



Michael Brie

# Entry Projects to a Politics of Solidarity

**A radical practice test of counter-hegemony  
in times of neo-liberal financial market capitalism**

## **HEGEMONY AND ENTRY PROJECTS**

*"A class formation is 'historically progressive' thanks to its historical 'productivity', i.e. the expansiveness of a concrete political/economic regime which it pushes, and thanks to which it drives the entire society forward, by not only meeting existential needs, but also by enlarging its own power to lead by a continual process of 'taking possession of new industrial-productive areas of activity', and thus feeding the reasonable expectations of individual life perspectives."<sup>1</sup>*

An analysis of Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony reveals a "magic square" which societal forces must form in order to successfully challenge the ruling structure in a counter-hegemonic manner: The first side of that square is the emergence of the possibility for a new and higher societal stage of productivity. The old power and property structures must have proven themselves as chains binding the new productive forces. The second concerns individual life opportunities. "Society" or "classes" do nothing; rather, it is always concrete people in concrete groups who take the risk of dissident action, or of refusal, upon themselves. The third is the necessary interconnection of conflicting interests, a historic compromise which links very different or even contrary classes and social groups. The fourth is that none of this is

possible without a new moral foundation, a superior system of values.

These four sides are for Gramsci only the building-blocks of hegemony. Hegemony itself emerges only in historical practice, in which new productivity is discovered, new life opportunities emerge, and it becomes clear that the interests of the different social groups are in fact to be taken into account and to take shape in the context of new values. At the centre of such practice are entry projects, which are moved forward by organized societal forces (Graphic 1).

If a class formation – in the broadest sense of the term – manages to initiate change by concrete entry projects which

- Link key groups in a "social contract"
- Increase social productivity and human development – even within select groups, or privileged classes
- Secure the reproduction, integration, stability and legitimacy of the societal order, and moreover
- Protect it against internal and external rivals.

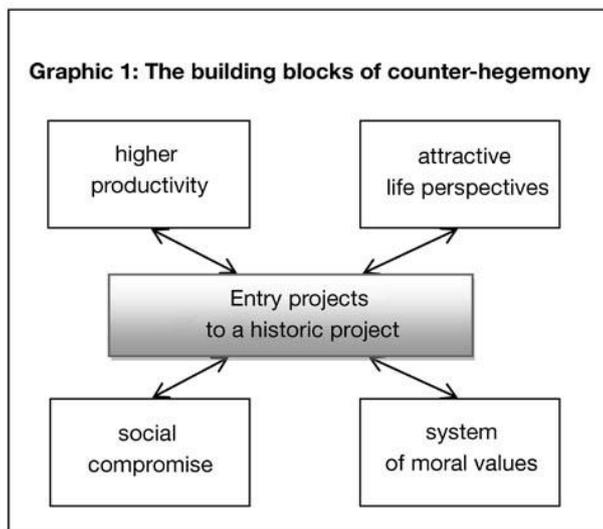
Such a process can become a comprehensive societal transformation.

## **Entry Projects are Socio-Cultural Learning Processes of the Transformation of Relations and the Self-Transformation of the Actors**

*"The materialist doctrine concerning the changing of circumstances and upbringing forgets that circumstances are changed by men and that it is essential to*

<sup>1</sup> Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus [Historical-critical dictionary of Marxism (HKWM), vol. 6/I, p. 14-15.

educate the educator himself. This doctrine must, therefore, divide society into two parts, one of which is superior to society. The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-changing can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionary practice.<sup>2</sup>



Every ruling system wins power by also involving the oppressed of society, by making them accomplices in their own oppression. Neo-liberalism was able to gain acceptance by using the slogan "less state, less taxes, less regulation!" to dismantle the welfare state and trigger a massive constriction of democratic options for formulation, combined with new practices of the breaking of solidarity, of self-disciplining, and of interpersonal crowding-out struggles amongst the staff of enterprises.

Left politics, by contrast, aims at liberation through self-liberation grounded in solidarity. It must therefore be based on the dialectical connection of organized action under leadership – including that from administrations and governments – and the self-activity of workers, citizens and concrete social initiatives and movements. Rosa Luxemburg referred to this process as "to be tested in the struggle and to go forth from the struggle with increased strength".<sup>3</sup> A reform ordered from above or from the outside which does not appropriate the experiences of the concrete struggles, and which does not increase the abilities for self-organisation and self-management in workplaces and local communities in the context of

<sup>2</sup> Marx, Theses on Feuerbach, III, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/theses.htm> [The word "men" is a mistranslation of the original "Menschen", human beings.]

<sup>3</sup> Rosa Luxemburg, The Mass Strike, the Political Party and the Trade Unions, Ch. 6, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1906/mass-strike/ch06.htm>

social supports or education, is a pacifying reform, even if it improves the objective situation. At issue is not only the social content, but also the political and cultural form, not only the *what*, but also the *how*.<sup>4</sup> Left politics must not lose this connection between changing social conditions and individual action, nor, in the process, lose sight of social learning and the self-empowerment of the workers, the citizens.<sup>5</sup> At issue is always also "opening spaces for communication", "achieving a general discourse"<sup>6</sup> far beyond the limited social circles which are alien to each other in so many respects.

Thus, the left policy of concrete entry projects faces the task of pushing them forward primarily as projects of social learning. Organisations are thus not primary "conveyor belts" for the politics of an enlightened vanguard party (Lenin), but rather have the dual function of both enabling collective activity and creating space for communication and self-transformation, in which this activity is continually critically reflected, and in which self-determination is expanded. As Lutz Brangsch writes: "Organisations, which of course remain necessary as actors of societal change, and also of entry projects, must transform themselves, and learn to accept the option of their questioning of themselves and of their self-transformation as a real possibility. Learning processes must be shaped openly from this aspect, often no longer even in an institutionalized space. In this process, they must at the same time address the problem that a key feature of entry projects is their complexity. Left entry projects are therefore aimed at concrete social change, they are forms of a concrete political activity, in terms of empowerment and self-empowerment *and* of cultural self-transformation."<sup>7</sup>

### Building-Blocks of a Different Society and Societal Transformation

*"Evolution is not just about merely producing a good animal, but rather of finding good building-*

<sup>4</sup> Rosa Luxemburg: Reform or Revolution? [www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1900/reform-revolution/index.htm](http://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1900/reform-revolution/index.htm)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lutz Brangsch, Das Politikverständnis von Rosa Luxemburg: Soziales Lernen und politische Macht [Rosa Luxemburg's conception of politics: social learning and political power]. Ms. 2010

<sup>6</sup> Peter Birke: Die große Wut und die kleinen Schritte. Gewerkschaftliches Organizing zwischen Protest und Projekt [Great rage and small steps: Union organizing between protest and projects] Berlin & Hamburg 2010, p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> Lutz Brangsch: Der Unterschied liegt nicht im Was, wohl aber im Wie [The difference is not in the What, but rather in the How]. In: Michael Brie (ed.): Radikale Realpolitik. Berlin 2009, p. 49.

*blocks from which good animals can be put together.*<sup>8</sup>

The classic left revolutionary paradigm suffers from the fact that there is a gap between concrete demands in the here and now – the so-called “minimum programme” – and the goal of revolutionary change of society – the so-called “maximum programme”. The minimum programme is reduced to improving the prerequisites for a later take-over of power by the working classes, which take-over will then initiate the overall transformation. In past radical societal transformations, there has never been such a separation. Nor has there ever before existed any adequate knowledge about a different, “better” society. As Marx emphasized, the working classes “have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society.”<sup>9</sup>

However, these elements themselves exist only latently, and emerge in reality only in concrete entry projects, in which experience in how to realize social, ecological, economic and cultural goals through one’s own action is gathered. Only by integration into a politics of self-empowerment do they become moments of the new.<sup>10</sup> For example, any developed capitalist society needs a certain amount of welfare-statism, which can be implemented on the basis of liberal or conservative principles, or on those of emancipative solidarity, so as to strengthen the collective and individual power of action of the workers. Only in the latter case does welfare-statism incorporate a moment of the transformational.

On the basis of such positions, Dieter Klein has formulated the following:

*“From the point of view of a transformation theoretical approach, projects which enable initial steps in a different developmental direction will have to meet several criteria:*

*Since the point of departure for any realistic alternative is based on the acute contradictions and conflict lines in society which immediately affect the lives of citizens, and move them, it follows that entry projects to a different developmental path must address essential unsolved problems in society, take up the feelings of the majority, and try to provide answers to their fears and to their desire for jobs, security and self-determination over their own lives.*

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<sup>8</sup> Quoted in: M. Mitchell Waldrop: Complexity: The Emerging Science at the Edge of Order and Chaos, Simon & Shuster 1992. (retranslated from German)

<sup>9</sup> Karl Marx, The Civil War In France, [www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1871/civil-war-france/ch05.htm](http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1871/civil-war-france/ch05.htm)

<sup>10</sup> Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe: Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics, London, Verso, 1985/1989.

*Entry projects must be realistic, which means they must have a chance of being implemented in the foreseeable future, and to lead to improvements for as many wage workers as possible, and particularly for the socially disadvantaged.*

*Such entry projects could therefore enable the mobilization of potential actors for social change. They should be able to counteract the widespread public feeling of powerlessness known as the “TINA syndrome” (“there is no alternative”) – the feeling that hardly anything can be achieved within the existing political system. It is important that “TAMARA” (“there are many and realistic alternatives”) experiences emerge in society!*

*In accordance with the idea of future-oriented change as a transformational project, entry projects for solutions to immediate problems should show the way to an opening for further-reaching developments, and contribute to a roll-back of the dominance of capital, to a democratization of societal decision-making processes, and to the civilization of conflicts by means of the weakening of repressive elements.”<sup>11</sup>*

The possibilities for left action arise primarily from “molecular changes in societal conditions” which in turn arise either from the permanent friction in the day-to-day life of capitalist societies, or from their organic crises, in which the existing manner of regulation is no longer able to seamlessly integrate economic, social, political or cultural changes. As Mario Candeias has put it:

*“The ‘molecular accumulation of elements’ can cause an ‘explosion’ (Gramsci), and can lead to fissures, to the decomposition of the hegemonic block, and ultimately to the transformation of the mode of production and life. This is a lengthy and contentious process of transition.”<sup>12</sup>*

Situations of a comprehensive organic crisis such as that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that between 1928 and 1950, or evidently also that which began during the past decade are developments which set the future course of events – and it is exceptionally important which projects gain acceptance in just such situations: those of an imperial and authoritarian policy with its barbarous effects, those of rearrangement with elements of compromise, or those of a comprehensive social, democratic and ecological transformation. As one study on the New

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<sup>11</sup> Dieter Klein: Einstiegsprojekte in einen alternativen Entwicklungspfad [Entry projects to an alternative development path]. 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Mario Candeias: Passive Revolutionen vs. sozialistische Transformationen. RLS

Deal shows,<sup>13</sup> organic crises, changes of actor strategy, entry projects and the emergence of a new hegemonic block all emerge in combination with complex learning processes (Graphic 2). Today, four major alternatives arise, which are summarized briefly in Graphic 3.

#### **A Middle-Bottom Alliance, Cooperation of the Left, and the Commons Of Solidarity**

*"Subjects do not confront the structure; they are inherent to it. The same is true of the relations between classes, sexes, etc.: None of these identities can be imagined without reference to the others."<sup>14</sup>*

Under existing class conditions, there are three broad alliances which can be formed: a market liberal-authoritarian alliance, a social-liberal alliance and a solidarity alliance (Graphic 4). Each real or potentially hegemonic block is a different combination of several of the same socio-economic groupings, but under the hegemony of a different grouping. The market liberal-authoritarian alliance was organized primarily under George W. Bush; its major representatives in Europe are Berlusconi and Sarkozy. It has been an alliance of the politics of unfettered capitalism and offensive imperial and national interests. The strategies of a *new middle*, or the social-democratic Third Way, with their odd ignorance of social issues, have been based

on a block combining the middle strata under the leadership of the liberal supporters of globalization. An alliance of solidarity, by contrast, depends primarily on an alliance between the socially oriented middle strata, with their main base in the qualified sector of public and cultural services, the waged employees in the core sectors of the economy, and lower social groups.

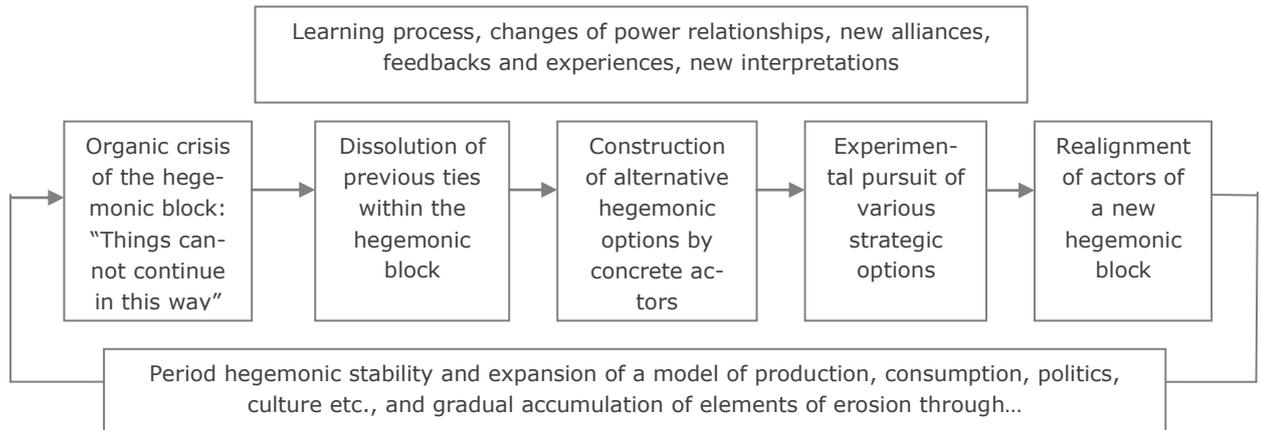
The formation of broad alliances must start where the interests of these very different social groupings overlap. This seems to be primarily the development of public services, public democratic participation and public oversight of the economy. These are, first of all, both important sources of income and areas of political action for the socially oriented middle strata; secondly, they provide opportunities for raising central demands of the wage-dependent strata; and third, they are the conditions for overcoming the exclusion of lower groups. This will be elucidated briefly below. The entry projects described are at the same time projects of both supporting interests and restructuring interests in the direction of solidarity, and of addressing concrete problems as a comprehensive transformation.

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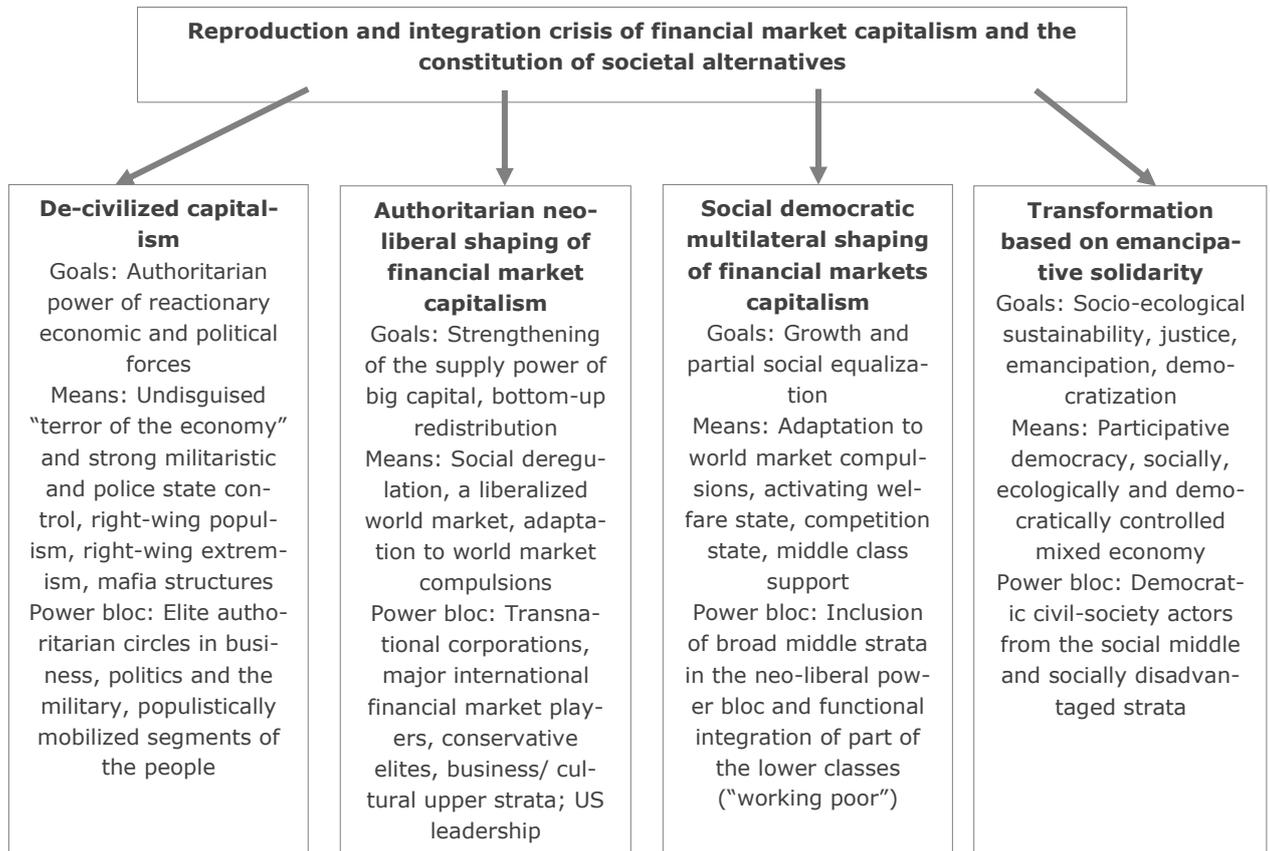
<sup>13</sup> Steve Fraser, Gary Gerstle (eds): *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press 1999.

<sup>14</sup> Laclau/Mouffe, op. cit. (retranslated from German)

**Graphic 2: Organic crisis and societal transformation**

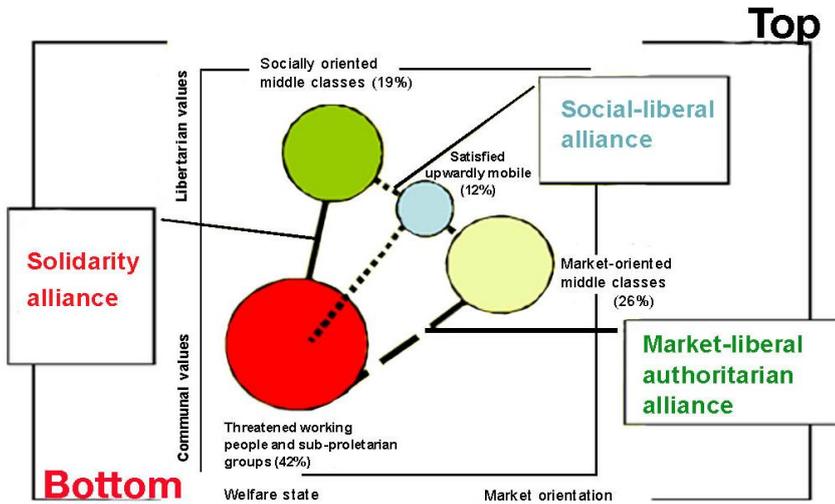


**Graphic 3: Development paths at the beginning of the twenty-first century (as of 2007)**

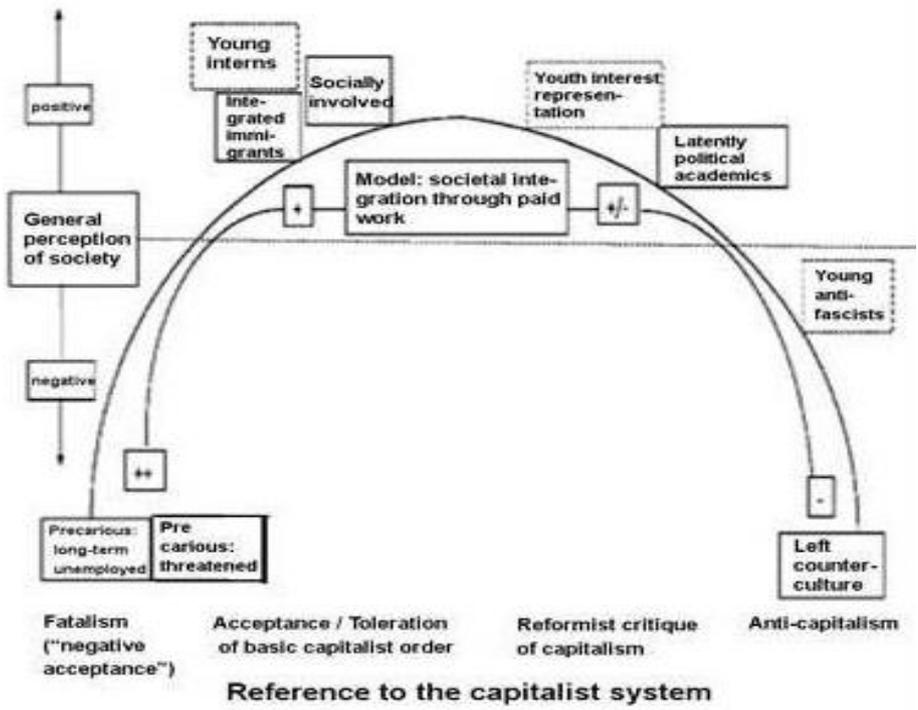


Graphic 4: Three social alliances

### Various socio-cultural and economic alliances



Graphic 5: Tensions between left environments<sup>15</sup>



<sup>15</sup> Ingo Matuschek, Uwe Krähnke, Frank Kleemann, Frank Ernst: Politische Praxen und Orientierungen in linksaffinen Alltagsmilieus. [Political practice and orientation in left-leaning social groupings] RLS Papers 2008, p. 51.

## TWO CONCRETE ENTRY PROJECTS UNDER DISCUSSION

*"Large-scale problems do not require large-scale solutions; they require small-scale solutions within a large-scale framework."<sup>16</sup>*

The range of entry projects discussed and practised is tremendously broad.<sup>17</sup> Two examples are outlined briefly here, vicariously for many other.

### **First: The Creation of a Publicly Funded Sector of Social, Cultural Services as the Foundation for a New Economics of Solidarity**

The proposal for the development of such a sector is informed by two central demands: first, the demand for an unconditional basic income;<sup>18</sup> and second, the demand for the fulfilment of the right to waged work.<sup>19</sup> While the objection raised against supporters of an unconditional basic income is that it would promote social exclusion and a parasitical relationship to society, the right to waged work is criticized due to the alienation and subordination inherent in waged work. Both are true, and both are inadequate, for they do not seek solutions through the restructuring of what exists.

Alongside those sectors which produce goods for the satisfaction of individual needs and those which provide services of public subsistence, there is an enormous and diverse need for sector providing services from neither the private sector nor the state, which are neither purchasable in the strict sense, nor should be available completely free of charge, nor are provided in the personal/family contest. This constitutes a fourth sector, the significance of which is steadily growing. Inasmuch as classic forms of social integration are weakened, new opportunities are needed where people can come together, grow, help each other, and live a free commonality of life for one another and for self-realization. It is precisely this sector that has most fallen victim to the neo-liberal "slimming down" of the state. But living local commu-

nities depend on cultural and sports associations, on groups providing help and solidarity in education and in old age, and on a cultural life together.

A lack of such spaces ensures an expansion of the role of the commercial electronic media, of individual private entertainment, compulsion in work, and also the tendency toward individual withdrawal, even within the family, and hence to passivity, aggressiveness and emotional destruction. At the same time, such a sector could, with considerable public funding, make a decisive contribution to providing those who today have no chance in the private or state sectors, with an opportunity for a good guaranteed income, meaningful work for others, and a life in dignity, in a context that goes beyond mere "job creation" or "keeping busy". By linking access to a basic income to work in charitable organizations, it will be possible to guarantee freedom and solidarity, with all having the same right – which is then also a duty – to freely choose the field and/or the association in which one wishes to get involved. The experiments in the states of Berlin and Brandenburg with the development of a publicly funded jobs sector are steps in this direction.<sup>20</sup> In combination with the perspective for a shortening of the regular work week to thirty hours, especially such a sector would help create important conditions for a new balance between waged work, social involvement and "care work", and also time for self-development – what Frigga Haug has called the "four-in-one perspective".<sup>21</sup>

All this together – a really secure livelihood connected with meaningful and dignified participation in societal life, the expansion of a sector in which new forms of production based on solidarity and emancipative life plans can be developed, and a shortening of the wage-work time, which would at the same time mean an expansion of active democratic involvement and work for others as well as time for oneself – all this together is what could become the decisive foundation for the emergence of those needs, values and purposes in life which constitute a convincing alternative to today's consumerism and careerism, its greed and selfishness, its accumulation of things and its hunt for self-affirmation of value through shopping, its hectic rush and its waste of life's time. A gentle and protective dealing with nature and with material and cultural wealth, behaviour in solidarity with others, the enjoyment that comes from living with others and being there for them, and the security which arises from casual leisure – these are the

<sup>16</sup> David Fleming: *Energy and the Common Purpose* (third edition – Sept. 2007), p. 39, <http://www.teqs.net/book/teqs.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> Exemplary for the Latin American discussion are Sousa Boaventura de Santos (ed.): *Another Production Is Possible: Beyond the Capitalist Canon*, London 2006; and *Democratizing Democracy. Beyond the Liberal Democratic Canon*, London 2007; in Germany, see Ulrich Brand, Bettina Lösch and Stefan Thimmel (eds.) *ABC der Alternativen*, Hamburg 2007.

<sup>18</sup> Ronald Blaschke, Adeline Otto, Norbert Schepers (eds.): *Grundeinkommen. Geschichte – Modelle – Debatten*. [Basic income; history, models, debates], Karl Dietz Verlag, Berlin 2010.

<sup>19</sup> Let us recall again Charles Fourier, who referred his critique of the abstract bourgeois concept of freedom, to the primary fundamental right to work: *Design for Utopia: Selected Writings*. New York: Schocken, 1971.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Wikipedia (German): Öffentlich geförderter Beschäftigungssektor (no English link).

<sup>21</sup> Haug, Frigga: *Die Vier-in-einem-Perspektive. Politik von Frauen für eine neue Linke* [The four-in-one perspective. Politics by women for a new left] Hamburg 2008.

prerequisites for a new civilization which would be in harmony with the nature of the earth and its people.

## **Second: The Introduction of a CO<sub>2</sub> Card and Free Local Public Transport**

In 1996 the British Green environmental activist and economist David Fleming published a proposal for the introduction of individual CO<sub>2</sub> cards<sup>22</sup>, which was vigorously pushed in 2006 by then-Minister of the Environment David Miliband.<sup>23</sup> "Emissions trading", first proposed as early as 1968 by Canadian economist John Harkness Dales,<sup>24</sup> is a controversial measure for reducing the emissions of ecologically harmful gasses by targeting the behaviour of producers.<sup>25</sup> It has been implemented in the EU as of 2005 under the term "cap and trade", albeit in a not very convincing manner. Under this scheme, major polluters of such substances as carbon dioxide, sulphur dioxide or nitric oxide have certain emissions limits which they may exceed only if they buy emissions rights from other emitters of CO<sub>2</sub>, etc.

Even if there were an effective maximum cap, from which the EU countries are far away,<sup>26</sup> the cost is

<sup>22</sup> David Fleming Website: Tradable Energy Quotas, [www.teqs.net](http://www.teqs.net).

<sup>23</sup> However, after a number of studies, this policy was buried as "ahead of its time" (Matt Prescott: A persuasive climate. Personal trading and changing lifestyles. The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. London 2008, p. 9). In Germany, this idea has been raised as a strategy for environmental certificates, including by Franz Groll: Von der Finanzkrise zur solidarischen Gesellschaft. Vision einer neuen Wirtschaftsordnung für Gerechtigkeit, Zukunftsfähigkeit und Frieden [From the financial crisis to the solidarity society. Vision of a new economic system for justice, sustainability and peace] Hamburg: VSA 2009, pp. 49 - 59. An extensive study was presented by the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, Manchester, UK, cf. Richard Starkey: Allocating emissions rights: Are equal shares, fair shares? In Tyndall Centre Working Paper 118, [www.tyndall.ac.uk/publications/working-paper/2008/](http://www.tyndall.ac.uk/publications/working-paper/2008/) (presented in Germany in: Die CO<sub>2</sub>-Card. Emissionsquoten als marktwirtschaftliches Instrument zum Klimaschutz [The CO<sub>2</sub> Card. Emission shares as a free enterprise instrument for climate protection], Event at the British Embassy in Berlin on 27 May 2008, published by the Kathy Beys Foundation of Aachen, 2008, pp. 17 - 26).

<sup>24</sup> John H. Dales: Pollution, Property & Prices: An Essay in Policy-Making and Economics, New Horizons in Environmental Economics [1968], Northampton 2002.

<sup>25</sup> Larry Lohmann (ed.): Carbon Trading. A Critical Conversation on Climate Change, Privatisation and Power, published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, October 2006;

Elmar Altvater: Das Ende des Kapitalismus wie wir ihn kennen [The end of the capitalism as we know it] pp. 53-54.

<sup>26</sup> In Germany, ninety per cent of emissions rights are allocated free of charge, and the ascertainment rate is also only fifty per cent, while the other half of emissions are not capped. Klaus Dosch: Konzepte für die Ausweitung des Emissionshandels auf den Sektor der privaten Haushalte

passed on to consumers, primarily through higher prices, so that higher-income groups – i.e., those who use the most ecologically harmful products – are privileged, and no effective pressure is placed on them to change their basic consumption patterns, while the lower-income groups are primarily forced to reduce their consumption. In addition, the organized lobbies of the major polluters counteract all measures which might be effectively detrimental to their interests.

If the familiar climate goals – limitation of global warming to 2°C – are to be achieved, the emissions of greenhouse gases must be reduced to ten per cent of the present level in the highly developed countries within the next few decades, while emission will in some cases rise in less developed countries, and then also drop considerably almost everywhere. Therefore, long-term specifications must be made for countries or major regions such as the EU, since such a radical reduction will not be possible without exceptionally large-scale investments. The suggestions of introduction a CO<sub>2</sub> card, or environmental certificates, is based on the right of every individual on earth to emit as much greenhouse gas – and no more – as is compatible with the preservation of the climate balance, possibly in the context of the above-stated target. Everybody would receive CO<sub>2</sub> certificates based on the present average standard in his or her region, concentrated primarily on fuel, electric power, heating etc. The number of certificates distributed per inhabitant would drop gradually.

Those who kept their greenhouse gas emissions below the authorized amount during a particular period could sell environmental certificates to those who consumed more – and could still afford to. CO<sub>2</sub> cards would thus become a second currency, only the quantities they represented would have to continually drop, as determined by a largely politically independent authority of civil society.<sup>27</sup> There could be no interest payments on this "currency", which would regulate primarily the relationship with nature and only secondarily that between people.

As Franz Groll writes, "this approach to a solution ... has a fourfold social effect: (1) it raises the spending power of people with low incomes; (2) for persons with an above-average consumption of energy, the price increases progressively, which is highly just; (3) the forced reduction of the consumption of energy raw materials will cause the market prices for raw

[Concepts for the expansion of emissions trading to the individual housing sector]. In: Die CO<sub>2</sub>-Card. op cit., pp. 27-28.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Peter Barnes' considerations in the online video Sky Trust A Guide to Reclaiming the Commons <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-8947779908175188887#>.

materials to at least rise more slowly, stagnate or even drop; and (4) under this approach, the ecologicalisation of the economy would be financed by savings in raw materials and energy consumption, by dropping costs for unemployment, and by high-income and wealthy people.<sup>28</sup> The lower incomes would thus not be additionally burdened, but rather relieved.<sup>29</sup>

The decisive advantage of CO<sub>2</sub> cards would be that they would make citizens the immediately interested advocates for the reduction of climate gas emissions. This advantage could only be realized if there were at the same time a possibility for effectively and democratically influencing the manner of production, transport, community life and consumption. At the purely individual level, greenhouse gas emissions can be reduced only to a very limited degree. What is needed at the same time is extensive public investment programmes primarily in transport and communications, as well as in the field of the transition to low energy housing and the provision of renewable energy sources, and a shift to a largely vegetable food supply and long-lasting, energy and raw materials-efficient means of consumption. Housing structures must be fundamentally changed to avoid long trips between home, work, cultural services, supply and recreation.<sup>30</sup> The transition to free local public transport for example would cut overall societal costs in half, lower greenhouse gas emissions and resource

consumption to 10 to 20 per cent, enlarge the space available for parks and "home zones" or "living streets" by leaps and bounds, even increase mobility, and reduce the number of traffic deaths drastically. Moreover, it is a model both for the north *and* for the south.<sup>31</sup>

The history of capitalism and socialism to date teaches us that only a new and more comprehensive crisis will make it possible to make deep changes in the basic aspects of the existing order. But even in such a case, there would be no guarantees, for such changes can be of a quite various natures: helpless and counterproductive; repressive and authoritarian attempts by the ruling forces and the privileged to defend the status quo by all means; or a restructuring based on solidarity.

But no one can anticipate the "whole". Thus, a comprehensive transformation of the relations of property and power, of the forms of socialization, of modes of production and of life, and ultimately of human civilization in the twenty-first century, gradually and in the form of concrete, increasingly more plausible interventions could prove to be what simply must be done, even if it is undoubtedly the most complicated operation that humankind has ever tackled. The impossible can – and must – become possible.

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<sup>28</sup> Groll, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the results of the study the British Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra): *Distributional Impacts of Personal Carbon Trading*. London 2008.

<sup>30</sup> In the transport sector alone, US citizens emit triple the CO<sub>2</sub> on average that inhabitants of Western Europe do, and ten times as much as city dwellers in China ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainable\\_transport](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainable_transport)).

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<sup>31</sup> Michael Brie: *Entgeltfreier Öffentlicher Personennahverkehr statt „Abwrackprämie“!* [Free local public transport instead of cash for clunkers!] *Opinions at rls 2009*

[http://193.96.188.183/fileadmin/rls\\_uploads/pdfs/standpunkte\\_0908.pdf](http://193.96.188.183/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/standpunkte_0908.pdf) );

see also: Michael Brie: *Sind wir Auto?* [Are we car?] *LuXemburg. Gesellschaftsanalyse und linke Praxis* Jan. 2009, pp. 165 – 172.