

A Framework for the Left in the 21st Century

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Introduction

The historical development of the capitalism has entered its last, biological stage¹. At this stage, capitalism comes to itself, form and content match. Thus a sublation of capitalism in a Hegelian/Marxian dialectic sense is possible. This does not mean the abolition of the capitalism. The sublation of the capitalism does not happen automatically. The decay of an historical formation can take a very long time. The profiteers of this formation doomed try to prevent its decay by all means. Pushed into extreme, they prefer general destruction as the World Wars have shown. Today this would be the destruction of humankind.

No social order is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the framework of the old society.²

While up to the present the new social order has developed more or less unconsciously, this cannot be true for the next one. All previous social orders were part of the quasi-natural pre-history of humankind. The next social order will represent the transition to history. This new social order will be the free and thus conscious association of all individuals. Thus hatching the new social order must be carried out consciously and also the first impulse. Therefore the production of the new, socialist society is no "hatching", no quasi-natural process any more.

This is the first impulse. Hopefully it will be accepted, even if it comes at a very early point.

1 See [The Structure Imperialism as the Last Stage of Capitalism](#) by Heiko Feldmann.

2 K. Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, with some notes by R. Rojas.

Framework

- 1 The target of the Left is the creation of a completely human society.
 - 1.1 Everything else is subordinated to this target.
 - 1.2 A human society is a free association of free individuals as individuals.
 - 1.3 A human society is one in which all individuals together exercise control over the conditions of existence and means of production.
 - 1.4 A human society is one in which no one is exposed more than the general risk of life and which minimises risk of life as far as possible.
 - 1.5 A human society offers all humans the same possibility of developing their abilities and of enjoying life.
 - 1.5.1 In particular, this includes the basic provision with food, including drinking water, medical care and education.
 - 1.6 People must not be treated like things.
 - 1.7 Emancipation means to develop oneself to the point where one does not treat oneself and others and does not allow oneself and others to be treated like things any more.
- 2 The way to a human society cannot be inhuman.
 - 2.1 There is no left martyrdom and there are no left heroes.
 - 2.2 The Left must do everything for the survival of humankind.
 - 2.2.1 The Left must be active against war.
 - 2.2.2 The Left must fight for saving the environmental conditions of life.
 - 2.2.3 The Left reject the use of the nuclear power in today's form of the nuclear fission as in a possible future form of hot nuclear fusion.
 - 2.3 Any kind of an immiseration theory which counts on revolution taking place if people's lives are miserable enough must be rejected.
 - 2.4 The revolution has to be made in such a way that it takes as few victims as possible.
 - 2.5 "My enemy's enemy is my friend" is no acceptable motto for the Left.
 - 2.5.1 Either one is caught in the context of formal logic, where something positive is derived from two negations, and thus undialectical.
 - 2.5.2 Or it is a purely tactical consideration which must be excluded because of the importance of the path for the Left.
 - 2.5.3 Both are expressions of a limited instrumentalistic thinking.
- 3 A human society is a society without the use of power.
 - 3.1 The Left must not make use of power mechanisms among each other.
 - 3.2 The Left should influence the course of history as indirectly as possible.
 - 3.3 The Left should use as few direct means of power as possible.
 - 3.4 The participation of single leftists persons in parliament, government or other institutions or quasi-governmental organisations is possible in principal. These leftists have to keep in mind the general aim of the Left. The Left as a whole

does not participate in state organisations.

3.5 The Left fights every form of censorship.

3.5.1 This applies also to fascist propaganda since only intensive intellectual debate can avoid the danger of emancipation undermining itself by censorship.

3.5.2 The Left fights every form of the appropriation of intellectual achievements. These have to be available as knowledge commons to humankind as whole. Individual intellectual achievements are always results of collective efforts in the presence and the knowledge of many generations in the past.

3.6 The Left defends the civil liberties knowingly that the right concept is a civil.

3.6.1 Where these liberties have been limited or never have been existed they must be introduced and restored.

3.6.2 These liberties have to be supplemented with social human rights.

4 The Left is universalistic.

4.1 There is one and only one humankind.

4.2 All people are equal.

4.3 All people have the same rights.

4.4 The Left does not accept any group identities, but only the existence of individuals.

4.5 All group identities, assigned or assumed, on large scale like race, nation, culture, sex etc., but also on a small scale like soccer clubs etc., are fought by the Left. All collective structures which imply the abolishment of the individual as an individual and not his/her free association must be abolished.

4.6 The individuals have to be strengthened so that they do not need the emotional crutch of a collective identity anymore.

4.7 The Left rejects every form of the ascription of sexual identities, norms and behaviours.

4.7.1 The Left wants not only the equal entitlement of women within the civil law but their complete emancipation as human individuals everywhere.

4.7.2 The Left wants the complete emancipation of men as human individuals everywhere.

4.7.3 The Left wants the complete emancipation of every human being of every sexual form as human individuals everywhere.

4.8 The Left is incompatible with every form of the Anti-Semitism.

4.8.1 The Anti-Semitism can not be equated with the other Ism's but takes a special position as an aggressive, backwards oriented anti-capitalism which in itself does not need Jews.

4.9 The Left can exist only as a worldwide left.

5 The Left is partisan.

5.1 The Left takes the side the Proletariat.

5.2 The Left stands by those who can not help or defeat themselves.

5.3 The Left is not paternalistic.

5.3.1 Being partisan does not exclude criticism.

5.4 Solidarity means solidarity with an other who is not an alter ego.

6 The Left is materialist.

6.1 The starting point of all cognition is the objectively and materially existing world.

6.2 In its objective laws, the world is fundamentally cognizable for man.

6.2.1 This does not mean that this cognition is already given.

6.2.2 This does not mean that all individual facts can be known.

6.2.3 The knowledge of individual facts is not a prerequisite for the cognition of laws.

6.2.4 This does not mean that the world is completely calculable.

6.3 Materialism is not only an attitude towards the world but also a methodology.

6.3.1 A materialist methodology means acting politically bearing on the analysis of the objective possibilities and not on one's wishes.

6.3.2 The materialism of the Left sees the material exchange with nature, therefore the economy, as its fundamental instrument of cognition.

6.3.3 The materialism of the Left is historical.

6.3.3.1 Since the economy is subject to historical changes the possibilities of cognition are subject to parallel changes.

6.3.3.2 The state of cognition of the Left itself is subject to corresponding changes.

6.3.3.3 In the context of the historical possibilities cognition is subject to the corresponding state of consciousness which, however, can be actively extended by political work. The prerequisite for this is the practical taking of a class standpoint.

6.4 "The standpoint of the old materialism is civil society; the standpoint of the new is human society or social humanity."³

6.5 "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point is to *change* it."⁴

6.6 The Left is atheistic.

6.6.1 Atheism is not agnosticism. Agnostics does not know whether a God exists. Atheists insist that no God exists.

6.7 The Left is anti-religious.

6.7.1 Religion is primarily a unfree social condition.

6.7.2 Depending on this social condition, the consciousness of religious people is also unfree.

6.7.3 The Left also rejects religions without a god like some varieties of Buddhism.

6.7.4 The Left rejects non-monotheistic religions even more since in principle the monotheism can open the way to a universalistic humanism.

³ Karl Marx: *Theses On Feuerbach No. 10*, MECW Volume 5, p. 3;

⁴ Karl Marx: *Theses On Feuerbach No. 11*, MECW Volume 5, p. 3;

- 7 The Left fights against the complete submission of humans under the logic of capital.
 - 7.1 In particular, this means making them the biological disposable in the context of genetic engineering and medicine.
 - 7.2 The Left rejects turning women into embryo breeder reactors, among other things to be used for the extraction of stem cells.
 - 7.3 The Left rejects every legalization of euthanasia and medicine.
 - 7.4 The Left rejects the manipulation of the food in genetic engineering.
 - 7.5 The Left rejects any patenting of life.
- 8 The capitalism cannot be abolished. The Left wants to sublimate the capitalism in the context of the historical progress, but it does not want to stop progress in favour of backward utopias which can only mean the preservation of obsolete privileges.
 - 8.1 The Left is not against the globalisation (cf. 4 "The Left is universalistic"), but accepts it since a completely global capitalism is the prerequisite for its sublation. However, the Left wants the capitalists themselves to pay the price of the necessary changes and fights for that.
 - 8.2 The money cannot be abolished. The Left fights against exchange rings and local currencies as forms of a reactionary anti-capitalism. On the contrary, the development of the world financial system must be pushed to a unitary world currency. Only then money, commodity exchange and capital as their highest form can be sublated.
 - 8.3 The Left recognizes the development of capitalism to a new, last stage of its mode of production, toyotism. This is a necessary, but not sufficient step on the way to the sublation of capitalism.
 - 8.3.1 The introduction of the new mode of production does not justify the reduction of social standards in production.
 - 8.3.2 The introduction of a new mode of production requires the qualitative adjustment of all superstructural systems (administration, social security etc.). The introduction of a new mode of production does not justify the reduction of social standards in society and in social security systems.
 - 8.3.3 The Left fights for the improvement in social security and material living standards even under the conditions of the transformation from fordism to toyotism, without forgetting that the progress in this transformation is just one step on the way to a human society.
- 9 As a matter of principle, this text has to be understood as unfinished as long as the emancipatory revolution has not been completed.
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 - 9.2 In a society shaped by contradictions, particularly between capital and labour, there cannot be a not-contradictory politics of the Left since the Left cannot escape from society and history.
 - 9.2.1 Therefore this text cannot be free from contradiction either.
 - 9.2.2 This text therefore does not represent any eternal truth, but requires constant rethinking.
 - 9.2.3 This text contains merely guidelines to sketch out a framework.

9.3 This text is a political project.

9.3.1 As a political project, it can be developed further only in conjunction with an appropriate political practice.

9.4 The version count of this text reflects not only the textually but also the political-practical development.

9.4.1 The version 1.0.0.0 is reserved for the successful emancipatory revolution.

9.4.2 New major versions are reserved for large political-practical steps.

9.5 New minor versions are created after extensive collective consultation and subsequent publication.

9.6 Simple developments are marked with subminor versions.

Organisation

The organisation of the Left is basis democratic⁵. Basis democracy is the only form of organisation compatible with the framework developed above. The concept "organisation" contradicts basis democracy at least in so far as "organisation" in the classical meaning comes with certain roles like chairperson, executive board, delegates etc. Such a form of organisation would undermine the claim for renouncement of use of power.

Nevertheless, some kind of organisation is necessary. On the one hand, the long-term character of the Left's project calls for commitment and continuity which cannot be guaranteed without a stable organisation. On the other hand, the ability for practical work depends on it. Furthermore, a supra-regional and global cooperation of the Left is possible only by means of organized structures. Therefore, a complete renouncement of delegation is not possible.

The organisation of the Left must start locally from people's daily lives and struggles. The organisation of the Left cannot mean just forming a club for making demands but must include practical solidarity. This practical solidarity also must apply to the Not-Leftists.

On the other hand the organisation of the Left must proceed on a worldwide scale. The possibilities of the internet of establishing direct communication of all Leftists must be used. Votes should be carried out on the Internet so everyone can participate. If meetings beyond local connections are necessary they must be as open as possible. The technical possibilities of the internet must be used for this as well. Organisation must as wide a participation as possible.

The participation must be open to all Leftists even if they do not have the right to vote. If mandates for votes cannot be avoided mandate holders are tied to the decisions of their base (imperative mandate). Today, technology allows at least to ask for the opinion of the base in non-mandated decisions. Mandates are valid only for one meeting.

⁵ For the original conception of basis democracy see [Lernen von Paulo Freire, Martin Luther King und Dom Helder Camara. Zur Ideologie und Methode basisdemokratischer Gruppen in Brasilien](#) written by Elisabeth Wöckel. May be someone knows a similar english text. It is difficult to decide whether basis democartic or grassroots democratic is the right translation.

Summary

In this stage of the (pre-)history building the next social order can and must begin. This can only be a completely human society (communism). For the path towards that society, some principles can already discerned which have been mentioned above but for sure require further modification and completion. In order to attain this goal the Left must organise on a worldwide scale. It must not yield to the temptation of a regression to pre-capitalist backward utopias.

This new Left differs from anarchist ideas in its emphasis on historical determinism. The new Left is differs from most previous socialist/communist organisations in its rejection of collectivism and in its emphasis of a strong role of the individual.

Due to its strong historical determinism the role of the Left's cannot be one of direct intervention. The Left must act indirectly. The Left cannot create any movements. The Left can, however, provide these movements with material, personal and intellectual resources and thus influence them indirectly. The Left rejects a political power oriented exertion of influence.

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