Horst Müller

The concept of PRAXIS in the 21st century

Karl Marx and the praxis thinkers
The concept of praxis in the transitional period
The latently existing system alternative

Special Print **Preface**

Original title: Das Konzept PRAXIS im 21. Jahrhundert. Karl Marx und die Praxisdenker, das Praxiskonzept in der Übergangsperiode und die latent existierende Systemalternative OpenAccess&Download

Abstract

The crises of the 21st century signal the entry into a transitional period in which the capitalist formation of social life and the economic growth imperative continue to lead to socio-ecological problems and human catastrophes.

Why is the system alternative still missing 150 years after Marx? It is mainly due to the emaciation of the philosophical-scientific foundations, the misrecognition of the novel character of social capitalism, and a critique of political economy that lacks the positive dimension.

To counter this, Marx's dialectical practical thinking and significant 20th century practice thinkers are activated, and questions of philosophy of mind and dialectics are deepened. Integral praxis studies transcends all critical social theories and stands in the horizon of a world philosophy.

To clarify the situation, the development from industrial to social capitalism and neoliberal globalisation as well as the world scene with China, Europe and the USA are illuminated. An incipient setback for globalisation favours possible social emancipation:

The socio-economic analysis of reproduction is based on the trinodal structure of social-infrastructural social capitalism and uncovers new value relations and a system alternative that already exists latently. Their release requires a fiscal revolution and empowerment of the welfare state.

The unifying perspective for social forces lies in a welfare state economy and associative sociality freed from the pressure of growth. The political character of this emancipation movement is that of a kick-start for this impending and more concretely emerging renewal.

Horst Müller, April 2021

Table of Contents

INHALT

	Vorwort zur zweiten Auflage Vorwort zur ersten Auflage Einladung zum Studium	8 13 15		
	ZUR EINFÜHRUNG			
PRAXIS UND GESELLSCHAFTLICHE WIRKLICHKEIT				
1.	Einführung in das Praxisproblem	34		
1.1	Das Praxiskonzept im theoretischen Umfeld	34		
1.2	Geschichtliche Linien des Marxismus- und Praxisdenkens	39		
1.3	Konstitutionstheoretische Grundlegung der Sozialtheorie	64		
	ERSTER HAUPTTEIL			
	KARL MARX UND DIE PRAXISDENKER			
2.	Karl Marx: Das Novum des Praxisdenkens	76		
2.1	Ludwig Feuerbach als Inspirator von Marx	76		
2.2	Praxis als Schlüssel gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeit	83		
2.3	Probleme der Marxinterpretation und die Dialektik	104		
2.4	Marx' Wissenschaft gesellschaftlicher Praxis	110		
2.5	Eine unvollendete Erkenntnistheorie der Praxis	116		
2.6	Marx' politische Ökonomie als Praxiswissenschaft	124		
2.7	Zur Konzeption des Politischen bei Marx	134		
3.	Ernst Bloch: Praxis der konkreten Utopie	141		
3.1	Die Erneuerung des Praxisdenkens durch Bloch	141		
3.2	Prozessmaterie, Praxis und konkrete Utopie	146		
3.3	Hoffnungsphilosophie und Schwerkräfte der Praxis	153		
3.4	Blochs Philosophie der Praxis und Hoffnung	156		
3.5	Das Praxisdenken und konkrete Sozialanalysen	159		
3.6	Konkrete Utopie und politische Ökonomie	165		
3.7	Marx, Bloch und die Naturfrage	169		
3.8	Ethos und Perspektiven der Weltveränderung	182		

Table of Contents

4.	Jürgen Habermas: Neue Dualismen und Normativismus	187
4.1	Habermas im Zusammenhang des Frankfurter Kreises	187
4.2	Karl Marx, das Marxismusdenken und Habermas	193
4.3	Die Zerlegung von <i>Praxis</i> und neue Dualismen	197
4.4	Eine affirmative Theorie der Modernisierung	205
4.5	Lebenswelt als Ort der Pseudokonkretheit	214
4.6	Verlust der Wissenschaft der politischen Ökonomie	218
4.7	Mit Chantal Mouffe gegen das Konsensdenken	225
4.8	Letztes Gefecht pro und contra Habermas	230
5.	George Herbert Mead: Intersubjektivität oder Praxis?	236
5.1	Meads Sonderstellung im Problem- und Streitfeld	236
5.2	Die integrale Realitätsaufassung von Marx und Mead	239
5.3	Die Entwicklungsform 'gesellschaftliche Handlung'	244
5.4	Praxisperspektiven und gesellschaftliche Synthesis	253
5.5	Mead als missing link des Praxisdenkens	257
5.6	Identität und reflektive Intelligenz des Individuums	259
5.7	Das Geistige in der praktisch-gegenständlichen Welt	265
5.8	Geschichte und der Kampf um soziale Wahrheit	268
6.	Pierre Bourdieu: Wissenschaft praktischer Handlungen	276
6.1	Zur Positionierung Bourdieus im akademischen Feld	276
6.2	Konstitutionsaspekte der Praxis und die Praxeologie	280
6.3	Das Praxiskonzept im wissenschaftlichen Umfeld	289
6.4	Bourdieus Praxeologie und sein ,Gegenfeuer'	293
6.5	Kategoriale Differenzierung der Praxisanalytik	295
6.6	Ökonomie praktischer Handlungen und Kapitalbegriff	299
6.7	Wissenschaft und Politik der praktischenVernunft	305
	ZWEITER HAUPTTEIL	
	DAS PRAXISKONZEPT IN DER ÜBERGANGSPERIODE	
7.	Das Praxiskonzept im 21. Jahrhundert	314
7.1	DasPraxisdenken als Paradigma und Weltphilosophie	314
7.2	Grundzüge einer dialektischen Praxiswissenschaftlichkeit	321
7.3	Zur Konstitution von Gesellschaft, Staat und Geschichte	338
7.4	Das Praxiskonzept und kritische Gesellschaftstheorien	360

Table of Contents

8.	Die gesellschaftsgeschichtliche Periode des Übergangs	365
8.1	Der formationelle Widerspruch in der Überganggssituation	365
8.2	Vom Industrie- zum Sozial- und Weltkapitalismus	380
8.3	Die multipolare Welt und der Rückschlag der Globalisierung	404
8.4	Die Gesellschaften im weltkapitalistischen Zusammenhang	424
	DRITTER HAUPTTEIL	
T	RANSFORMATIONSANALYTIK UND SYSTEMALTERNATI	VE
9.	Problemexposition und Analytik der Systemtransformation	434
9.1	Marx' Ansatz und die Transformationsforschung heute	434
9.2	Die spezifische Praxisnatur der Wirtschaft der Gesellschaft	446
9.3	Die Formierung des latenzhaltigen Sozialkapitalismus	462
9.4	Kritische Knotenpunkte des Reproduktionssystems	491
9.5	Transformationsanalytik und Kernstruktur der Alternative	510
9.6	Konstitution und Realisierung einer Sozialstaatswirtschaft	537
10.	Politik und Perspektiven gesellschaftlicher Emanzipation	546
10.1	Vom Sozialkapitalismus zu einer assoziativen Sozialität	546
10.2	Sozialstaat und Emanzipation sozialwirtschaftlicher Dienste	549
10.3	Steuerreform, Finanzwesen und Sozialinformatik	552
10.4	Eigentumsarten, Betriebsformen und Marktverhältnisse	558
10.5	Arbeit, Lebenswelt und der gesellschaftliche Intellekt	564
10.6	Kommunalverfassung, urbane Praxis und Kultur	570
10.7	Emanzipation der Wirtschaftsgesellschaft im Weltsystem	574
10.8	Geburtshilfe auf dem Weg zu einer höheren Zivilisation	581
11.	Resümee und Ausblick	589
	Übersicht über die Inhalte	614
	Literaturverzeichnis	628

The concept of PRAXIS - Preface to the completely revised and supplemented 2nd edition

After several decades of neoliberal globalisation, multiple crisis phenomena and existential problems are becoming apparent in all social and world relations. At the same time, profound problems or even a *crisis of Marxism and the social left are emerging*: an erosion of the philosophical-scientific foundations, loss of direction and marginalisation in the political field, the lack of a political-economically proven and trustworthy alternative, everywhere organizational fragmentation and, last but not least, elementary orientation problems in the inexorably changing social-historical reality.

This situation confirms the path of *renewal from the ground up*, the "further development" [Fortentwicklung] (Bloch 1978: 196) of praxis and Marxist thought in the "praxis concept". With this identifier, the consequence is drawn from the recordet statement of Marx, that he himself was "not a Marxist". All of this is also the result of a fundamental confrontation with older and newer *critical social theories* that had their heyday in the 20th century. Due to the formation of *dialectical practical thinking*, which was brought into the world by Marx, as an *integral practical science* [Praxiswissenschaftlichkeit], and due to a *political-economic practical analysis* that is newly adapted to today's conditions, it was possible to build a bridge to the concept of a *welfare state economy* [Sozialstaatswirtschaft] as a concrete alternative system.

The newly revised second and now main edition of the basic work contains numerous and essential improvements, additions and clarifications, which extend to contributions from the years 2020/21 and the current world situation. In order to encourage study and debate, I would like to cursorily address some of the most important aspects in advance. As with any real science, one cannot learn or really comprehend anything without serious engagement with textual, categorical conceptualisations. In this respect, there are some challenges:

This work is the *first* to attempt a consistent elaboration of the *constitutional-theoretical question* concerning *social reality* and *social truth*, starting from the key concept of practice [Praxis]. This integral concept of practice includes all natural relations and also leads to the elucidation of the constitutional questions of human *identity* or *subjectivity*. Clarification of the understanding of "practice and understanding of practice" (MEW 3: 5-7) ultimately implies aspects of the philosophy of mind and epistemology for

which there is no inner-Marxist solution. Due to the developed deep *logos* concept, the eminent importance of the category of perspectivism for the multidimensional conception of reality of dialectical practice thinking is discovered, in addition to the contradictory nature of practice.

Thus, also with reference to Hegel's dialectical logic and Bloch's concrete-utopian mode of recognition, a *practice-logical and practice-analytical conceptu-ality* emerges and the *universal* validity of *dialectics* is confirmed (Müller 2020b: 10 Fn.24, 16 ff.). Social reality, completely embedded in natural conditions, reveals itself as a *contradictory, perspective dimensioned* synthesis and *formation of practice perspectives* [Praxisperspektiven], as a historically shaping and form-creating, forward-open practice and process reality with a *universal horizon*. The intention in all of this is to rehabilitate *dialectical practice thinking* - and beyond simplistic notions of Marx's work - to paradigmatically elaborate a humanly and socially responsible *integral practice science*. The primacy of this science also for the economic life is self-evident, insofar as it is constituted as political-economic *practice* and not as "action" or "system".

Marx's utopian-inspired science of political economy demonstrated the alienated status and civilising tendencies of historical capitalist practice formation. This insofar affects today's "democratic capitalism" (Streeck 2013) and the capitalist world system in transition (Wallerstein 2002). At the same time, this opened up the perspective of a liberating transition towards a higher civilisation aka socialism. If one compares this philosophical-scientific conception of reality and critical-revolutionary conceptualisation of the human-historical development process " with modern Western philosophy and contemporary theories of social development", or looks at the existing, unspeakable world conditions and threatening abysses, it becomes clear that it continues to mark the "uncrossable horizon of meaning of our epoch" (Yang Geng 2018: 406). Therefore, the misrecognition and disregard of the intellectual-historical turn and actual enlightenment represented by the dialectical practical thinking and its analytics that came into the world with Marx signifies a fundamental, momentous deficit in the scientific, social and political intellect.

Another main aspect of the present research lies in the revision of common political-economic and historical periodisations through the concept of trinodally structured, latency-containing social capitalism [latenzhaltiger Sozialkapitalismus]. Marx could not have known this practice formation, since its typology first emerged in the 20th century. The three nodes of this

urban socio-economic formation are industrial commodity production, the department of social-infrastructural or *social-economic services* as a theoretically and historically new formation of the economy, and the fiscal, legal, social and national state mediating and governing between the two. This configuration means a *transgression of traditional reproduction schemes* and a fundamentally new modelling of socio-economic relations.

The developed approach requires a turn away from the mere *reading of* "Das Kapital" and traditional schemes of interpretation towards a new approach to value, reproduction and practice analysis, Marx's actual research method. In this way, the roots and consequences of the systemically irreversible growth imperative are uncovered and new laws of value can be identified within the social capitalist formation. It is shown how "in the bosom" (MEW 42: 203) of the modern fiscal, legal and social state, below the level of an economic, fiscal and social policy that is as effective as it is pseudo-concrete, a systemic alternative is already crystallising. The relative economic self-reference of the trinodal social capitalist formation points to the modern welfare state and a national constitution as essential constitutional aspects of today's and a future, emancipated sociality.

As far as de-growth, transformation, post-growth and socialism discussions are detached from all of this, they cannot be productive in the end. Without a renewal of the philosophical-scientific foundations under the sign of dialectics and a positively oriented, methodologically instructed practical science of political economy it will not work or rather, it is abstract utopianism as Ernst Bloch called it (Bloch 1978: 224). In this sense, an already latently existing and urging alterity is assumed. It follows that its possible release requires a veritable fiscal revolution (Piketty 2014a: 662), or more precisely a "capital (transfer) tax" [Kapitaltransfersteuer] (cf. Müller 2019d). Unlike the income and wealth taxes that have been repeatedly and rightly demanded, this tax would tackles a central *node of capitalist system conditions*. This fiscal operation can free the welfare state from the grip of the capital and financial economy and initiate a far-reaching change in the sphere of the commodity as well as social economy. The decisive aspect is the *emanci*pation of social economy services [sozialwirtschaftliche Dienste] from the austerity imposed by the capital economy. This concerns all administrative, social-infrastructural and cultural, increasingly also ecological productions and services for the community and the citizens, thus above all the immediate reality of life in the space of communally constituted urban practice.

This possibility is to be substantiated by an analysis of the specific value relations and formations, labour and property relations of a "welfare state

economy" freed from the capitalist growth imperative. In principle, this is a *formally* so-called *simple* and *basically economical* form of economic activity, an open development system of social labour, reproduction and practice.

The concept of latency-containing social capitalism and a social-historical transition requires far-reaching assurance. The situation in the 21st century, after the full manifestation of the world market and neoliberal globalisation, presents itself as a period of crisis and still half-open transition. The new section on today's multipolar world situation applies to this "transitional period" (Wallerstein 2002). To this end, the development from industrial capitalism to social capitalism and neoliberal globalisation as well as the current polycentric constellation will be examined, among other things with a look at the contradictory development of China, the neoliberal regime of the European Union and the decline of the USA. For the crucial question of a system alternative to the liberalist-capitalist formation that threatens to ruin the substance of human sociality and the planetary living environment, an implosive tendency or the backlash of globalisation that has begun is significant. Beyond producing ever new problems and crises, this pushes towards the possible change in the wake of immanently crystallising, welfare-state economic conditions. The seemingly attainable alternative "mode of production and form of society" (MEW 42: 188) is initially conceived, with a view to the diversity of today's world societies and the contradictions of the world situation, as a form of associative, civilizational higher sociality.

The concept of latency-containing social capitalism and the struggle in an epochal transitional reality has significant political consequences. The main contradiction that has become acute within the existing transitional societies and on a world scale is now the formational contradiction between the old and an urgent new formation of social practice. This comprises all class relations and other social conflict lines and problem dimensions. The agitated, multifaceted forces of resistance and change of our time can therefore only associate themselves and give birth to the alternative if this is also positively and concretely in view: Hence the enormous consequences of corresponding failures of political economy, the roots of which go back a good 100 years. The solution to these problems requires the sublation of traditional critique in an operative dialectical socio-economics. This requires collective efforts to develop it as an economic theoretical paradigm beyond Keynesianism, neoliberalism and newer economistic mixtures and programmes: The liberating perspective lies first of all in the movement and programme for a social constitution that is transformed by the targeted welfare state economy, and not in redistributions on the ground of a digitalised green capitalism.

All these questions and problems go far beyond what individuals can achieve. Therefore, the work presented here is also to be understood in the context of a co-active work in progress. It can stimulate focused research efforts in a systematic context. The interwoven citations and bibliographical references serve to consolidate the theoretical basis and to mark connecting points for further deepening and discussion. The references contain many direct links to text sources. With all this, this work is aimed especially at a new generation of studious, inquiring and open-minded thinkers. It aims to convey the quintessence of an enormous, often suppressed spiritual world and thoughts from the foremost social-historical frontlines of our time.

The page numbers of the first edition can be found in curly brackets {123} in the text. In addition to a commercially available print version of the title, an *OpenAccess* publication is available via KOBRA (Kasseler OnlineBibliothek, Repository und Archiv), the document server of the University of Kassel: This means that all search options are available. There, the "Perspectives of a Philosophy of Practice" were a core theme of the "IAG Philosophical Basic Problems" as early as 1978-2006. On the 200th anniversary of Marx's birth, an anthology was published in the "Kasseler Philosophische Schriften" (Novkovic 2018; Müller 2018b). Thus, the "concept PRAXIS" in the *combination of print and free digital medium* offers a platform for education, study, further research and can also serve as information for a consistent policy. The portal praxisphilosophie.de provides a systematically structured documentation and reference medium for this purpose.

Horst Müller, April 2021

Citation

Horst Müller: Das Konzept PRAXIS im 21. Jahrhundert. Karl Marx und die Praxisdenker, das Praxiskonzept in der Übergangsperiode und die latent existierende Systemalternative. Vollständig überarbeitete und ergänzte 2. Auflage. Books on Demand, Norderstedt 2021.

Author

Horst Müller, Dr. phil., geb. 1945. Editor of the webportal praxisphilosophie.de. Focus areas: Philosophy of practice, political economy and system alternatives, urban and social research, social transformation.

Contact

Dr. Horst Müller, Meuschelstr. 30, D - 90408 Nürnberg dr.horst.mueller@t-online.de https://www.praxisphilosophie.de