, eles restam dispersos... Todavia há exemplos encorajantes: os movimentos de sem terra e de camponeses, os movimentos de mulheres e de índios, os movimentos pela justiça social, os movimentos dos trabalhadores e as iniciativas por um trabalho conveniente, os movimentos de imigrados e de refugiados, os movimentos pela justiça climática e pela restituição da dívida dos países do Sul e enfim, e sobretudo, os movimentos pela paz.

Alternativas

Devemos nos concentrar sobre as necessidades e aspirações dos povos. Em primeiro lugar, exigimos uma redistribuição imediata e radical da riqueza dos proprietários privados aos povos do Sul, às classes mais pobres em geral e também ao domínio público – retirar 75 por cento dos bens das mãos dos ricos e super-ricos. Não pagaremos pela crise e pelas próximas dívidas nacionais que dela resultarão. Estas exigências poderiam, em um primeiro tempo, ser satisfeitas por um pesado imposto sobre as fortunas, sobre os lucros das multinacionais, sobre as altas rendas pessoais, sobre as heranças e, em seguida, sobre as transações financeiras e os mercados monetários. A dívida contraída pela expropriação privada, o saque e a exploração coloniais deve ser restituída.

Sustentemos os combates das classes populares! Os recursos mundiais deveriam, sobretudo, ser colocados à disposição da luta contra a fome, a miséria e a pobreza, mas também para compensar a destruição dos recursos naturais, das condições de vida e para financiar o desenvolvimento durável. Os investimentos nas infra-estruturas e nos serviços públicos devem ser aumentados de maneira geral. Os salários bem como os investimentos no desenvolvimento social e ecológico devem ser contemplados antes dos interesses dos acionários. O direito ao trabalho e à alimentação devem ser garantidos. É preciso aumentar o emprego no serviço público para enfrentar a precaridade. Isto implica na expansão de

formas de trabalho coletivo e cooperativas, o que contribuirá de maneira eficaz ao desenvolvimento humano e enriquecerá as relações sociais, uma vez que estas formas de vida não estão orientadas para a realização de mais-valia.

Controlemos e reduzamos a importância do setor financeiro global: 75 por cento a menos imediatamente! Exigimos a proibição dos bens tóxicos, dos produtos derivados, dos *hedge funds* e das ações privadas. Exigimos um basta de maior liberalização, o endurecimento dos controles bancários, financeiros e do capital, bem como o fechamento dos paraísos fiscais. Precisamos estabelecer uma moeda global de solidariedade e uma ordem financeira e comercial que promova o desenvolvimento durável e as normas sociais e políticas. Não são apenas os bancos mas também as formas de investimento existentes que devem ser socializados e se tornarem funções públicas, para inverter a prioridade dos lucros no lugar dos povos.

Uma mudança real e urgente de todo o modo de produção, distribuição e consumo é necessária. Isto exige: a socialização dos setores-chave da economia e dos recursos naturais, o lançamento imediato de uma conversão radical para a ecologia, uma melhoria da qualidade e da durabilidade dos produtos a fim de reduzir o consumo excessivo, a substituição da monocultura oriunda da agro-indústria por uma agricultura camponesa e cooperativa. Reduzir em 75 por cento o uso da energia e dos recursos; 75 por cento de emissões a menos. Justiça para o clima!

Cabe ao povo decidir! Isto implica em garantir uma democracia eleitoral representativa e promover uma verdadeira democracia participativa nascida de um *consultas populare*, a planificação dos projetos pelos povos, pelos conselhos populares, e uma participação orçamentária, onde as decisões concretas são tomadas. Isto implica também em uma democratização da economia, que supera a co-gestão clássica dos trabalhadores e que permite uma real participação dos trabalhadores, dos sindicatos, dos consumidores ou de qualquer outro agente, nas tomadas de decisões nas empresas (o que terá um impacto sobre toda a cadeia de produção transnacional). O objetivo é de substituir o conselho administrativo capitalista por conselhos administrativos coletivos, que garantam os interesses dos conselhos comunitários e territoriais.

Reclamemos o comum! Sendo as necessidades de base bens comuns, elas deveriam ser acessíveis a todos, uma vez que o acesso livre à terra, às sementes, à água e ao ar não poluído é indispensável. Nunca mais haver patentes sobre a vida. O saber, a tecnologia e a pesquisa devem igualmente fazer parte do comum, desde o sistema de transporte local gratuito até o livre acesso a todo outro bem de base de interesse geral. É preciso parar de um só golpe toda tentativa de privatização das propriedades públicas e inverter a tendência a empobrecer o domínio público. É preciso defender o sistema de seguridade social e ampliá-lo; e uma política concreta deve satisfazer as necessidades de moradia dos países do Sul e do Norte.

Concentremo-nos na realização de uma *economia solidária e responsável*, fixemos nossa atenção na saúde, na educação e instrução, na pesquisa, no direito absoluto à alimentação e à reforma agrária, nos serviços sociais, nos cuidados dispensados às crianças, aos mais velhos e aos doentes, bem como ao nosso meio ambiente natural. Acima de tudo, isto trará uma contribuição a um modo de produção ecológico, a uma nova forma de emancipação das relações homem-mulher e ao desenvolvimento de uma prática do *bien vivir*.

Uma nova orientação que tende rumo à desmercantilização, ao mercado local, à regionalização, e que, em parte, vai de encontro à mondialização e seu comércio de exportação dos modelos de produção industriais, à privatização e ao sistema de valorização, bem como às desigualdades crescentes e aos desequilíbrios no mundo que dela resultam.

Retirar todos os exércitos ocidentais e fechar todas as bases militares no exterior. O maior desperdício provém da colossal soma de dinheiro gasta com os meios de destruição. É por isso que exigimos: um mínimo de 75 por cento de redução dos gastos militares, a abolição do direito de veto do Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas, o desmantelamento da OTAN, a proscrição de toda arma nuclear.

Programa de trabalho

Ajudamos a desenvolver uma análise, previmos uma crise e contribuímos à deslegitimação do neoliberalismo. Entretanto, ainda não pudemos triunfar sobre as estruturas prevalecentes do poder. O capitalismo neoliberal começou a perder sua credibilidade, mas ele permanece dominante. Nosso objetivo comum é de romper essa dominação. Há uma convergência das diferentes lutas, há uma intensa comunicação e uma solidaridade explícita, uma cooperação e experiências sentidas, que deram lugar a projetos concretos. De nossa parte, damos pleno sustento às diferentes lutas e trabalhamos para fazer relações entre elas ou conectá-las. Enquanto intelectuais, tentamos trazer coerência a nossas perspectivas e a nossas práticas.

Há uma necessidade de ação urgente para evitar que a crise se torne ainda mais grave e crie ainda mais danos. Esta ação imediata significa:

- participar da Cúpula Mundial sobre o Clima em Copenhague ou de ações descentralizadas pela justiça climática; rejeitar os mecanismos do mercado, como o do carbono; transformar imediatamente a área energética; recusar a energia nuclear;
- recusar o aumento da liberalização; fazer obstáculo às próximas negociações da OMC, bem como aos auto-nomeados acordos de parceria econômica e àqueles que regulam o livre-comércio com os países do Sul;
- prevenir a diminuição dos gastos do Estado a fim de pagar a dívida estatal que resulta da crise; sustentar as lutas contra a crise; proibir os produtos derivados e a venda a descoberto; fechar todos os paraísos fiscais; proibir a especulação sobre a alimentação e a energia; exigir uma moratória sobre os pagamentos da dívida dos países do Sul;
- reapropriar-se dos bens comuns, as usinas, a terra e o domínio público, mas também participar à ação política;
- cessar as guerras; conduzir ao desarmamento em escala mundial.

A nova solidariedade global

A nova solidariedade global é construída sobre as lutas das vítimas do sistema econômico dominante – as nações do Sul –, que são alvos das políticas imperialistas, e as classes subalternas do Norte e do Sul, que são ou exploradas ou tornadas vulnerávies. Isto implica em uma cooperação entre as grandes regiões do mundo, sobre a base de uma complementaridade. Isto necessita do respeito e da proteção do planeta e de um diálogo entre as diver-

sas culturas do mundo. Isto significa a realização do bem comum da humanidade. A solidaridade global é a única garantia de esperança para o futuro da espécie humana.

Somos numerosos e temos as idéias. Eles tem sempre o poder. Tomemo-lo!

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THE WORLD CRISIS – AND BEYOND

International conference on alternatives and transformation paths to overcome the regime of crisis-capitalism, October 28 – November 1, 2009, Brussels

Фонд Розы Люксембург, Всемирный форум альтернатив и Транснациональный институт

За новую глобальную солидарность

Брюссельские перспективы

Мы, подписавшие данное заявление – интеллектуалы и активисты глобального Юга и глобального Севера – собрались в Брюсселе на исторической переломной фазе, в разгар беспримерного кризиса. Национальные правительства делают все для спасения капитализма и реставрации неолиберализма. Однако еще не поздно провести радикальные интервенции. Мы выступаем за новые парадигмы как социальных отношений, как и отношения к природе и предлагаем элементы альтернативных систем на всех уровнях, основывающиеся на новой глобальной солидарности. На переднем плане должны стоять потребности человека и поэтому необходимо бороться против растущей бедности и обнищания, обуздать финансовый сектор и осуществлять его широкий контроль, а также выступать за климатическую справедливость и передачу принадлежащих обществу благ человеку, за прекращение всех войн. Дайте возможность людям принимать решения. Сочетание экологического, экономического и социального кризиса обусловлено структурно. Наши действия настоятельно необходимы.

Они говорят, что кризис миновал

Неверно. Мир находится на переломе исторических масштабов. Заявления «двадцатки», ЕС и частично ООН, конечно, звучат так, как будто речь идет только о небольшой новой настройке системы. Глубоких изменений не видно. За пузырем на финансовых рынках следуют пузыри политических речей.

Элиты и глобальные институты стремятся восстановить доминирование неолиберализма и логику кризисного капитализма. Да, они это делают. А перед лицом глобальных структур власти мы должны признать: «Yes, they can" - да, они это могут. Глобальный капитализм вверг мир в тяжелый кризис. Он сопровождается продолжающимся разграблением природы и энергетических ресурсов планеты, в частности, на глобальном Юге, угрозой климатического коллапса, кризиса продовольствия с его опустошающими последствиями, такими как голод, бедность и миграция. Кроме того, мир сталкивается с ростом социального неравенства и

углублением классового раскола, ростом власти транснациональных концернов, войнами и тенденцией к авторитарным решениям. Разнообразие проявлений кризиса является следствием логики, вытекающей из капитализма, патриархата, империализма, (нео)колониализма, милитаризации и эксплуатации человека и природы. Эту логики необходимо сменить, иначе миру и человечеству грозят новые, длительные конфликты.

Новые парадигмы

Время радикального вмешательства пришло. Необходимо выработать видение, в котором конкретные проекты преобразований будут увязаны с четкой перспективой трансформаций в направлении солидарного общества. Основными целями здесь являются спасение земли, окончание войн, голода и бедности, а также установление социального равенства и полная эмансипация.

Во всем мире возникают многие социальные и политические движения, а также местные инициативы, противодействующие неолиберальному доминированию и одновременно позволяющие увидеть зачатки альтернатив. Основными условиями будущего общежития являются: главенство потребностей каждого в отдельности в ходе регулируемого человеком процесса производства; отход от эксплуататорского отношения к природе и переход к ее уважению как источнику жизни; полная демократия во всех социальных отношениях, а также политических, экономических и культурных институтах. Это включает в себя равенство женщины и мужчины во всех сферах общества. И, наконец: мультикультурность, через которую все культуры и формы знания смогут способствовать формированию видения мира и этики, необходимой для преобразований.

Борьба за изменение требует создания всемирных сетевых связей и укрепления социальных и политических движений. Со времени воззвания сапатистов и создания глобального движения движений в Сиэтле нарастает протест на всех уровнях общества. Правда, он еще расколот. Тем не менее, есть ободряющие примеры: движение безземельных, крестьян, а также рабочих; инициативы женщин, автохтонных народов и беженцев; движения за социальную и климатическую справедливость, целенаправленная работа, возврат долгов Югу и не в последнюю очередь: за мир.

Альтернативы

Сосредоточимся теперь на потребностях и надеждах людей. В качестве первых шагов мы требуем: немедленного и радикального перераспределения частного владения между народами Юга и низшими классами по всему миру, а также в пользу государственного сектора – на 75% меньше капитала в руках богатых и сверхбогатых! Мы не будем платить за кризис и оплачивать вызванные им долги государств. Этой цели можно достичь первыми шагами с помощью высоких налогов на состояние, прибыли предприятий, высокие доходы, наследование, а также финансовые и валютные операции. Долги Юга – возникшие вследствие частной конфискации и колониального разграбления – должны быть возвращены.

Поддержим борьбу низших классов. Ресурсы мира должны использоваться, прежде всего, на борьбу с голодом и бедностью, как возмещение за эксплуатацию природных ископаемых и разрушенные условия жизни, а также на финансирование устойчивого развития. Инвестиции в государственную инфраструктуру и услуги необходимо увеличить, оплата труда, равно как и инвестиции в социальное и экологическое развитие должны получить преимущество перед доходами акционеров. Право на труд и право на получение пищи должны быть безусловными. В то же время государственный сектор занятости должен быть расширен с целью противодействия нарастающей прекаризации. Это включает в себя расширение коллективных и кооперативных форм труда, не ориентированных на создание добавленной стоимости, эффективно способствующих развитию человека и обогащающих межчеловеческие отношения.

Контроль и сокращение глобального финансового сектора: на 75%, незамедлительно! Мы требуем запрета «токсичных бумаг», деривативов, хедж-фондов и частных моделей паевого участия. Не должно быть дальнейшей либерализации – вместо этого более строгий контроль системы банков, финансов и капитала, а также закрытие налоговых оазисов. Необходима солидарная мировая валюта и глобальный финансовый и торговый порядок, устраняющий неравновесие, способствующий устойчивому развитию и обеспечивающий социальные и политические (минимальные) стандарты. Инвестиции сами по себе – и тем самым не только банков – должны быть национализированы и стать государственной задачей. Главенство прибыли по отношению человеку было бы превращено в свою противоположность.

Необходимы настоятельные глубокие изменения в способе производства и потребления, а также в системе распределения. Здесь непреложно: обобществление основных секторов экономики, а также природных ископаемых; незамедлительное начало радикальных экологических преобразований; более высокое качество и большая продолжительность срока эксплуатации продуктов с целью уменьшения расточительного потребления; замена аграрно-промышленных монокультур кооперативным мелкокрестьянским сельским хозяйством. На 75% меньше потребления энергии и природных ресурсов, на 75% меньше экологически вредных выбросов. Климатическая справедливость сегодня!

Дайте людям возможность принимать решения. Представительная парламентская демократия должна получить содержательное наполнение. Кроме того, это означает создание целенаправленной партиципативной демократии с властью принятия решения – с обязательными общенародными референдумами, процессами планирования снизу, советами и гражданскими бюджетами. Необходима демократизация экономики по другую сторону классического участия в принятии решений, с истинным участием работников, профсоюзов, групп потребителей и других участников в принятии предпринимательских решений. Это имело бы последствия для всей транснациональной цепочки производства. Цель должна состоять в замене капиталистических наблюдательных и управляющих советов и правлений коллективными органами, включенными в региональные и муниципальные советы.

Дайте нам вернуть общие блага! Основные потребности должны удовлетворяться общественными благами путем бесплатного доступа к земле, посевным материалам,

воде и чистому воздуху. Хватит выдавать патенты на жизнь. Знания, техника и научные исследования должны стать общим благом в такой же мере, как общественный транспорт и доступ к товарам общей необходимости. Любая попытка приватизации государственной собственности должна быть остановлена, а распродажа государственной сферы должна быть отменена. Необходимо защищать и расширять системы социального страхования, а также разрабатывать политические подходы к удовлетворению потребности в жилье на Юге и на Севере.

Сосредоточимся на солидарной *экономике обеспечения*, новой ориентации на здравоохранение, образование и профессиональную подготовку, научные исследования, продовольственный суверенитет и земельную реформу, социальные службы, уход за детьми, престарелыми и больными, а также на заботе о нашей природной окружающей среде. Это было бы также вкладом в экологический способ производства, в эмансипационные отношения полов, а также в развитие практики «хорошей жизни» (ben vivir). Ориентация на внутренний рынок, регионализация и зачатки деглобализации противостоят подстегиваемой экспортом, индустриальной модели роста, приватизации и реализации, нарастающей несправедливости и неравенству в мире.

Мы требуем вывода всех армий Запада и закрытия всех иностранных военных баз. Самым большим расточительством вообще являются гигантские расходы на оружие и военное снаряжение. Военные расходы по всему миру должны сократиться минимум на 75%! Право вето Совета безопасности ООН нужно ликвидировать так же, как и НАТО. Все ядерное оружие должно быть запрещено.

Программа работы

Мы участвовали в анализе современного капитализма, предсказали кризис и способствовали развенчанию неолиберализма. Но нам не удалось преодолеть господствующие структуры власти. Неолиберальный капитализм хотя и утрачивает свою достоверность, но продолжает доминировать.

Наша совместная цель состоит в том, чтобы сломить это доминирование. Существуют совмещение различных видов борьбы, интенсивная коммуникация, солидарность и кооперация, а также эксперименты с конкретными стартовыми проектами. Мы всеми силами поддерживаем различные виды борьбы и стремимся установить между ними сетевые связи. Как интеллектуалы мы стремимся придать нашим оценкам и рекомендациям целостный характер.

Необходимы неотложные действия с целью предотвращения обострения кризиса и возникновения его еще более вредных последствий. К ним относятся:

- участие в контрсаммите по вопросам климата (климатический форум) в Копенгагене или организация децентрализованных действий в защиту климатической справедливости; отказ от рыночных механизмов, таких как торговля углеродом; непосредственная трансформация энергетических цепочек; отказ от ядерной энергии;

- отказ от дальнейшей либерализации; предотвращение предстоящих переговоров о вступлении в ВТО, а также о так называемых соглашениях об экономическом партнерстве и соглашений о свободной торговле с Югом;
- предотвращение сокращения государственных расходов, которые должны покрыть более высокую государственную задолженность, возникшую вследствие кризиса; поддержка борьбы против кризиса; запрет торговли деривативами, а также «пустых продаж», закрытие налоговых оазисов; запрет на спекуляцию продовольствием и энергией; отсрочка платежей по долгам Юга;
- возврат общенационального достояния, такого как фабрики, земля и общественность, а также участие в политических действиях;
- окончание войн и всемирное разоружение.

Новая глобальная солидарность

Новая глобальная солидарность основывается на борьбе жертв господствующей экономической системы, стран Юга как целей империалистической политики, а также подчиненных классов Севера и Юга, которые подвергаются эксплуатации и становятся уязвимыми. Она включает в себя сотрудничество между большими регионами мира, которые должны взаимно дополнять друг друга. Новая глобальная солидарность требует уважения и защиты планеты и диалога между культурами. Она означает реализацию общего блага человечества. Только глобальная солидарность может дать человечеству надежду на будущее.

У нас есть массы и у нас есть идеи. У них есть власть – пока. Давайте завоюем ее!

Подписали**:**

АБИОЛА, Хафсат (Нигерия); АЛЬТФАТЕР, Эльмар (Германия); АМИН, Самир (Сенегал); БОТРЕЕ, Виктория (Франция); БОДЕ, Пьер (Канада); БЕЛЛО, Вальден (Филиппины); БРЕННАН, Брид (Нидерланды); БРИ, Михаэль (Германия); КАНДЕИАС, Марио (Германия); КАНЕПА, Эрик (Италия); КАССЕН, Бердир (Франция); КАТАЛИНОТТО, Джон (США); ЧАЧра, Сандип (Индия); КОКС, Дженнифер (США); ДАЙБЕР, Бригит (Германи/Бельгия); ДИРКСЕНС, Вим (Гондурас/Коста-Рика); ДРИССИ ШАЛЬБИ, Хассаниа (Тунис); ЭСКЕЛИНЕН, Теппо (Финляндия); ФУНУ,Бернар (Камерон/Сенегал); ГОТЬЕ, Элизабет (Франция); ЖОРЖ, Сузан (Франция); ДЖИЛЛС, Барри К (Великобритания); ХАБАШИ Мамду (Египет); ХАГЕН, Марк (Германия); ХАЙФНЕ, Хеннинг (Германия); ХУТАР, Франсуа (Бельгия); КИТ, Дот (Южная Африка); КУЛЬКЕ, Ролан (Бельгия/Германия); ЛАНДЕР, Эдгардо (Венесуэла); ЛАУ, Кин Чи (Гонконг); МАССИА, Гюсмтав (Франция); МЕНОН Мина (Индия); МЕРКУШЕВ, Виталий (Россия); МОЙО, Самсон (Зимбабве); МЁРТИ, П.К. (Индия); НАКАТАНИ, Пауло (Бразилия); ОСМАНОВИЧ, Армин (Германия); ПАЭС, Педро (Эквадор); РИЛЛИНГ, Райнер (Германия); РОША, Флориан (Швейцария); ШОЛЬЦ Гельмут (Германия); ВЕРВЕСТ, Петье (Нидерланды); УОЧТЕЛ, Ховард (США); ВЕН Тьеюн (Китай); ЯКУШИК, Валентин (Украина).

克服危机资本主义体制的另类方案与变革路径 国际会议
布鲁塞尔 2009年10月28日至11月1日
罗莎•卢森堡基金（RLF）、另类实践世界论坛（WFA）、跨国研究中心（TNI）合办

建立新的全球团结
布鲁塞尔倡议

我们是来自全球南方和全球北方的知识分子和行动者，在此历史动荡及严峻危机的时刻聚首于布鲁塞尔，签署本文。尽管各国政府正设法拯救资本主义、复苏新自由主义，然而，我们要以彻底的方式介入事态的根本，为时未晚。我们期望启发新的范型，促进新的社会关系及人与自然的关系，立足于新的全球团结，在所有层面上倡议另类体系的种种要素。让我们专注于人民的需要，致力对抗愈益严重的贫穷和赤贫化，控制金融部门并缩减其规模，为气候公义而斗争，重新取回属于公有共享的财富，并且遏止战争。决定要由人民作出。生态、经济和社会危机的困境是结构性的，急需大家采取行动。

他们说，危机已过去了。

不。世界正处于历史的动荡时刻，虽然看看G20集团、欧盟甚至是联合国的处理方式，似乎只需要少许的调整；真正的改革无迹可寻。但其实，紧随金融市场泡沫而来的，将是一个政治泡沫。

他们试图恢复新自由主义的支配权，振兴危机 -
资本主义的逻辑。是的，他们试图这样做，而观乎全球的权力结构，我们得承认：是的，他们有能力这样做。

全球资本主义体系使世界陷入严峻危机。伴随着危机的，是如火如荼地掠夺地球的自然资源和能源，首要是对南方世界肆意劫掠，此外还有迫在眉睫的气候崩溃、粮食危机，以及随之引发的连串恶果，例如饥荒、贫穷、流徙。更有甚者，世界正面临日益严重的社会不平等以及愈加剧烈的阶级分化，随之是跨国企业的势力不断膨胀、战争蔓延，更多以强权的方式来解决问题。这些形形色色的危机是某套运作逻辑的恶果，而塑造出这套逻辑的，是资本主义、父权体制、帝国主义、(新)殖民主义、军事化和对人类及自然的剥削。这套逻辑必须被取代，否则地球和人类将面临冲突进一步蔓延的困境。

新的范型

是时候需要大家彻底地介入事态的根本了。这意味着构想某种愿景，把它连结上具体的变革计划，以清晰的视野迈向建设团结互助的社群社会。当务之急是：拯救地球、制止战争、消灭饥饿与贫穷，达致社会平等与全面解放。

在世界各地，众多的社会与政治运动、众多的本土积极行动，正在组织反抗，建立新的范型。地球上的人类生存的基本需求包括：以地球上每个人的需要为优先考虑，为满足这些需要而进行的生产过程要由人民掌握；扭转剥削自然的关系，转而视自然为生命的泉源而心怀敬畏；在所有社会关系以及政治、经济、文化建制中实行全面民主。这也意味着在社会所有层面上女性享有平等。对文化多元性的尊重，将赋予所有文化及知识体系都有机会作出奉献，共同参与构建变革所需的世界愿景和伦理观。

为了变革而斗争，意味要连结并且强化世界各地的社会及政治运动。自从萨帕塔运动的呐喊响起，以及西雅图各种运动汇合出现全球运动以来，各个层面的抗议和反抗与日俱增。然而运动仍流于割裂。不过亦有令人鼓舞的例子：各种无地贫民与农民运动、妇女及原住民运动、社会公义运动、工人运动以及争取良好工作条件的倡议、移民与难民运动、气候公义运动、争取北方归还南方债务的运动，还有和平运动。

另类方案

让我们专注于人民的需要和期盼。作为第一步，我们要求：立即把财富以彻底根本的方式重新分配给南方人民、全球的低下阶层，以及归入公有共享的领域；富翁和超级富翁手上的财富应该减少75%。我们不会为危机付帐，也不会承担接踵而来的新国债。为了满足这些要求，可以首先向财富、企业利润、个人的高收入、遗产、金融及货币交易等征收重税。通过侵占攫取变成私产、殖民掠夺及剥削而导致的债项，都应该归还原主。

支持人民群众的斗争！世界的资源应该主要用于解决饥饿和贫困，补偿对自然和人民存活条件的破坏，并资助可持续发展。一般而言，应该加强投资公共基建和服务。工资，以及对社会及生态发展的投资，应该优先于企业股东权益。获得工作及粮食的权利应该受到保障。为了抗衡人民朝不保夕的情况，应该增加公共雇员。这意味扩大集体与合作的工作形式：它们有效地促进人类发展，令人际关系变得丰富，而不是为了生产剩余价值。

必需控制和缩减全球金融部门的规模：立即缩减75%！我们要求禁止有毒资产、衍生工具、对冲基金和私募基金。我们要求防止进一步自由化，收紧对银行、金融和资本的

控制，关闭避税港。需要建立一种团结的全球货币，以及金融贸易秩序，以促进贸易平等、收支平衡，并促进可持续发展和符合基准的社会及政治标准。不仅是银行业，还有投资本身也应该社会化，成为公共功能，扭转利润追逐，转而以人民的福祉为优先考虑。

有迫切的必要全面改变生产、分配和消费的模式。这需要：把经济和自然资源的核心部门社会化；立即采取积极行动根本扭转当前的模式，使其有利于生态；改良产品的质量及耐用性以减低消费上的浪费；以合作化的小农农业来取代农业企业。减少75%的能源及资源消耗，减低75%的废气排放。要气候公义！

让人民决定！这意味以实质的内涵来补充民主选举代议制，促进有意义的参与性民主，推动大众咨询、人民规划的过程、议会及参与式预算案制定，其中有效的决议要被贯彻执行。这需要经济民主化，它的内涵超越经典的工人共同决定，在企业决策中确保工人、工会、公众消费者和其它利益相关者能真正参与(要对整个跨国生产链产生影响)。要实现的目标是要以集体的董事会取代资本主义的董事会，让它和地方及社区的议会结合起来。

重新取回对公有共享领域的权利！基本需要应该作为公有共享的福利而向人民提供，也就是说人民应该基本上自由享用土地、种子、饮用水及无污染的空气。不应该再容许生命知识被专利权垄断。知识、技术和研究应该是公有共享的一部份。此外还应该包括免费的本地交通系统，以及免费享用涉及公众利益的所有基本需要。必须制止把公众财产私有化的任何企图，而当前出售公有共享领域的趋势也必须逆转过来。公众的社会保障体系应该受到保护和扩充。也必须采取具体的措施以回应南方和北方人民的住房需要。

让我们专注于建设一种团结关怀的经济，重新调整方向，关注健康、教育与培训、研究、粮食主权和土地改革、社会服务，关怀儿童、长者及病人，还有自然环境。这会有助于发展符合生态保育的生产模式，有助于重新安排体制以促进解放的性别关系，以及发展达致美好存活方式的实践。让我们重新导向，逐步去除商品化，着重国内市场和地区化，以及某程度的去全球化，以抗衡出口导向、工业增长模式、私有化、资本增值，以及世界上愈益严重的不平等和失衡。

西方国家的军队应从国外撤军，并且关闭海外军事基地。把大量金钱花在毁灭性的暴力工具之上，是最大的浪费。因此我们要求：最少削减75%的军事开支；废除联合国安全理事会常任理事国的否决权；解散北约；禁止所有核武器。

工作纲领

我们尽了绵力分析事态趋势，预测危机的到来，并批判新自由主义使之失去认受性。然而我们仍然无法推翻当前的主导权力结构。新自由资本主义开始丧失可信性，却仍然占着支配地位。

我们的共同目标是打破这种宰制格局。各种斗争正在汇聚，人们热烈进行交流，休戚与共，相互合作，尝试推进种种具体的初步实验。我们全力支持多种多样的斗争，努力与之连结。作为知识分子，我们努力知行合一。

为了防止危机恶化并且导致更大的伤害，有需要采取紧急的行动。当下的行动包括：

– 参与哥本哈根的世界气候高峰会，组织推进气候公义的地方性行动；反对市场式机制，例如碳排放交易；立即变革能源链；反对核能；
– 拒绝进一步的自由化政策；阻止即将召开的世贸谈判以及与南方签订的所谓经济合作协议及自由贸易协议；
– 防止削减政府开支以偿还危机导致的国债；推进抵抗危机的斗争；禁止衍生工具交易、买空卖空；关闭逃税港；禁止食物和能源的投机炒卖；容许南方延期偿还债务；
– 人民重新掌握公有共享的财富、工厂、土地和属于公众的领域；人民参与政治行动；
– 制止战争，全球解除军备。

新的全球团结

新的全球团结建基于主导的经济体系中受害者的抗争，立足于南方国家的斗争(她们沦为帝国主义政策的标靶)，以及基于北方和南方底层民众的斗争(他们要不是饱受剥削便是处境岌岌可危)。这讲求在互补互惠的基础之上，世界上广大地区之间进行合作。这需要尊重和保护地球，以及世上不同文化之间的对话。这意味着实现人类公有共享的福祉。全球团结是人类前途希望的惟一保证。

我们有的是人数和理念，他们有的是权力。让我们取回权力吧！

ABIOLA, Hafsat (Nigeria); ALTVATER, Elmar (Germany); AMIN, Samir (Senegal); BAW-TREE, Victoria (France); BEAUDET, Pierre (Canada); BELLO, Walden (Philippines); BRENNAN, Brid (Netherlands); BRIE, Michael (Germany); CANDEIAS, Mario (Germany); CANEPA, Eric (Italy); CASSEN, Bernard (France); CATALINOTTO, John (USA); CHACHRA, Sandeep (India); COX, Jennifer (USA); DAIBER, Brigit (Germany/Belgium); DIERCKXSENS, Wim (Honduras/Costa Rica); DRISSI CHALBI, Hassania (Tunesia); ESKELINEN, Teppo (Finland); FOUNOU, Bernard (Cameron/Senegal); GAUTHIER, Elisabeth (France); GEORGE, Susan (France) GILLS, Barry K (UK); HABASHI Mamdouh (Egypt); HAGEN, Mark (Germany); HEINE, Henning (Germany); HOUTART, François (Belgium); KEET, Dot (South Africa);

KULKE, Roland (Belgium/Germany); LANDER, Edgardo, (Venezuela); LAU Kin Chi (Hong Kong); MASSIAH, Gustave (France); MENON, Meena (India); MERKUSHEV, Vitaly (Russia); MOYO, Samson (Zimbabwe); MURTHY, P.K. (India); NAKATANI, Paulo (Brasil); OSMANOVIC, Armin (Germany); PÁEZ, Pedro (Ecuador); RILLING, Rainer (Germany); ROCHAT, Florian (Switzerland); SCHOLZ, Helmut (Germany); VERVEST, Pietje (Netherlands); WACHTEL, Howard (USA); WEN Tiejun (China); YAKUSHIK, Valentin (Ukraine)

مؤسسة روزا لوكسمبورج،

منتدى البدائل العالمي

المعهد العابر للقوميات

الأزمة العالمية وما بعدها

المؤتمر الدولي للبدائل وطرق التحول

من أجل التغلب على نظام رأسمالية- الأزمة

بروكسيل 28 أكتوبر- 1 نوفمبر 2009

نحو بناء تضامن عالمي جديد

(منظورات بروكسيل)

نحن الموقعين على هذا الإعلان، من مثقفين ونشطاء في جنوب العالم وشماله، قد اجتمعنا في بروكسيل في لحظة تاريخية تتسم بالاضطراب والأزمة الحادة. فالحكومات الوطنية منشغلة بإنقاذ الرأسمالية واستعادة النيوليبرالية، ورغم هذا فإن الوقت ليس متأخرًا جدًا للقيام بتدخلات إيجابية . إننا نود أن ندفع إلى الأمام بمنظورات جديدة للعلاقات الاجتماعية وعلاقة الإنسان بالطبيعة، ومن ثم نقترح عناصر لنظم بديلة على كل المستويات وتقوم على أساس تضامن عالمي جديد. لقد حان الوقت كي ينصب اهتمامنا على الاحتياجات الشعبية فنكافح الفقر والإفقار المتزايدين، والعمل على التحكم في القطاع المالي وتقليصه، والنضال من أجل عدالة مناخية واستعادة الطبيعة وإيقاف الحروب . لقد حان الوقت للشعوب كي تقرر. ذلك أن تفاقم الأزمات البيئية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية قد اتخذ أبعادًا بنيوية ويتطلب اتخاذ تدابير عاجلة دونما تأخير.

هم يزعمون انتهاء الأزمة.

ونحن نقول لا. فالعالم يمر بحالة من التأزم التاريخي، على الرغم مما يبدو أن مجموعة الـ 20 والاتحاد الأوربي وجزئيًا الأمم المتحدة يتناولون الأمر كما لو كان يتعلق بمسألة إعادة ترتيب صغيرة. ولا نرى تغييرًا حقيقيًا في الأفق، وبدلاً من هذا نرى أزمة سياسية تلوح في أعقاب انفجار فقاعة الأسواق المالية.

إنهم يحاولون استرداد سيطرة النيوليبرالية ومنطق الأزمات الرأسمالية . نعم هذا هو ما يفعلونه الآن بالضبط، ولا بد من الاعتراف بأنهم يستطيعون ذلك بالنظر إلى بني القوى العالمية.

لقد جرت الرأسمالية العالمية العالم وراءها إلى أزمة حادة . ويصاحب هذه الأزمة الاستمرار في الموارد الطبيعية والطاقة على كوكبنا، ومعظمها في الجنوب، والانهيار الوشيك للمناخ، والأزمات ال غذائية بنتائجها المدمرة من مجاعات وفقر وهجرة.

وبالإضافة إلى هذا يواجه العالم تنامي المظالم الاجتماعية وتعمُّق الانقسام الطبقي، مصحوبين بتزايد قوة الشركات عابرة القوميات، واندلاع الحروب وزيادة الميل إلى الحلول التسلطية . إن كل تلك الأزمات متعددة الأشكال قد جاءت نتيجة للمنطق المشكل للرأسمالية، وخصوصًا الإمبريالية والاستعمار (الجديد) والعسكرة واستغلال البشر واستنزاف الطبيعة. ولا مفر من إقصاء هذا المنطق وإلا واجه الكوكب والبشرية المزيد من الصراعات المهلكة.

منظورات جديدة

هذا هو وقت التدخلات الراديكالية . ونعني بها صياغة رؤية ذات مشروعات محددة وملموسة للتغيير، وبمنظور واضح للتحول إلى مجتمعات تضامنية. ولتكن أهم أهدافنا: إنقاذ الأرض، إيقاف الحروب، التغلب على الجوع والفقر، وإنجاز المساواة الاجتماعية والتحرير الكامل للإنسان.

إن العالم يموج الآن بأعداد هائلة من الحركات الاجتماعية والسياسية والكثير من المبادرات المحلية التي تضطلع بتنظيم المقاومة وبناء منظورات جديدة . إن المتطلبات الأساسية لاستمرار الحياة على كوكبنا تتضمن : إعطاء الأولية لاحتياجات كل البشر على الكوكب وفي إطار عملية إنتاجية يتحكم فيه الشعب؛ إحلال علاقات احترا م الطبيعة كمصدر الحياة محل العلاقات الاستغلالية القائمة؛ وكفالة الديمقراطية الكاملة في جميع العلاقات الاجتماعية والمؤسسات السياسية والاقتصادية والثقافية. وهو ما يتطلب أيضًا كفالة المساواة للنساء في كافة قطاعات المجتمع . كما سوف تساعد التعددية الثقافية في تم كين سائر الثقافات والمعارف من الإسهام في تشكيل الرؤية العالمية المبتغاة والأخلاقيات الضرورية لإنجاز التحول.

وإن النضال من أجل هذا التحول يتطلب ربط وتقوية الحركات الاجتماعية والسياسية في جميع أركان العالم . فمنذ النداء الذي أطلقته الحركة الزاباتية ونشأة حركة الحركات في سياتل، والاحتجاجات والمقاومة تتناميان على كل المستويات. ومع ذلك فإنها لا تزال مفتتة. وإن كان هذا لا ينفي وجود نماذج مشجعة : حركة الفلاحين بلا أرض والحركات الفلاحية الأخرى، حركات النساء والسكان الأصليين، حركات النضال من أجل العدالة الاجتماعية، ال حركات العمالية والمبادرات من أجل شروط عمل لائقة، حركات المهاجرين واللاجئين، حركات حماية مناخ الكرة الأرضية وتعويض بلدان الجنوب وحماية السلام.

البدائل

علينا أن نركز اهتمامنا على احتياجات وتطلعات البشر . وفي هذا الاتجاه نطالب بخطوات أولى: إعادة توزيع عاجلة وجذرية للثروة من الملاك الخواص إلى شعوب الجنوب والطبقات الدنيا عالميًا وإلى المجال العام- أي 75%

ثروة أقل في الأثرياء وفاحشي الثراء . ونحن لن ندفع ثمن الخروج من الأزمات وتراكم المزيد من الديون الوطنية . ويمكن الوفاء بهذه المطالب مبدئيًا عن طريق فرض ضرائب مرتفعة على الثروات وأرباح الشركات والدخول الشخصية الكبيرة والمواريث والمعاملات المالية والنقدية . كما لا بد من رد الديون التي تكبدتها الشعوب عبر عمليات السلب الخاص والنهب الاستعماري والاستغلال.

لندعم نضالات الجماهير الشعبية! ولا بد من توجيه الموارد العالمية بالدرجة الأولى إلى مكافحة الجوع والمجاعات والفقر، وإلى التعويض عن تخريب الموارد الطبيعية وشروط المعيشة ولتمويل التنمية المستدامة . كما ينبغي بوجه عام الالتزام بالاستثمار الكثيف في البنيات التحتية والخدمات العامة . وإلى جانب الاستثمار في التنمية الاجتماعية والبيئية، ينبغي أن تُعطى الأولوية للرواتب عن قيمة الأسهم . ويجب ضمان الحق في العمل والغذاء . وينبغي زيادة التوظيف العام في مواجهة البطالة . وهو ما يعني التوسع في أشكال العمل الجماعي والتعاوني التي يمكن أن تسهم بفعالية في التنمية البشرية وإثراء العلاقات الإنسانية، والتي لا تتوجه نحو إنتاج فائض القيمة.

فليمارس التحكم في القطاع المالي ويخفض حجمه : 75% أقل الآن! إننا نطالب بحظر الأصول السامة من المشتقات المالية وصناديق التحوّط والأوراق المالية الخاصة . ونطالب بمنع المزيد من اللبرلة الاقتصادية، وبفرض رقابة صارمة على المصارف وحركة الأموال ورأس المال، وإغلاق الملاذات الآمنة للتهرب الضريبي. ونحن بحاجة إلى عملة عالمية تضمنية، وإلى نظام مالي وتجاري يشجع التعامل على أساس من تعادل الميزان التجاري والحسابات الجارية، ويعمل على تحقيق التنمية المستدامة وتوفير (الحد الأدنى من) المعايير الاجتماعية والسياسية . ولا يجب تشريك البنوك فقط وإنما يجب أن يسرى هذا أيضًا على الاستثمار الذي ينبغي أن يصبح وظيفة عامة تعيد الأولوية للإنسان بدلاً من الأرباح.

من الضروري إجراء تحول جذري عاجل على مجمل أنماط الإنتاج والتوزيع والاستهلاك . وهو ما يقتضي : تشريك قطاعات الاقتصاد الرئيسية والمارد الطبيعية؛ الإدخال العاجل لنظم راديكالية للمحافظة على البيئة؛ رفع جودة واستدامة المنتجات بهدف خفض الهدر الاستهلاكي؛ إحلال الزراعة الفلاحية التعاونية محل الثقافة الأحادية للاحتكارات الزراعية. خفض 75% في استهلاك الطاقة والموارد الطبيعية، وخفض 75% في الانبعاثات الكربونية . العدالة المناخية!

لندع الشعوب تقرر! ويعني هذا ملء الديمقراطية الانتخابية التمثيلية بالمضمون، وتطوير ديمقراطية مشاركة ذات مغزى تكفل الاستشارة الشعبية وعمليات التخطيط الشعبي ومجالس شعبية والمشاركة في إعداد الميزانيات وبما يكفل اتخاذ قرارات فعالة. ويستتبع هذا إجراء مقرطة على الاقتصاد تذهب إلى ما هو أبعد المشاركة الكلاسيكية للعمال في اتخاذ القرار، وتنشئ مشاركة حقيقية للعمال والنقابات والمستهلكين وغيرهم من الشركاء في عمليات اتخاذ القرار بالشركات (بما في هذا التأثير في مجمل سلسلة الإنتاج العابرة للقوميات). والهدف هنا هو إزاحة مجالس المديرين الرأسمالية بمجالس إدارة جماعية تنضوي في مجالس إقليمية ومحلية.

لنستعد الملكية المشتركة! ينبغي أن تتاح الاحتياجات الأساسية باعتبارها سلعً عامة، بمعنى أن تكون هناك حرية وصول إلى الأرض والبذور والمياه والهواء غير الملوث . ويجب ألا تكون هناك براءات ملكية فيما يتعلق بالحياة. إذ ينبغي أن تصبح المعرفة والتكنولوجيا والبحوث جزءًا من الملكية المشتركة، وكذلك شبكات النقل المحلية وكذلك النفاذ الحر إلى جميع السلع الأساسية الأخرى ذات الاهتمام العام . يجب إيقاف كل محاولات خصخصة الملكية العامة، ولا بد من تغيير الاتجاه الرامي لبيع المجال العام المشترك . ويجب الدفاع عن الأنظمة العامة للتأمين الاجتماعي وتبني سياسات محددة تستجيب لاحتياجات السكن في بلدان الجنوب والشمال.

ليتم التركيز على اقتصاد يرعى التضامن، بإعادة التوجه نحو الصحة والتعليم والتدريب والبحث والسيادة على الغذاء والإصلاح الزراعي والخدمات الاجتماعية ورعاية الأطفال والمسنين والمرضى وحماية البيئة الطبيعية . وهو ما سيكون مساهمة أيضًا في نمط إنتاج يراعي استدامة البيئة، وإعادة تنظيم تحريرية لعلاقات النوع الاجتماعي، وتطوير ممارسة العيش الطيب للجميع . إن إعادة التوجه هذه صوب إنهاء التسليع، والسوق المحلية، والأقلمة، وجزئيًا إنهاء العولمة.. سوف تصد نماذج النمو الصناعي القائمة على التصدير، والخصخصة والإفقار، وكذلك جوانب اللامساواة والاختلالات في عالمنا.

لتنسحب كل الجيوش الغربية ولتغلق القواعد العسكرية الأجنبية. إن الهدر الأكبر الذي نعاني منه يتمثل في كميات الأموال الهائلة التي تنفق على وسائل القوة المدمرة . لذا نطالب بـــ: 75% خفضًا في الإنفاق العسكري، وإلغاء حق النقض في مجلس الأمن بالأمم المتحدة، وتفكيك حلف النيتو، وحظر جميع الأسلحة النووية.

برنامج العمل

لقد عملنا طويلاً على تطوير تحليلاتنا، والتنبؤ بالأزمات، وأسهمنا في نزع الشرعية عن النيوليبرالية، لكننا لم نصبح قادرين بعد على التغلب على هياكل القوة القائمة . فالرأسمالية النيوليبرالية بدأت تفقد مصداقيتها فعليًا، لكنها لا تزال مسيطرة.

إن هدفنا المشترك هو كسر هذه السيطرة. وهناك توافق على النضالات المختلفة، ويوجد اتصال مكثف، وتعبير عن التضامن، وممارسة للتعاون وتجارب لمشروعات أولية ملموسة. ونحن بدورنا نؤكد تأييدنا لمختلف النضالات ونعمل على إقامة الصلات بينها. ونحن كمثقفين سنسعى إلى إضفاء المزيد من التماسك على منظوراتنا وممارستنا.

إن هناك احتياجات عاجلة للحيلولة دون أن تزداد الأزمة خطورة وتسبب المزيد من الأضرار . ومن ضمن احتياجات العمل العاجل:

– المشاركة في قمة المناخ العالمي بكوبنهاجن أو تنظيم أنشطة غير مركزية من أجل العدل المناخي؛ رفض آليات السوق مثل الاتجار في الانبعاثات الكربونية؛ التحويل العاجل لسلسة الطاقة؛ رفض الطاقة النووية؛

– رفض إدخال المزيد من اللبرلة؛ رفض المفوضات المقبلة لمنظمة التجارة العالمية وما تسمى اتفاقات الشراكة والمناطق الحرة مع بلدان الجنوب؛

– الحيلولة دون خفض الإنفاق العام لسداد ديون الدول الناجمة عن تفاقم الأزمة؛ دعم كل النضالات في مواجهة الأزمة؛ حظر المشتقات المالية وعمليات البيع السريعة وإغلاق الملاذات الضريبية الآمنة؛ منع المضاربات على الغذاء والطاقة؛ تعليق دفع بلدان الجنوب للديون؛

– إعادة الملكية المشتركة للمرافق والمصانع والأراضي، إلى جانب المشاركة في العمل السياسي؛

– إيقاف الحروب، ونزع السلاح عالميًا.

من أجل تضامن عالمي جديد

ينبني التضامن العالمي الجديد على نضال ضحايا النظام الاقتصادي السائد، من بلدان الجنوب التي تستهدفها السياسات الإمبريالية، والطبقات المهمشة في الشمال والجنوب المعرضة للاستغلال أو الاستضعاف على السواء. وهو ما يقتضي التعاون بين أقاليم العالم الكبرى على أساس التكامل. كما يتطلب احترام وحماية الكوكب والحوار بين الثقافات المختلفة في عالمنا. وهو ما يعني في النهاية تحقيق الخير المشترك للبشرية. إن التضامن العالمي هو الضمانة الوحيدة للأمل في مستقبل الإنسانية.

نحن تملك الأعداد والأفكار. وهم مازالوا يملكون القوة. فلنحصل نحن عليها!

ABIOLA, Hafsat (Nigeria); ALTVATER, Elmar (Germany); AMIN, Samir (Senegal); BAW-TREE, Victoria (France); BEAUDET, Pierre (Canada); BELLO, Walden (Philippines); BREN-NAN, Brid (Netherlands); BRIE, Michael (Germany); CANDEIAS, Mario (Germany); CANEPA, Eric (Italy); CASSEN, Bernard (France); CATALINOTTO, John (USA); CHACHRA, Sandeep (India); COX, Jennifer (USA); DAIBER, Brigit (Germany/Belgium); DIERCKXSENS, Wim (Honduras/Costa Rica); DRISSI CHALBI, Hassania (Tunesia); ESKELINEN, Teppo (Finland); FOUNOU, Bernard (Cameron/Senegal); GAUTHIER, Elisabeth (France); GEORGE, Susan (France) GILLS, Barry K (UK); HABASHI Mamdouh (Egypt); HAGEN, Mark (Germany); HEINE, Henning (Germany); HOUTART, François (Belgium); KEET, Dot (South Africa); KULKE, Roland (Belgium/Germany); LANDER, Edgardo, (Venezuela); LAU Kin Chi (Hong Kong); MASSIAH, Gustave (France); MENON, Meena (India); MERKUSHEV, Vitaly (Russia); MOYO, Samson (Zimbabwe); MURTHY, P.K. (India); NAKATANI, Paulo (Brasil); OSMANO-VIC, Armin (Germany); PÁEZ, Pedro (Ecuador); RILLING, Rainer (Germany); ROCHAT, Florian (Switzerland); SCHOLZ, Helmut (Germany); VERVEST, Pietje (Netherlands); WACHTEL, Howard (USA); WEN Tiejun (China); YAKUSHIK, Valentin (Ukraine)

वैश्विक संकट- और उससे आगे!
'पूंजीवाद के संकट से उबरने के विकल्पों और व्यवस्था परिवर्तन पर अंतरराष्ट्रीय संगोष्ठी
28 अक्टूबर- 1 नवंबर, 2009 ब्रुसेल्स
रोज़ा लक्समबर्ग फाउंडेशन, वर्ल्ड फोरम फॉर अल्टरनेटिव्स एंड ट्रांसनेशनल इंस्टीट्यूट

एक नई वैश्विक एकता का निर्माण, ब्रुसेल्स के परिप्रेक्ष्य में

मध्य पूर्व में उपजी ऐतिहासिक क्रांति और गंभीर संकट के परिप्रेक्ष्य में ब्रुसेल्स में जुटे उत्तरी विश्व व दक्षिणी विश्व के कार्यकर्ताओं तथा बुद्धिजीवियों के समक्ष हम अपनी उपस्थिति दर्ज करते हैं। राष्ट्रीय सरकारें नव उदारतावाद की बहाली और पूंजीवाद का बचाव करने में लगीं हैं, फिर भी अभी हस्तक्षेप की उम्मीदें बाकी हैं। हमारी कोशिश प्राकृतिक एवं सामाजिक संबंधों के नए मानदंड को प्रेरित करने की होनी चाहिए। इसलिए हम एक नई वैश्विक एकजुटता पर आधारित सभी तरह की वैकल्पिक व्यवस्था से जुड़े तथ्यों का प्रस्ताव रखते हैं। हमें लोगों कि जरूरतों पर ध्यान केंद्रित करना होगा, ताकि गरीबी और भुखमरी से निबटा जा सके। साथ ही, वित्तीय क्षेत्र के घाटे को नियंत्रित करना और जलवायु परिवर्तन के खिलाफ संघर्ष को आगे बढ़ाना होगा। इसके अलावा युद्ध को रोककर ही आम आदमी को राहत दी जा सकती है। लोगोंको तय करना होगा। पारिस्थिकीय, आर्थिक और सामाजिक संकट के उलझे हुए संरचनात्मक □ांचे में सुधार के लिए तत्काल कार्रवाई की आवश्यकता है।
वे कहते हैं, संकट खत्म हो गया है!

लेकिन नहीं, दुनिया एक ऐतिहासिक क्रांति से गुजर रही है। हालांकि, जी-20 की स्थिति और यूरोपीय संघ एवं संयुक्त राष्ट्रं की आंशिक पहल से लगता है, जैसे पुर्नव्यवस्था की बात महज एक प्रश्न भर है। यह वास्तविक बदलाव की दृष्टिं में नहीं है। इतना ही नहीं, राजनीतिक बुलबुले को देखते हुए वित्तीय बाजार का बुलबुला छोड़ा जा रहा है। अगर कुछ करना ही है, तो पूंजीवाद के संकट का तर्कसंगत हल निकालने और सही मायने में नव उदारतावाद की बहाली की कोशिश की जानी चाहिए। यह सच है कि वे यह सबकुछ कर सकते हैं और हम इसे स्वीकार भी करते हैं। वैश्विक पूंजीवाद ने ही इस दुनिया को एक गंभीर संकट में घसीटा है। यह संकट अपने साथ पृथ्वी के प्राकृतिक संसाधनों व ऊर्जा को भी पतन की ओर घसीट रहा है, जिसके विनाशकारी परिणाम के रूप में जलवायु परिवर्तन, खाद्य संकट, भूख व गरीबी देखने को मिल रही है। इसके अलावा दुनिया बढ़ती सामाजिक विषमता, वर्ग विभाजन, बहुराष्ट्रीय कंपनियों की बढ़ती ताकतें, युद्ध ओर सत्तावादी समाधान का भी सामना कर रही है। पूंजीवाद, पैतृक सत्ता, साम्राज्यवाद, नव उपनिवेशवाद, सैन्यीकरण और प्रकृति एवं मानव का शोषण जैसी स्थितियां वैश्विक संकट को

तर्कसंगत आधार देते हैं। कुल मिलाकर इन तर्कों को बदला जाना चाहिए, अन्यथा समूची दुनिया और मानव सभ्यता को अधिक व्यापक संघर्ष का सामना करना पड़ेगा।

नए मानदंड

यह समय कट्टरपंथी हस्तक्षेप के लिए उचित है। आशय, सामाजिक एकता में बदलाव से है, जिसके तहत स्पष्टं दृष्टिंकोण के साथ ठोस परियोजनाओं को बदलते परिवेश के अनुसार नए प्रारूप में □ालना है। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण लक्ष्य हैं: पृथ्वी का बचाव करना, युद्धकालीन परिस्थितियों को रोकना, भुखमरी और गरीबी पर काबू पाना, सामाजिक समानता लाना और परस्पर संबंधों को पूर्णरूपेण मुक्त बनाना आदि।

दुनिया में कई जगह सामाजिक व राजनीतिक गतिविधियां बढ़ी हैं और स्थानीय पहल के तहत नए मानदंड तय करने हेतु विविध आयोजन किए जा रहे हैं। प्राथमिकता के आधार पर पृथ्वी के प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की जरूरतों को देखते हुए उत्पादन प्रक्रिया पर लोगों का नियंत्रण हो, जीवन के एक स्रोत के तौर पर प्रकृति के नियम से शोषक संबंधों को प्रकृति के संबंध में परिवर्तित कर देना, सभी सामाजिक व राजनीतिक संबंधों तथा आर्थिक व सांस्कृतिक संस्थाओं को पूर्ण लोकतंत्र में □ाल देना आदि। इन सबका आशय यह है कि समाज के सभी क्षेत्रों में महिलाओं के लिए समानता होनी चाहिए। दुनिया की सभी संस्कृतियों और जानकारियों को उचित दिशा प्रदान करने में बहुसंस्कृतिवाद की महती भूमिका होगी तथा इससे आवश्यक नैतिकता में भी बदलाव आएगा।

दुनिया भर में सामाजिक व राजनीतिक गतिविधियों को जोड़ने तथा आपस मे मजबूत बनाने एवं बदलाव के लिए संघर्ष करना होगा। जैपेटिस्टाज की पुकार, सिएटल में विरोध और वैश्विक आंदोलन के उदय के बाद से विविध स्तर पर विरोध तथा प्रतिरोध बढ़ा है। फिलहाल, अभी तक यह समस्त प्रक्रिया विखंडित है। फिर भी, यहां कई उत्साहवद्र्धक उदाहरण मौजूद हैं: भूमिहीनों व किसानों का आंदोलन, महिलाओं का तथा स्वदेशी आंदोलन, सामाजिक न्याय का आंदोलन, श्रमिक कार्यकर्ता आंदोलन तथा मर्यादित कार्यों का निष्पादन, अप्रवासी तथा शरणार्थियों का आंदोलन, जलवायु परिवर्तन के प्रति न्याय के लिए आंदोलनों की पहल, दक्षिण के बकाया भुगतान की वापसी तथा शांति के लिए अपील आदि।

विकल्प

हमें लोगों की आवश्यकताओं और उनकी आकांक्षाओं पर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। हमारी मांगों का पहला चरण: दक्षिण के लोगों को निजी क्षेत्र के मालिकों द्वारा मूलभूत सुविधाओं तथा धन

का तत्काल प्रभाव से पुनर्वितरण किया जाना, धनी व अत्यधिक धनी के हाथों में से धन की 75 फीसदी कमी कर सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के लिए उपलब्ध कराई जाए। इस संकट के लिए हमसे भुगतान न कराकर नई राष्ट्रीय ऋण मुहैया कराई जाए। कार्पोरेट मुनाफा, व्यक्तिगत उच्च आय और वित्तीय एवं मौद्रिक लेन देन पर भारी भरकम कर लगाकर भी मांगों पर अमल किया जा सकता है। इसके अलावा निजी धन को जब्त कर, लूट और औपनिवेशिक शोषण के माध्यम से मुहैया कर्ज को चुकाया जाना चाहिए।

लोकप्रिय वर्गों के संघर्ष का समर्थन! दुनिया के संसाधनों का इस्तेमाल ज्यादातर भुखमरी और गरीबी से संघर्ष के लिए होना चाहिए। जीवन के सतत विकास एवं वित्त पोषण के पहली शर्त होनी चाहिए कि प्राकृतिक संसाधनों की बर्बादी को रोका जाए। आमतौर पर, आधारभूत □ांचे और सार्वजनिक सेवाओं के लिए मजबूती से निवेश किया जाना चाहिए। सामाजिक और पारिस्थिक क्षेत्र के विकास मेंनिवेश जरूरी है, साथ ही शेयरधारक मूल्य पर भी बढ़त लेने की जरूरत है। भोजन तथा काम के अधिकार के लिए गारंटी होनी चाहिए। सार्वजनिक रोजगार में वृद्धि की अनिश्चितता पर भी प्रतिक्रियाएं ली जानी चाहिए। इससे आशय यह है कि कार्य का विस्तार मानव विकास में योगदान तथा मानव संबंधों को समृद्ध बनाने और अतिरिक्त मूल्य वाले उत्पादन के लिए अनुकूल नहीं होगा। इसके लिए संगठनात्मक व्यवहार तथा कार्य के तरीके में सहभागिता के विस्तार को महत्व दिया जाना चाहिए।

वैश्विक वित्तीय क्षेत्र का सीमांकन और नियंत्रण: अब से 75 फीसदी! हम विषाक्त ऐसेट्स, डेरिवेटिव्स, बचाव कोष और निजी इक्विटी पर प्रतिबंध लगाने की मांग करते हैं। इसके अलावा हम और अधिक उदारीकरण, बैंक व वित्तीय संस्थानों को कसने, पूंजी एवं करों पर नियंत्रण की मांग करते हैं। हमें वैश्विक एकजुटता के लिए एक मुद्रा और एक वित्तीय एवं व्यापारिक दिशानिर्देश स्थापित करने की बेहद जरूरत है, ताकि व्यापार और चालू खाते की बाकी राशि के सामान्यीकरण को बढ़ावा मिल सके, साथ ही (न्यूनतम) सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक मानकों को प्रोत्साहन मिले। यह न केवल बैंकों, बल्कि निवेश के उन तमाम साधनों पर लागू होना चाहिए, जिनका जुडाव लोगों से है। इसे लोगों से अधिक लाभ की प्राथमिकता को ध्यान में रखते हुए सार्वजनिक कार्यक्रम भी बनाया जा सकता है।

उत्पादन, वितरण और उपभोग के समस्त पहलुओं का एक नाटकीय और आवश्यक परिवर्तन जरूरी है। आवश्यकताएं: अर्थव्यवस्था के प्रमुख क्षेत्रों तथा प्राकृतिक संसाधनों का समाजीकरण, पर्यावरण परिवर्तन को लेकर तत्काल कड़ी पहल, गुणवत्ता में बढ़ोतरी और वेस्टेज (बेकार या

कच्ची सामग्री) की खपत को कम करते हुए उत्पादों को स्थायित्व प्रदान करना, किसान सहकारी कृषि द्वारा कृषि व्यवसाय का प्रतिस्थापन। जलवायु के साथ न्याय करते हुए संसाधनों के रूप में 75 फीसदी कम उत्सर्जन और इसी प्रकार ऊर्जा के इस्तेमाल में 75 फीसदी की कटौती करना।

लोगों को तय करना होगा! इसका आशय लोगों द्वारा प्रतिनिधियों का चयन कर लोकतंत्र का निर्माण करने और लोकप्रिय कौंसुलेट के साथ मिलकर एक सार्थक भागीदारी निभाते हुए लोकतंत्र को बढ़ावा देने से है। लोगों की योजना प्रक्रियाओं, परिषदों तथा बजट में भागीदारी निभाने के लिए प्रभावी निर्णय लेने की होनी चाहिए। इससे अर्थव्यवस्था के लोकतंत्रीकरण की उस अवधारणा को बल मिलता है, जो मजदूरों के सहयोग से चलाई जा रही है और मजदूरों द्वारा उस व्यवस्था में परस्पर सहभागिता का निर्माण करती है। इसके अलावा यह श्रमिकों, संघों, सार्वजनिक उपभोक्ताओं और कंपनी के फैसले में अन्य हितधारकों की वास्तविक भागीदारी (समूचे अंतरराष्ट्रीय उत्पादन शृंखला पर प्रभाव के साथ) बनाने में मदद करती है। पूंजीवादी बोर्ड ऑफ डायरेक्टर्स के साथ सामूहिक बोर्डों, प्रादेशिक परिषदों और समुदाय कौंसिल के विस्थापन का लक्ष्य होना चाहिए।

जनसाधारण का री-क्लेम यानी पुन: प्राप्ति का दावा! आम उपभोग की वस्तुओं के रूप में बुनियादी जरूरतों की उपलब्धता होनी चाहिए, ताकि आम आदमी की आवश्यकतानुसार भूमि, बीज, पानी और प्रदूषण रहित वायु की अनिवार्यता बनी रहे, जो एक दूसरे के पूरक हैं। हालांकि, यहां जीवन पर कोई अधिक पेटेंट होना जरूरी नहीं। ज्ञान, प्रौद्योगिकी और अनुसंधान भी आम आदमी का हिस्सा होना चाहिए, साथ ही स्थानीय परिवहन प्रणाली और सामान्य हित से जुड़ी अन्य सभी बुनियादी वस्तुओं के उपयोग की भी स्वतंत्रता होनी चाहिए।
किसी भी सार्वजनिक संपत्ति का निजीकरण करने संबंधी प्रयास पर पाबंदी लगाई जानी चाहिए, साथ ही आम क्षेत्रों को बेचे जाने की प्रवृत्ति में भी बदलाव लाना जरूरी है। सार्वजनिक सामाजिक सुरक्षा प्रणाली को बढ़ावा देने के साथ साथ इन्हें बचाए रखना भी जरूरी है। इसके अलावा उत्तर और दक्षिण में आवासीय जरूरतों को पूरा करने के लिए ठोस नीतियों का निर्माण किया जाना चाहिए।
हमें एकजुट होकर अर्थव्यवस्था, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा एवं प्रशिक्षण, अनुसंधान, खाद्य संप्रभुता एवं भूमि सुधार, सामाजिक सेवाओं, बच्चों की देखभाल, बुजुर्गों, मरीजों तथा हमारे प्राकृतिक वातावरण के हित की दिशा में ध्यान देने की बेहद जरूरत है। उत्पादन के पारिस्थितिकी प्रारूप, लैंगिक संबंधों के पुनर्निर्माण और बिएन विविर के अभ्यास के विकास का योगदान भी आवश्यक है। दुनिया मेंे बढ़ते असंतुलन के साथ साथ सामग्री का गिरता स्तर (डी-कमोडिफिकेशन),

घरेलू बाजार, क्षेत्रीयता, गिरते वैश्वीकृत काउंटर निर्यात, औद्योगिक विकास प्रारूप, निजीकरण आदि विषमताओं के प्रति इसे एक पुनर्भिविन्यास कहा जा सकता है।
पश्चिमी सेनाओं को वापस लौटाने के साथ साथ विदेशी सैन्य ठिकानों को भी बंद किया जाना चाहिए, क्योंकि ऐसे विनाशकारी कामों के लिए बेमतलब भारी भरकम राशि खर्च करना कहां की बुद्धिमानी है। इसलिए हम मांग करते हैं कि: सैन्य खर्चों में कम से कम 75 फीसदी की कटौती होनी चाहिए, साथ ही संयुक्त राष्ट्र सुरक्षा परिषद में वीटो के अधिकार को समाप्त किया जाना चाहिए, नाटो को समाप्त कर सभी प्रकार के परमाणु हथियारों पर प्रतिबंध लगाया जाना चाहिए।

काम का कार्यक्रम-

हमने एक विश्लेषण के विकास में मदद की है, संकट की भविष्यवाणी की है और नव उदारतावाद की अवधारणा में योगदान दिया है। लेकिन, हम विद्यमान शक्ति संरचनाओं पर काबू पाने में अभी तक सक्षम नहीं हो पाएं हैं। नव उदार पूंजीवाद की विश्वसनीयता खोनी शुरू हो गई है, लेकिन यह अभी भी प्रभावी है।

हमें अपने साझा उद्देश्यों के लिए इस वर्चस्व को तोड़ना होगा। वहां विभिन्न संघर्ष की एक समानता है, वहां तीव्र संचार है, एकता, सहयोग और ठोस प्रारंभिक परियोजनाओं के साथ प्रयोग अभ्यास भी है। विविध संघर्षों और उन्हें जोड़ने के लिए किए जाने वाले काम में हम समय समय पर अपना पूरा समर्थन देते रहेंगे। बुद्धिजीवियों के रूप में, हमें अपने दृष्टिकोण और व्यवहार के जरिए एकजुटता बनाए रखने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

और अधिक नुकसान होने से रोकने तथा गंभीर संकट को टालने के लिए तत्काल कार्रवाई करना बेहद जरूरी है। इस त्वरित कार्रवाई में शामिल है:
- कोपनहेगन में विश्व जलवायु शिखर सम्मेलन में सहभागिता अथवा जलवायु न्याय के लिए विकेंद्रीकृत कार्यों का संगठन; जैसे- कार्बन व्यापार के रूप में बाजार तंत्र की अस्वीकृति, ऊर्जा शृंखला का त्वरित परिवर्तन, परमाणु ऊर्जा को अस्वीकृति;
- अग्रिम उदारीकरण को अस्वीकृति, आगामी विश्व व्यापार संगठन वार्ता के रोकने के रूप में अच्छी तरह से तथाकथित दक्षिण के साथ आर्थिक भागीदारी समझौते और मुक्त व्यापार समझौतों पर बुलावे के रूप में;
- राज्य के व्यय में कटौती की रोकथाम के लिए, राज्य के संकट से उत्पन्न ऋण देने के लिए, संकट के खिलाफ संघर्ष का समर्थन; डेरिवेटिव पर प्रतिबंध लगाने, लघु बिक्री, संभावित करों पर रोक; खाद्य और ऊर्जा पर अटकलों का निषेध; दक्षिण द्वारा एक ऋण भुगतान पर रोक;

- सर्व साधारण के कारखानों के पुन: विनियोग, भूमि और जनता के साथ साथ राजनीतिक कार्रवाई में सहभागिता;
- युद्धकालीन परिस्थितियों को रोकना, दुनिया का नवनिर्माण।

नई वैश्विक एकता

दमनकारी आर्थिक प्रणाली के शिकार लोगों के संघर्ष, दक्षिण के राष्ट्रों, साम्राज्यवादी नीतियों को लक्ष्य बनाने वाले देशों, उत्तर और दक्षिण के मातहत वर्ग, शोषित और कमजोर वर्ग के लोगों से मिलकर ही एक नई वैश्विक एकजुटता का निर्माण हुआ है। यह संयोग दुनिया के बड़े क्षेत्रों के बीच पूरक के आधार पर बना है। सम्मान इसकी आवश्यकता है और पृथ्वी के संरक्षण और दुनिया की विभिन्न संस्कृतियों के बीच संवाद इसके लिए बेहद जरूरी अवयव हैं। इस वसूली का आशय सामान्य मानव जाति की भलाई करना है। वैश्विक एकजुटता मानवता के भविष्य के लिए उम्मीदों की गारंटी है।

हमारे पास पर्याप्त संख्या उपयुक्त विचार हैं। वे अब भी शक्ति हैं। हमें इसे पकड़ना होगा!

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SYNOPSIS OF THESIS PAPERS

Henning Heine

PREFACE

Neoliberal financial-market capitalism has dragged the world into a crisis which threatens human civilisation as such. It is characterised by an extreme form of the combination of, on the one hand, the expansion of production, transport and life-style, with, on the other, the destruction of its own foundations, and suffers from a crisis of social reproduction, societal integration, democratic identification and security. Climate destruction, resource wars, terror, the transformation of democracy into oligarchy, class divides, a new racism and fundamentalism, etc. are unavoidable. It therefore leads to a crisis of civilisation, and produces ever stronger elements of barbarism and authoritarian power, which can only be contained at ever greater expense. (BRIE) In the contemporary global situation, the principal focus of the working masses in the world is on the ongoing and the unabated economic crises that lay centred in the US enveloping the world, as the brunt of this phenomenon is being borne by them. Bailouts and stimulus packages have been doled out by the governments of the imperialist triad – US, Europe and Japan in a bid to pull out their economies from the quagmire of this crisis variously named as – Financial Meltdown, Financial Crisis, Recession and Economic Downturn. (MURTHY PK) The current crisis marks an important historical moment, as it marks the end of a capitalist phase that has been unprecedented, from its very beginning with the industrial revolution of the 19th century and its undisputed victory over what had been its unfortunate "alter ego" for half a century: the rapidly dismissed experiment of Soviet socialism. This crisis is both fortunate and pertinent, as it is a result of capitalism itself; and that is why we must seek the reasons for the catastrophe – and why not also for its «passing» – in capitalism. (EL KENZ)

What we have unfolding before us is not a crisis of the neoliberal variant of capitalism but the crisis of capitalism. (BELLO) The financial crisis is only the visible tip of the structural crisis of the globalized capitalism today. (HABASHI) The leading groups, both at local and international level, run today – like a closed system – a "disembedded" and globalised economy, which has become "irresponsible" of the consequences and effects that it generates and that affect both man and nature. Their failure is amplified, and will be even more so in the future, by the use of new – and largely speculative – methods of obtaining profit. On the contrary, this global, brutal and profound crisis has demonstrated that the "disembedded" capitalist economy has reached its economic, political, social and ethical limits. It poses a threat to our societies, as well as to nature; it endangers both the present and the future of our world. (EL KENZ) Contemporary capitalism is first and foremost a capitalism of 'oligopoles' in the full sense of the term (which so far capitalism was only in part). The 'oligopoles' alone command the production of the economic system in its entirety. They are 'financialised' in the sense that they alone have access to capital markets. This financialisa-

tion grants monetary and financial market – their market, on which they compete with each other – the status of dominant market, which in turn fashions and commands the labour and commodity exchange markets. (AMIN)

Under capitalism, crises are parts and parcels of the accumulation process. Capital needs to deconstruct and reconstruct patterns of exploitation to offset class struggles and to face inter-capitalist and inter-imperialist competition. (BEAUDET) The financial crisis should depreciate a logically quite gigantic amount of the parasitic fictitious capital to get to restart a new accumulation cycle of the capital. However, from today on, the contradictions of the capitalist world system will be so strong that such depreciation would risk pushing it toward a downfall, with economic, social and political consequences that cannot be predicted by experts. As usual, when there is a capitalist crisis, the bourgeoisie is forced to deny a depreciation of accumulated capital by a systemic necessity - trying not to record large losses. In this way, the capitalist dominant classes become stronger than they were before - even if a part of them turns to be middle classes. In every reorganisation of capital domination during the 20th century, the improvement of the macro-economic policies allowed the system to create institutions and more efficient instruments in order to attenuate the devastating effects of its own crises, rather than to avoid the exacerbation of its internal contradictions and a convergence toward the stagnation, or even depression. (NAKATANI)

What is however specific to the present crisis is not only its global dimension but the fact that it is a combination of various crises, which are all the fruit of capitalist logic – and that is what needs to be explained. The crisis is not only a financial one. It is much more than that. It is also an economic crisis, which could lead to a world depression, with all the accompanying social ramifications. In addition moreover, we are also experiencing a food crisis, an energy crisis and a climate crisis. So we are facing today four main crises: financial and food crisis are conjunctural, but are also potentially structural. Energy and ecological crisis, on the other hand, are fully structural. (HOUTART) The global crisis is a structural crisis: economic and social; ecological, geopolitical; political and ideological. The current sequence of a financial, monetary, real estate, food, and economic crisis shows many facets of it. All these aspects play a decisive role in the confrontation between social and political movements and the ruling powers. (MASSIAH) The crisis is not merely a financial crisis – it is an economic crisis, a food crisis, a natural resources crisis, an ecological and environment crisis, a social crisis, a cultural crisis thus sowing the hollowness of the much acclaimed capitalist system. (MURTHY PK)

The reserves of neoliberalism as the organizing ideology in the transition to a transnational mode of production based on information technology are exhausted – neither a new accumulation stimulus nor a new consensus in society can be expected from it. Its institutions will continue to have effects (similarly to the end of Fordism), their position is now only "ruling", still dominant, but not "leading" (Gramsci) anymore. We are facing the most far-reaching financial and economic crisis since the 1930s, closely linked to food and energy crises, and to the destruction of employment, which means further aggravating of the precarisation of working and living conditions that thrusts large parts of society into soaring insecurity and increasingly leads to revolt at the external and internal peripheries among those most affected. Protest and resistance is forming at all levels, still fragmented and without clear direction, but periodically rising. (CANDEIAS) But first of all there is a crisis of

natural resources and the environment. Growth without limit on a world scale is not possible. In this way, capitalism is reaching its limits. By far the most dangerous crisis is the ecological crisis of climate change and loss of biodiversity. Why should we fear it most? Because with finance, food, or even social inequality, if we make enormous political efforts, it is possible to go back and start over, we can correct our mistakes and prevent these crises from recurring. Not so with the environment – once runaway global warming has taken hold, the game is over. We are on the threshold of such an extreme event, perhaps we are already past it. But since we don't know, we must act as if we still had time and make an all-out effort, right now, to reduce the burden we place on our unfortunate planet. (GEORGE)

The principle of endless accumulation that defines capitalism is synonymous with exponential growth and the latter, like cancer, leads to death.[1] The current crisis is therefore the crisis of imperialist late capitalism of generalized and financialized 'oligopoles' and at the same time a crisis of US hegemony. Taken together, the following phenomena are inextricably linked to one another: the capitalism of 'oligopoles', the political power of oligarchies, barbarous globalisation, financialisation, US leadership, the militarisation of globalisation in the service of 'oligopoles', the decline of democracy, the plundering of the planet's resources, and the abandoning of development for the South. The contemporary world is governed by oligarchies whose management of the system is in crisis. (AMIN)

The world's leaders and their advisors, particularly economists, largely remain in a state of denial. First they denied that the crisis would go beyond the housing sector; then they denied that it could spread beyond the borders of the United States; then, as the crisis did rapidly spread to the rest of the developed world and to the global South as well, they pretended that finance capitalism could somehow be »decoupled« from the real economy. Then they pretended that throwing more and more money at the banks will somehow jump start the world economy. They act as if modest measures regulating capitalism around the edges will suffice and that the crisis will quietly go away. (GEORGE) Uncertainty prevails regarding the duration of the current crisis and future prospects. Let us remember the last structural crisis, its official beginning in 1929, the Great Depression in 1930, the New Deal in 1933, the new political landscape in 1945, following a world war. Several scenarios are

[1] The industrial capitalism, which was triumphant in the nineteenth century, entered a crisis from 1873 onwards. The 'long twentieth century' – 1873-1990 – is therefore both the century of the deployment of the first systemic and profound crisis of ageing capitalism (to the point where Lenin thought that this capitalism of monopolies constitutes the 'supreme phase of capitalism') and that of the first triumphant wave of anti-capitalist revolutions (Russia, China) and the anti-imperialist movements of Asia and Africa. The second systemic crisis of capitalism began in 1971 with the abandoning of the gold convertibility of the Dollar, almost exactly a century after the commencement of the first. Investment levels and growth rates all collapsed (and never again reverted to the levels in the period 1945-75). Capital responded to the challenge not unlike in the previous crisis by a double movement of concentration and globalization. As such, capital established structures that defined the second 'belle époque' (1990-2008) of financialised globalization, allowing oligopolistic groups to levy their monopoly rent. he same discourse accompanied this process: the 'market' guarantees prosperity, democracy and peace; it's the 'end of history'. The same rallying occurred, this time by the European socialists to the new liberalism.

possible. One is that of a conservative nature, a war neoliberalism. The second is that of a fundamental reform of capitalism by choosing a neo-Keynesian and ecological approach or a "Green New Deal". The third is set in the context of the historical question of going beyond capitalism. (MASSIAH) One important question, of course, is how decisive and definitive the break with neoliberalism will be. Other questions, however, go to the heart of capitalism itself. Will government ownership, intervention, and control be exercised simply to stabilize capitalism, after which control will be given back to the corporate elites? Are we going to see a second round of Keynesian capitalism, where the state and corporate elites along with labour work out a partnership based on industrial policy, growth, and high wages – though with a green dimension this time around? Or will we witness the beginnings of fundamental shifts in the ownership and control of the economy in a more popular direction? There are limits to reform in the system of global capitalism, but at no other time in the last half century have those limits seemed more fluid. (BELLO)

The depth of the crisis and the conflict over ways to overcome it will determine the next years. It marks a historical break in capitalist development. Therefore, within the framework of revolutionary political realism, it concerns the whole societal organisation, the common disposition about the immediate conditions of life. This orientation towards the whole of the social structure is more than just a long term objective, it is an essential element to prevent the restriction or the relapse into corporatist (that is group interests in a narrow sense) or towards single reforms which regularly intensifies subalternity, what is always the case when struggles are not seen as hegemonic conflicts over the whole mode of social organisation. Then what happens is the integration of partial interests into the ruling power bloc by compromise. This is also difficult to avoid. However, conditions for at least partial steps to the left are favourable in these times, since the active consensus is eroded and splits between groups in the ruling power bloc impede or reduce their capacity to act, and the search for new social coalitions has started. – An opportunity and at the same time an especially difficult and dangerous moment for left forces. (CANDEIAS)

Is the reinstatement of the capitalism of financialised and globalised 'oligopoles' possible? Today the powers that be, those who did not foresee anything, are busy restoring the same system. Their possible success, as that of the conservatives in the 1920s – which Keynes had denounced without much of an echo at the time – will only exacerbate the scope of the contradictions which are the root cause of the 2008 financial collapse. The oligarchies of the North seek to remain in power once the crisis is over. They do not feel threatened. (AMIN) The power for example of the US empire to impose its economic model and its military control around the world depends on the lack of consciousness and independent political organization among the victims of the same system within the belly of the beast. As long as this growing class of poor and excluded of all races in the US remain unorganized and isolated from the global movement for "Another World" – the poor of our country will continue being used as cannon fodder and as an unconscious social, political and material base for the empire and its twin heads – neoliberalism and militarization. (COX/HONKALA) By contrast, the fragility of the power held by the autocracies of the South is clearly visible. The model of globalisation that is currently in place is therefore vulnerable. Will it be questioned by the revolt in the South, as was the case in the previous century? Probably so, but that would be cause for sadness. For humanity will only commit itself on

the road to socialism – the only humane alternative to chaos – once the powers of the oligarchies, their allies and their servants, will have been defeated both in the countries of the North and those in the South. (AMIN)

Ultimately, an analysis of the overall situation suggests that we are facing a real crisis of civilisation. It is impossible to consider solutions without a vision and an analysis of the whole, without a holistic approach. A simple regulation of the economic system would not be particularly significant if it were simply to involve beginning again anew, from where one had left off before the crisis. What is the use, indeed, of developing and regulating a financial system to finance a productive system which is as destructive of ecological and social realities as the one we now have? How can a solution to this crisis move us beyond the parameters of capitalism? (HOUTART) The urge for transformation poses the question, whether it will be more society-driven or more state-driven, whether they display a local, national or global reach and whether they have a short-term, medium or long term impact. In the real world the struggle for alternatives takes place within civil society as well as in the political arena of the state, sometimes within, sometimes against, and very often without the state, i.e. state subsidies. (ALTVATER)

Building throughout the world the widest social and political alliances is indispensable to avoid what could be another onslaught against the peoples like we have seen in the past century. (BEAUDET) The challenge is to define a new emancipatory project. There are already social relations foreshadowing this development, the same way capitalist social relations emerged in feudal societies. The new world, born from the old world, is beginning to take shape today, and it will experience difficulties. It is starting out from contradictions already experienced and it will create new contradictions. A new, collective emancipatory project is on the agenda. Capitalism is not eternal; the question of going beyond it is now topical. And we must start from now on to build another possible world. (MASSIAH)

CHAPTER I: CAUSES OF THE CRISIS OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM AND ITS MULTIPLE INTERTWINING FACES

General causes

The main causes of current crisis are autonomization and disembedding of the financial markets due to liberalization and deregulation since the 1970s, a generation of high financial claims due to „financial innovations“, the „accumulation by dispossession“ as well as greed of individual managers. Moreover, in the real and productive economy, surpluses of real accumulation shrinked and profit rates of productive industrial capital fell. Economic growth rates decreased and already rich countries „saturated“. (ALTVATER) The fundamental crisis is overaccumulation. From the progressive perspective, what we are seeing is the intensification of one of the central crises or »contradictions« of global capitalism: the crisis of overproduction, also known as overaccumulation or overcapacity. The result is an erosion of profitability, leading to an economic downspin. (BELLO) Though, the economic crisis is a "normal" working way of the capitalist system, even though its causes and mechanisms can vary in every historic period. (NAKATANI)

The multiple intertwining faces of the crisis: Financial and monetary crisis

Since the dismantling of the Bretton Woods structure, the credit system has had considerable changes, in particular, the creation of derivatives (allowing the use of other credits or contracts on the future prices of assets). The deregulation and integration of the stock exchange and banks into globalise markets moved the centre of power gravity towards the leading finance, whose diktats imposed themselves on the economic logic. (NAKATANI) Financial markets have detached from the real productive economy and generate claims independent on the efficiency and power of the productive economy. Capital became fictitious capital.2 The claims of financial investors must be serviced out of the surpluses produced in the productive sectors of the economy. (ALTVATER) We are talking here of those famous derivatives, made possible by mathematical and information science, yet uncontrollable in their use. As in physics, which made possible the generation of nuclear energy and hence also its use as atomic bomb, the "ICTs" have served to generate speculative superprofit, i.e. "bubbles" that eventually generate crises. (EL KENZ)

The present financial crisis is linked, as has been true of past crises, with overproduction and under-consumption. (HOUTART) The form of development of this financial-market capitalism is inevitably one of the continual creation of speculative bubbles, within which societal wealth is redistributed from the bottom up and from the public to the private sector. The accumulation of approx. $200 trillion in private cash fortunes is generating gigantic utilisation and redistribution pressure. If a real interest rate of only one per cent were to be paid on these fortunes, fully four per cent of the global gross product would be required, and would be paid exclusively and parasitically to this class of the global idle rich. When these bubbles burst, the bill is presented to the waged strata of the population, and to the public sector. (BRIE)

Real estate crisis

Dynamics of the current crisis stem from the collapse of the US housing market, also known as the Subprime Implosion. Some key dimensions of it was Alan Greenspan's encouraging the housing bubble by cutting the prime rate to a 45-year-low of 1 per cent in June 2003 and keeping it there for over a year to counter the recessionary effects of the bursting of the technology bubble of the early 1990's.[3] How did problematic mortgages

[2] The creation place of the "fictitious capital" is the system of credit, that not only consists of the banks, but also of the stock exchange, the insurance companies, pension funds, speculative investment funds (hedge funds) and other similar institutions. State and enterprises being the two extremities of the chain. Nowadays, it is right to add the derivatives and contracts on exchange rate, interest rate, stock prices. These instruments originated from the over-accumulation of capital money in the '60s and '70s, mainly from the Eurodollars and petrodollars in the inter-banking markets. In spite of its lack of contribution to the production, this capital benefits from surplus value redistribution and nourishes the creation of fictional capital as a mean of its own remuneration. (NAKATANI)

[3] The subprime mortgage crisis was not a case of supply outrunning real demand. The »demand« was largely fabricated by speculative mania on the part of developers and financiers that wanted to make great profits from their access to foreign money that flooded the US in the last decade.

become such a massive problem? The reason is that these assets were then »securitized« – that is converted into spectral commodities called »collateralized debt obligations« (CDOs) that enabled speculation on the odds that the mortgage would not be paid. These assets were then bundled with other assets and traded by the mortgage originators working with different layers of middlemen who understated risk so as to offload them as quickly as possible to other banks and institutional investors. These institutions in turn offloaded these securities onto other banks and foreign financial institutions. The idea was to make a sale quickly, get your money upfront and make a tidy profit, while foisting the risk on the suckers down the line – the hundreds of thousands of institutions and individual investors that bought the mortgage-tied securities. When the interest rates were raised on the subprime loans, adjustable mortgage, and other housing loans, the game was up. Global capitalism's gigantic circulatory system was fatally infected. And, as with a plague, we don't know who and how many are fatally infected until they keel over because the whole financial system has become so non-transparent owing to lack of regulation. (BELLO)

Economic downturn

We all know that it is not only a financial crisis, but an economic one, affecting the fundamentals of the economy, typical of the capitalist system. (HOUTART) It is now causing a crisis in the actual economy, on an international level. That is, it is causing a large scale global recession. (DIERCKSXSENS) Instead of performing their primordial task of lending to facilitate productive activity, the banks are holding on to their cash or buying up rivals to strengthen their financial base. Not surprisingly, with global capitalism's circulatory system seizing up, it was only a matter of time before the real economy would contract. (BELLO) The accumulation on an expanded scale is no longer guaranteed. (CANDEIAS)

Food crisis

In the peripheries, the pauperizing dispossession manifests itself in the expropriation of the peasantry and the plundering of natural resources of the regions in question. Both these practices constitute the essential pillars of the strategies of expansion of the late capitalism of the 'oligopoles'. The dispossession of the peasantry (in Asia, Africa and Latin America) is the major contemporary form the tendency towards pauperization linked to accumulation. (AMIN)

Although the increased cost of petroleum didn't help, the two main causes of the food crisis were the massive switch into agrifuels and financial speculation, playing on a reduction of stocks, but not so much of production. (GEORGE) The conjunctural aspect of the problem was seen in the explosion of food prices in 2007 and 2008 at the Chicago commodities exchange. It was conjunctural because financial capital moved out of minerals to invest in food products in order to achieve capital gains in a speculative manner. The structural aspect is the fact that for more than forty years now, peasant agriculture has been undergoing a transformation to a capitalist type of production, into monoculture agriculture. This has been called the "green revolution", but it has been very destructive of the environment, and has driven millions of peasants off their land. There is a new concentration of

land property and a real counter-land reform, the agriculture becoming one of the new frontiers of accumulation.

Moreover, this food crisis has had immense social consequences. According to the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), in each of the years 2007 and 2008, more than 50 million people were pushed below the poverty line – which, of course, meant into hunger. (HOUTART) It has been reinforced by growing inequalities, and reached its height in the spring of 2008 when it plunged tens of millions more people into dire hunger and poverty. (GEORGE) This corresponds with the two main aspects of the logic of capitalism: first, the search for new frontiers of accumulation – here, agriculture was discovered as a realm for capitalist investment; and second, the exclusion of externalities from the economic calculation of costs: the devastation of nature, and also social destruction, neither of which is subject to capitalist accountability. The problem is that the food crisis is built precisely on that kind of logic: it is the result of the contradiction between the fact that everyone in the world needs food, and the logic of capitalist accumulation. (HOUTART)

Energy and climate crisis and crisis of natural resources

Already, the ecological crisis is apparent in everyday life, not only in form of catastrophes threatening the lives of millions of people through storms, droughts, and floods but also in form of massive destruction of capital. (CANDEIAS) There are ecological limits of growth: limits of resources („peak oil"; „peak of everything") and limits of the carrying capacity of the planetary spheres (greenhouse effect, „ecological footprint"). The provision of resources yields higher costs and increases of prices of agricultural and mineral commodities on the world market. (ALTVATER) The rising prices of minerals have led to a deformation in the economic structures of countries that possess these resources. The rate of growth in the production of agricultural products, due to increases in agro-fuels, is putting the majority of these countries in danger. (DIERCKSXSENS)

Certainly, the energy crisis also has conjunctural dimension – the enormous increase of the price of oil and gas over a short period – but it is fundamentally structural. Since the dawn of capitalism, growth has been characterised by hyper-consumption of energy. That has accelerated during the neoliberal period, with the expansion of the global exchange of goods and services.[4] The climate crisis is much more severe than world public opinion is prepared to admit. It has been accelerating since the onset of the neoliberal period. The increase of CO_2 emissions and of global warming since the 1970s has taken on new dimensions. Such new emerging countries as China and India are contributing – albeit to a relatively modest degree – to this phenomenon. A second aspect is the destruction of carbon sinks, such as forests and oceans, which absorb CO_2 and other greenhouse gases.[5] There are still some 400 million hectares of virgin forest in the world, but every year 15 million are

[4] With the global division of labour, 62% of all industrial production is transported across the oceans, which involves an enormous consumption of energy. The individualised modes of transportation and residence, which follow the same economic logic, also involve immense consumption of energy.

[5] The Nobel Chemistry Prize winner, Paul Crutzen of the Max Planck Institute, has shown that agrifuels, if their whole cycle is taken into account, actually produce three to five times more greenhouse gases than fossil fuels. (GEORGE)

destroyed. Not many years are left before all natural forests in the world will have been destroyed. For many reasons due to global warming, primarily growing acidity, the oceans too, are increasingly and very rapidly loosing an important part of their capacity to absorb CO_2. Another effect of global warming is that of rising sea levels, which endangers low-lying countries and coastal cities.[6] Little by little, the capacity of the earth to naturally regenerate the biosphere is diminishing. It has been calculated that this capacity for 2008 had already been exhausted by September 23rd – on a global scale; if we take a country like Belgium, however, that date was sometime in March.

The destruction of nature also means severe effects on the biosphere. Some experts of the Group of International Scientists on the Climate (GIEC) estimate that if global warming exceeds 1°C during this century – during the 20th century, the increase of the global temperature was 0.75°C – between 20 and 30 % of all species on earth will disappear. It is estimated that an increase by more than 1°C would cause more than 17% of the territory of Bangladesh to disappear. That country now has more than 150 million inhabitants in a territory four times the size of Belgium with a population of 10 million. India is already building a wall along the border between the two countries, like that between Mexico and the United States, to prevent migration. According to a report prepared for the British Government in 2007 by Nicholas Stern of the World Bank , we can, if nothing is done, expect between 150 and 200 million climate migrants by mid-century, i.e., people who will no longer be able to live where they live now. Unless urgent and costly measures are taken, the situation could become irreversible. (HOUTART)

The development of productive forces and social crisis

One of the converging roads is the social crisis of inequality which has been building up over decades. Particularly since the neoliberal regimes of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher took power, the share of capital compared to the share of labour in total wealth produced has been rising. This means not only that the rich get richer but also that demand for economic goods and services is compressed because there is less wealth in the collective pocket of labour. (GEORGE)[7]

Even before the financial crisis, there had been a decades-long decline in workers' real wages, one driven by neo-liberal globalization of production, outsourcing and technological breakthroughs – especially in communications and information technology and by the doubling of the worldwide workforce available to the transnational corporations. (CATALI-

[6] The Arctic summer ice has been reduced in the space of three years from a thickness of 2.6 meters to half that – 1.3 meters. Permafrost all around the Arctic Circle is starting to melt, releasing millions of tonnes of methane, a greenhouse gas far more powerful than CO2. This process is advancing much faster than the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change thought possible when it issued its report in 2007. (GEORGE)

[7] In most European countries, capital has increased its share by ten points of GNP – some economists even put the increase in capital's share at fourteen points. According to them, at its peak, labour once received nearly three quarters of so-called »added value«; now its share is down to about 60 percent, with a corresponding increase for capital, up from about a quarter to 40 percent today.

NOTTO) The relentless downward pressure on working peoples' salaries has been a huge factor, with the result that inequalities have soared everywhere, both within our individual countries and also between the richer and the poorer countries. This is one part of the systemic crisis caused by neoliberal capitalism. (GEORGE) In the centres, monopoly rents – whose beneficiaries are the oligopolistic plutocracies – are synonymous with the dispossession of the entire productive basis of society. (AMIN)

Counteracting the increase of capital intensity and hence of the organic composition of capital is an increase of labour productivity. Wage increases slowing down in times of globalization. (ALTVATER) Increasing profits can only be achieved by constant redistribution of the surplus value at the expense of the wage-earners, the state and nationally or regionally restricted capital. Ever growing areas of socially necessary work, public infrastructure, and social services dry up. Whereas over-accumulation cannot be reduced substantially, and new areas of investment are opened up insufficiently, the crisis of social reproduction deepens in a way as to endanger the foundations of capitalist accumulation itself (lack of infrastructure, qualifications, cohesion, and prospects for profit, etc.). (CANDEIAS)

The privatisation of the social security systems – health, education, care, old-age support – is one of the essential sources from which financial-market capitalism draws. Wage-workers pay funds into a system which endangers their jobs, the environment and global security, and produces the "practical constraints" of pitiless competition to which all who wish to live in dignity must subordinate themselves, and thus at the same time lose that dignity. The existence for "up-scale" individuals of private exit options from the health, education, care and pension systems is one reason for the degradation of these systems to institutions for paupers' welfare. It is splitting society into classes in terms of basic rights. (BRIE)

The crisis is characterized by an acceleration of social distances and encouraged by the fact that it is more profitable to invest in sophisticated products (goods and services) with a high added value able to be bought by a minority than to produce for categories with law purchasing power or with no marketable income.(HOUTART) The first danger of the current crisis therefore relates to poverty. The usual approach is to make the poor pay for the crisis, starting with the discriminated-against and the colonised. It is also about crushing the middle classes. (MASSIAH)

Crisis of representation, democracy and of the public sphere

Increasing sectors of the population in the old centres are turning away from parties and governments, some even from formal democracy itself. This has lead to a constant crisis of representation that has remained unresolved for some time.[8] Within the states, reinforcement of securitization deployments, massive policing and prisonfare (Wacquant) is proving insufficient in maintaining social order, let alone organising the consent of the subalterns. (CANDEIAS) Crisis management strategies based on anti-social orientations tend to rely on repressive measures, criminalisation of social movements and solidarity, instrumentalisation of terrorism, law and order ideologies, xenophobia, racist, islamophobic and nationalist agi-

[8] In the UK the underlying crisis in the UK erupted over the question of MP's expenses which became a magnet for a deeper discontent. (WAINWRIGHT)

tation, exploitation of scapegoats, migrants and Roma. In some regions, this evolution may produce dictatorial and repressive regimes and even give rise to fascism and fascistic populism. (MASSIAH) The militarization of our society (and the world) and the application of the idea of permanent war (on the domestic and international level) is meant to control this increasingly volatile situation created by a system in which not only are the majorities of peoples of the world unable to survive, but neither are millions at home. (COX/HONKALA)

For decades now privatisation has been a part of the everyday practice of economic and property policy. The promises of neoliberal privatisation policy in terms of debureaucratisation, increase in efficiency, cost savings or price reduction and decentralisation or even democratisation have not been fulfilled; instead there is a multitude of problematic consequences, such as de-democratisation or growing inequality. The powerful hegemony of the private, as the liberal market radicalism of the last three decades has built it, led to an unparalleled enclosure and crowding out of public goods and public provision of general services, of public property, of the public sector, of public service, of public spaces and of public media. (RILLING) The UK for instance is now in the extraordinary situation in which the crisis of the financial markets has been turned into a crisis of public spending. Public servants are going to be scrutinised down to the last paperclip, while bankers are not even questioned about their last (or any) million pounds of public money. Not only this but accompanying the pressure to cut public services, is the urge to privatize i.e. to handover to exactly the private markets which are so clearly failing. (WAINWRIGHT)

Even Individuality, intimacy and personal idiosyncrasies are externalised, economically valorised and, in the process, commercially processed in the media, so that the personal/private are completely processed by the media and so becomes a moment of the public and its spaces. The radical privatisation of the private makes us constantly more miserable, as it has high social costs. (RILLING)

Geopolitical crisis

The political management of the worldwide domination by the capital of 'oligopoles' is necessarily marked by extreme violence. For in order to maintain their status of affluent societies, the countries of the imperialist triad are henceforth obliged to limit the access to the planet's natural resources to their own exclusive benefit. This new requirement is at the origin of the militarisation of globalisation which I have elsewhere described as the "empire of chaos". The new 'belle époque' of capitalism was from the onset accompanied by war, the war of the North versus the South, started in 1990. (AMIN) Since the majority of natural resources are found in the South, they are ferociously fought over by the dominant countries. This has already caused wars that are spreading to other regions of the planet. The potential use of nuclear arms should not be discounted. War generates a political crisis at the international level. It causes a crisis of governance since it cannot give capital an adequate response to the economic crisis. (DIERCKSXSENS)

Neoliberalism, being at the origins of the crisis of the international financial system, is a carrier of violence in various forms, including the use of militarised violence. (EL KENZ) In the US, the Bush administration continued and accelerated what was already in motion by the 1980s (including under Democrat administrations). It reached a dangerous plateau be-

cause ideological oversights and mismanagement led to impasses like Iraq. (BEAUDET) Now, the US as the global monopolist of force is so overburdened that its difficulties in carrying out its task in the interest of the transnational bloc and in its own interests, led to Bush's unilateralism, destroying the ›soft power‹ of the so-called American way of life. The defeat in Iraq is only the most obvious example for the imperial overstretch. (CANDEIAS)

Countries will be marginalised and ruined by the crisis. The world is already at war and that almost one billion people live in war-stricken regions. These conflicts are permanent and the destabilisation is systematic. The forms of war have changed along with the militarisation of societies, global apartheid, the war of the strong against the weak, and the trivialisation of torture. (MASSIAH)

Ideological crisis

With the collapse of globalization and the deregulated market going haywire, the neoliberal metaphysics that propped up contemporary capitalism has been thoroughly discredited, though it will undoubtedly engage in some rearguard action. (BELLO) The crisis has exposed the core myths of neo-liberalism as lies: A market society cannot exist; people are not primarily entrepreneurs of their own labour and their own conditions of subsistence; long-term development requires long-term owners (the economic democracy of stakeholders); an ecological revolution of production, transport and life-style is unavoidable; imperial projects lead not to any "pax americana", but to ever more new wars, etc. (BRIE) Because of the threatening ›meltdown‹ of the financial system, neoliberal dogmas are abandoned by the dozens: inflation of money supply, nationalisation of banks, state and central bank credits without guarantees, anti-cyclical stimulus packages, abolishing all public borrowing limits including the ever so holy Stability Pact and the Maastricht criteria, more strict controls, ceilings for CEO payments and intervention into bonus systems, but also in investment and credit policies, sometimes partial government ownership of corporations, etc. For neoliberals of conviction, this constitutes socialism. Public confidence in markets and governments has clearly suffered, neoliberalism has been discredited and its dogmas are crumbling. Especially in the peripheries, mainly in South America, popular majorities and governments have rejected neoliberalism, and are looking for new ways of ensuring a more autonomous development. The so-called Washington Consensus and its institutions, but also the Good Governance approaches are openly dismissed by an increasing number of states from the global South – those who can afford it, pay their debts before they are due and break free from IMF influence. This entails global political and economical shifts in the social power relations, and new capitalist centres are developing with the so-called BRIC and Gulf States. (CANDEIAS)

CHAPTER II: THE REGIONAL IMPACTS OF THE CRISIS

India

In the backdrop of the initial phase of the crisis in the US, the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of the Congress led United Progressive Alliance, in power in India made loud pronouncements that this global phenomenon would not have much impact on the Indian

economy as it was de-linked, insulated and decoupled from the imperialist economies. Just like many governments in the Third World, it parroted the theme of 'decoupling' from the world economy though these were the same governments that tailored their economies to the imperialists directed IMF – World Bank and WTO dictated 'Structural Adjustment Programmes'(SAP). But as the crisis began to bite into the economies, the ruling elite was constrained to admit the fact of the severe impact it had on the economy in the country.

The last 18 years have demonstrated the adverse effect of the policies imposed by the IMF/World Bank/WTO diktats on the broad masses in India particularly the working class and the peasantry. In the industrial and the service sectors, the structure of employment was distinctly characterised by contractualisation and casualisation of the labour force. Temporary labour replaced the regular workforce in both the public and the private sectors and consequently, there had been a drastic reduction in employment on regular basis.

Liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation, deregulation et al, were hailed by the rulers as paths to the economic development of the country. Growth rates were shown as indicators of development and as vindication of their policies. Needless to say, this growth was fuelled primarily by inflows of foreign capital and that too speculative capital, resulting in the creation of bubbles in the share markets. So tied is the Indian economy to the strings of Imperialism, that when the bubble in the US burst, it had its version in the Indian bubble of growth bursting.

In India, there are 37 millions working in the organised sectors of the economy and around 370 million in the unorganised sectors. The worst affected by the crisis are the labouring classes – workers and peasants who had been victims of the long-time economic policies pursued by the Indian ruling classes at the instances of the imperialist triad. In particular, the workers in the export-oriented units had to bear the brunt of the crisis. It is estimated that around 15 million workers are employed in these units. In the textile and garments sector, some 700,000 workers lost jobs by the end of 2008 and in the last four months, another 500,000 had been added to the unemployed. The leather industry engages around 2,500,000 workers and between September and December 2008 some 500,000 were displaced from work. It was predicted by the Leather Exporters' Association that another 500,000 would lose their job in the coming period.

The city of Surat in the state of Gujarat has a large concentration of diamond and jewellery units. There were 3,000 units before the onset of the crisis. The crisis has gobbled up some 2,000 units rendering about 100,000 workers jobless. In the foundry industry, over 150,000 workers lost their jobs. The so-called sunrise industry, the IT sector which mainly caters to the US markets, has also been hit by the crisis. In the city of Bangalore, the main IT hub in the country, some 10,000 employees were shown the doors between September and December 2008. In Hyderabad, some 25,000 employees lost their jobs in the IT sector. Not only these export-oriented sectors but also those sectors that are dependent on these have been badly affected. It is estimated that job losses during this period both in the export units and ancillaries could well cross 5,000,000.[9]

[9] Way back, the government appointed a Task Force on Employment Opportunities which declared that India would solve the unemployment problem by 2012. In 2007, gloating in the glory of high growth rates, the Economic Advisory Council declared that these would be Zero unemployment in

While job losses in both the manufacturing and services sectors are on the rise, wage depression is also a serious factor affecting the lives of the workers. In the midst of job losses, the Finance Minister of the country had recently a piece of advice to the capitalists in the country – "do not retrench but cut wages". (MURTHY PK)

Bric and Gulf States

As with all countries with a strong orientation towards export, these countries (Brazil, India, China) were massively affected by the crisis: the decline in global demand, the fall in prices for raw materials and oil, the withdrawal of capital by the old capitalist centres, etc. (CANDEIAS)

North America

In North America, the long-term destruction of Keynesianism (and the class compromise it represented) was initiated in the 1970s, moved ahead in the 1980s (neoliberal onslaught) and «bubbled» out in the 1990s to temporarily push out conflicting trends.[10] Mainstream economists explained for over a decade that the 'deconnection' between the 'real' economy and the 'speculative' economy was going to crash and indeed it did. The so-called subprime crisis was only the last in a series of busting bubbles. This destruction as dangerous as it is for the stability of capitalism is at the same time an 'occasion' or an 'opportunity' to accelerate neoliberal 'reforms'. This is translated by the rapid destruction of the manufacturing sector, home of the Keynesian popular and 'middle' classes for the last 60 years, and rendered 'non-competitive' by delocalization and the rise of new industrial powerhouses like China. The result is not only the destruction of millions of jobs (with real unemployment reaching 18-20%), but a massive social displacement of an unprecedented scale. With this 'jobless growth', capital hopes to push down wages and benefits, download the federal deficit to state and municipal governments already highly in debt and concentrate resources on 'competing' sectors like finance and the military-techno-industrial complex. (BEAUDET)

For the working class, the recent so-called bailout gives little aid. Official unemployment reached nearly 10 percent in August 2009. Including "discouraged workers" and accounting for the ever-growing proportion of part-timers brings a more realistic estimate to nearly 30 million members of the 155-million member workforce seeking work. In some regions--the state of Michigan and especially the former industrial powerhouse of Detroit, for example – real unemployment is 25-30 percent. African American and Latino communities face about double the national unemployment rates. The term "jobless recovery" is now part of the economists' vocabulary. One well-known bourgeois economic analyst, Alan Sinai, said in August that, "This is going to be the mother of all jobless recoveries." (CATALINOTTO)

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the country by 2009. The grim reality is that the problem of unemployment has assumed serious proportions in the last one year under the impact of the global crisis.

[10] Since 1945, US capitalism imposed 12 further "economic downturns" culminating in the current crash. Republicans and Democrats alternated in presiding over state interventions that never solved or prevented the sequences of capitalism's speculative bubbles and socially disastrous crashes. (WOLFF)

Neoliberal policies, "free trade" agreements and automation, and eventually the economic crisis has accelerated the growth of a New Class of people in the United States, a class of millions of people who are permanently excluded from the US economy and who have no future in this economic system. This class brings together historically poor and excluded segments of the population of the US – African Americans, Indigenous, immigrants, poor whites – with millions of working class families who previously formed the base of the American middle class, to form the new class made up of people of all races, cultures, languages and backgrounds in every corner of the United States, from rural, urban and suburban communities: unemployed coal miners and factory workers, immigrant farm-workers and domestic workers, African Americans in the poor urban areas; the middle-class families who have recently lost their homes, jobs or access to health care and education; members of the military who cannot feed their families or are losing their homes; both blue collar and white collar workers, as well as the newly laid-off, who are going bankrupt and losing everything; graduates from the best universities who have incurred heavy debts in order to pay for their education; landless farmers, impoverished families in the poorest reservations of the country, homeless families, thousands of families who live every day with the fear of not being able to access health care in life-and-death situations, or who lose their homes when a health care crisis bankrupts them.

There is an invisible yet deadly war occurring within the United States, which every day leaves millions without basic Economic Human Rights. Millions of families live daily the terror of homelessness, of mass eviction, of government abandonment in the face of natural disaster, of hunger, of not having heat in the coldest parts of the country in the winter, of watching families die in house fires from using unsafe means to heat homes, the terror of watching loved ones die outside of the world's best hospitals, of having children taken away by government officials for economic reasons, of having children die or maimed in a war they went to only because of their desperation to feed their families. Every day we suffer preventable "Katrinas", Katrinas committed by the US government and the corporate and financial sectors, Katrinas that are endemic to neoliberal capitalism. These widespread, daily violations of Articles 23, 25 and 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in the richest country in the world are particularly criminal because they are absolutely preventable. Every day we have more in common with the poor across the Americas, in Iraq and Afghanistan, in Africa and Asia, in Europe and in the world as a whole. (COX/HONKALA)

Europe

In GERMANY's public services the number of employed sank between 1991 and 2006 by over 2 million. State expenditure on personnel has sunk from 8.8 % of gross national product (1991) to 6.9 % (2007); in the EU this percentage was 10.5 % in 2007. Public gross investments as percentage of gross national product decreased from 2.8 % (1992) to 1.5 % (2007). In the EU 27, this share is 2.6 %. The quantity of state capital active in the financial system and in some areas of infrastructure (postal service, telecommunications, traffic, logistics, education and science, the social welfare services) has shrunk drastically and has in fact thrown overboard any remaining public quality that could reflect the interests of the

subaltern. In addition, and importantly, the public in "public authority" is disappearing. Central moments for the quality of politics, has by now shifted massively in the direction of the private and particular. The privatisation of individual functions, sectors and apparatuses of public authority, widespread since the 1980s, has severely undermined the principle of equal treatment for each citizen, since it in many cases had to compete with the principle of treating a customer according to his purchasing power. However, the present crisis of the politics of privatisation has, for example, led in the Federal Republic to an incipient process of re-municipalisation. (RILLING)[11]

In the UK, prime minister Gordon Brown led the British state to respond to the crisis in accordance with the state's classic role as the banks' guarantor of last resort, bailing out the banks in a way which assured them that the government's main interest was to see them return to 'business as usual'. The Labour government rejected proposals debated even the mainstream financial press, to turn the banks short-term into public utilities and lay down conditions for support in terms of lending policy and reorganization; it later poured scorn on a previous head of the Confederation of Industry arguing for a tax on speculation. This reluctance to seriously change the state's allegiance to the City and Labour's deference to the City powerful position in the UK's economy has allowed the Conservatives and the rightwing media to make the issue of cuts in public spending (meaning not Trident but public sector pay, pensions and provision) to pay for the deficit created by the bail-out, the central political issue in the build up to the 2010 election. (WAINWRIGHT)

SWITZERLAND, as a financial centre, has declared the state of siege and calls on the public to mobilise for its defence. The government is under pressure. Its "crisis management" in dealing with "attacks from abroad" (most notably from the G20, OECD, United States, EU, France, Germany, and Italy) has been described as confused and fainthearted. It is being reproved of by several parties. However, there is no political crisis – far from it! All proportions kept – official figures are traditionally low in Switzerland – the rate of unemployment has seen a sharp increase. Pressure on workers in general has considerably increased; add to this a – more or less recent, ongoing or at least planned – string of attacks against social insurance. And, most likely, the situation will continue to deteriorate in this country, which is reasonably dependent on external markets. Like in the 1970s, unemployment will probably be partly exported: maybe to a lesser extent than at that time, but all the more violent, if certain measures currently under discussion are put in place. Especially the "low-qualified" migrant workers risk to bear the brunt of it, as well as female workers in insecure jobs, young people, old people – without even mentioning about 300.000 to 500.000 so-called "illegal" workers and other "dismissed would-be refugees" who are already having a hard time with the existing laws and terrifying measures, even though they are part and parcel of the system. In a large number of companies (particularly in the largest enterprises, as well as in the banking sector), employees have to fear each day that they might receive their redundancy notice. Farmers are desperate – including those (and maybe

[11] Though, the return to public property by no means excludes the use of market-shaped mechanisms, but in the understanding of many involved protagonists actually presupposes them in order to assert itself in a profit-oriented economic environment.

even more that others) who have largely complied with "modernisation" and "specialisation" directives. (ROCHAT)

CHAPTER III: THE CURRENT STATE OF CRISIS-CAPITALISM AND THE LONG SHADOW OF NEOLIBERAL DOCTRINE

Reactions to the crisis

From the beginning of this international financial crisis, central banks and the governments are trying to intervene at all costs so that no large bank fails in order to avoid the collapse of the international financial system. In essence, this means that the profits of the banking system remain privatized, while society has to assume the costs of its astronomic losses. Small and medium banks are permitted to collapse in order to be absorbed by the larger banks, in this way increasing even more the concentration of wealth. (DIERCKSXSENS) Thanks to globalisation, the economic system has a better tool kit available to it to deal with financial crisis than was the case during the 1929-'30 period, including both a new material base, especially new technologies, but also new instruments for operating the system itself. During the thirties for example, the issue of the quasi-nationalisation of banks did not even arise. (HOUTART)

Measures to save and stabilize the financial system has been taken: Monetary policy of „monetary easing" with discount rates near zero, state guarantees for banks, recapitalisation of banks, transfer of „toxic papers" to bad banks, limits to bonus and premium payments in order to reduce the financial claims because their legitimation is jeopardized. (ALTVATER). Massive stimulus spending at record breaking levels – something anathema to neoliberals – has become practice, the only difference among Northern elites being how much stimulus spending it will take to refloat the submarine. (BELLO)

In the US, both the Bush and Obama administrations responded to the financial crisis of September 2008 with an injection of trillions of Treasury dollars, the largest such government giveaway to the bankers in US history. For the surviving bankers and Wall Street investors, this has meant a revival of banking profits, a stock market increase of nearly 50 percent since its low point and an unrealistic mood of relief in the ruling class. (CATALINOTTO) In spring 2009, Citigroup was getting its third massive injection of federal funds and the international financial insurance company AIG was in line to receive another thirty billion dollars having already swallowed 80 billion. Worldwide, we were somewhere in the neighbourhood of seven thousand billion dollars – that is seven with twelve zeroes – handed over to the banks and other companies. (GEORGE) Nevertheless, there is a very great contrast in how the External Debt of poor countries is treated and how the tremendous debt of international financial elites is treated. When the external debt of the peripheral countries reached the point of being unpayable, there was no forgiveness whatsoever: all types of adjustment policies were imposed, causing even greater concentration of resources both within countries and between countries. The words to Our Father were even changed. Faced with the debt of the poor, the neoliberal creed is non-intervention. Nevertheless, when the international financial elites run the risk of ruining themselves because of

their gigantic, irresponsible games of speculation, these same elites demand massive and immediate intervention by the State. (DIERCKSXSENS)

The crisis triggered other measures to boost the production of real surpluses (i.e. economic growth), to overcome the saturation and to increase competitiveness. The disappointing expectations are: The IEA proposals of investing into new energies (fossil energy, nuclear energy, renewable energies), biotechnologies and personal services (health-care, qualification etc.). Problems are still the limits of the rationality of markets and the limits of profitability. And there is a problem with an economic upswing at the limits of the carrying capacity of nature and society. The danger threatens of overcoming the economic crisis by aggravating the energy, climate and food crisis – the crisis then will seize the productive „real" economy. (ALTVATER)

The deep crisis of neoliberally radicalised private orientation has in no instance removed from positions of power the representatives of this policy. Rather, the latter are trying to play the public card in restoring market radicalism: losses are socialised, mobilisations of state funds in the amount of hundred of billions are presented as ensuring the common good ("rescue") but function as well-nigh unique redistributive mechanisms; a "neoliberal Keynesianism" (Altvater) is being implemented, whose only purpose is "consolidation" and recapitalisation. (RILLING)

The long shadow of neoliberalism

If only it were so easy to bury neoliberalism in the nearest cemetery once and for all; if only we could put worldwide capitalist financial activities under control, or at least back to where they were thirty years ago, it would be great—but can we? It looks, rather, as if the international system—the G-20 and the EU in particular, are absolutely determined to save neoliberalism at all costs.[12] And in Brussels, the European Commission is not wasting any time either while it waits for the WTO to show signs of life. The Commission is, rather, pushing hard for bilateral and regional trade agreements and so-called Economic Partnership Agreements. This concentration on trade is the strategy known as "Global Europe". These measures will quickly wipe out struggling local industries and local banks, just as they will legally establish a kind of charter for neo-colonialism under another name. The EU wants a world where the rules are still dictated in so far as possible by the rich countries and where nothing escapes the category of merchandise. Free trade implies – in fact it requires – more, not less liberalisation, more freedom for corporations including banking and financial corporations. EU policy, like the G-20 objectives cannot make us especially optimistic for the "end of neoliberalism". (GEORGE)

If you aren't willing to talk about the power of neo-liberal financial-market capitalism, don't bother to talk about alternatives. Neoliberal financial-market capitalism has established itself since the 1970s, against perspectives for a comprehensive economic-democratic, social and ecological alternative. It was founded in a cemetery of smashed

[12] The neoliberal doctrine, and I am using the word "doctrine" in the religious sense, has been completely discredited. Its credo is based on privatisation, deregulation, unrestricted free trade, market solutions to every problem and a corresponding absence of government intervention – except of course to save the system when it goes wrong.

hopes – Pinochet's bloody coup in Chile marked its beginning. It was able to achieve its goal because it was in a position to combine violent force with a new wave of high-tech reshaping of the world's economy, and a new, integrated global division of labour which broke down the constraints to development inherent in Fordistic capitalism. It was based on an upper-plus-middle-class alliance, with some opportunities for sections of the lower classes. It took up some demands of the emancipative movements against racist, sexist and bureaucratic oppression, and integrated them into the promise of the freedom of the market society in which each individual is the entrepreneur of his or her own labour power and of the provision of his or her own subsistence. It put forward realisable projects: break down the barriers to the global circulation of capital, privatise, deregulate, weaken the trade unions, obtain social mobility through education. These projects promised new opportunities for many countries and social groups. And ultimately, neo-liberal financial-market capitalism in fact became irresistible, due to the practical constraints which it installed. In the current crisis, it was primarily precisely the institutions which caused the catastrophe, which then had to be "saved" from it, as a top priority, so the message. Neo-liberalism was a hegemonistic project. It was able to expansively shape global society in its own image, and to provide new life prospects for key actors, while at the same time marginalising many social groups and regions. (BRIE)

The political neoliberal project goes far beyond the mere framework of economic politics. It cannot be reduced to the reactivation of the old economic liberalism, and even less to a withdrawal of the State or a reduction of its interventionism. It is guided by a normative logic affecting all fields of public action and all areas of social and individual life. Based on the total anthropology of the economic human being, it influences specific social and subjective spheres, competition, "responsibility", entrepreneurship, with the aim of producing a new subject, the neoliberal human. The overall objective is to produce a certain type of man who is apt to let himself be governed by his proper interest. Hence, the object of power is not simply given; it comes into being through the mechanisms created, looked after, and stimulated by the government. Neoliberalism aims at constructing new anthropological dispositions. Neoliberal policies aim at putting into practice a universalisation of economic reasoning, with the rational, calculating subject as its normative reference. It is about actively producing an institutional reality and social relationships that are solely governed by the principles of market-oriented economic calculus.

The "neo" in "neoliberal" thus means a lot more than a capitalist acceleration of "liberal", which is largely contained in the economic dimension; it adds an institutional and political dimension that completely alters its significance. It means the end of the democratic subject that was the ideal reference of liberal democracy. The moral and political subject is reduced to a calculating subject, enjoined to choose whatever serves his proper interests best. This transformation is illustrated by political practice, as can be observed in the United States and, more and more frequently, in Europe: the citizen is encouraged to act as if he were a mere consumer who is not willing to give more than he takes, who expects something in return for his money.

This brings us to the notion of "neoliberal governmentality" as the foundation of the neoliberal project. The relative autonomy of certain institutions (the Law, the elections, the police, the public sphere) that characterises their relationships with one another, as well as

the autonomy of each of them in their relations to the market are "integrated" in various elements driven by the same logic, the same calculus: that of interest. This ruins the foundations of liberal capitalism, for "it is owing to this independence that up to this point it has been possible to preserve an interval and a tension between the capitalist political economy and the liberal democratic political system". (EL KENZ)

Neoliberalism has already lost its progressive and propellent social function in managing the transition to the transnational mode of production.[13] This mode of production hardly offers sufficient possibilities for expansion and development under neoliberal conditions to meet both the needs of accumulation and social needs of the population to improve their situation. The potentials are there but their realisation seems to be blocked. The current power bloc can no longer counter the erupting signs of crises and their complex entanglement with productive solutions that could take up the interests of the subaltern and thus restore the active consensus to the neoliberal project. The contradictions within the power bloc are deepening, such that a reconfiguration is likely and possibilities for intervention by the left may appear. Of course, overcoming neoliberalism will globally be characterised by fierce social struggles. However, it would be imprudent to rely on the collapse of neoliberalism and to assume that the crisis will make things easy for the left. Projects, tendencies, scenarios are being developed from different sides in order to reconstitute and/or develop bourgeois capitalist rule. (CANDEIAS)

The slightly modified agenda

Given the fact that we are experiencing a global crisis that is consistent with the neoliberal logic, the "cost-benefit" effectiveness is the finality of every action, including the way out of this global crisis. There will be not enough space for everybody. But then, the neoliberal economic logic alone will not be enough to convince the next victims of this crisis; and, contrary to its own principles, it will therefore be constrained to solicit political action, be it ordinary or force-based. Finally the social effects of the crisis will be proportionate to the resistance that will be put up against neoliberal logic. (EL KENZ) The threat of another global depression is reanimating the discussion regarding the necessity of economic regulation. (DIERCKSXSENS)

Mainly, within the capitalist camp three solutions are proposed. The neo-liberal position in response to the financial crisis is very clear: the other aspects of the global crisis are irrelevant. The solution is to replace the actors, the incompetent or corrupt bankers, and the

[13] By no means could neoliberalism be understood as a purely destructive force (Bourdieu) or "conservative restoration" (Bischoff). Even the neoliberal management of the transition to a transnational mode of production based on information technologies – neoliberalism's main function simultaneously promoting societal change and serving as hegemonic base – productive forces were still unleashed: the withdrawal of an extreme (Taylorist) division of labour in production freed workers from monotony, new forms of production could integrate their knowledge, computerisation and automation could relieve the burden of hard physical work. The internationalisation culture, goods and consumption dissolved national narrow-mindedness, de-nationalisation dissolved state paternalism. For instance, following demands by the women's movement, neoliberalism ›liberated‹ housewives from patriarchal family relations and forced them into the labour market.

system will be restored and ready to continue. A second position advocates re-regulation of the system, after a long period of deregulation. A third approach is that adopted by the Commission of the United Nations for the Re-forms of the Financial and Monetary System (Stiglitz Commission). It advocates such strong regulations as the abolition of fiscal safe-havens, banks secrecy, the "odious" Third World debt, a regulatory organisation at the international level for the banks, a reform of the World Bank and the IMF, the creation of new international bodies, etc. These are indeed strong measures, but they are no more than regulations. The question is: regulation for what? To continue the exploitation of na-ture as before, to prolong the inequalities in the world as before, to continue financing the auto industry, the monocultures and agro-fuel? Is that the way to solve the problem? (HOUTART)

Today's proposals once again leave in place, unchallenged, the internal structure of capitalist enterprises that positions boards of directors and the major shareholders who select them as the receivers and disposers of enterprise net revenues. Those opposed to state interventions continue to acquire the resources to block, thwart, and undermine them as they have always done. So long as this strategic nonsense cannot be admitted, little will change. (WOLFF) On the agenda of the G-20 governments are a few more regulations and a few minor changes here and there, because everyone now agrees that more financial market regulation is indispensable. But their real scenario revolves around free trade and free markets – which is to say the preservation of the basics of neoliberalism. They will advocate a conclusion to the Doha Round at the World Trade Organisation. They were also prepared to hand over several hundred billion dollars to the International Monetary Fund to dispense as it sees fit. It would be hard to find two more neoliberal institutions than the WTO and the IMF. (GEORGE)

Nationalization of the banks – a practice condemned by neoliberalism – is in progress, and the questions that divide the elites is how aggressively the government will exercise its control of the majority shares of the stocks and whether it will return the banks to private management once the crisis is over.[14] Reprivatization is not a predetermined fact. The facts on the ground will determine the answer to these questions, for the task at hand for the state managers of capitalism is not whether or not the solutions are in line with a discredited doctrine but what it will take to save capitalism.

Beyond deficit spending and nationalization there will increasingly be a debate within the establishment on whether to go on the path of what I call »Global Social Democracy«, or GSD, in order to respond to capitalism's desperate dual needs for stabilization and legitimacy. There are, of course, differences of nuance in the positions of these people[15], but

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[14] Whereas, the history of state intervention in response to capitalist crises teaches strategic lessons. First, state interventions that negatively impact capitalist profits are opposed by capitalists who use their profits to finance their opposition. Second, when state-interventions nonetheless succeed (especially those supported by labor and the left), capitalist profits finance legal and illegal evasions of those interventions. Third, capitalist profits finance ideological and political campaigns, legal and illegal, to weaken and, where possible, end the established state interventions they oppose. US capitalists fought the New Deal interventions that hurt profits, then evaded those regulations and laws that were enacted, and finally weakened or removed most of them. (WOLFF)

[15] Joining British Prime Minister Gordon Brown in articulating the GSD discourse has been a diverse group consisting of, among others, the economist Jeffrey Sachs, George Soros, former UN Secretary

the thrust of their perspectives is the same: to bring about a reformed social order and a reinvigorated ideological consensus for global capitalism. Among the key propositions advanced by partisans of GSD are the following: Globalization is essentially beneficial for the world; growth must not be accompanied by increasing inequality; trade must be promoted but subjected to social and environmental conditions; unilateralism must be avoided while fundamentally reforming the multilateral institutions and agreements; global social integration must accompany global market integration; the global debt of developing countries must be cancelled or radically reduced; a massive aid program or »Marshall Plan« from the North to the South must be mounted; a »Second Green Revolution« must be put into motion, especially in Africa, through the widespread adoption of genetically engineered seeds. Huge investments must be devoted to push the global economy along more environmentally sustainable paths, with government taking a leading role (»Green Keynesianism« or »Green Capitalism«).

A critique might begin by highlighting problems with four central elements in the GSD perspective. GSD shares neoliberalism's bias for globalization; it shares neoliberalism's preference for the market as the principal mechanism for production, distribution, and consumption; it is a technocratic project, with experts hatching and pushing reforms on society from above, instead of being a participatory project where initiatives percolate from the ground up. And, while critical of neoliberalism, GSD accepts the framework of monopoly capitalism, which rests fundamentally the concentrated private control of the means of production, deriving profit from the exploitative extraction of surplus value from labor, is driven from crisis to crisis by inherent tendencies toward overproduction, and tends to push the environment to its limits in its search for profitability.

Like traditional Keynesianism in the national arena, GSD seeks in the global arena a new class compromise that is accompanied by new methods to contain or minimize capitalism's tendency toward crisis. Just as the old Social Democracy and the New Deal stabilized national capitalism, the historical function of Global Social Democracy is to iron out the contradictions of contemporary global capitalism and to relegitimize it after the crisis and chaos left by neoliberalism. (BELLO)

The effects of more than 30 years of liberalisation and redistribution from ›below‹ to ›above‹ are being countered by an intensification of this redistribution through rescuing banks and socialising debts and risks. At the same time, various tendencies within neoliberalism but reaching beyond are being developed simultaneously. New state interventionism appears to be emerging within the management of the crisis.[16]

Conflicts of the future are especially evident in the search for new forms of regulating the global financial system: restorative forces that wish to use the state to reinstall the previous order, and want to plunder its finances, are intertwined with reformist initiatives that clearly go beyond the status quo ante. This simultaneously reveals the attempt to re-

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General Kofi Annan, the sociologist David Held, Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz, and even Bill Gates.

[16] The conflict is in full swing: the government – especially in Germany – is undecided on whether the more active role of the state should be applied temporarily or permanently; the forces involved are pushing in varying directions. It is questionable, for instance, whether the far-reaching nationalisations in the US banking and insurance sector can actually be reversed in mid-term. But so far, long-term concepts for state-run financial institutes do not exist yet.

legitimize neoliberal global financial markets and their regulative containment. Similar struggles around reinstating neoliberalism with only small concessions and minimal political changes (predominant in Germany, for instance) versus far-reaching attempts of re-regulation can be observed on the national level as well. If they succeed in re-legitimizing and restoring neoliberalism with only small adjustments and regulations (even only temporarily), and in blocking a more far-reaching new construction of the global economic and financial relations, of production and consumption, then the crisis will only be made worse. A New Public Deal project is reacting to different processes of crises even beyond the financial sector. Certain groups around president Obama are trying to ameliorate the decline of the US economy with the renewal and expansion of the public sphere, especially with new investment programmes in public infrastructure, reforms in education and health systems and with the creation of new jobs in those sectors.

The general re-orientation of investment towards energy efficiency and reduction of CO_2-emissions would be the necessary technological and accumulation base to create millions of jobs and for constructing a new consensus in society – a ›Green New Deal‹ that is already being strongly advocated as an answer to the financial and economic crisis, as well as the crises of reproduction, employment and the ecological crisis – and thereby to re-legitimize the free market economy. It could mean more than an ecologically-conscious, short-term programme to contain the crisis. Moreover, it could mean a state initiated and massively state subsidised transformation to an ›ecological‹ mode of production, that opens new areas for accumulation of capital. Nature and the environment are turned into a commodity, thereby restricting the possibilities for solving the ecological crisis. Consequently, green capitalism cannot be the solution to the ecological crisis, instead, it is a procedure to restore expanded capitalist accumulation and hegemony by involving progressive oppositional groups and interests of the subaltern. Changing the whole structure of production, the practice and culture of consumerism, the economy of the car society, the structure of our cities, our societal relations to nature, without impacting on the capitalist mode of production as such, just reproduces its inherent contradictions, e.g. the dangers of a ›green‹ financial bubble. (CANDEIAS)

The Green New Deal fosters the illusion of sustainable growth. But economic surpluses necessarily consume natural resources and sinks and therefore have a negative effect on nature. Is it possible to change the energy regime without changing the pattern of consumption and production? The role of the state in a capitalist society and its interventions must critically be examined. Also green investment must be financed: the impact of the financial crisis must be taken into consideration. (ALTVATER)

Another solution the capitalist system has developed to address the need for a change in the energy cycle is the development of agro-industry, the production of bio-fuels. However, in order to constitute a real contribution to a solution, that would entail the shift of hundreds of millions of hectares of land in Asia, Africa and Latin America to monocultures for the production of such fuels, with all the associated ramifications that monoculture has: the destruction of biodiversity, the pollution of the soil and water, and most drastically, given a continuation of this project for a twenty-five year period, the expulsion of an estimated 60 million or more peasants from their land. The result would be salvage urbanisation and strong migration pressure. Thus, this proposal is neither a solution to the climate

crisis nor a long term solution to the energy problem; as a short and medium term measure, however, it is a very good solution to the crisis of the rate of profit and of the accumulation of capital. (HOUTART) Furthermore, in countering the energy crisis there generally exist tendencies of a new „energy-imperialism", i.e. by generating power in the Sahara ("Desertec"). (ALTVATER)

As for Switzerland, the offensives against the popular classes (at all levels: social insurance, public services, employment etc.) will continue and intensify. And even though the symbiosis between the dominant political machinery and the Swiss financial and industrial conglomerates is more obvious than ever before, the picture becomes blurred by the debate, which is largely internalised and describes a "brave little hard-working country that some may even envy, but that remains isolated at the heart of Europe". (ROCHAT)[17] As for former Yugoslawia, neo-liberal socio/economic policy of the corrupted government is to a certain extent corrected in the direction of state re-regulation (stimulating measures for buying cars in exchange for old ones, infrastructural projects). However, these measures are insufficient, having no vision of structural and innovative transformations necessary to mitigate great damage made by destruction of domestic banking system and industrial production through robbery privatization of strategic enterprises and systems at the rock bottom prices with new owners failing to organize production and abolishment of protective tariffs without any advantages accruing to EU member states, fall of investment in technological renewal of old equipment, dependence on credits and rising indebtedness and trade deficit. Under the pressure of IMF the government is contemplating taxing already law salaries and pensions, instead of progressively taxing banks and new millionaires that became rich over night through shady deals. (VRATUSA)

The endless war

In the new imperialist globalisation, the domination of the centres is no longer exercised by the monopoly of industrial production (as had been the case hitherto) but by other means (the control of technologies, financial markets, access to the planet's natural resources, information and communications, weapons of mass destruction). This system which I have also described as "apartheid on a global scale" implies a permanent war against the states and the people of the recalcitrant peripheries, a war begun already in the 1990s by the deployment of military control over the world by the USA and their subordinated NATO allies.

US leadership is without doubt in crisis. The recent G20 Summit in London in April 2009 in no way marks the beginning of a 'reconstruction of the world'. And it is perhaps no coincidence amidst the flurry that it was followed by a summit meeting of NATO, the right hand

[17] Though, the road has become considerably narrower for this unavowed member of the triad. The peculiarity of Swiss imperialism is becoming more and more challenged by its peers. Some of the country's leaders are beginning to realise this. The issue of a more committed participation of the Swiss army in "peacekeeping operations" abroad is more and more frequently brought up. And in its last report on Swiss politics, the Federal Council gives a hint that the strategy of bilateralism with the EU may well be coming to its end and that accession to the Union may eventually be inevitable. If this finally happens in ten, fifteen or twenty years, it will at least have the advantage of sorting out some internal debates, whatever the EU reality may be.

of contemporary imperialism, and by the reinforcement of NATO's military involvement in Afghanistan. The permanent war of the North against the South must continue. (AMIN) However, the 'endless war', rather than finishing with Bush, is likely to be transformed. The 're-engineering' of the Middle East and Central Asia remains a necessity for a declining empire, unable to compete against European and Chinese economic competitors. Controlling energy flows in the middle of Eurasia remains therefore an undeniable asset. The US and Canada are dominated by a powerful class alliance on the decline, but still able to impose its domination on a significant part of the world. The image of the 'wounded tiger' comes into mind as in its (relative) weakening, the monster becomes erratic and somehow more dangerous. This aggressiveness is likely to be changed in form, but not in substance, by a 'strategic' deployment of imperialism. All in all, the endless war remains a key factor in the development of a new 'security' and militaristic state, forced on citizens as a rampart against the 'barbarians'. Even though there is a strategic consensus on these issues within the political and economic elite in the US, there are several tactical disagreements. For those identified with Obama, there is a need for a tactical retreat, which implies some sort of a compromise with Russia, otherwise, US forces are at risk in Central Asia particularly. But many within the establishment are opposed and would lie to push back Russia to the 'brink', like what happened to the Soviet Union a decade ago. On the short term, that might mean a renewed offensive against Iran, with whom which Russia is allied, not because of any reason that an onslaught against Iran would build-up US militaristic ambitions in the region. (BEAUDET)

The challenge from the right

The choice in the coming period is not going to boil down between the Left and global social democracy. In fact, there could be a response that would be anti-neoliberal in its economics, at least rhetorically, populist in its social policy, but exclusionist in its politics, evoking tribal as opposed to people's solidarity. We can already see some of this in the approach of President Nicolas Sarkozy in France. The kind of aggressive industrial policy aimed at shoring up key sectors of the French capitalist class and winning over the country's traditional white working class can go hand-in-hand with the exclusionary anti-immigrant policies with which the French president has been associated. Sarkozy's conservative populism is relatively mild. There are more radical ones waiting in the wings, like the anti-Muslim movement of Gerd Wilders in the Netherlands, again with the same mix of communal solidarity, populist economics, and authoritarian leadership. We know of such movements everywhere in the developed and developing world, and my worry is that it maybe be in the developing crisis that they might make their breakthrough to becoming a critical mass. If Global Social Democracy fails in its effort to reinvigorate capitalism and the Left is unable to come out with a vision and program built on equality, justice, participatory democracy that appeals to people in a period of severe and prolonged crisis, then other forces will step in to fill the vacuum, as they did in the 1930's. (BELLO)

Repressive measures (violence and judicial persecution) to compel opponents to conform, as well as social policies (obligation instead of assistance, workfare) are increasingly being used: increased policing and "punishing the poor" (Wacquant) to ensure their com-

pliance and prevent social unrest. Growing social tensions and crises increase the tendency to confront them with authoritarian measures and a national chauvinistic consensus or to contain them militarily at an international level.

In view of the difficulties in restoring neoliberalism, and also of the New Public Deal and Green New Deal, especially with regard to global competition and unimagined consequences of the crisis, authoritarian trends may grow in significance – with a simultaneous decline in the rhetoric about clash of cultures and antiterrorism. Nevertheless, unhindered imperial appropriation of oil and resources will remain an essential objective of the old and new capitalist centres. The unequal distribution of the unavoidable consequences of the world economic crisis such as the climate crisis on the social classes and groups leads to an emphasis on security policies by the ›ruling class‹. Mike Davis assumes that a selective adaptation will occur, which will allow the first class earth inhabitants to continue to lead a comfortable way of life with permanent abundance in green oases, securely fenced off, on an otherwise barren and inhospitable planet. Authoritarianism is certainly not sufficient for a hegemonic project, since its attractiveness and economic potential remain limited, but the Left must acknowledge them to oppose them early enough and find emancipatory answers. (CANDEIAS)

Constellation of interregnum

The ruling elites have achieved a temporary restabilisation by the means of an enormous expenditure of public funds. The power and property of financial-market capitalism have been secured by state intervention. If the will is there, the expropriation of banks, nationalisation, expenditure of large sums of money, global cooperation etc., are all no problem whatsoever. That has revitalised the underlying dynamics of financial-market capitalism, while at the same time, costs have been created which, as an additional burden, will intensify the so-called practical constraints of neoliberalism (reduction of public expenditures, privatisation etc.) still further. This crisis solution holds even greater crises in store. The fact that things will continue in this manner is a catastrophe (Walter Benjamin). (BRIE)

But there is no guarantee that the bankers' recovery will endure over a long period. The measures used to impel capitalist growth since World War II – military spending or financing on the real estate, technology or other bubbles, credit card debt—are no longer capable of propelling a capitalist economic revival. The forces that have historically driven capitalist recovery are exhausted. No consideration of the role of the US can ignore the threat of a new imperialist war—a possibility despite the risk this war might represent of creating a new disaster for the U.S. ruling class. (CATALINOTTO)

A constellation of interregnum will evolve from the various tendencies and projects which are developing in parallel and as a result of the blockage, de- and re-composition of the power bloc. Meanwhile the crisis can persist for a long period, perhaps even a decade, before a hegemonic direction develops out of the competition between the different projects to dissolve the crisis. This new hegemony will encompass a certain band width of different paths but the terrain and the direction of development will be largely determined.[18] In

[18] Therefore, "post-neoliberalism" (Ulrich Brand) does not characterise a new period of capitalist development. Instead, it is a transition period or interregnum in which numerous search processes

view of the challenges of the tasks ahead, rapidly overcoming the world economic crisis and the even greater task of reducing greenhouse emissions of industrial states by 80 per cent or more before 2050, which means catapulting the entire economy from the fossil fuel based age of more than 150 years to a solar future within three decades, this will not be possible without great disruptions and crises. This time pressure leads to decision-making problems between a thorough conversion which means destruction of old sectors and capital, the risk of economic crises, or a conversion which is too slow with aggravated environmental and socio-economical crisis effects. Furthermore, the valorization of nature and ecological measures leads to a restriction of possible solutions to the crisis by concentrating on further marketization, more growth, increased resource consumption and simultaneously to the neglect of non-profit areas. (CANDEIAS)

CHAPTER IV: THE STATE OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS WORLDWIDE

A global look

The organizations of workers, parties, unions, or even, social movements, remain without structures, strategies and necessary programs to restart the struggle for socialism. The fact that poor people face most of capitalist crisis' effects brings the risk that they accept this dominant ideology and support anti-crisis but pro-system measures, causing an extraordinary rise in exploitation rate. For example, the common defence of the capital has substituted the struggle for workers' total emancipation for the one defending the employment right, within the strict capitalist system, even if this means the right to be exploited worse. (NAKATANI) For much too long, e.g., the marxist left has turned a blind eye on concerns like the ecololgical crisis, at times dismissing them as petit bourgeois. This vacuum has been filled by the sham alternatives proposed by most Green parties and by the surge of a so-called «green capitalism». In short, there is a widespread public consciousness of the depth and urgency of the ecological crisis, but the radical left has not provided its own answers to it. (CASSEN)

However, the alter-globalisation movement[19] represents a new hope that is born from the refusal to accept the status quo as inevitability – this is the meaning of the statement "another world is possible". The alter-globalisation movement's strategy is built around the convergence of social and citizen movements that emphasise solidarity, freedom and peace. They also build a new political culture, which is based on diversity, self-managed activities and mutualisation, and which prefers "horizontality" over hierarchy. A strategic orientation has become apparent: that of access to fundamental rights for all. This represents the development of an alternative to the predominant approach of adapting our societies to the world market through regulation by the global capital market. Current debates

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occur and the future organisation of society is in debate. A new term must be coined as soon as a hegemonic project becomes apparent.

[19] It can be defined as a movement representing both a prolongation and a renewal of its three historical predecessors: the decolonisation movement, the workers' and the social movements, and the struggles for freedoms. Decolonisation, social struggles, the democratic imperative, as well as the freedoms constitute the predominant historical culture of this movement.

inside the movement highlight the strategic question. This raises the question of power, which takes us back to the discussion on the State and touches on the questions of parties, of the model of social transformation and of the nature of development.

The alter-globalisation movement does not neglect possible improvements and is committed to avoiding unbearable situations. Moreover, it is largely in favour of a radical transformation and takes the possibilities of going beyond capitalism very seriously. This is a long term objective and the outcome cannot be predetermined. (MASSIAH)

Regiona spotlights: India

Powerful movements have formed in India: movements of peasants', the landless, Dalits, and global social justice networks. However, they are not linked to a left state project, apart from very contradictory experiences in the regions controlled by Maoists groups or in communist-ruled states like Kerala. (CANDEIAS) In the backdrop of the growing job-losses, wage cuts and cuts on other social benefits, a ground for mass resistance to defend jobs, wages and to oppose closure, retrenchment and new anti labour laws, do exist. Though in the recent time, banks and insurances employees went on strike opposing privatisation and the entry of foreign Capital in the Health Insurance sector. Even in the education sector, teaching staff – professors and teachers had to go on strike. It should be said that so far such a generalised resistance by the workers has not taken place in the country. Some of the reasons for such a situation are the dominance of the major Trade Unions of the right and the government which are supportive of these policies. But as it happens every time, at the call of the All India Joint Coordination Committee of the Trade Unions, workers irrespective of their allegiance join the strike and struggle for their rights. (MURTHY PK)

Latin America

Nowadays, perhaps only Latin American countries offer spaces for revolutionary progress and socialist transitions in the 21st century. (NAKATANI) Strong social movements in South America have toppled governments, brought centre-left governments to power, established approaches to participative policies and solidarity economies, and indigenous movements have enforced another way of dealing with representation, state and property. Initiatives that have been acknowledged in different and contradictory ways by the governments concerned: by Venezuela's Oil Socialism of the 21st century, through to the left state projects strongly supported by the indigenous populations in Bolivia and Ecuador, and the left-social democratic project of Lula and Kirchner, etc. In different ways they all rely – despite stronger orientation towards export – on shifting internal power relations, with more participation, progressive reforms and stronger social redistribution policies that partially expand the subalterns' capacity to act (Handlungsfähigkeit) – even if the problems of inequality, poverty and limited possibilities for development of the people persist. (CANDEIAS)

Examples of forms for a cooperative, solidarity economy are workers self-management in occupied plants in Argentina. Capital flew, left behind idle factories and disappeared managers and owners. Workers took over by means of factory-occupation,accompanied by self-management and the new experiences of working together and deciding collectively. Occupation and squattering is also known in the context of land occupation by the

„Movimento sem terra“ in Brazil, whichfight against genetically modified crops and for small scale environmentally sound agriculture and soagainst the mass-production of biomass for agro-fuels. The general target istre-appropriation of dispossessed territories, in order to organize life in a manner of solidarity and autonomy. (ALTVATER)

North America

In the recent past, popular movements and initiatives in North America defeated the neoconservatives as they represented a 'clear and immediate' danger. This was done by a combination of mass struggles that brought forward 'old' and 'new' social sectors like trade unions, youth, African-Americans, immigrants (as illustrated by the mass immigrant strike on May 1 2006). It led to the creation of an unusual alliance to support Obama. This multitudinous movement took form with the US Social Forum in Atlanta in 2007. One of the biggest challenge of this coalition is to bring together various segments of the working classes, long divided by race and insider/outsider status within the 'labor market' and without a common perspective considering the weaknesses of national political and social leaderships. Faced with the crisis, the movement so far has been unable to oppose massive transfers to financial capital and impose on the government to rescue significant parts of the industrial sector. Trade unions have failed (in a continuation of historical defeats) to build a people's alliance that could be sustainable. As time goes by, there is a danger of a real dislocation that could lead to some sort of a neoconservative come-back, this time much more tainted with all-out racism and fascism. (BEAUDET)

The central problem for labor unions and the left in the US are their further marginalization (politically and ideologically) by the capitalist crisis even as it creates vast new opportunities for them.[20] Public debates around the crisis are constrained to endlessly repeat arguments for relatively more versus less state intervention (and quibbles over interventions' details). The US working class came to distrust and disengage from the Democratic Party over the last half century. Democrats seemed unable or unwilling to stop the destruction of the New Deal that labor and the left had struggled so hard to achieve. Labor and the left in the US cannot yet acknowledge or face the implications of this history of failed Keynesian state interventions. They continue, with Obama, to propose and support more of the same. (WOLFF)

Two dimensions of current struggles indicate new developments however.[21] The first development is the rise, multiplication and complexification of 'local' movements, strug-

[20] Massively increased state economic interventions (a dramatically renewed Keynesianism) are largely co-opting or displacing traditional social democratic programs. The crisis-provoked closer coordination between state and large industry focuses brings vast resources (private profits plus the state's taxes and borrowings) to (1) shape and limit public perception of the crisis and appropriate "solutions," (2) control legislation, and (3) dominate politics.

[21] Historically, the emancipatory movement in North American has triggered labor insurgencies from the 1930s to the 1970s. The anti-war movement of the 1960s and more importantly the struggle for civic rights by African-American communities were also democratic and anti-capitalist expressions. However, never since Eugene Debs in the 1920 was this movement able to build a political platform. Time and again it was manipulated by populism, demagogy, racism and right-wing ideologies.

gling at the micro level. Many of there struggles are around environmental issues, which are organically related to 'really existing' capitalist accumulation in the US and Canada, unlikely to be 'greened' except at a superficial level. These movements bring together new social coalitions involving poor and middle class communities, youth, and first nations whose territories are a central target of huge capitalistic projects. The second development is the internationalization of the North American movement. This has been translated in various alliances to fight free trade agreements, anti-environment and anti-labor legislations and promote mutual support and resistance. The US Social Forum, the Quebec Social Forum, various coalitions acting at the community, environmental, labor levels are all expressions of this internationalization whereas US and Canadian activists play a role in the hemispheric battles along with counterparts from Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and South America, as it was demonstrated in Seattle, Quebec City, Windsor/Detroit and many other places. In more and more instances, these local and international struggles merge, thus creating a new paradigm, 'glocal'. (BEAUDET)

As conditions worsen rapidly for growing millions of people, struggles are developing across the United States. At the same time, the dangers and needs have never been greater. For more than ten years, the Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign (PPEHRC) and its strategic allies in the labor movement and other social forces have been dedicated to organizing the beginnings of this movement. The PPEHRC is dedicated to organizing this growing class. It is building encampments of homeless families, organizing homeless families to take over abandoned government-owned houses, leading the largest poor people's marches towards the headquarters of the National Republican Conventions during the last three elections, organizing global summits and hemispheric marches of the poor, helping to organize caravans of poor people of all sectors and races, and holding local, regional and national Truth Commissions on violations of economic human rights in dozens of communities. The movement is growing in spite of the increasing dangers and repression.

But it will literally die – like so many movements before – if it does not succeed in linking up with brothers and sisters around the world. This is both strategic and practical. The state of total war – economic, political, social, psychological and military – is about keeping us disorganized, unconscious and disunited from the poor around the world. The PPEHRC is committed to organizing a strong, broad-based movement that unites with other processes and movements around the globe in the struggle for a world in which all benefit from and control the wealth, in harmony with nature, a world which prioritizes human rights and environment over private property "rights." Because we are in the United States, no one understands just how awful our reality is, and just how great the barriers we face are – from resourcelessness to repression, to name a couple. And these myths are killing us, and robbing our movement (and the global movement) of major organizing opportunities among the American people. (COX/HONKALA)

Europe

Throughout EUROPE, we can distinguish five political currents – with certain peculiarities depending on the particular countries – intending to rebuild the Left. The left of the Left,

continuing to distinguish itself from the extreme left; communism, rebuilding itself after the collapse of Sovietism; the libertarians, trying to express the individual and collective refusal of alternative practices; those among the social democrats who have begun to comprehend the disaster following the subordination to neoliberalism; those among the ecologists who tie ecology directly to social issues, to the freedoms, to international solidarity. (MASSIAH) Who can we count on? We can count only on the "left of the left"; meaning all the forces, whether now organised or not, to the left of the social liberals. Here I could also go into detail about our weaknesses, beginning with ITALY and my own country, FRANCE, while praising GERMANY and Die Linke for showing us the way, even if we don't pay attention. We're not likely to get much help either from the social democrats or "third way" people; the ones I prefer to call "social liberals" because they have spent the past couple of decades accompanying neoliberalism rather than combating it. In Europe, the social liberals have consistently supported privatisation of public services, deregulation and, more recently, the EU Constitutional Treaty. In spite of all the obstacles, all the handicaps, all the difficulties of our situation, we are also rich in social movements, people and organisations. We have any number of ideas and proposals which could actually pull us out of the deep pit that the crisis has dug and help us emerge into a wiser, more resilient society based on co-operation, democracy, greater equality and a green economy. For the present, however, our basic problem is this: Those who have power have no ideas, or bad ideas, while those who have good ideas for escaping the crisis have little power compared to their adversaries. (GEORGE)

However, the opportunities for left alternatives in the sense of a revolutionary political realism have hardly been used to date. The left in Europe and abroad has gained ground from the social crisis in recent years, but not from the financial crisis. The global social justice movements which initiated a new cycle of transnational struggles at the beginning of the 1990s and activated the search for new paths of globalisation appears to have passed its zenith or is itself in crisis at the very moment of the crisis in neoliberal rule (see for example, the stagnation or erosion of activism in Attac). In Europe, the old left socialist or communist parties in many countries could not benefit from the difficulties of the neoliberal block parties: they were pulled down into the abyss with the social democrats in FRANCE, ITALY or SPAIN, or marginalised, decomposing themselves. Some smaller countries such as the Netherlands or NORWAY are an exception, perhaps – and GERMANY: Many hopes of the European left (left parties as well as movements) refer to the success of the German Left Party (Die Linke) in Germany. The understanding of a productive relation between the party and the movements, of self-organisation, participation and representation, of civil society and state is facing unsolved and new questions. (CANDEIAS)

A strategy emerging in the public sector in the UK combines resistance to outsourcing and privatization with the development of an alternative model of managing the public sector, based on industrial democracy. UNISON, the major public sector union in the UK is seeking to learn from and generalize an exemplary experience of a local branch (in Newcastle council) defeating privatization and co-operating with the municipal management to secure and improve public provision. In the process, the union and management created a working model of public sector industrial democracy. At the same time the services were improved and savings were made in back office functions that were reallocated to frontline

services. The co-operation with management was conditional on no outsourcing, on avoiding compulsory redundancies, on transparency and openness, including openness to management's plans and on increased investment in staff learning and development. The strategy of co-operation with management to secure public provision, is also based on maintaining wages and conditions. Moreover, this strategy to secure public provision has been as much about building the organisation of the union and strengthening members' participation in it, as it is about co-operation with management. Indeed the union's view of the nature of the co-operation – what they push for and what they accept in negotiating the terms of this co-operation (there is always more than one way of co-operating) is based in part on the importance of constantly strengthening union participation and organization. (WAINWRIGHT)

In SWITZERLAND, the offensives by the elites may well meet – sometimes fierce – resistance (farmers, workers of certain companies, kick-off of unionist mobilisation); nonetheless, this resistance remains fragmented, scattered, without any political intermediary worthy of being called that. Though, several fronts are building up, unfortunately scattered and unstable; particular attention should be drawn to migrant organisations (more than 25% of the population), as well as feminist, anti-nuclear, and anti-military organisations. But up to now, the political left has not benefited from the crisis, neither from an organisational, nor from a political perspective. On the contrary – results of numerous popular votes (issues submitted to a referendum are not what is lacking in this so-called semi-direct democracy, 20 to 30 each year at the very least) give reason to fear that, in a climate of "every-man-for-himself" to save his meagre advantages before the competition gets them and of worry about the future, the sirens of "global apartheid", to speak with the words of Samir Amin, always find more open ears in the polling booths. The idea that an alternative to capitalism is not only necessary, but also possible, remains a conviction of a minority. In some circles, especially in the petty bourgeoisie, people stick to the idea of a "green new deal". But not at all costs: people dissociate it from any fundamental criticism regarding capitalism and are ready to accept a rampant weakening of the "welfare state". (ROCHAT)

In FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, due to cooperation between bureaucratized trade unions with the government and owners in extinguishing the fire of isolated strikes, resistance is still fragmented. In the last weeks however, encouraging examples of coordination of demands for breaking of the privatization agreements with new owners who did not fulfill their obligations and returning of enterprises to the employees to manage them are appearing. There is still however no anti-capitalist breakthroughs, since even in enterprises with the majority employee ownership, some form of group private property, there are plans to search for the rescue in "strategic partners" and "better owners". There are still no attempts at self-employment through cooperatives avoiding middlemen between producers and consumers and still less attempts at realization of integral self-management at all levels of decision making. Presently small but potentially growing left groups are advocating in the tradition of social democratic regional project the Balkan and European federation of socialist republics in the sense of the power of, for and by the working classes, social ownership of production means, democratic planning and investment in renewable energy sources locally available and in public transport, aiming at human development instead at private profit.

In conditions when government has just few parliamentarians more than the opposition and unemployment rising, new elections can be expected but with no anti-capitalist oriented political party in sight. Within broadly defined left movement there seems not to be enough radicalism to demand anti capitalist transformations – predominate demands for re-embedded, more organized, more socially responsible…capitalism. (VRATUSA)

CHAPTER V: POST-CRISIS OR POST-CAPITALISM? THE PATHS TO TRANSFORMATION

If there is anything that Rosa Luxemburg and Gramsci and Lenin can teach us today, it is that, good will, values, and vision are not enough, that in the end, politics in the sense of a powerful vision, an effective strategy of coalition building, and wise supple tactics of building up a critical mass for winning power, with parliamentary and extra-parliamentary dimensions, is decisive. Nature abhors a vacuum, and we must be ready to fill that vacuum or we lose, decisively, and this we cannot afford to this time around. While progressives were engaged in full-scale war against neoliberalism, reformist thinking was percolating in critical establishment circles. This thinking is now becoming policy, and progressives must work double time to engage it. It is not just a matter of moving from criticism to prescription. The challenge is to overcome the limits to the progressive political imagination imposed by the aggressiveness of the neoliberal challenge in the 1980s combined with the collapse of the bureaucratic socialist regimes in the early 1990s. Progressives should boldly aspire once again to paradigms of social organization that unabashedly aim for equality and participatory democratic control of both the national economy and the global economy as prerequisites for collective and individual liberation and, one must add, ecological stabilization.

That is a perspective that we must might fight for not simply in a battle for people's minds but for their hearts and souls, and here the struggle is, on the one hand, against the technocratic capitalist restabilization schemes of Global Social Democracy and, on the other, the mass-based heated capitalist restabilization schemes of nationalist and fundamentalist populism. Ideas are not enough, and what will be decisive is how one translates our ideas and our values and our vision into a winning strategy and tactics that can triumph democratically. We must move away from the economism to which the global left was reduced in the neoliberal era. Politics, in short, must once more be in command. (BELLO)

An anti-hegemonistic alternative must overcome not only the weaknesses of neo-liberal financial-market capitalism, but in fact prove superior to it, to overcome it in the sense of an Aufhebung. The present crisis must be converted into an opportunity to initiate a transformational change which can overcome neo-liberal financial-market capitalism and move towards a society of solidarity. The funds used to rescue financial-market capitalism have shown that a fundamental redirection is possible. The rulers have themselves demonstrated that alternatives to privatisation and the "invisible hand" of the markets are possible. And we should stop using them to rescue this parasitic capitalist system.

The societal forces of solidarity must develop projects of entry into fundamental transformation, and fight for their implementation. Today, the prevalent form of action against the dumping of the effects of the crisis onto the population, the waged strata, pensioners

and the global South is still defensive. And these forces will remain on the defensive if they do not succeed in calling into question the structures of financial-market capitalism itself. For this purpose, they must be incorporated into a counter-hegemonist strategy which places fundamental transformation on the agenda. Central to such a counter-hegemony would be a new social and ecological form of productivity, a new way of life in solidarity, with a new wealth of free and socially secure development, a solar revolution and the transition to a nature-preserving type of reproduction, and global development based on solidarity.

The elimination of the most important motive forces of financial-market capitalism, the overaccumulation of private fortunes would at the same time constitute an essential source for the freeing up of the funds needed for a transformation in solidarity. The crisis is an opportunity for converting dangers into potentials for development in solidarity. We should seize this opportunity, end the hegemony of financial-market capitalism and initiate a global transformation process. The crisis of the hegemony of neo-liberalism is generating elements which can be incorporated into scenarios which could lead to an authoritarian-barbarised kind of capitalism, or, in a different direction, towards a world of solidarity. This struggle will determine what kind of human civilisation we will have in the twenty-first century. (BRIE)

The 21st century is a period of exhaustion of the reserves of primary materials. This reality is causing a new and grave dilemma for the economy. Therefore, economic regulation also demands concurrent ecological regulation. We should try to show how the "left of the left" might just manage to save the economy, the people and the planet from our present rulers and their allies, if we are capable of a lot of hard political work, if we understand the need for unity and for alliances and if we are blessed with an enormous amount of luck. We must try to help the ordinary citizen seize the opportunity rather than give in to the danger—otherwise they may start finding scapegoats and blaming immigrants or whoever else is close to hand. The window of opportunity won't stay open forever. We really must act fast. I do not want to know how society should or will be organised, except that it should be less centralised, more democratic and environmentally viable. The left has already lost far too much time on arguments about ideal societies. These arguments are sterile, even dangerous, because our societies are too complex for us to be able to consider all their parameters. The future will be and should be different in different places, if only because of geography, culture and a host of other factors particular to each society. The main feature is that whatever the outcome, it should come about through a democratic process. No society ever reaches a "final" state, because people and their arrangements are too various and they evolve. So our rule should be that none of us, singly or collectively, knows what is best for everyone and none of us should try to dictate the common good. (GEORGE)

The world economy crisis and neoliberal deligitamtion promotes the turning away from blind adherence to liberalisation, privatisation and extreme export orientation as well as the search for alternative paths for development. The Washington Consensus had already been delegitimized before the crisis, and will have disappeared after the crisis. Neither the US or Europe can determine the rules any longer, nor is there a visible transnational consensus. The South American countries as well as the BRIC states have too obviously been looking for different ›post-neoliberal‹ forms of integration into the world market and of economic

and social policies. The US, as main originator of the crisis, but also the G7/G8, have lost the legitimacy to create a new global financial structure. Consequently, the group of those involved needs to be expanded to the G20. The transnational fractions of capital feel challenged and have founded the B20 in an attempt to reclaim a leading role in solving the crisis and forming the post-crisis order. Increasingly, it will be decisive for BRIC and Gulf States to promote social justice by refocussing on the domestic economy, unleashing its productive potentials, in developing them as self-supporting economic factors and in using – where available – their wealth in resources and oil for this purpose. This also requires strengthening the elements of self-organisation, civil society and democracy – especially in China and Venezuela (or the Gulf States). The BRIC states and the countries on the peripheries must link this to policies of food sovereignty, consistent land reforms and ecological re-orientation. If not, there is a risk of escalating severe social unrest, whether it be in China, India, South Africa or Bolivia. At the same time, this re-orientation in government viewpoints has to occur without confrontation with the world market-oriented capitalist groups and investors – the chances for this are not at all bad, considering the growth prospects of the BRIC states.

China's state capitalism or the Gulf States with their public investment policies – practically top down – are even more clearly trying to bring capitalist dynamics and state-controlled development with selective market access into a different relation, and thus determine the future of the country (more) autonomously. Even in Scandinavia, different approaches of another type of capitalism have developed despite neoliberal hegemony. This kind of capitalism has not rejected the trend towards liberalisation, is extraordinarily successful on the world market and has simultaneously achieved higher labour and social standards. There is a stronger focus on public and social infrastructure, education and state interventions than elsewhere and this guarantees a still higher standard of living for large sectors of the population. The Scandinavian experiences should be considered – even critically – in view of ›post-neoliberal‹ reforms that can be generalized in the industrialized countries.

Internationally, another G20+ was already formed within the WTO framework some years ago, as a loose cooperation of countries of the ›global South‹, as a countermeasure to the bargaining power of Europe, the USA and Japan and thus strengthening the position of the ›global South‹. After the collapse of the WTO negotiations in Cancun/Mexico in 2003, Brazil, China or South Africa relied more strongly on so-called South-South co-operations. They do not want to uncouple themselves from the world market, but want to autonomously codetermine the conditions and forms of further integration of their economies into the world market and at the same time reduce their dependence on the old capitalist centres. This strategy is a shining example for smaller countries, for instance in Africa, that want to free themselves from a one-sided dependence on the EU, the USA or the IMF, by co-operating with China or Brazil. Furthermore, regional integration projects such as Mercosur or ALBA in Latin America are being promoted as a counterweight to transnational institutions such as the IMF, World Bank or the WTO. And co-operations between China, Japan and South Korea or the Asean states are being strengthened. Regional development banks such as the Banco del Sur are being founded. The transregional institutions are not already functioning in every case; especially in Africa the integration projects practically

face insurmountable obstacles. Nevertheless, successful projects will lead to further projects. (CANDEIAS)

In fact, we need not only regulation. To find alternatives and new parameters is the only real postcapitalist position. How can we redesign an utopia? The new parameters will have to meet four major criteria: The first is to affirm that we have to develop a sustainable and responsible mode of using natural resources. That means a new philosophy of the relationship between human beings and the earth, away from the concept of exploitation of nature as a commodity and towards a respect for nature as the source of life. The second main parameter involves establishing the priority of use value over exchange value. We need a new definition of economy, a different philosophy of economic activity: from production of added value for private interest to activity that produces the basis for life – physical, cultural and spiritual – for all human beings in the world. The market can no longer be merely a forum for making a profit for the few, but must rather be a place of mediation between supply and demand. We can no longer accept the mercantilisation of what is indispensible for human life: water, seeds, health and education. Such logic implies also the suppression of fiscal havens, of bank secrecy, and of the "odi-ous" debts of the Third World. Giving priority to use value would mean that agro-exports would become secondary to food sovereignty. The solution is to assure, first, food security for each country or region. It also means the regionalisation of economies, not only to promote common markets, but also with a new philosophy, like that of ALBA in Latin America. Here, the basis for regionalisation is not competition between markets, but complementarity and solidarity. And it means the prohibition of any kind of speculation with food products. It implies restoration of public services, not only in the material, but also in the cultural sphere.

The third parameter is the generalisation of democracy, not only in the political field through participatory elements, but also in all other societal relationships. In economics, nothing could be less democratic than the capitalist system. It means a new approach of individuals to society, but also a new conception of the state. The final parameter is multiculturality, a new philosophy of life – with the acceptance, for example, of the contributions of the indigenous peoples of Latin America and other parts of the world. They present the idea of "bien vivir" (living well) rather than having more. It would require a new definition of GNP. Qualitative elements of human progress should be introduced. That would mean, too, an end to the monopoly on information in the hands of big capital, and finally the abolition of the patent system for scientific knowledge.

The problem today is to envisage a means to ensure participation in the construction of the future for all knowledge systems and philosophies, of all religions and ethical instances, in order to build not only the vision – the reading of reality – but also the ethics of a new political and economic construct. Utopias can take real shape. One utopia in the history of humankind was human rights. True enough, it has taken two centuries to get a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and it is imperfect – too western, and also subject to manipulation by political forces seeking to establish their hegemony. But it exists, and it is possible to use it, as a moving force. So why not promote the idea of a Universal Declaration on Humankind's Common Goods, which would be based on the four principles described. (HOUTART)

The global scope of the financial – but also social and ecological – catastrophe makes it today possible and legitimate to subject the capitalist civilisation, which has reached its limits with globalisation, to radical criticism. Beyond "reformist" illusions of "re-regulation" and "refoundation of capitalism" on a "healthy" basis we must now think of alternative hypotheses that had been deemed "insignificant" after the failure of the socialist Soviet-type experiments. Considering the economic sphere as a – certainly important – element of the social ensemble allows us to go beyond the notion of "social effects of the crisis of the international financial system". In fact, these effects in reality make up an ensemble of dynamic and diversified reactions, depending on the individual social groups and national situations faced with the actions taken by the leading groups of the respective economies. The role of containing the drifts of this dynamism will lie with the social and political struggle in all countries, and the "social effects" of the crisis will be exactly inversely proportionate to the strength and the resistance they are going to meet.

The very mechanical principle of cause and effect that links the IFS crisis to its social effects, the way the media like to present it, is not attributable to physics but to history and social dynamics. For "these effects" do not exist before any action is being taken, and they act in a way that is more or less intense, depending on the reactions that take place in return. Such a relationship is called conflict and, in this case, social conflict, which is increased through the concerned sectors and hence the affected groups and countries. The said "effects" of this crisis thus do not represent an unavoidability, they do not have a destiny, but a story still to be told that will be made up of the clashes of two power groups that are present: the leaders of an economy who are not accountable for their actions vs. the dominated who will either submit to the former or resist them. This resistance, in turn, will depend on organisational capabilities and hence on forms of mobilisation that will be put into practice to transform "the effects" anticipated by the former into successes achieved by the latter. Beyond containing the crisis in order to mitigate its social effects and reconsidering regulatory theories, which are by the way made ineffective by globalisation, it might be the right moment to replace the economy within society, to re-embed it. We have to rethink and reorganise its laws by subjecting them to the laws of society, i.e. to "civilise" it somehow. (EL KENZ)

We must strengthen the opposition movements and expand the alliances and coalitions for freedom, democracy and peace. Europe is one of the principal actors bringing about all of these dangers – for the other regions of the world and for the working classes in Europe. We can identify the opportunities by analysing the deadlocks of the neoliberal period, of the failures of Sovietism, of the limits of Keynesianism of the post-World War II economic boom ("Trente glorieuses" in France), of the crisis of decolonisation.

Let us remember six opportunities inherent in the crisis. First of all, the ideological defeat of neoliberalism favours the strengthening of public regulation. Secondly, the redistribution of wealth and the return of the domestic market offer new chances of stabilising and guaranteeing wages and social protection and of reorganising the public services. Likewise, the ecological emergency requires a transformation of the mode of social development. Similarly, the crisis of the political model of representation reinforces the need for social democracy and participative democracy, as well as for reflection on power. Moreover, creating a new balance between the Northern and the Southern hemisphere opens up a new

phase of decolonisation and a new perspective on global geopolitics. Regarding all these aspects working class movements are bringing forward fascinating proposals characterised by the realisation that improvements for the working classes should not be sought by reasserting European hegemony.

None of these opportunities is going to impose itself; they can only result in better situations if the opposition movements grow stronger and if the social and ecological struggle for the freedoms and against war intensifies. Two questions have already been raised: How to avoid an alliance between neoliberal and conservative forces and reformers that is based on minimal reforms and green, authoritarian regimes? How to radicalise a potential reform movement for the benefit of the working classes? (MASSIAH)

The democratic forces can define an agenda for the very short term (2-4 months) at the planetary level in order to block the deployment of the speculative-warmonger mafia's agenda that is controlling the events thus far and targeting, from the viable initiatives, the construction of the moral direction of this process. The pedagogically consistent follow up for the middle (next six months, one year) and the long term (next years) should address directly the most principled aims for the post-crisis world in the horizon of a wide spectrum political accumulation that do not start nor end with electoral alliances, but that proves itself in the effectiveness of its demands. In that sense, it's crucial to plan the priorities for small but early victories. The generalized weakness of the democratic values in the global and national ideological arenas could be overcome in foreseeing the deployment of the crisis and the inexorable affectation of the fundamental needs of the working peoples. The continuous proposition of "politically sensible" solutions to the life threatening troubles and fears of the working classes and peoples could build up political and social relevance in the conjuncture, in the articulation of already ongoing struggles and demands. For example, it seems strategically necessary to install in the society's basic values the citizen's rights to a decent job and a healthy environment (and the consequent state's responsibilities) as key foundations for further political action. With the strategic perspective (indispensably present in each of the time horizon's agenda) of building an environmentally sustainable, culturally and scientifically sensitive planetary program of decent full employment, my contribution to an immediate programmatic platform focuses on the danger of increasing constraints that the crisis' unfolding imposes upon the reaction capacity of classes and nations. All the proposed initiatives should be rooted in long term democratic struggles and do not exclude further advances towards more radical targets. The idea is to create the empowerment and social insertion for deeper structural changes. (PAEZ)

If we do not succeed in holding up a publicly effective counter-concept to the "private" and to "privatisation", and in so doing create a conceptual-political contrasting point of identification to the rhetoric and politics of the private, opposition to the politics of privatisation will lack precision, vision and the power of political persuasion and mobilisation. It is especially necessary to develop a precise conception of how to shape reality, that is a conception which is able to introduce concrete political changes in the institutional and regulatory orders of the economy, which represent a real and differentiated alternative to the world of the private, which has arisen almost everywhere in the last three decades. The societal confrontation over the private has shifted and now occurs almost in the space of its formal antipode, that is in the state. In this struggle different conceptions of the state are

put forward and fought out. In the end not only the economic order but also the structure and space of the political has been altered. The development and political presentation of a left state project is therefore of central importance for the left. Furthermore, we propose examining whether the concept of the public cannot play a political-discourse role going beyond the rhetoric of the state and nationalisation, a role that can create connections between state and society, through which a social-political project can be organised as an alternative to the politics of privatisation – also incidentally through the concretising of a new, left understanding of the state. What is involved is a non-subaltern project of a political change of direction toward, and a transformation of, the public, which is to be opposed to a political-crisis mobilisation of the still remaining public resources – especially its state resources – by the power protagonists of neoliberal capitalism. It is a genuine alternative and in the middle-term a possible second pillar of societal reproduction. For one thing, the public can, in the most diverse life-worlds, become an effective medium of solidarity if it makes possible and offers participatory equity and the common appropriation of elementary conditions of life.

Looking at it in this light, four issues can be identified: Such an alternative project of the public would have to distinguish and aim at achieving: the democratisation of domination, the promotion of political, economic and social equality, a prioritisation of a common-good orientation, an opening up of paths to individuality through participatory equitableness in the elementary conditions of life, by being a medium of the solidaristic and providing a material basis for the symbolic control of time. A central criterion of a left politics of public goods in this sense would have to be that goods are so produced and distributed that everyone can in a socially equal way participate in their use, and that through such a common-good orientation the existing social inequalities can be minimised. Thus a threefold sleight of hand is demanded of a left transformational politics: (a) using, and at the same time changing, "hard" state instruments in a pragmatic, practical way; (b) with a complex project of the public, going back to the political culture of memory of a multitude of alternative developmental moments and trajectories of bourgeois-capitalist societies, developing these moments and inventing a politics of their co-action – (c) and, finally, enabling such a politics to use the visionary power of the idea of the commons and of common, in order to reveal paths to a fundamental transformation of capitalism. (RILLING)

Some potential initiatives: Reconcile city and countryside on the issue of food sovereignty and food quality; struggle for tax equity and fairness (regional and global, taking into consideration the fact that in the current debate, those in favour of "less taxes" have the wind at their backs; develop networks of a social and solidary economy, with the aim of re-democratising the debate on production goals, taking into account the ecological, cultural and social crisis; reinvigorate a unionism that is ready to confront and to struggle; defend and promote principles of equal opportunities and solidarity in the social struggle (especially with regard to men-women and nationals-immigrants relationship); refuse imperialist armed interventions; reaffirm an antisystemic culture (arts, history, etc.); put forward specific proposals for alternative "global governance" institutions that create a space for the struggle for liberation where it is developing and asserting itself. (ROCHAT)

It is crucial imperative that transnational organization of capital is matched by transnational organization of hired laborers and unemployed, addressing precisely differences pur-

posively exacerbated by transnational capital implementing divide at imperial rule and practicing anti-capitalist globalization from below. In such situation It is the challenge for the most class conscious activists to keep reminding that private property is just the legal expression of the class division of labor and that as long as it exists there will persist as well exploitation and oppression. (VRATUSA)

The focus on industrial democracy in the public sector as central to thinking and effective practice around alternatives, is interesting and important for several reasons: First, it is a necessary complement to the kind of citizens' participation and attempt to exert popular control over local state institutions that was experimented with in Porto Alegre, in Seville and many other smaller towns and cities across the world, with varying degrees of success. One of the limits of these experiences has been the absence of a parallel process of workers and union participation in a process of internal democratization of the municipality. The UNISON experience introduced in chapter IV provides a useful model from which to think how these two strategies for transforming state institutions could be combined and generalised (beyond the locality). Both these internal and external movements for democratic control have important implications we need to discuss for rethinking electoral political institutions, including political parties.

Secondly, alternative models of public service reform are of central strategic importance in a context where the advocates of privatization (e. g. all the mainstream political parties in the UK), have managed to pose as the service users' champion by claiming the mantle of reform and choice. As the failures – indeed disasters – of privatization are increasingly well known, public led strategies of reform are beginning to have a wider public impact. Thirdly, these alternatives are of central importance to relegitimising the kind of public led – as opposed to market led – economic strategy necessary to lead out of both economic and climate crisis. Fourthly, these union-led alternatives forged out of the struggle against privatization are leading the public sector unions on to a relatively new strategic terrain in which public sector managers are seen as potential allies of public sector staff. The strategy of co-operation with management to secure public provision moves public sector trade unionism beyond the traditional model based on replicating the struggle with management in the private, profit-driven, sector. This convergence of interests is not automatic – it has to be struggled for. Indeed the present postal workers strike in the UK shows a public sector management to be as vicious as the worst private sector managers. This recognition underpins the union's emphasis on constantly developing the union's organisation, including the capacity and participation of the members and the maintenance of its autonomy and capacity to challenge management even while committed to a strategic co-operation.

The wider significance of this experience for the question of alliances points to the importance of alliances with sections of the trade unions who are taking an increasingly strategic and political role. And this trend, though not the dominant trend in the unions in the UK, is an increasingly important one. One reason for this is that as the Labour Party vacates it's traditional role as political representative of working class interests and as the nature of these interests at the same time becomes increasingly political – in the face of the multiple crises – sections of the unions are open to working with allies on developing political responses from a base outside the political system, as a new bargaining base for having an influence within.

This can be seen in the UK over green issues as well as privatization. There is a growing alliance between sections of the unions and the green movement over green employment, both defending existing green jobs hit by the crisis and demanding government action around a green industrial strategy. These kinds of political – but non-party – and hybrid alliances often between 'old' labour movement organization and newly radicalized social groups – young people around the environment and also international issues such as Palestine, public service managers around the destruction of public services are most developed at a local level. How they will gain national expression is unclear. Indeed in many cases they have stronger international networks than they have alliances in national political institutions. (WAINWRIGHT)

There is no simple exit from the multiple crisis of finance, of the economy, of energy, the climate and food. There is an ecological necessity to decentralise energy-production, distribution and consumption. Instead of petro- and climate conflicts a strategy of sustainability in a solidarity society is needed instead of fossil combustion and financial repression, e.g. by opening the closed fossil energy regime for renewable, foremost solar energies. Is it suitable to change only the energy source without changing economic and social forms? No! The social formation matching a post-fossil solar energy system is some kind of cooperative socialism. Required are adequate economic and social structures – smaller units, non-profit based, participatory –, and more generally a transformation of the social relation of men to nature, not only technical solution in combination with market incentives. Also a "de-growth"-and "de-globalisation"-strategy is only possible in the social framework of a cooperative, solidarity economy on the basis of renewable energies. However, without success cooperatives survive only on a low and precarious level, they are not competitive enough without self-exploitation and they are not attractive enough as to be overtaken by competitors. Successful cooperatives transform into "normal" and competitive capitalist firms on the market place – an example of the "transformation paradox" (Oppenheimer). The "third" and "non-profit"-sector, too, is another example. It is oscillating between informalization, precarity, and solidarity. The third sectors is only "second best" after the dismantling of the welfare state – precarious jobs are created instead of job security.

For all this, material and immaterial public goods on all level from the local to the global are crucially important, and therefore re-appropriation of land, of closed factories, of dispossessed resources. The social movements pushing e.g. the fossil to a renewable energy system are socio-territorial movements and trade unions. But also a green new deal-strategy is a comprehensive project of social change – although it is rather state-driven. (ALTVATER)

The most important medium and long term issue for mankind and, simultaneously, a unique opportunity for demolishing capitalist assumptions and promoting alternative policies is climate change, the coming limitations on the availability of natural resources and the lethal threats to the ecosystems. What we first need to explain and make clear in people's minds is the fundamental contradiction between, on the one hand, the finiteness of earth's space and non-renewable resources and, on the other hand, the limitless accumulation process of capitalism. From then on, it is not too difficult to demonstrate that free trade, the free flow of capital and, more generally "market forces" are totally unable to guarantee fair access to common goods such as, among many others, water. But once the

ground is cleared, difficulties begin: what do we call "growth" and "development"? Inhabitants of the North and of the South, regardless of social classes, are in the same boat, on the one Earth, but how is the price of adjustment to be shared between them? Never before have we had a tour disposal such an amount of arguments to expose the intrinsic suicidal logic of capitalism and to promote equality, cooperation and a 21st century socialism as the only safe option. (CASSEN)

Indeed, during the next fifty years, humankind will have to transform its energy cycle, moving out of fossil fuels towards a new cycle of energy production. We are now facing the ultimate limits. Thus, the problem of changing the source of energy really raises enormous questions, the first being the need for a significant contraction of demand. We will have to restrict our use of energy; this is the fundamental solution in the long term. Second, major financial investments will be needed to develop new technologies in the field of energy, which necessity of course constitutes a contradiction with the enormous public expenses needed to solve the financial crisis. (HOUTART)

Alternatives to crisis-prone capitalism can be conceived and implemented at the local, national, regional and/or global levels. In the context of the global food crisis there are urgent needs for more self-sufficient and self-sustaining, and thus region-based, food production, and for mutually supportive agro-industrial development. Furthermore, under conditions of global economic crisis and emerging climate change crises, equally vital importance attaches to direct regional cooperation over shared water resources (rivers, lakes and underground aquifers), forests and biodiversities, fisheries and wild-life and other natural resources. Such cooperation is also essential on shared but unevenly distributed renewable energy sources and for the innovation of appropriate energy generation systems and technologies.

The long-standing rationale for these crucial regional arrangements for more effective cooperation/coordination between neighbouring countries is made even stronger and more pressing within the context of the imperatives imposed by looming climate change instabilities and insecurities and in view of the creative initiatives and transformative countermeasures so essential for peoples' security, and human survival. The programs to emerge from such practical - and often pragmatic - cooperation and coordination will have to be collectively and democratically negotiated and based on principles of mutual support and solidarity, but with differentiated responsibilities and roles according to resources and capacities. Within such 'give-and-take' and 'mutual benefit' modalities, such regional cooperation programs would presage entirely different systems and relations to those that drive competitive, mercantilist and exploitative globalised capitalism.

Most broadly and strategically, regional alliances – whether at the 'sub-regional', continental or inter-regional (south-south) levels – can be conceived and aimed at ensuring more effective engagements by such united groupings within the global economy and political system or at enabling a more self-determined re/positioning in relation to the global economy and system or against the system or even, partially or totally, outside of the system. It is in the light of these possibilities that such regional strategies carry broader global significance and hold out possibilities for alternatives to globalised capitalism, through deglobalisation. If such regional groupings of countries are able to negotiate and implement amongst themselves alternative socio-economic strategies, they could not only be advanc-

ing alternatives within and for the countries and peoples within their own regional groupings, but also from their putative regional economic and political power bases for and towards alternatives to globalised capitalism, and for the whole of humanity. (KEET)

Today we have reached this crucial moment which announces the probability of a new wave of 'wars and revolutions'. This is even more so since the ruling powers do not envisage anything other than the restoration of the system as it was before the financial meltdown. Pauperisation expresses itself mainly by the growing contrast between the affluence of the societies in the centre of the world system who benefit from the imperialist rent and the misery of the societies at the dominated peripheries. This conflict becomes therefore the central axis of the alternative between "socialism and barbarism".

All the "advantages" of the imperialist triad can now be annihilated by unilateral policies conducted by countries of the periphery. In this spirit, I situate the 'new agrarian question' at the heart of the challenge for the twenty-first century. The plundering of the South's natural resources, which is demanded by the pursuit of the model of wasteful consumption to the exclusive benefit of the North's affluent societies, destroys any prospect of development worthy of this name for the peoples in question. The real challenge is therefore as follows: will these struggles manage to converge in order to pave the way – or ways – for the long route towards the transition to world socialism? Or will these struggles remain separate from one another, or will they even clash with each other and therefore become ineffective, leaving the initiative to the capital of the 'oligopoles'? In this situation, the possible radicalisation of the struggles is not an improbably hypothesis, even if the obstacles remain formidable. However, pursuing attempts to identify the components of a "progressive global consensus" is not realistic and therefore perpetuate "wishful thinking" and dangerous illusions. The real battles are developing on other grounds. A radical left must dare envision nationalisation as the first inescapable stage of the socialisation of the 'oligopoles' by deepening democratic practice.

The current crisis enables the conception of a possible crystallisation of a common front of the social and political forces bringing together all the victims of the exclusive power of the ruling oligarchies. As long as this strategic target is excluded the stability of the societies of the triad will not be questioned. There is therefore a serious risk of a 'remake' of the wave of struggles of emancipation as happened in the twentieth century, that is to say, a questioning of the system exclusively by some of its peripheries.

In the countries of the periphery, the battle of the States and the nations for a negotiated globalisation without hegemonies – the contemporary form of de-linking – eventually supported by the organisation of the demands of the popular classes can circumscribe and limit the powers of the 'oligopoles' of the imperialist triad. Initiatives which are independent of the policies that the imperialist coalition tries to enforce are already initiated (Group of Shanghai, Banco Sur etc). The democratic forces in the countries of the North must support these initiatives. The 'democratic' discourse that is proposed and the 'humanitarian' interventions conducted in its name, just like the miserable practices of giving 'aid', eschew real engagement with this challenge.

A second stage of "the South's awakening" is now on the agenda. In the best possible scenario, the advances produced in these conditions could force imperialism to retreat, to renounce its demented and criminal project of controlling the world militarily. And if this

were the case, then the democratic movement of the countries at the centre of the system could make a positive contribution to the success of this strategy of neutralisation. Moreover, the decline of the imperialist rent which benefits the societies in question, itself caused by the re-organisation of the international equilibria to the advantage of the South could help the awakening of a socialist consciousness. But on the other hand, the societies of the South could still confront the same challenges as in the past, a situation that would produce the same limits on their progress. A new internationalism of the workers and the peoples is necessary and possible. (AMIN)

It is necessary to work on developing left positions that could intervene effectively, and at the same time to develop a radical political realism (radikale oder "revolutionäre Realpolitik"), as Luxemburg demanded, towards socialist transformation. Currently, we are still in a relatively open historical situation where no hegemonic direction has yet been taken. Consequently, it is no longer sufficient to only demand an important and indispensable re-regulation of the financial markets. More far-reaching projects are necessary to confront the problem of over-accumulation and the numerous social crises.

Considering the intertwined crises processes, as well as the numerous initiatives pursued by those in charge to deal with the crisis, we cannot proceed with the old demands. The demand for more money or simple nationalization will not succeed unless it is given greater content, for example by a demand for linking bailouts and economic stimulus packages to ecological conversion, extended participation, expansion of public services, a ban on dismissals, etc. The connection between the multiple crises must be emphasised, the connection between ecologic and economic crises, between all these crises and the capitalist mode of production and our way of life. The ruling bloc always tries to separate these correlations, to deny social problems and changes, to isolate problems and social groups. In addition to this, the left must find a new strategic position with regard to the changed situation. This requires far-reaching proposals and imagination and at the same time to detect practical initial projects – that can be initiated from a minority position. Otherwise, the demands of the left are taken over by the ruling elite, as has already happened. An intervention in public debate must draw on concepts and perspectives.(CANDEIAS)

Marxist economists, philosophers, intellectuals who consider themselves revolutionaries should have as their main task analyzing the current dominant world capitalist system and the forces behind it, with the goal of aiding those who are directly organizing for a mass struggle to fundamentally change the system. In the imperialist countries, of which the United States is center, this does not mean prescribing programs to extend the life of capitalism by softening its contradictions. It means explaining the contradictions within the system that condemn those oppressed and exploited by it to ever more onerous conditions of life. It means showing how capitalism drives toward war and ecological destruction that threaten the very existence of life on the planet. It also means indicating the path to a revolutionary struggle for socialism, even if that struggle seems remote given the current balance of class forces and the left's ideological retreat since the USSR's collapse. The conditions create an objective need for reawakening class struggle in the United States. (CATALINOTTO)

Yet while the situation of poverty, war, repression and rampant human rights violations worsens both in the United States and around the world, we know that the only answer is

to organize a massive social movement in our country and to unite it with peoples and movements worldwide. The struggle of the poor of the United States is the struggle of the poor internationally against neoliberalism and militarization. As our government attempts to keep us apart, we recognize that our interests are one and the same with the poor and with workers in every corner of the world. Whether we live in shantytowns, homeless shelters, impoverished farms, on the streets or in abandoned factory towns in the United States, Brazil, Iraq, South Africa, France or India, our common enemy is this system which has sentenced billions of us to hunger, homelessness, war and death by preventable disease.

The global crisis and the concurrent rapid growth of this class of new poor who have no future in this economy (and resulting outbursts of struggles in response across the US) provides unprecedented opportunities for organizing millions of people across the country into a national movement and into the global struggle, for another economic model. But as long as the people – and especially the poor and workers of all races - of the United States are invisible and unorganized, a global movement will not be able to really confront the US empire and the socioeconomic model which is killing all of us. (COX/HONKALA)

This great crisis could be the opportunity to place the economy within the context of other social relationships based on principles of solidarity, democracy, social justice and, today we can add, ecological sustainability. This is permitting the resurgence of a post-capitalist utopia. We find ourselves, contradictorily and simultaneously in an era of much hope and much insecurity. Nevertheless, the extreme concentration of wealth in a world that is teetering on the brink can also function as political dynamite that has the potential to vindicate another civilization.

Beginning with earlier crises, there has been a growth in the debate about how to ensure that the general interest prevails over particular interests. This demands intervention and regulation on the planetary level. The search for an alternative to neoliberalism is giving rise to the possibility and necessity of another economic model which will bring new forms of socialism to the debate. Globalization did not just create this possibility in the abstract its growing contradictions are making this more possible and more necessary. Increased planning of the market, by itself, nevertheless, does not guarantee post-capitalism.[22]

We are left with the question of whether political action is still capable of intervening in the economy. Global crisis might guide us to an economy that reaffirms life and not capital. An alternative economic regulation is necessary, which starts precisely from the concrete life of people with concrete necessities, and not of an abstract consumer. It has to start from local and specific social demands. This means a democratic bottom-up definition of priorities. Regulation demands to integrate economics within the complexity of other social regulations based on the principles of solidarity, democracy, social justice, and ecological

[22] It is possible to image a new economic order at the international level with a planned economy which reorients investments towards the productive realm with the goal of guaranteeing sustained economic growth and in this way, the expansion of the current economy. This implies a global assignment of finite natural resources and diversified industrial planning, managing not just natural uses, but the most effective use of capital and labor. Such economic regulation could be transformed into a centralized bureaucratic apparatus in order to create and put into place a plan to perpetrate the accumulation of capital, without any structural role for citizens. This would just substitute the voice of the free market for the voice of worldwide top-down regulation.

sustainability. With this approach, we can guarantee the right to life for all living beings (whether human or not) on our planet and whether or not this is "useful" for the market. (DIERCKSXSENS)

This crisis is the call to the exploited classes of the countries of the Center, as well as to the exploited peoples of the countries of the periphery, to rise to put an end to the exploitation to which they are subjected, and start on the long road to socialism and classless society. Such a goal cannot be achieved without the close collaboration of the popular working classes of the North and the peoples of the South, since the struggle of each of these parties alone cannot achieve the dislocation of the dominant neo liberal policies of the transnational corporations pursued by the governments of the North and their comprador agents and lackeys in the South.

Class struggle battles take place always on the local level but the project must be therefore on the global level. It is obvious that the global Left as the defender of the interests of the popular classes in general, and the Peoples of the South in particular, has little or no possibility to interfere with the monopolies of modern technology, dominance of financial markets, free access to the significant resources of the planet and weapons of mass destruction or to break, let alone to put an end to them within the immediate future. However, communication and mass media is the field where the left can hope to have a significant impact on politics by raising the consciousness of the popular masses in the North and the exploited peoples of the South. Our target group should not be mainly the left intellectuals and activists but those masses who don't even read. (HABASHI)

In terms of class struggle, a systemic crisis gives theoretically the opportunity to start the revolution and to take political and economic power off the bourgeoisie. The crises occur when it is possible to worsen the contradictions up to the limit, just until the end of classes' and capital domination – that means until the destruction of capitalist production relations rather than the means of production. In these conditions, it is urgent to rebuild processes of thought and action on socialist transitions, against the work exploitation and for the end of capitalism. (NAKATANI)

CHAPTER VI: ALTERNATIVES TO CRISIS-CAPITALISM – CONCRETE DEMANDS AND PROPOSALS

This concluding chapter gives an overview of proposals and demands for overcoming the regime of crisis-capitalism. They are grouped under keywords, and for a better reading we have done so, with few exceptions, without reference to the author.

Regulation, currency system, debt, world trade and taxation

- reform of the United Nations, with the abolition of veto rights in the Security Council.
- introduction of a financial transaction tax/Tobin tax including currency transactions,
- taxation of the highest incomes, graduated income taxes and reinstatement of inheritance taxes,
- interest caps.

- a "unitary profits tax" on transnationals[23], and getting transnational corporations under control,[24]
- a tax on any manufactured product which has been transported for a distance of more than one thousand kilometres and a guarantee of at least five years on all industrial products
- orientation towards the domestic market, regionalisation and a partial trend to de-globalisation, promoting „fair trade",
- regulating investment-banking in order to disincentive speculation,
- fight against criminal capitalism, of money laundering,
- closing down of tax havens,
- put central banks, where they are organised as private institutions, out of business and replace them by sovereign central national banks under the control of parliaments,
- establishment of a new currency-system because of the untolerable indebtedness of the US and the danger of an uncontrollable devaluation of the USD and target zones for exchange rates,
- structural adjustment for deficit-and surplus-countries, a new role of the Special Drawing Rights, and reconsidering Keynes' proposal for an International Trade Organisation, replacing WTO,
- cancel the debt of the South but also to insist that the countries receiving cancellation participate in the environmental effort through reforestation, biodiversity conservation and other environmental programmes,

Economic, labor and social policy

- Active fiscal policy of the nation state,
- reorganisation of the labour process with reduction of working hours,
- legal regulation of minimum wages, and thinking about introducing a citizen income
- decent labour instead of precarious labour, thus: regulation of informal work,

Economic stabilisation and loan granting policy

- uses for credit money to be determined by social and ecological needs,
- support of micro-and cooperative finance, priority to small and medium enterprises (SMEs) organised along cooperative lines with worker participation and environmentally sound projects (alternative energy, construction, lightweight materials, organic food),
- place banks under social control and treated like public utilities whose job is to serve society,

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[23] It would require that transnational corporations publish their sales, profits, number of staff, and taxes paid in each jurisdiction and would show at a glance if they were cheating.

[24] TNCs are masters of transfer pricing in order to reduce their taxes to the absolute minimum. A simple mobile telephone may involve—truly or fictitiously—more than two dozen countries, and each transaction whether material, like the purchase of components, or immaterial like the purchase of advertising or banking services offers an opportunity to manipulate prices and thereby taxes as well.

- considering of financial credit as a common good,
- loans for buying electric or other alternative energy automobiles.

To immediately block the restoration of the blackmailing powers on behalf of the Old Financial Architecture we need to channel all the new resources that have been already promised or given to the IMF through a new window. The new window would

- without the neoliberal adjustment conditionalities and
- with an alternative directory that would reflect a more democratic representation of the regions.

As precedent, there is already a similar format with the Global Environmental Fund within the World Bank, and administratively can be done in a couple of months, with the adequate political pressure. This do not imply to renounce the needed reform of the Bretton Woods Institutions' governance or even its further dissolution into a completely new institutionality and would be developed as part of the long term denunciation against the IMF and the WB. Moreover, the mere existence of the new window is a practical criticism for the former ones and will effectively push the New Financial Architecture.

To allow the periphery's real capabilities for deploying counter-cyclical policies, it is urgent to create fiscal policy space. UNCTAD has suggested an immediate external debt moratoria and that could be combined with the generalization of debt auditing processes that could critically learn from the Ecuadorian and the introduction of an International Debt Arbitrage Tribunal that could purge a good chunk of fictitious capital and transparent at least part of the abuses and corruption of the most reputed actors in the globalized financial arena, both public and private. This could summon all the forces and organizations link to the debt struggle and Jubilee campaign, including the churches and part of the establishment.

To block the speculators blitzkrieg offensive against any type of financial re-regulation and to link that fight with famine prevention: universal ban of short-selling and other speculative mechanisms, especially in the global food provision chain (seeds, products, inputs, etc. both in the spot and future markets). Further regulations in other speculative markets can follow, including the write down of all financial derivatives, already claimed by their godfathers, beneficiaries and creators, Nobel laureates Robert Merton and Maryon Scholes.

In the same venue and to prevent geopolitical retaliations and economic sabotage of democratic processes, it's necessary to impulse a universal definition of efficient and transparent capital controls and a global Tobin Tax, which has already had an important echo among representative personalities of the establishment. (PAEZ)

Public sector, basic goods, energy, climate and natural resources

- go from fossil to renewable energy sources in the order of their technical-economic realization: Biomass, Eolic Energy, Waterpower, Photovoltaic, solarthermal devices, geothermal devices;
- regulation of minimum prices and guarantee of acceptance of delivered energy.
- decentralised production and consumption in small cooperative units,

- a „green new deal“?
- preservation of the general and public character of the natural commons, restoring public sovereignty over natural resources as being done now in Venezuela and Ecuador, as well as the expansion of collective free or low priced public services (for example, expansion of free public transport systems instead of subsidising the car companies),
- an end to monocultures, the destruction of nature due to the widespread use of fertilisers and pesticides,
- applying the Kyoto Protocol and the “further commitments” arrived at in Bali and, shortly, in Copenhagen and measures to ensure that the global warming not increase by more that 1°C during the 21st century,
- introduction of ecological externalities into the calculation of the cost of production, for example those for bio-fuels,
- issuing European bonds for public works, particularly public transport,
- controlled non-inflationary emission by central banks to long-term and low interest rates investment in public infrastructural, educational and health projects.
- shaping property and social relations, enterprises, goods, spaces or measures for services of general
- provide medicine and the technologies that make access to the basic goods needed for a dignified life possible free of cost to those countries with a below-average human development index, effective immediately. All CO2-cutting measures in those countries should be subsidised by those countries which emit above-average quantities of CO2. This would create a corridor for dropping CO2 emissions.

Democratisation of society, the state and the economy

- public and citizen control of the management of common goods, e.g. water, at world level,
- democratization of the economy that goes further than classical workers' co-determination towards genuine participation by workers, unions, public consumers and other stakeholders in company decision making (concerning the whole transnational production chain),
- promote the democratic constitutedness of public undertakings, clearly prioritises a common-good orientation, carries out internal enterprise arrangements sensitive to the reduction of income differentiation spread and social differences, produces a culture of transparency, publicity and the reinforcement of public opinion within a worksite and practices all this taking into account other protagonists and fields of action of the public that are influenced by its activities,
- democratic participation of the workers as well as of the users of the public service provisions in their shaping and the evaluation of their results (quality control), and it involves transparency and control of the technical and financial results; complete transparency of fees and of contract conditions; control mechanisms for municipal representatives; creation of independent regulatory authorities as well as legal remedies and mediation mechanisms.

- aim to transform the internal structure of each enterprise: to replace shareholder-selected boards of directors with collectives of the enterprise's workers. Workers would process technical change and worker-retraining differently. Having to live with the ecological consequences of production, they would be much more attentive to sustainability issues. Demands for gender equality would be differently evaluated and treated. Relocation of production would be handled altogether differently. In sum, the transformed internal structure of enterprise would produce new criteria for investment alongside newly emerging social needs and priorities,
- expand participation and transparency through participative budgets,
- interventions into public authority in the matter of primary distribution, investment, structural and regional policies, social legislation, standardisation, environmental legislation, consumer protection, de-concentration of enterprise structures, co-determination of forms of bank control,
- strict and radical-democracy approach on all level, such as: trade unions, churches, educational institutions and also between men and women.

Regional alliances, coalition-building and organizing

- Movement of cooperatives as shall be part of trade union activities,
- counter-pose a bottom-middle alliance of all forces committed to solidarity; it would unite trade unions and environmental movements, unemployed, social movements against terror, supervision, racism, sexism, destructive mega-technologies for global social rights, as well as left forces in politics, culture and society,
- involve not only the interests of the industrial working class and the organized workers of all kinds, but with unorganized workers and unemployed. It must be explicitly anti-racist and gender oriented,
- replace union leadership by new forces, with leaders from the most oppressed and exploited sectors of the working class. Organizing at this level requires the initiative of the most progressive thinkers in the U.S. and worldwide in close cooperation with grass-roots organizers

Through the creation of appropriate models regional entities can effect an incremental erosion of the 'single integrated/liberalised global economy'. Regional terrains for diverse socio-economic-environmental programs could on the one hand constitute a narrowing of the scope for the operation of capitalism; and, at the same time, provide demonstrations of real workable alternatives that are feasible within regional blocks. 'Living alternatives' at community/local levels are useful for their demonstration effect, but are probably too 'small'. In the face of increasingly threatening global crises, such localised solutions could be too piecemeal, and simply insufficiently powerful politically and economically to change the international balance of power.

However, even as such 'regional' South-South alliances hold out the most promising possibilities there remain vitally important spheres of common concern for the whole of humanity, and these have to be negotiated globally. What is therefore needed at both the conceptual and practical levels are

- simultaneous 'bottom-up' (local, national and regional) and 'top-down' (global) approaches
- specific diverse regional alternatives as well as convergent and common global alternatives to the current globalised capitalist system; and
- both political 'south-south' alliances against northern-dominated global capitalism, as well as 'north-south' alliances of the international left . (KEET)

Media

Creation of a media Center for the diffusion and popularization of all the militant platforms, as well as the news of the struggles of the oppressed peoples and classes all over the World. The main and central activity of this media center has to be a TV satellite broadcasting covering the entire globe in as much languages as possible. Such a project must be global in its extent and coverage, and be capable to put an end to the monopoly of mass media by the oligopolies that dominate the world. Its success can only be secured if the majority of the world Left supports it in one way or another. To embark on such an ambitious project an entity embracing the majority of the forces of the Left should be created to study the idea and put it into practical implementation. (HABASHI)

Food security

In China, a country that has 0.1 hectare of agrarian land per capita and where 60% of the population are peasants living in relatively isolated rural areas, food security is of immense importance. Among Asian developing countries with populations of over 100 million such as India, Bangladesh, China was the only one to set up a system of family tenant management, a system known as "families' land rights of equal distribution inside the villages". However, as agricultural economies of scale lost importance and the landlord tenure system was abandoned, China developed a shortage of grain. Even though small farmers' average production increased per capita in the 1950s and rural agricultural production was sufficient in terms of subsistence during this period, it was not enough in the face of urbanisation and industrialisation that pushed up demand immensely. The necessary capital accumulation was made possible as collectivized productions in the agricultural sector resulted in surplus creation. This significant internal capital accumulation process made China's trajectory of industrialisation unique compared to that of western countries. And, 3 years' serious crisis of food shortage since 1960 also mainly caused by heavy foreign debts transited into large amount agricultural export.

Currently, rural China is characterised by small-scale farming. Over the last 10 years, food output has been increasing along with the rapid macro-economic growth and a steadily increasing population. The internal inflation always be the pre factor of food price increment, before China excess WTO. Following the foundation of the People's Republic of China, an increase in the population was coupled with rising food output. However, faster urbanisation and farmer income enhancement complicated the monitoring of changes in patterns of food stockpiling in farmer households, which represents 20% of commercialised food. The lack of exact data on the amount of stockpiled food can subsequently impact the food market when prices change.

During times of rapid economic development or inflation, the government is likely to launch macro-control policies which often result in decreasing prices and insufficient supply. Discrepancy between the agricultural production period and subsequent output supply is a result of the effects of macro-economic policies and the macro-economic period. Therefore, soaring food prices are the consequence of abnormal macro-economic fluctuations and inflation, not the other way around.

After the system of family tenant management was implemented, agricultural production and distribution started to take place in more than 200 million small farmer households. This led to a constant average food output of about 350 kg per capita, or 450 kg per farmer, which constitutes 60% of total food production in China. Only 40% of this output reaches the market, which is the part that will respond to price policies and macro-economic fluctuations.

As China is still in the process of urbanisation, around 60% of the population is still living in the rural areas with self-sustaining grain consumption. Hence, when considering China's food security system, it is important to note that it concerns only 40% of the population; those living in urban areas. Also, it is the annual food commercialisation ratio that should be taken into account, not the annual food output. Thus, the country's food security system is very different from the West and China should promote national stockpiling as a complement to market-driven food supply. (WEN)