

Summaries

Jörg Roesler: Socialist Planning in a Solidary Economy: A View from Economic History

Among left wing intellectuals there is a temptation to take the economic, social and ideological crisis of current capitalism to envision a leap from an economy of exploitation into an economy of solidarity. Roesler argues instead for a gradual approach, first transforming the present neoliberal economy into a state-controlled, capitalist mixed economy. In the short or long run, a tipping point will allow for an unspectacular transformation of the latter into a socialist mixed economy. Distrustful of promises of radical change, this is the only way that the majority can be won over. As a favourable and realistic alternative, because once widely accepted, are French »Planification« schemes.

Wolfram Adolphi: Planning in the PRC: A Dialectical Negation of the Soviet Model

The astonishing development of the People's Republic of China since the epoch-making Plenary Session of the CPC-CC in December 1978 is based on a very particular form of social and economic planning which could be regarded as a dialectical negation of the Soviet model. The author compares the two planning systems, recently presented by Perry Anderson in *New Left Review*, and reflects upon various authors' views on Chinese development. He recalls a more flexible socialist planning system elaborated by GDR reformers in 1989, rooted in similar approaches in the 1950s.

Hans-Jürgen Krysmanski: Social Planning and Computer-Mediated Communication

Social planning on a global level needs to address the interrelatedness of all economic, political, social, cultural, ecological issues contributing to the enduring crisis of mankind at the same time. There is little time left for participation in isolated communities. This totality of problems can only be solved by scientific planning and therefore the progressive potential of existing institutions of planning and scientific research must be explored. The author explores two directions for action and reflection: One concerns Fredric Jameson's notion that the Marxist and Communist tradition still is a reservoir of productive ideas. The other pertains to winning allies within the capitalist »power complexes« and functional elites, both of whom have been deeply affected by the digital revolution.

Annika Beckmann and Daniel Fastner: Serious Thought Experiments: Reflections on (Decentralized) Economic Models

The authors examine two models of economic planning developed after the collapse of »real existing socialism«, each based on the assumption that central planning is inevitably associated with domination. In order to address this deficiency, both models, Parecon and Inclusive Democracy, turn towards decentralized planning. The article evaluates both models, and their answers to the problem of domination.

Alexander Recht and Alban Werner: Tasks and Instruments of Democratic Planning

Macro-economic planning should be defended as a cornerstone of socialist economic policy. The article depicts the capitalist mode of production as a crisis-prone economic structure. It develops a framework for an alternative mode of economic governance in which production, allocation and distribution of goods, services and income are regulated

by a sophisticated combination of direct, central as well as indicative planning. Within this model, allocation by market and price is not abolished, but their range is limited and embedded in a structure of economic democracy. While opportunity costs and partial imbalances will remain inescapable even in a post-capitalist society, the authors contend that the structural imperative of capital accumulation can be overcome and social development guided deliberately.

Thomas Wagner: The New Bonapartist Offensive of Right-wing Intellectuals

The article draws attention to a recent trend among German right-wing intellectuals to (mis)appropriate progressive-sounding terms such as »direct democracy« or »plebiscite« and to thus take advantage of the existing movement for a more participatory democracy. These groups call for »more democracy«, »participation« and the direct election of political leaders which are not at all progressive. Their aim is to push the political system in a more authoritarian direction by changing electoral law in a populist fashion. This alarming trend needs an adequate response from the left. Any truly progressive perspective on democracy must include the democratization of corporations and a fundamental change of the property regime.

Elisabeth List: Critical Intellectuals in the Academic Field

What is the position of a critical intellectual in the field of contemporary knowledge production? In the wake of neoliberal restructuring, universities all over the world have undergone a radical process of transformation. Fields of study and curricula are conceived of according to their market value, subordinated to a rigid framework and standardised. Critical intellectuals tend to be relegated to the devalued fields of the humanities and find themselves in a situation of marginality and precarity. These developments offer an opportunity for criticism. There remain niches allowing critical intellectuals to continue to actively develop new Marxist analyses of society and university.

Michael Jäger: Opening a (B)logbook. Individuality and Intellectuality on the Internet. Preliminary Observations

In this essay on blogs as a new communication medium, Jäger analyses the new possibilities for intervention of »traditional intellectuals«, current tendencies on the website of the German weekly *Freitag* and new spaces that are shaped by a networked logic. The latter works in such a way that a giving and taking of information is privileged over other forms of thinking. Based on blogs published on *Freitag's* website, Jäger asks what has become of a favourite contention of the New Social Movements that the private is political. The author challenges »traditional intellectuals« to themselves begin blogging, in order to counter the tendency of reducing thinking to the creation of information.

Darko Suvin: Immigration in Europe Today: Apartheid or Civil Cohabitation?

The author discusses various approaches towards preventing apartheid states. Departing from a phenomenology of present mass displacements, three central questions are identified: Are non-citizens people (Arendt and Agamben)? What are the limits of popular sovereignty? Is freedom possible if a good part of denizens form part of an unfree group? Five concatenated axioms are explored. If capitalism, as in Marxist theory, condemns a growing majority of humans to a life of psychophysical misery and premature death, then we must probably be facing both apartheid and global civil war. The author proposes instead to focus on radical democracy, even if the chances that it can be developed are small.