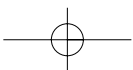
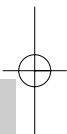
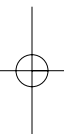
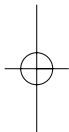
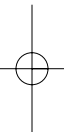
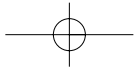


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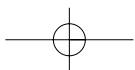
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Introduction

The text you are about to read, *Hypotheses for a Socialist Humanism*, takes an unusual approach, both in terms of its contents and the point of view that it requires. In effect, these Hypotheses do not limit themselves to merely advancing new and original ideas, but equally propose a means for engaging with these ideas, indeed with life itself, that is uncommon in our contemporary world.

In this text you will not find absolute certainties to which you can cling, nor will you find old left-wing theories that have been updated and reissued; you won't find so-called "exact formulas" that will allow you to interpret and simplify the confused chaos of our times; nor will you find "objective laws," immutable over the centuries.

It is not accidental that this text is called *Hypotheses*, organized around what is human and that we offer it to the reflections, validations and enrichments coming from all the women and men who have the will and the desire to sustain or embark upon considering and experimenting with possible paths towards human liberation.

The *Hypotheses*, in themselves are not the final "destination"; rather they present an opportunity, a motivation, for understanding or increasing understanding of the direction that we of *Socialist Utopia* have chosen to take and, ultimately, an opportunity to join in it. In any case, these *Hypotheses* encourage what we refer to as *active protagonism*, inviting the lively thoughts and responses of all those who read this.

Seven very intense years after the first version of the *Hypotheses* was published, today we introduce these new *Hypotheses* that have been enriched, clarified and, in some cases, modified to reflect the lives of all humankind, as well as our own individual lives.

It may seem difficult and painful to continue without absolute certainties – no unifying concept, no dogma, no closed and self-sufficient system of understanding, and no "religion," not even secularized religion. Naturally, this is challenging; but the pursuit of human liberation will necessarily be challenging. Can dogmas and religions, secularized or not, draw human beings closer to libera-

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tion? We believe they cannot and, regrettably, the history of humankind proves that we are right.

All human undertakings, the smallest to the most exceptional, are achieved through dedication and effort, and each human being, bar none, can work with satisfaction and happiness toward their own well-being and the common good. Working towards the common good must be a choice, and in order to choose it, one must give it thought, on one's-own and with others. By contrast in today's world everything conspires to demand that we submit to, adapt to, and accept the conditions around us and the patterns of life and thought imposed upon us by coercive powers of various kinds; to relinquish, in fact, one's own destiny and the destiny of all humankind to the powers that be and the forces of evil.

However one may choose otherwise, taking humankind as a basis and building upon its affirmative and positive potentials, its best characteristics, its special capabilities, its universal traits and upon the extraordinary creative uniqueness of every individual. And each person who so chooses can begin, along with others who have made the same choice, a process of transformation and self-transformation. Many examples even in the recent history of humanity demonstrate that this transformation is possible, but show at the same time how easily one may remain isolated, be pulled back into the status quo, and fail to actualize one's potential. Ensuring permanence for this effort and its beneficial results can be achieved by a commitment to these ideas as well as practicing them on a day-to-day basis. It demands theoretical research and active experimentation with ideas; assumes reflection and dialogue, examination and invention.

We are choosing and learning to live out a humanist and socialist commitment, and we offer it to you: a commitment that every woman and every man may choose to live and offer to others. We hope that the *Hypotheses* will be useful and thought provoking, knowing that, just as a lamp that lights the path must be continuously fed, these *Hypotheses* can and must live and be enriched by the nourishment of all those who, in one way or another, will choose to discuss them, ultimately support them, and make them their own.

Sara Morace

Hypotheses for a socialist humanism

Preamble

On the 16th and 17th December 2006 the General Council of Socialist Utopia voted new *Hypotheses*, accordingly with the decisions made by the Third International Conference of Socialist Utopia (July 2006). We voted these new *Hypotheses* on the basis of the developments, enrichments, corrections of the *Hypotheses* on which Socialist Utopia was founded in 2000.

Since the founding of Socialist Utopia to today we have lived and faced tragedies like 9/11/2001, the tsunami wave in 2004, several wars and, at the same time, we have seen struggles and movements. Both in these tragedies and in struggles and movements, we have found the extraordinary will of our species to live and to react.

Along these years we started to experiment, to test and to formulate farther theoretical hypotheses, while finding an initial confirmation of their ability to grasp, to deeply understand, sometimes to forecast relevant processes and dynamics lived by humankind. We made that, trying reactively to interpret the crisis and the breakdown of the vanguards and, at the same time, we began living, even if with limits and contradictions, a correspondence between what we formulate in a theory, our commitment and our lives.

Our search is starting to catch on as an alternative to the several political and religious proposals, which are offered to the peoples. We search out of the political system in which we live, while we are trying building a different human *commonality*.

While doing this we have tried learning and grasping the positive suggestions, which come from those who before us searched a hypothesis of humankind liberation in various ways or contributed to give explanations about what is human. And step by step we have become aware of the incompleteness and erroneousness of the starting points and of the theoretical bases of Marxism as well, to which our previous founding *Hypotheses*, even if in innovative and transformative terms, referred.

These new *Hypotheses* are for us farther reasons to experiment and to test, to share and to nourish them. We are aware we are just taking the first steps – but for this reason they are fundamental – of a socialist humanism.

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1. We take as our starting points the human species in its becoming, the feminine gender which carries the species' deepest and most beneficial social and co-operative abilities and the potential for creative superiority, and the oppressed majorities that embody the species' best chance for liberation, still largely unexpressed and overwhelmed by suffering.

We hope to draw understanding of certain essential characteristics of human reality from the tangible experience and existence of our species and to comprehend human beings' possible truth for transformation.

2. We tend to understand human species in its implicit wholeness through its vicissitudes and internal divisions, its complex and contradictory structure at the heart of which negative characteristics are aggravated – used by the powers of oppression to foster global alienation and threaten it with destruction – all of which makes it essential that we discover or rediscover humankind's positive, affirmative and creative characteristics, while at the same time restoring all the original qualities, primary senses, and most noble abilities with which we are endowed.

An innate drive to affirm and assert oneself is basic to each human being from birth – not consciously recognized as such, poorly grasped and misdirected – with a tendency to express itself in negative terms, despite which the affirmative will of human beings has never been extinguished. In order for this drive to be realized positively and in a beneficial manner, allowing the rediscovery and affirmation of the best human qualities, a radical, material, and moral transformation of individuals, relationships and society is essential – a conscious passage towards a human *commonality* that is beneficial and universal.

For us, the socialist revolution is an essential process towards establishing a free and self-determined civilization of women and men. The human species can seek its expected realization both as a sort of surpassing of self and as a beneficial affirmation of self, as a transformation of human interactions and each individual, finally as pursuit of a more harmonious and not overbearing relationship with primary nature and animal and plant species.

We take the term «species» to mean an anthropological, historical and social, philosophical and existential category as much as we take it to mean the general idea of humankind's possible future, its futurable self-transformation.

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3. The need for beings to better themselves and their existence, manifested in species's history, is basic to human nature and has its origin in the primordial affirmative drive. Each human being pursues their own good and the common good, however, not knowing how to think about it or how to seek it correctly, they also express a great capacity for harm, often even seeking it through erroneous means and for the advantage of the few. Minorities and factions of the human species, in order to grow stronger, assert themselves by leveraging this only too human capacity, a negative, selfish and ultimately self-destructive energy, which has little by little solidified into the historical forms of patriarchal domination, forced division of labour, concentrated and bloody violence, war and state oppression, politics, lies, bourgeois appropriation, the mercantile system, and repressive institutions. These traits, combined, have achieved their highest level in the arena of capitalist and imperialist exploitation and – in the era we are living – the global democratic system and in other permanent and reoccurring forms of totalitarian oppression.

The fact that concentrated violence and war prevail is indicative of a system which has coerced vast regions of the planet and their populations into the most hateful form of barbarism. Bourgeois oppressive powers threaten human species with the growing destruction of peoples, depletion of the planet's resources, and the conscious and ongoing attempt to alienate humanity from its most instinctive and positive abilities. Nevertheless, a large part of humanity frequently provides positive proofs – in the day-to-day and, at the highest level, in revolutions – of a permanent will to better and transform self and existence, a will which still persists today, though repressed and compromised.

4. The anthropological drive towards socialism somehow manages to go through all of humanity's history. It has its origin in the primordial affirmative drive which, pushing beyond natural sociability, can translate itself into the tangible goal of bettering the individual, relationships, and the community; it is a inward and permanent drive in human species, even though it may be fragmented, scattered and overwhelmed by the machineries of concentrated violence, warfare and politics, and also because of the species' own failures of recognition and limits of conscience.

In the course of human species history conflicts, uprisings, and, particularly over the last two centuries, revolutions have

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expressed an ideal and social energy – uneven and different in various circumstances – which represents the most tangible hope for the future, but which has not yet hit upon a corresponding appropriate commitment to a theoretical foundation and to a continuous coherent lifestyle.

Socialism is not born of tragedies or from necessity as it has been conceived for so long, rather it is the possible development of the best human abilities, the pursuit of a different and better material and ideal *commonality* among human beings. In this sense, it is and can be universal, because it is up to each woman and each man, to each oppressed individual and to each group, which attempts from the first person to better themselves and to improve life in a beneficial manner, building upon natural fellowship and sociability and upon each individual's innate potential for socialization. Socialism precedes revolution and is a decisive stage in the self-emancipation of the human species as a whole; it is a principle of civilization and emancipation to be undertaken globally, to incite and develop theoretically and practically from this moment on.

5. The human species is faced with an urgent situation. The threats against our species grow, trapped between war-mongering spinning out of control and the virulence of terrorism; hunger, suffering, pandemic diseases, and the devastating results of natural disasters are increasing. The destruction of nature, and therefore the injuries caused to our species and to the environment in which it lives, have reached unprecedented levels in contemporary times. The unresolved problems and the contradictions of earlier eras return under new forms and concentrate themselves into the era we are living where everything speeds up, blends together and becomes more complicated as a result of the most enormous and tragic global and overall changes caused to the species by its dominant minority during the conflict of 1939-1945.

Today we are witnessing the bellicose and bloodthirsty twilight of the global democratic system dominated by the USA, which has represented the most sophisticated and brutal domination ever achieved by the ruling classes over their fellow women and men in the course of human experience. Capitalist civilization has arrived at its own exhaustion. Other oppressive and destructive world powers from China to Iran, which are not part of the democratic system, present themselves as the new global leaders, but

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they, too, are in trouble because of the obsolescence of every civilization – each of them, incidentally, oppressive and patriarchal and therefore, by definition, unable to respond meaningfully to the essential needs of humanity. This obsolescence (of civilizations) is intensified by the never-ending crisis of politics.

The barbarism that began in the 20th century with Nazi genocide, Stalin's terror and America's atomic bombs attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki has been carried out as the consequence of the oppressive domination led by the system, but also, and more disturbing, as the expression of a disintegration and degradation in which the oppressed themselves are playing an active role. Faced with this human emergency, traditional vanguards collapse, hijacked by the dogma of political and non-political references, which are unable to respond to human needs and aspirations, which are pressing.

In partial but permanent opposition to the destructive decline of the system, millions and millions of women and men resisted, struggled, rebelled, fought and sacrificed themselves, but if they did not succeed in defeating rampant barbarism, they have certainly slowed its progress and conditioned it – in the wake of the Commune of Paris of 1871 – by sketching out a global alternative with the beginning of the social revolution in Russia in 1905 and in 1917, particularly in Kronstadt in 1921, in Spain in 1936-37, with the experience of the Councils of Budapest in 1956, and in the Solidarity Movement in Poland in 1980, to name only a few of the brightest examples.

The system has succeeded in preventing socialist victory and overgrowth of the revolution but the system has not known how to and cannot abolish revolution which reasserts itself as an irresistible necessity and requirement of the era in which we are living, as its speeding up and its potentially decisive deflection.

In the present chaos, with new sorts of vanguards everywhere, conflicts, movements, uprisings, and revolutions are re-emerging and making themselves known, indicators of a human resistance that is hugely valuable but inadequate in itself.

Furthermore: people continue to express a desire to live, not merely to survive, hope for the future, dream of emerging from the negative conditions of existence, wish and attempt to remove themselves from oppressive powers; people continue to express extraordinary inventive capacities which need to find their own principles, their own paths, their own constructive projects, their

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own theory in order to be fully and conscientiously fulfilled. It is only in this way that society, which tends to become global, which shares in oppression and crisis and dilution of conscience, and which only occasionally understands itself as a unified human reality, can begin finding its way back towards reintegration and a beneficial and conscientious *commonality*.

6. Accompanying the development of the current phases of great transition in the era in which we are living, the permanence and revival of religions are again popular.

Responding to humanity's questions left unanswered by politics and the sciences, all the religions have always postulated an other-worldly, absolute, and extra-human being. In this way religions, exploiting humanity's imagination and its drive for human transcendence, striving to dispossess individuals, groups, and, most of all, women from their deepest, most beneficial, and finest creative instincts.

The success of religions can be explained by the need for the hope for self-improvement which continues to thrive in humanity, coupled with an inability to rationalize it emotionally in appropriate and intelligible manner. Out of this is born a self-alienation which humiliates those who believe in an afterlife.

The human origin of religions explains their development but also the proliferating crisis, caused by their peculiar inability of tracing back to women and men the standards and possibilities of goodness, universality and truth.

7. The human species lives overwhelmingly in the here and now, projecting itself forward into the future and while planning it, searching in the past for the themes and the lessons which reinforce them.

Up to this moment, history lived by human species cannot be reduced to a simple alternation between progress and decline, nor does it dissolve into the destined prevalence of the dark forces of evil. Rather, history is a process which is open, dizzy, manifold, contradictory, and incomplete, an oscillating dynamics of the unconscious whole, where the currents of the past spill into the present, being transformed without being used up, and reaching towards future.

Hence, history is not a sentence but the concrete context which it is necessary to interpret as a whole, in an actualist manner; a

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context that the human species must keep in mind as it changes its present course and shapes its own future.

8. Human species' relationships are social relationships which are also historically determined, but these are inevitably complex relationships between individuals, between women and men, in which thoughts and feelings come into play as determining factors.

Human species' many activities, although perhaps incomplete and fragmented, manifest the species' affirmative qualities anew, the inseparability of its productive abilities from its capacities for reflection and feeling, and the fully constituent feature of these last of the structure of social relationships. Certain revolutions offer proof, at the highest level, of these qualities; revolutions inconceivable in their origins and developments independently of a passionate awareness of the pursuit of radical change.

What is human presents itself as a multiplicity of coexisting and inter-connected aspects from which we can seize the main point in order to explore its possible future developments. No aspect of life and existence can explain on its own – even less condition inevitably – a path for humanity, as, to the contrary, various currents of thought, religion, philosophy, political, and science claim and have claimed. No absolutist interpretation – be it evolutionist, historico-social or creationist – can explain the inexhaustible dynamics and potentialities of human beings as it disclaims their perfectibility and their special faculties of conscience and choice.

Guided by its most conscious and responsive parts and inwardly driven by the liberation of the potentials of the feminine gender – which embarked upon its own long revolution 150 years ago – the human species has the capability to imagine, prepare, design, create, and build its own future; the species has the capability of making all that in a way that is completely different from the mechanical foundations of the dominant system and other oppressive powers, overturning them thanks to its finally conscious organism; the species has the capability, as a result of its very nature, to self-transform and to transform the world at a level that is finally freely human.

9. In the social and individual work of the humanist, socialist, libertarian, feminist, inter-ethnic and universal revolution we recognize an essential path towards the self-emancipation of the

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human species, towards the liberation of the feminine gender in all its positive power, and towards affirmation of the incontestable majorities of oppressed people today who, by withdrawing from the system, can socially reorganize and play an active role in a new *commonality* and a human commune dependent upon the notion of good for each and good for all.

The accomplishment of socialism, as socialization of work and knowledge, time and things, as initial reappropriation of the faculties of women and men as the expression of a positive, including and expanding power, will lead to the beginning of a civilization that is, at last, conscious and happy: « to each person according to her needs, from each person according to her abilities. »

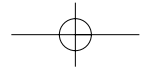
10. The foundation of a revolutionary socialist humanism is distinguished by its principles, methods, goals and modalities, from all the prior and present currents of thought, including those which have struggled for liberation. It is a theoretical and practical search for a path towards self-emancipation of the entire human species, for an outlook of common and individual good, for a general theory of human-ness in order to interpret what the human species is in its “essence” and what it can be in its complexity, its potential integrity and its perfectibility.

We are not starting from scratch in this quest, taking a critical approach we make use of the vast and varied range of thinking women and men, social experiments, personalities, works of art and daily life of which humanity has left traces.

A series of thinking women and men, transgressors, contribute, in their different ways and on their various planes, pieces to our quest, which is aimed to self-emancipation and hence humanist socialist. From these many references and contributions we draw suggestions, lessons, and elements in relation to different plans, not dogmatic or patronymic*, which inform our search as a whole.

Accordingly, we regard scientific socialism, where many of us started, as surpassed, since it is a unicist theory which does not reflect upon the manifold essence of the human species and thus does not give an answer to the complex needs and reasons for its self-emancipation.

* By this term we intend to mean that Socialist Utopia does not refer to a theory named by its founder, “father”, for instance: Marxism, Bakuninism, Trotskism and so on (*Editorial note*).



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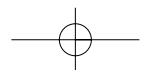
Among our references we include those revolutions, groundbreaking efforts, and experiments, of different kinds and inspirations, which have expressed a quest – positive even if preliminary – for an alternative way of life, communitarian and capable of withdrawing from the system, aimed at self-organization and to a social and ideal reorganization, for self-activity, that segments of the human species, vanguard groups, and entire nations have undertaken as an alternative to the existing negative powers.

II. These extraordinary goals exist as an opportunity, which must be rediscovered and created, certainly not as realities achieved or as factual results.

The prospect of a universal commune can be the basis of a consistent commitment, of a self-emancipation which begins, a proposal to people which develops in everyday's life, and grows in struggles and social revolutions; for this reason it is a non-place for the global democratic system and the other oppressive realities.

Our humanist socialism is born from the individual, relational and collective choices of vanguards trying to live by and commit upon the basis of their hypotheses and their principles. Women and men who seek to declare a concrete logic of the common good by actively withdrawing from the prevalent harmful systems, while struggling to forge a socialist humanist community in which each woman and each man is a protagonist by virtue of their own choices.

Will and inclinations, features and emphases, the uniqueness of each personality who chooses to approach and join with the *commonality* which we propose, all of these are for us an essential organizing reason for the development of this same *commonality*. It is about a constant commitment to found and interpret, to embody and spread, and to express and stir_up the ideas and values, the reasons and feelings best-suited to self-emancipation of the human species as a whole. A commitment to form ourselves and the others in the perspective of a choice of a better life, in pursuit of the common good and solidarity, and in attention and care for the oppressed and as part of the relentless fight against all oppressions. A commitment to invent ourselves as free persons, capable of expressing our own transformative will and of enriching it by sharing in it; therefore a commitment to build relations of fellowship, friendship, and love for the socialist humanist *commonality* through consistent action. At first, a commitment to



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expression and listening, to dialogue and constant diffusion of our ideas with all those who want to better the life of the human species and their own life, in order to join them in one perspective and one practice of a socialist revolutionary humanistic *commonality*. A commitment to the exchange of ideas and mutual influence with all people, groups, and tendencies which seek the self-emancipation of humanity.

This is pioneering work which has just begun and which can and must be lived out as the gratification, realization and transformation of self with and for others, in spite of the efforts and difficulties which it requires and without complying to the sacrificial and self-alienating obsessions typical of religions and politics.

This work needs to be uncompromising and patient at the same time, it implies a global ambition for choice as the ability to live humbly and also gradually so that it may grow in each of us and among all of us, to expand it, enrich it, perfect it and spread it.

This work is always being confirmed by the needs and affirmative experiences of other individuals and offers this autobiographical evidence as its best and perpetual guarantee: we try to be the consistent incarnation of what we think of and offer.

Vallombrosa, 17th December 2006