

The Second Convivialist Manifesto- Towards a *post*-neoliberal world.

We will briefly define what Convivialism is and then indicate what leads from the first to the second Manifesto before specifying what hope it gives rise to.

Convivialism is a philosophical and resolutely relational approach to the world, to life, to human life with the objective of saying how this life can become, for all human beings, a good life, within a good society (in the sense that John Galbraith (1996) *The Good Society - The Humane Agenda* gave to this term).

To the principles of the first Manifesto, published in 2013, was added a first one that emphasizes that we should not be placed as a subject in the face of a nature-object, but that we must recognize that we come from the first living organisms born on Earth, that Nature immerses us as much as it surrounds us. It is the **principle of common naturality**, that of our permanent and intimate interdependence with everything that constitutes this world, which makes it necessary, among other things, to rethink our relationship with animals. The other principles are taken up again, and this notion of interdependence is associated with relations between human beings, all essentially similar in essence, according to the **principle of common humanity**. The latter prohibits any discrimination between us because it could only be totally arbitrary. This objective foundation of our existence is extended by the **principle of common sociality**, which reminds us that life is given to us during a natural process, but also socialized, and continuing throughout our lives.

Thus, in the beginning was the society that educates and shapes us. The quality of our relationships of interdependence, of good resonance with others and with the world, contributes to building a good life for us. The fourth principle results from an ethical choice of Convivialism, stating that we must aim at the emancipation of each of us. A good society cannot be totalitarian, it must respect the **principle of legitimate individuation** of its members. It is certainly not giving them unlimited individual freedom. Society would then become liquid, atomized and a place of potentially deadly confrontations. Convivialism endorses the democratic ideal. Recognizing the inevitability of struggles, the product of diversity and the exercise of their free will by individuals, he prescribed the control of conflicts (inspired by Marcel Mauss, 1925), and their peaceful resolution, it is the **principle of creative (non-violent) opposition**. The acceptance of democracy consists in fact in a political agreement of mutual self-limitation (called for by Ivan Illich, 1973). The deterioration in the quality of democratic practices led the second Manifesto to stress that the five previous principles are not only interdependent and limiting each other, but that they are subordinated to the **absolute imperative of *hubris* control** - that is, the desire, inherent in modernity, for excess, must be abandoned.

Beyond the improvement of this framework of principles, the second Manifesto specifies **a set of directions in which it is necessary to move in order to allow the establishment of a *post*-neoliberal world**, which is what conviviality aims to achieve. Indeed, if liberalism has brought freedom, modernization, on the other hand, **the hope carried by convivialism, is to bring conviviality, emancipation.**

First, it explains the need to obtain a global audience and acceptability from a wide range of cultures. They must be able to adopt the same spirit, certainly in their own way: to allow all human beings to have a good life, in a good society, without violence, according to the criteria of their cultures. By respecting other cultures and the future habitability of the Earth, that is, by establishing and respecting all of them, a reciprocal agreement of self-limitation. In this respect, Convivialism is not intended to be universal, but **pluri-versal**.

Second, the Manifesto makes considerations on the architecture of society and the rules of functioning that allow us to move closer to the democratic ideal. They are based on **cooperative**

participation and subsidiarity. What citizens' associations can provide is essential. From the local to the global, a plurality of institutional levels of the organization of societies must respect the procedure whereby only those problems that cannot be solved by the level at which they arise, alone or in horizontal cooperation with other groups at the same level, are brought up to the next level. Each level of society's organization strives to ensure the cohesion and inclusion of its members and the preservation of the common goods. Democratic decision-making processes are based on privileged forms of direct participation at the basic levels and combined with forms of representation and information on opinions at the broader levels from local, to national, and international levels.

Then, the second Manifesto sets out proposals aimed at restoring activities - particularly those of an economic nature - to the service of society's objective: conviviality, individual and collective emancipation. **Production activities must meet the real needs** of society and not create fictitious ones, which is what a real economy leads to when it is subjected to rentier and speculative capitalism. This requires strict regulation of finance, removal of tax havens, limiting the size of banks, etc. Since the essential objective is **to give all human beings access to a dignified life**, the criterion of effectiveness will no longer be that of increasing GDP. We must enter **an era of post-growth** compatible with the maintenance of the planet's habitability and the practice of unconditional attention to all those - discriminated against economically and/or culturally - who must be supported by an interdependence that leads them towards emancipation. The second Manifesto highlights in particular the need to renew gender relations.

The de-financiarisation and re-embedding of the economy in the service of society must be accompanied by restructuring measures. **Reversing the trend towards generalized commodification** by extending the field of the non-market exchanges: exchanges of services between citizens, between relatives, short circuits, collaborative economy, free public services, circular economy, advertising regulation, time management, reinvention of "work". Leave only what can be left to the markets and monitor their "convivial" functioning. **Reversing the trend towards globalization and hyper-concentration** by relocating activities, creating complementary local currencies, restoring food and industrial sovereignty, favouring small structures and practising the negotiated management of international trade really necessary to meet needs.

Finally, to regain **democratic control of techno-scientific evolution**, which is now being hit hard by the *hubris* and the temptation of omnipotence, in order to make it ethically and socially beneficial. This requires the control of the choices of technological advances and the dismantling of the giant firms that impose them for their benefit, alienating the populations.

As we move in these directions, "we will be facing, and **we will have to surmount, formidable powers** - financial and material, technical, scientific, intellectual as well as military and criminal " concludes the second Manifesto, stressing that there is a potential force on which to base ourselves. It resides in **the billions of people who already share the same indignation** about the excessiveness and/or corruption of those (1%? 5%?) who alienate them. **They also and above all, at least implicitly, share the project of conviviality and emancipation.** To become a real force, all those who are already aware of it must convince themselves that by sharing this awareness, with their friends and relatives, billions of us will be able to denounce together those who oppose the advance of conviviality. Then **the project driven by conviviality will succeed.**

Warning. This summary, written by Marc Humbert to outline the content of the Second Convivialist Manifesto (to be published in several languages in 2020) does not follow its structure (almost identical to that of the first). It transcribes the spirit of it and cannot present the arguments in detail. The authors cited here to clarify concepts are not mentioned in the Manifesto which is supported by more than 250 intellectuals from all continents.