

## **Challenges for the left and emerging of the new socialist strategy**

As Olexandr Kravchuk pointed Ukrainian oligarchic capitalism was not that much better before the 2008-2009 crises. Ukrainian economy was programmed for destruction long before the crisis during the years of economic growth which actually formed the vulnerable raw material export dependent structure of economy. What really changed is social perception of capitalism in many countries of semi-periphery of EU, and of course our understanding of global social crisis and its interconnections in the different parts of the world. The need for united not just anti-capitalist, but really socialist and internationalist strategy became obvious. In this context I hope to find some hints for the questions of the seminar.

## **What is new, why could it develop and what does it mean for further strategy building?**

I think that new developments are of two contradictory tendencies of (1) all the negative consequences of the deepening of the global crisis of capitalism, and (2) development of the promising tendencies of the growth of the mass class consciousness and democratic grassroots.

Negative: Further financialisation and bureaucratization of capitalism, moving of the material production into the low wage regions of the world, and development of world scale production and supply chains and logistic systems (connected with further spread of outsourcing and concentration of privatized knowledge in core parts of networked virtual organizations). Generally speaking, it means further polarization and proletarianization of society (the conception of the “cyber-proletariat” by Nick Dyer-Witford could be very helpful). It means the increase of unemployment, precarisation as well as world ecological crises. The stability of employment and social guarantees system is under attack not only outside the traditional capitalist-core countries of Triada (EU - North America – Japan) but also inside the EU.

Positive: Development of some grassroots alternatives. Participatory budgeting projects. P2P production initiatives, especially on community to city-size scale. On-line democracy projects, including the liquid-feedback democracy projects. It also means that that some kind of new social movements with political gains could emerge and become stronger. The introduction of minimum basic income standards is possible in some EU countries (which is actually the mean to avoid the decreasing of the workday and prevent development of other more democratic and non-capitalist ways of distribution of social welfare).

Further strategy building is in connecting of the grassroots around the consistent program of the world scale anti-capitalist socialist alternative. Such alternative should obviously base itself on the abolishing of any kind of campism with imperialisms of any kind. We need clear anti-chauvinist position on national and gender question to develop of perspective of elimination of the structural violence of any kind. These are important prerequisites to overcome the bureaucratization of movement and develop truly democratic and participative socialist alternative. This alternative should include criteria for social efficiency of production fundamentally different from the capitalist criteria of the maximization of profit and the speed of capital accumulation. The criteria of the social economy of labor (minimization of labor input in production) is the major one. Alternative should also include vision of the synergy between the broad

participatory democracies in production and centralized planning of resources (based on balance models etc.) And, of course we will need broad consumption (user) democracy to evaluate real use value of production goods and optimize the production processes not for profit but for maximization of use value and customer experience while minimization of labor input.

### **Which ways of a further development of the EU are probable?**

EU could possibly disintegrate because of its too democratic and human rights focused internal structure which is not that good for imperialist power, but more likely EU will just continue gradual economic expansion to the East developing the multi-layer segregation system of the different levels of social and human rights protection for different groups of people by geographic place of their living and formal nationality. The gap between Germany with its most automatized and robotized machine-building industries and further de-industrialization of the most of EU are very probable. The most labor consuming industries could possibly partly be transferred not only to Southeastern Asia but also to the cheap labor Eastern European countries (as Ukraine).

### **Which ways of changing the left in Europe are possible?**

We need other kind of structures on the EU and world level. We do need some more transparent coordination, discussion and unity in action. Therefore, we need a kind of all-European international left political organizations with pluralism, discussion, and more participative and electronic democracy. But we also should find the ways to avoid any kind of chauvinism and make heard the voice of the people from the periphery and semi-periphery of EU.

The last but not the least, the Left were always essentially anti-bureaucratic (as David Graeber put it) and we should not only build our organization on the truly participative non-bureaucratic principals, but also develop a clear vision of the elimination of bureaucracy as relict of capitalism.