

On the further development of Marxism as a political philosophy of practical and dialectical realism and humanism ¹

Preliminary remarks

The present contribution arose from an investigation into the dialectical thinking of practice, nature and the future following Karl Marx, G.H. Mead and Ernst Bloch and in relation to G.W.F. Hegel's philosophy of mind. The impetus was given by the 200th birthday of Friedrich Engels, recalling his work on the "Dialectic of Nature". The intention was, after decades of dealing with the problem, to draw a résumé on the question of dialectics. In the basic work "The concept PRAXIS in the 21st century" (Das Konzept PRAXIS im 21. Jahrhundert - Müller 2021), a systematic, constitution-theoretical approach had been developed for this purpose.

In the course of the elaboration it urged to clarify the sense of reality of the dialectical practice thinking conceptually and methodically further and to outline today's, acute social-historical situation. Finally, there is a draft, a manifesto if you will, for the further development of political philosophy, which leads to a concluding section with short diagnosis of the times and programmatic conclusions. The subdivision into 11 theses or sections and the renunciation of citations correspond to this, in order to concentrate completely on the stringent train of thought. Instead, the appendix contains reading tips and research sources.

(1) On the further development of practice and Marxism thinking in the concept of praxis

The problems of Marxism and the crisis of the social left, in general the problematic situation of the social opposition and emancipation forces in Western welfare states, refer to basic and orientation questions which have not been sufficiently answered in the history of thought and which are partly difficult. Solutions are not only to be found in individual corrections and do not only concern the European region: It is now a question of a further development of the thinking of practice and Marxism, quite decidedly from the Marxian root and on the level of the social and international conditions, conflicts and struggles of our time.

In essence, it is about overcoming ordinary or even dogmatic conceptions of dialectics, materialism and Marxism and the development of an integral, dialectical thinking about practice, nature and the future. From there, the further development of political-economic critique and continued critique of capitalism into an unrestricted science of political economy, capable of performance and future, is also pending. The development of the corresponding practice-scientific analyticis should contribute significantly to clarification and orientation in the confusing, socially, geopolitically and planetary threatening world situation and, above all, also help to get beyond inconsequential, unspecific alternative ideas and to discuss questions of a socialist practice today.

This positive turn and future orientation of the concept of praxis is challenged by the transitional epoch opened in the 21st century, which is to be estimated for decades. It is indispensable in view of the extreme contradictoriness of the pressing formational change, for the illumination of the increasingly raised systemic aspects and controversies, for the assertion against the decadence and the destructive forces of the liberalist-capitalist, imperial world, out of humanity

¹This outline of political philosophy today goes back to a lecture at the conference of the Ernst-Bloch-Association 'Dialectic of Nature revisited. Friedrich Engels on the occasion of his 200th birthday' in Wuppertal, October 2021. The original version will be published in the upcoming VorSchein 38, Jahrbuch 2021 der Ernst-Bloch-Assoziation, ANTOGO Verlag, Nürnberg 2022.

in view of its innumerable victims and for the birth assistance for another, higher social formation and civilization.

(2) The constitutional theory as a new research approach

The dialectical practical thinking that inspired Marx and expressed it in his work represents an intellectual-historical novelty and a scientific revolution that has still not been fully grasped. This innermost core, however, cannot simply be reconstructed from the enormous original writings or by certain recourses and combinations from the almost unmanageable history of thought that follows them and it cannot be developed further to the height of the times. What is needed is an unorthodox, systematic and constructive approach that is capable of learning from other advanced scientific approaches.

The corresponding approach lies in the comprehensively constitution-theoretical questioning and development of praxis as a key and reality concept in general. The aim is a complete elucidation of the constitution of social reality of life, which, due to the ontological nature of the human form of life, simultaneously has certain values and goals as well as a universal horizon. On the ground of other philosophy and science this is unattainable: The answer sought can only be found starting from the holistic, that is, integral, dialectical concept of praxis, and from there leads to a new, emancipated conception of reality. To understand or to present this requires step-by-step concretizations, similar to the method of presentation of the theory of capital, the progress from the abstract to the extended concrete, and also for the sake of an intervening grasp of practice.

The constitutional-theoretical, and at the same time epistemological deciphering of the essentially ideally dimensioned human reality at the same time establishes the scientific nature of practical thinking. This can contribute decisively to a renewed analysis of the new social and historical transitional situation. In this way, the constitutive contradictoriness or dialecticity, the relationality, perspectivity and emergence of social reality comes fully into view. Researchers and students can approach dialectical praxis thinking in this context, which here, as elsewhere, cannot simply be taken for granted. By understanding that and how the dialectical is inherent in all social, natural and historical practice and process reality, the door to a deeper human self-understanding, value and world view opens.

(3) Draft of developmental problems of practice and Marxism thinking

Through the practice-centred, constitutional-theoretical questioning, inherited and acute problems become more recognizable. These include a materialistic bias of the initial Marxist thinking, which arose from the anti-idealistic front position of that time, as well as the fact that the epistemology of practice was not elaborated with all consistency, i.e. also as philosophy of mind. Marx's novel scientificity is based on a dialectical practical thinking, but exactly to this he wrote only sporadically. Engels worked in close contact with the basic philosophical questions, was also concerned with the natural sciences and the universal validity of dialectics. However, the way of the presence and participation of the ideal in the world has not become completely clear.

Traditional fixations on the form and alienation of labour allowed the alienation of natural relations identified by Marx to recede into the background for too long and distracted from the multidimensionality and perspectivity of practice as well as from the universality of this form of life. The praxis-philosophical interpretation was not recognized as fundamental in other currents of Marxist thought, and the concept of praxis was bent pragmatically or politicistically. Such promoted scholastic fixations, theoretical autism, inadequate receptions, and countless misunderstandings regarding the not only critical, but praxis- and dialectical-logical status and transformational, human-historical sense of orientation of the theory of capital and society.

In the extremely broad and diverse stream of practice and Marxist thought, dialectical materialism and various traditional as well as neological Marxisms institutionalized or positioned themselves. The Hegel-Marx debate and discussions with phenomenology and pragmatism remained unfinished. Without a foothold in the intellectual centre, which was partly circled as a philosophy of practice, philosophical-critical, political-economic, socio-ecological, democratic-political and various deviant currents split up. Meanwhile, critical and intersubjectivity-focused theories of society failed because of their fractured understanding of practice. Finally, Marxist approaches are also present in the social-scientific world, but a paradigmatically profiled or even institutionally present scientific concept of dialectical practice-thinking has not been formed.

Its utopian inspiration was lost in continued theories of capital and crisis, and under the impact of imperialism, including the struggle against fascism, other problems became prominent. Orientations in the sense of a traditional historical process scheme of crisis, revolution and new construction contributed to the fact that the transformation from industrial capitalism to the social-infrastructure and fiscal reconfigured, latency containing, so-called democratic capitalism of the 20th century was not fully grasped. The systemic alternative that has since crystallized underneath in this social capitalism, which previously sought to articulate itself in the sense of democratic socialism, for example, was suppressed during the period of the bloc confrontation. Accordingly, the entry into the systemic or formational transitional epoch associated with neoliberal globalization poses problems: The main contradiction of this epoch cannot simply be grasped in classical terms, but must be conceived as the more complex antagonism between the old and the new. As a result, the present becomes increasingly confrontational and requires unambiguous choices of direction forward.

Previous ideas and experiments in the sense of socialism bore the stamp of abstract negation, as witnessed, for example, by the antithetics of plan or market. They developed transitional forms, but failed or got stuck in the confrontation with the overwhelming productive and destructive forces of opposing powers. Traditional fixations and the enigmatical questions of economic calculus, interoperation and regulation of socialist economics contributed to the fact that the traditional critique was not developed further in the sense of utopianism or even as a science of political economy. For this reason, too, ideas concerning socialism always remained approximately and there was no proven and viable alternative based on political economy and no more concrete, unifying orientation for radical reformist and social revolutionary, Marxist and socialist movements and approaches.

In modern, epochal conflicts about a consolidation of society and corresponding international relations, today's national-state form of existence crystallized, differently than perhaps internationalist or cosmopolitan thought. A networked, multipolar world emerged, tense in the world market and with rival powers and blocs. The negative consequences of neoliberal globalization and catastrophic consequences of exploitation and growth constraints are emerging and refuting the idea of green capitalism. The question of a real alternative society and system is now existential, but decisively more concrete or even certain answers are yet to come. The character of the epoch determines the continuing, experimental transitional character of socio-economic or even socialist theory and practice, which must struggle all the more for its self-understanding, scientific justification and knowledge of the world.

(4) Practice as a fundamental unit of realisation and concretion of social reality

The constitutional and emancipation-theoretical starting point for the necessary reconsideration is the realisation context of practice together with its human, essential reflective, and also natural, and sensual-material fullness. This context has certain meaningful and factual representations *in itself*, but at the same time it is to be grasped *as a whole and in this view as an*

actual object. In this existential contradictoriness of objectification and ongoing self-transformation of practice, human identity and comprehending intelligence act as the subjective root of events with their respective results. It is a never-ending process of the creation and appropriation of the world and the reality in the horizon of practice.

This means, pointedly, that practice is to be understood not only as reflective or structured action, but as an integral unit of realisation and concretion or cell form of social reality: The actual, barely understood meaning of the first Feuerbach thesis. This conceptualisation concerns all relations which always simultaneously and diversely, i.e. contradictorily, consciously and non-consciously, are activated in the universal horizon, together with their objectified realities. Comprehending, itself intellectual practice, is concerned with effectively realising practice as meaningful and communicative reality. This also includes the sensual-material actions carried out in all perspectives of practice, the works produced as well as the other objectivities that play into it, all their echoes or responses from the world.

The Hegelian-inspired, reform-minded social theorist G.H. Mead developed a theory of the emergence of cognition in the context of a concept of social action, human identity and social intelligence that is still highly relevant today. This shows the extent to which an objective-real sense or meaningfulness already exists pre-reflectively, i.e. outside the head, in such a real context of practice. This can be communicatively highlighted, articulated and further developed conceptually. The decisive conclusion is that this spirituality is primarily quite nonsensual or immaterial, but must manifest itself, for example, in effects, signs, gestures and finally in language, in order to have an effect in the latter form and as intelligible meaning in the reality of practice and process.

At the level of human history, this takes place in the relatively free realisation and conceptualisation of contradictory practice. This also solves the mystery of why the strangest characters of the most distant cultures and all language formations of the world, possibly also from other worlds, are basically translatable and understandable. The logic of practice, like this form of life, is in principle the most highly developed and universal. It is also clear from this that the concept of praxis, indispensably in connection with the exploration of the dialecticality of everything worldly, represents the fundamental overcoming of ideological narrow-mindedness and thus a higher type of way of thinking and scientificity.

(5) The synthesis of the practice perspectives and the change of form of practice

With practice as an integral elementary form, the social mode of being or reality is principally constituted as contradictory, perspectival, multi-dimensional social practice, including potentially universal communication possibilities, which are enormously promoted today in the context of the digital revolution. This includes the subjective existences, equally subjectively co-active, institutional, also collective practices and respective more complex identities. The ensemble of social relations thus represents a specifically configured synthesis of diverse perspectives of practice: Their simultaneity and reciprocity represent the basic expression of that contradictoriness and source of dialectical processuality that will prove to be a universal constituting principle in the following. It is a reality of practice and process in motion, engaged in response to all kinds of information, materialities and coexistences.

This is not only in flux towards ever new results, but also forms more or less stable forms of practice and existence through the existentially necessary, all-round reproductive, especially economic basic services. In such relatively self-referential social formations, the complex, contradictory praxeology organises or forms into social, as a whole now definitely state structuring and scale. Through the increasing equipment with self-created materialities, organs and cul-

tural forms, combined with the generation of social fields of reflection and ideal worlds, a wide variety of social enclosures in the natural world developed and cultivated historically and globally.

Everything is in flux and full of non-simultaneity, the reproductive praxeology is both destructive and emergent and leads to new formations. This processuality may pass through different phases or stages within a social formation, such as the development from industrial capitalism to the stage of social capitalism, with the subsequent phase of neoliberal globalisation further to the stage of the completed world market and thus to the entry into the formationally contradictory epoch of transition, in which all contradictions are virulent in the process.

The basic movement can be modelled as a change of social formation together with its ideations. The new one must have prepared itself in the bosom of the existing, i.e. as a real latency. Finally this figure of a formational transition illuminates the whole logic and potentiality of dialectical practical thinking. The initially unrealised, complete change represents the elementary figure of the positive dialectics of practice. It makes the highest demands on the *intervening comprehension of practice* characterised by Marx as critical and revolutionary. This follows an obstetric intention, applies to the complete change of social form and perspective. It goes along with the transition itself, for example, with regard to the change in the forms of labour, production and appropriation or property, until the release and full awareness of the hoped-for new practice and social formation.

(6) On the inspiration and limitations of Hegel's logic and dialectic

The practical-logical nature of the human intellect reaches its peak in dialectical practical thinking. This can be inspired by the richness of Hegel's theory of logic and dialectics. It is a unique experiment in the self-examination of comprehending cognition. This applies to reality as the reality of meaning, not to be confused with impressions from sensual perception of the world. In order to decipher the logic that is at work in it, Hegel proposed an elementary logical-methodical figure and showed how internally necessary, implicative, evolutionary logical relationships govern it.

In this way, the logical presents itself in a sublating, ascending developmental-sequence of mediated categories and concretising movements of thought. It is explained in a difficult artificial language. There is also talk of the well-known *leaps* or tipping points. In the *phenomena*, deeper *essential determinations* are expressed that are not comprehensible to the empiricist. In progress, there is a *transition* into something else, just as, for example, industrial capitalism has transformed into the social capitalism of the 20th century: Finally, a more *concretely*, fully differentiated *conceptualisation* is also necessary for this.

Hegel basically brings forms and movements of thought forward and into a system, which crystallised in billions of human practices. Basic determinants such as specific measures, *manifestations of essentiality*, even the *concept of totality* are omnipresent in each reasoning. It becomes apparent that the logical in comprehension forms a coherent context of relational determinacies, sublating form constructions or concretising movements of thought. Basically, *at the level of human practice*, an indispensable, absolute dialecticality of the spiritual emerges, which must be inherent in *all* its forms, movements and manifestations.

What Hegel calls reality, actually the real, creative action or practice as the reality of meaningful existence, cannot therefore be grasped in thought correctly in any other way. Thus he was able to weave in examples from everyday experience and even proverbs again and again: For example, that right, taken to extremes, turns into wrong. So far, however, it is only a matter of appropriating or sublating a process reality, which is permeated by dialecticality, purely in thought. In this, for example, everything that is unqualified, that turns into the intemperate, the

deceptive appearance and all nuisance, a prevailing conceptlessness and unreason at first remain as aspects of reasonable, so far possibly critical knowledge of reality.

The philosopher appears here in a distanced basic position vis-à-vis the world. From there he can also form critical and speculative concepts of the other, the better and the general, as if there were science or *the* good as a general rule, or as if the whole of history, like his free-minded spirit, were about the realisation of *the* freedom. This is understood as practical philosophy. But whose liberation is at stake in which historical situation and in fact, from what, on the basis of which social potentiality and to which new, concrete life together with which new freedoms and necessities, is not yet determined in this way.

For Hegel, the spiritual could give the appearance of an autonomous, supernatural, almost divine existence. As will be further explained here, however, sense exists like an amalgam in the self-organisation of real forms of existence and can only from there, and also only on the level of the human form of existence, become an object as such, that is, also be investigated or handled, as in the dialectical logic of comprehension. Mathematics or information technology, for example, are concerned with other forms of the spiritual. In any case, it should first become clearer that the task of comprehending cognition, beyond all reflections on existing conditions, consists in the ongoing, creative conceptualisation of practice.

(7) Elements of a practice- and dialectical-logical realism

The high-flown type of practical philosophy that lives on in critical social theories lacks the real social subject or a concrete, historical formation and movement of social subjectivity and practicality, whose emancipative practical perspective is at stake. In the past, the decisive intellectual-historical awakening began in the great hour when narrow-minded ideas were settled on the basis of the thinking about society and history prepared by Feuerbach, inspired by Hegel and shaped by Marx and Engels. The new thinking and the new conceptions entered into the conceptualisation of the social awakening and liberation movement of the time.

In this way, a practice- and dialectical-logical understanding ties on ineluctable, really-implicated determinacies of the multifaceted activated praxis and on the formations, inner contradictions and processuality of social-historical being. This is subject in its partial aspects and ultimately as a whole to changes in formation and thus also in concepts and perspectives. Thus, the study of capitalist formation encounters its transitional character and finalising tendency, alterities in its bosom and the genuine new that emerges in it. Truth is not sought from a detached perspective, but on the practice and process front of society and history, with an eye for the character of possibility or the virtual dimensioning of reality.

In this way, the specifically abstract character of Hegel's doctrine of logic is transcended by a concrete practical analysis. In the process, process determinations such as node, passing over and lifting up retain their inspiring power. This opening to the front is reinforced by Bloch's category theory: it is important to demonstrate the inspiring power of categories such as tendency, latency, front, horizon, appearance, novum, anticipation and concrete utopia in concrete situation and practice analytics. What is the real front problem or actually a real novum and not just a dazzling bubble from a think tank?

In this way, the specifically abstract character of Hegel's Science of Logic is transcended by a concrete practical analysis. Thereby, process determinations such as nodal points or line of measures, transition and sublating retain their inspiring power. But now this opening to the front is reinforced by Bloch's theory of categories: it is important to demonstrate the inspiring power of categories such as tendency, latency, front, horizon, appearance, novum, anticipation and concrete utopia in concrete analysis of the actual situation and practice. What is the true front problem or actually a genuine novum and not just a dazzling bubble from a think tank? Finally, the dialectical-logical *concretisation* or exposition of a concept, problem or theme has,

out of immanent necessity, a contextual and systematic character. It thus opposes the otherwise widespread eclecticism and dualisms, absolutisations, schematisations and affirmations. The conceptualisation and way of thinking is critical, elastic, empathic and utopian: after all, it is about changing the world that is in trouble for the possible better. The mode of cognition in the practical and perspectival, multidimensional social universe is thus practice conceptualisation on objective-real ground in the midst of social discussions and controversies about what should be considered as social truth and realised as far as possible.

(8) Practice as the highest form of existence, its alienation and perspective of hope

With the constitution of human existence as more or less knowing or succeeding, divided or solidary, democratic or authoritative self-generation and enclosure in the natural world, the fundamental talent is given for praxis to unfold as the highest, commune and universal form of existence and thus offer space for the emancipation of social, universal individuals. What Marx called communism means nothing else than the historically more conscious movement and inevitable struggles in the sense of this direction and perspective of hope. Even what till now has been tried to be explained as human rights or as international law is a real manifestation on this path.

The basic movement of this historical presents itself as a change of the form of social practice, initially in a forward-open, semi-virtual space, and aims at the development of a higher practice formation. This also means gaining a corresponding perspective on the past and a new historicisation of becoming. Social reality exists in this way only in a present historical situation that is always naturally conditioned and also characterized by necessities. The past, what is possible now, but also possible realisations from future horizons shine into this. The universality of the form of human life unfolds in its contradictoriness, with a never-ending abundance of imaginative, artistic and hopeful expressions and works, also with experienced true humanity, or also with crashes into horrific abysses.

In this basic formation of social reality, the practice and Marxist thinking that has been activated for over 150 years and is virulent all over the world, and the social or international left, is now found in the particularly difficult, extreme situation and transitional reality of the 21st century. Confronted with the most diverse social problems and suffering, state repression and imperial hegemony, multiple crises as well as distorted natural conditions or even the disintegration of social structures on a global scale. The destruction of the planetary basis of existence of the human species can also be traced back to the capital economic roots and the associated authoritarian relations, together with their functional ideas and delusions.

On the other hand, gaining social control over the globally unleashed capital- and financial-economic practicality now poses itself as a central problem against it. The powers of these practicalities are linked to a liberalistically distorted individuation and sociality, which can always alternate with authoritarian or totalitarian conditions. On the other hand, a different form of socio-economic reproduction and development can be identified, one that is freed from the irrevocable constraints of exploitation and growth in the existing system of reproduction, that is transparent and can be determined by social motives, and that is already preconfigured latently and pushing forward in the transitional epoch.

The current controversy is therefore about more than livelihoods, social security and personal freedom of movement, which are always endangered by capital and financial economics. The real prospect, obscured in the dominant discourse, is that a civilisationally higher association of social individuals can emerge on the substantially changed basis and with corresponding formations of democratic practice. This perspective of practice demands precisely that self-aware and socially conscious, inquiring and creative, critical and revolutionary, energetic comprehension of practice.

(9) The science of social practice and the dialecticity in nature

The cognitive mode of comprehension, the consciousness of the true direction of development for the human form of life and the tasks resulting from it require the shaping of an integral science of practice. From there, it becomes clear to what extent separated disciplines come up against barriers, are made serviceable in divergent ways, miss the mark despite all apparent effectiveness, or even turn regressive: such as sociology without political-economic competences, scientific-technical branches without a social-theoretical foundation, social-scientific paradigms without dialectical substance, ecological movements without concrete political philosophy.

In contrast, the integral and universal character of praxis demands the elaboration of dialectical, at the same time analytical, critical and utopian praxis thinking as a superior scientific paradigm, professional reference medium and progressive core of the social intellect. This touches above all the spheres of education, science and research, the levels of responsible, qualified social action, the fields of medial knowledge and consciousness production and political debate. Thus, the dialectics of practice and basic insights of the most important German thinker and world philosopher belong to the propaedeutics everywhere in order to counteract idealistic narrow-mindedness, a pragmatically, technically or morally limited rationality and the susceptibility to stultification and manipulation that becomes apparent in the social media.

In the horizon of an integral dialectical science of practice, at the fundamentum of its emancipated conception of reality, the conventional divisions between social and natural sciences are also abolished in certain respects and with enormous consequences: In principle, the human life and reflection form of praxis represents the highest form of existence of nature and exists and develops in its reciprocal, contradictory relations. Since it has a universal horizon, natural sciences, its experimental practice and ultimate questions finally raised there play a special role.

In addition, a definite concept regarding the presence of the spiritual in the world also emerged in the constitution-theoretical context. The subsequent thesis or hypothetical conclusion that is possible as a result is: How could something enter into being and thus into relations of being and thereby assume a specific, active and permanent form at all without being mediated in its self-organisation and self-presentation by the spiritual?

Seen in this way, there is no matter as a substance to be presupposed or in the sense of that conventional materialism, but from the outset only spiritually mediated, vigorous or energetic forms of existence. This mediation can, for example, have an informatic, mathematical or, on a human level, a practice-logical character. However, it is not visible under any electron microscope, but must manifest itself in effective, material moments, be it as bit, effect, gesture or language. Accordingly, entities, as Whitehead suggests, represent perspectives of existence. They maintain themselves, act and respond or also co-act in the contradictory context. In this way, new forms are generated and released into the connections of being to test their ability to exist.

Since everything spiritual is dialectical per se, all forms of practice, life and existence exhibit a dialectical, emergent and, in the contradictory context of reaction, evolutive nature. This shows itself in the whole spectrum from physical depth, through the planetary diversity of the living together with its biophysical substance, to the cosmic dimension.. The brain researcher then only discovers physicality, phenomena of the not directly tangible spiritual, or such is quasi captured and made usable in the construction of informatic-logical machinery and through communication technologies.

According to this, there is no building-block matter weaving in nature that could be opened up by smashing it in the particle accelerator. What is, is a never-ending co-activity and emergence of quasi-spirited forms of existence, of possibilities of realisation in countless transitions and leaps, from hell-glow to the heights of corporeality and practice. The interior spiritual mediatedness of the entities explains those well-known laws or whole exterior phenomenology of the dialectical that Engels traced. This also appears in the mathesis of nature, not least in its crystalline beauties.

This approach and research perspective is not only the starting point for a fundamental critique and overcoming of modern objectivism, physicalism and technicism, but also a key to human self-awareness and a more humane shaping of the all-pervasive natural relations and enormous achievements of practice, its civilisational enclosure in the world.

(10) The concept of praxis and the politics of social emancipation today

The concept of praxis is understood as the quintessence of the ontological conception and constitutional-theoretical development of praxis as a concept of reality, science and emancipation. It is about existential truths, about unifying ideal and scientific fundamentals and orientations. It needs a corresponding consciousness and knowledge in order to find a foothold and true direction time and again in the changeable or even desperate struggle in the opened chaotic and confrontational transitional period, partly a hell on earth.

In this context, practical and dialectical thinking plays a decisive role in the appropriation of the historical and intellectual heritage: after the industrial-capitalist epoch, new social and economic formations have developed and horizons have opened up, so that the further development of traditional concepts is indispensable. Otherwise, the practice-analytical and transformational meaning of value theory and capital theory cannot be adequately grasped, and finally, the sought-after system alternative cannot succeed without identifying its value conditions, its own value forms and corresponding overall socio-economic configuration.

This basic forward orientation poses new tasks for a practical, directionally conscious analysis of the given historical and global situation. They concern above all the eroding neoliberal globalisation or tendencies of deglobalisation, the new global constellation of powers and systemic diversity or competition between China and the USA, the decline of the old world hegemon and the precarious role of the EU and NATO. The focus is on imperialism today, its economic wars, interventions, high armament and constant, all-round, imperial and ideological subversion.

In all of this, changing economic and political crises and ruptures in the capital and financial economic world system and increasing setbacks from nature and the environment will intervene. At the same time, diverse dissolution and counter-tendencies, resistances and social awakening movements are at work on all social and continental terrains. In the United Nations Organisation and other inter- and transnational institutions, further upheavals will be reflected in the new period of world development that opened up at the turn of the millennium.

Of greatest interest here are the social capitalist basic and transitional structures of modern economic societies. There, the chronic, multiple problems or even the beginning of an awakening and breakout in the sense of social emancipation require above all the assertion of the sovereignty of the state-constituted community in relation to the capital and financial economy in addition to a reform policy in the sense of and towards social equality, the expansion of general social-infrastructure offers and foundations, the primary care for general well-being and social security, and last but not least the initiation of systemic reforms.

Due to the epochal, formational structures and real possibilities, basic orientations for this are

emerging. First of all, it is about the deprivatisation of the public sphere, first and foremost the health system, as well as the arrangement of a reproductive order developed in a commodity and industrial economy, but significantly based on communal infrastructure, with local and mixed economic forms, at all levels under the overall responsibility and foresight of the welfare state. Thus, the level of communally constituted, everyday practice can become a field of social and cultural emancipation.

This requires the constitution of a sovereign national and welfare state empowered by legal, fiscal and institutional reorganisations, also as a space for the unfolding of participatory democratic structures, as a framework of versatile economic self-reference and the basis of global economic and international relations. The socio-economic core structure can be formed according to the basic pattern of so-called simple reproduction, precisely thereby freed from the growth compulsion and functioning sustainably, and thus represented a disposable development system of social labour, production and practice.

This concept is directed against imperialist hegemonic aspirations and confrontations. More peaceful world relations can only be based on multipolar or polycentric relations that are neither liberalistically unrestricted nor financially capitalist dominated or even imperial, and armed to the teeth. Instead, what is needed is possible and appropriate inter-state cooperation, confederal forms of organisation as well as international economic and political cooperation of socialities under international law, i.e. with all differences in respect and peace. Beyond development partnerships, international solidarity requires increasing disaster relief all over the world.

Otherwise, the exploitative capitalist economy and its intrinsic compulsion to grow, the hyper-technologically dazzling regression of liberalist-capitalist social formation with its incurable conditions of poverty, inequality, blinding, subordination and violence drive further into decadence and a finality rich in victims. The rational irrationality that prevails in it, accompanied by propagandistic productions of consciousness and digital forms of social control, leads to abortive social and natural relations, technological catastrophes, to continuing states of war employing all kinds of social and military forces and to devastating consequences for the world's climatic conditions of existence.

All these social and international conditions are permeated by the main contradiction of the transitional epoch. In short, beyond the glaring socio-economic contrasts, it is the complex contradiction between the old and the new. Its solution is a priority, especially in view of the ecological catastrophes, because they are caused primarily by the social system. Thereby the decisive turning force cannot be constructed in an appealing, class-specific or politicistic way. It is to be found in the whole ensemble of productive forces of the more or less latently pressing new formation of practice and the social forces associated with it, which are objectively-really connected to it or can be integrated into it.

This constellation of forces exists in historically, culturally, economically, socially, geographically and politically different conditions and situations. Therefore, nowhere in this world is it a question of one kind of legality, but of legal configurations of respective and historical reproductive and social formations. It is also not about one kind of democracy, but about different possible forms and expressions of democratic practice. Nor can it be about one kind of socialism, but about finding ways according to the respective social reality, where possible also in this region of the world in the sense of a socialism with European characteristics.

(11) Political philosophy as existential philosophy and emancipated worldview

In the extremely contradictory, still undecided social and planetary world that threatens to darken, political philosophy and enlightenment in the sense of practical and dialectical realism and revolutionary humanism offer support and orientation in the struggle for the humanity and

culture of everyday social existence as well as for the indispensable system-historical turn towards another, higher civilisation. By locating oneself in the as natural as spiritual reality of practice and process, with all finiteness and also in light of an unfinished universal horizon the door to a liveable, true philosophy of existence and the world also opens.

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