



# Domenico Losurdo

多米尼克·洛苏尔多

# Biography

14 November 1941 – 28 June 2018

Born in Sannicandro di Bari in 1941, he studied under Pasquale Salvucci in Urbino, the university where he would long teach History of Philosophy. His first studies focused on Kant, Hegel, Marx, Engels, and Gramsci.

Formerly professor of philosophy at the University of Urbino, a walled town in the north of Italy. He was also a member of the CPI and, after it dissolved in 1991, of the new Communist Party.

In retirement, he lived in the countryside and wrote his most important works.

In 2016, I invited him to a conference in Beijing and then Shanghai. We talked at length about many things, personal and Marxist.

You can find my obituary at <https://stalinsmoustache.org/2018/07/01/the-passing-of-domenico-losurdo/>



# 小传

1941年11月14日至2018年6月28日

1941年生于桑尼卡德罗·迪巴里 (Sannicandro di Bari)，在乌尔比诺 (Urbino) 的帕斯夸尔·萨尔沃奇 (Pasquale Salvucci) 大学学习，长期在该校教授哲学史他最初的研究集中在康德、黑格尔、马克思，恩格斯和葛兰西。

曾任意大利北部城市乌尔比诺大学哲学教授他也是CPI的一员，1991年CPI解散后，他加入了新的共产党。

退休后，他住在农村，写下了他最重要的作品。

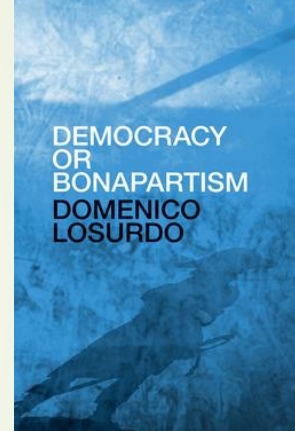
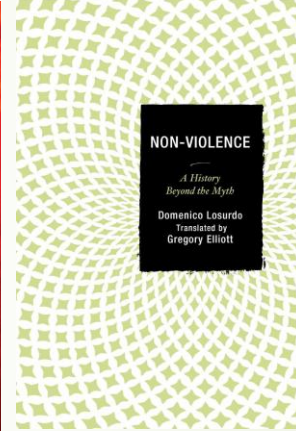
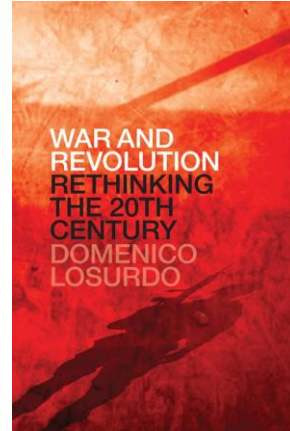
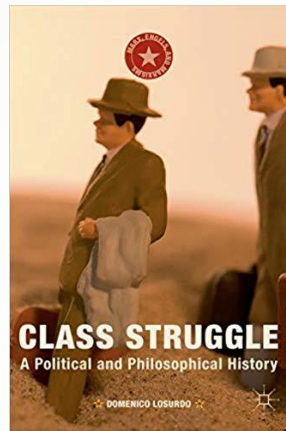
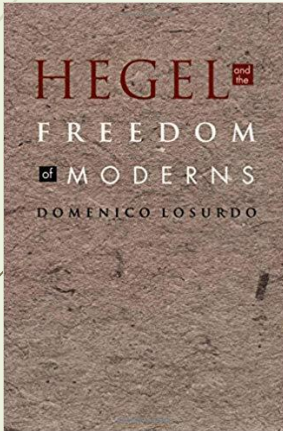
2016年，我邀请他去北京和上海参加一个会议我们详细地谈了许多个人和马克思主义的问题。

你们可以在  
<https://stalinsmoustach.org/2018/07/01/the-passing-of-domenico-losurdo>上找到我的讣告



# Works (in English Translations)

## 著述英译



# Works (in Chinese translation, on China, and his final work) 著述 (中译, 论中国, 及其最近本书)

Other reading:

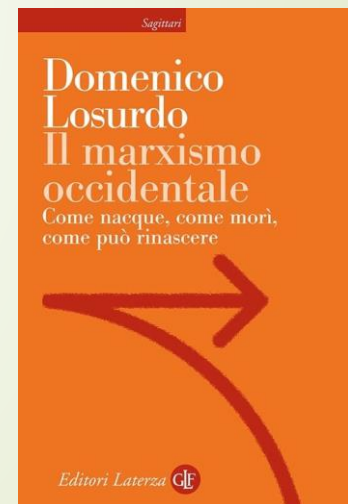
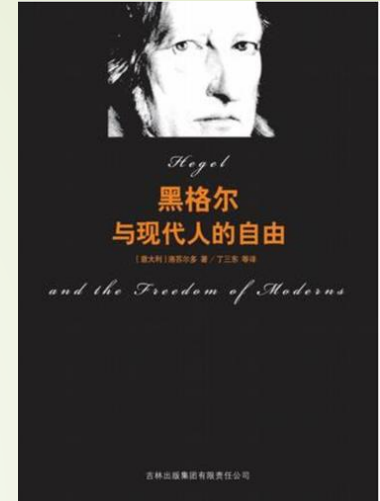
张双利、倪逸隽：今天为什么要重读黑格尔的法哲学——意大利哲学家多米尼克·洛苏尔多访谈录  
([http://www.sohu.com/a/148743883\\_367144](http://www.sohu.com/a/148743883_367144)) - Zhang Shuangli, Ni Yiwei: Why should we reread Hegel's legal philosophy today? Interview with Italian philosopher Domenico Losurdo

排斥他者的自由与虚假的普遍价值——访意大利学者多米尼克·洛苏尔多  
(<http://www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJFDTotat-MKZY201701030.htm>)

Also recommend 还建议:

'History of the Communist Movement: Failure, Betrayal, or Learning Process?' *Nature, Society, and Thought* 16.1 (2003).

'Flight from History? The Communist Movement between Self-Criticism and Self-Contempt'. *Nature, Society, and Thought* 13.4 (2000).





# Two approaches

## 两种方法

Marxist history of philosophy 洛苏尔多的方法是马克思主义哲学的历史

### a. Polemics 论战

*War and Revolution: Rethinking the Twentieth Century*. Published in Italian in 1996 and 1998, English translation in 2015.

*Non-Violence: A History Beyond the Myth*. Italian 2014. English translation 2015.

*Class Struggle: A Political and Philosophical History*. Italian 2013. English 2016.

*Liberalism: A Counter-History*. 自由主义：批判史 Italian 2006. English 2011. Chinese 2014


### a. Constructive 建设的

*Hegel and the Freedom of the Moderns*. 黑格尔与现代人的自由. Book from various essays first in English 2004. Italian 2012. Chinese 2008.



# Core themes

1. A critique of terrible effects of liberalism, in terms of its major theorists and actual history;
2. The development of a dialectical theory of conflict, via class conflict, that sees revolutions (communist and national liberation) as a struggle for recognition;
3. A reclaiming of the Western philosophical tradition so to as to renew the dialectical and historical materialistic method. The potential of this tradition, through Marx and Engels, remains unrealised in Europe, but is beginning to be realised in other parts of the world;
4. A most important focus on the century or more of the actual construction of socialism, especially in the Soviet Union and China.



# 核心主题

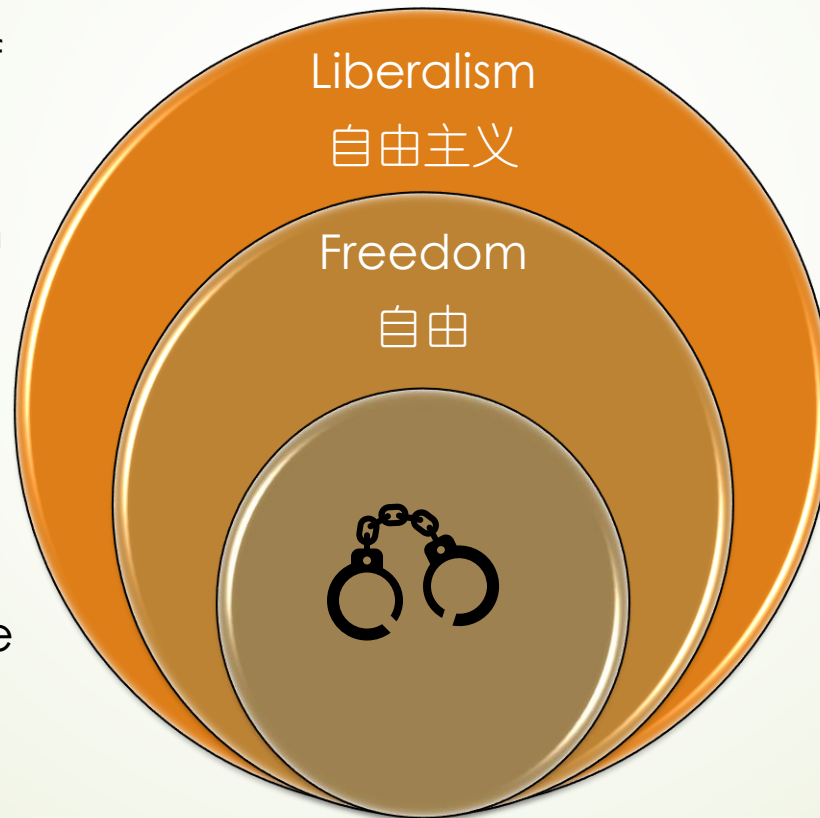
1. 从主要理论家和现实历史的角度对自由主义的破坏性影响进行批判；
2. 通过阶级冲突发展辩证的冲突理论，把革命（共产主义和民族解放）看作是争取人格的斗争；
3. 对西方哲学传统的复辟，以更新辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义的方法这一传统的潜力，通过马克思和恩格斯，仍然没有在欧洲实现，但开始在世界其他地区实现；
4. 特别是在苏联和中国的社会主义建设中，对一个世纪或更长时期的实际情况的最重要的关注。



# Critique of Liberalism

## 自由主义的批判

- Dominant ideology of capitalism.
- Dimensions of class consciousness, racism and colonialism.
- Arose in context of slavery -> primary contradiction is slavery-freedom.
- Definition: 'a community of the free and its dominion over peoples unworthy of liberty'



- 资本主义的主导意识形态
- 阶级觉悟、种族主义和殖民主义的因素
- 产生于奴隶制的背景下，所以主要的矛盾是自由和奴
- 定义：“自由的共同体及其对不值得自由的人民的统治”



# Theory of Conflict

## 冲突的理论

Class conflicts the core: 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class *struggles*'.'至今所有一切社会的历史都是阶级斗争的历史'.

Marx and Engels also include struggles for national liberation from colonialism (Ireland, Poland, India, China).马克思和恩格斯还包括争取从殖民主义中解放出来的民族斗争（爱尔兰、波兰、印度、中国）。

Complicated changes of class alliances in any struggle ('Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte').任何斗争中阶级联盟的复杂变化（路易·波拿巴的雾月十八日）

Key to communist revolutions and national liberation struggles is the struggle for recognition.共产主义革命和民族解放斗争的关键是争取承认（人格）。



# History of Western Philosophy

## 西方哲学的历史

**Kant:** French Revolution a decisive phase in the 'progress of the human species'. Above all, Kant defends the new type of State, which actively intervenes in the relationships among individuals and classes with the purpose of overcoming the feudal order and its social imbalances. Kant recognized the revolution as the affirmation of 'universal principles' that were based on reason – at international and national levels.

**康德：**法国大革命是“人类进步”的决定性阶段最重要的是，康德为新型国家辩护，它积极干预个人和阶级之间的关系，目的是克服封建秩序及其社会不平衡康德认为这场革命是对“普遍原则”的肯定，这些原则是建立在国际和国家层面的理性基础上的。



# History of Western Philosophy

## 西方哲学的历史

**Hegel:** Dialectical key to history: the historical-social process as a 'qualitative jump' that moves by way of 'objective contradictions'.

In Hegel, Losurdo begins to find an answer to liberalism and conservatism. One element is the role of reason in transforming reality, so that history may move to a different future. For Hegel, this is above all in the 'reason-made-reality' of the State, which is crucial for what he calls *società civile*. In contrast to bourgeois 'civil society', the State's role ensures universality, common welfare, general interest, and impartial law. It is a precursor to socialism and Marxism.

**黑格尔：**历史的辩证钥匙：历史的社会过程是一个以“客观矛盾”方式运动的“质的飞跃”。

在黑格尔，洛苏尔多开始寻找自由主义和保守主义的答案一个因素是理性在改变现实中的作用，这样历史就可能走向另一个未来对黑格尔来说，这首先体现在国家的“理性创造现实”，这对于他所说的文明社会 (*società civile*) 至关重要与资产阶级的“市民社会”不同，国家的作用确保普遍性、共同福利、共同利益和公正的法律它是社会主义和马克思主义的先驱。



# Renewal of Dialectical and Historical Materialism

## 辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义的复兴

**Marx and Engels:** development of the dialectical method – with philosophical, historical and political analysis – in the context of the working class movement. It identifies the objective contradictions which, if tackled by organised subjective action, can lead towards revolutionary action and a rationally organised society. Marxism is not moral or utopian (a constant danger in European socialism) but entails the movement from utopia to science.

**马克思恩格斯：**在工人阶级运动背景下辩证方法的发展——哲学、历史和政治分析它确定了客观矛盾，如果通过有组织的主观行动加以解决，就能导致革命行动和一个理性组织的社会马克思主义不是道德的或乌托邦的（在欧洲社会主义中是一个恒久的危险），而是需要从乌托邦到科学的运动。



# Renewal of Dialectical and Historical Materialism

## 辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义的复兴

**Lenin:** Decisive inclusion of global struggles for national liberation from external oppression and colonialism. While Losurdo finds this focus also in Marx and Engels, it was Lenin and especially Stalin who brought this aspect to the fore.

**Gramsci:** As an Italian Marxist, Losurdo finds immense resources in Antonio Gramsci.

- Communist revolution has many factors: class struggle, national liberation, (civil) war, and historical and cultural traditions.
- Construction of socialism and communism: long transition, development of a fair and efficient socialist market economy; new type of state for a 'regulated society' that enhances social bonds.
- Appreciation of the actual history of efforts to construct socialism.

# Renewal of Dialectical and Historical Materialism

## 辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义的复兴

**列宁：**果断地把争取民族解放的全球斗争从外部压迫和殖民主义中包括进来虽然洛苏尔多在马克思恩格斯上也发现了这一点，但正是列宁，特别是斯大林把这一点提到了突出的位置。

**葛兰西（Gramsci）：**作为意大利马克思主义者，洛苏尔多在安东尼奥·葛兰西上找到了巨大的资源。


- 共产主义革命有许多方面：阶级斗争、民族解放、内战和历史文化传统。
- 社会主义和共产主义建设：长期过渡，发展公平有效的社会主义市场经济；加强社会纽带的“调节型社会”的新型国家。
- 欣赏社会主义建设的实际历史。

# History of the Construction of Socialism 社会主义建设的历史

For me, this is one of the most interesting parts of Losurdo's work.







# What does this mean?

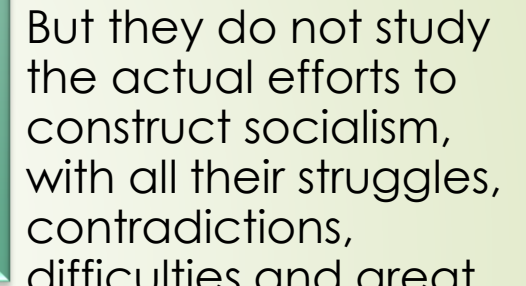
## 什么意思？



(Western) Marxists study Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Zedong as they prepared for a communist revolution.



They are also interested in what happened during a communist revolution, but often focus on a 'betrayal narrative' (背叛故事)



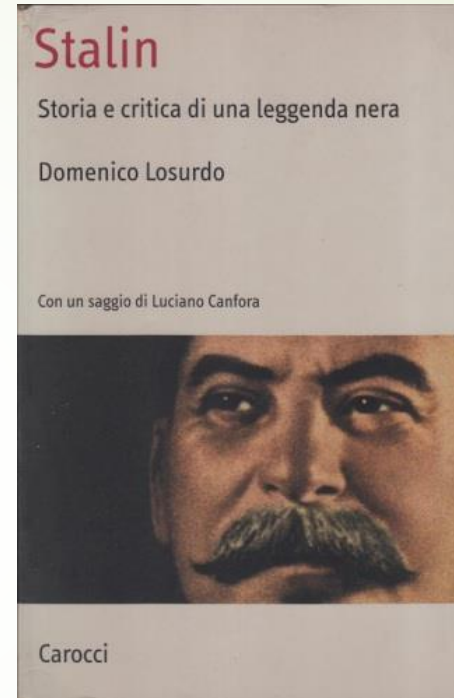
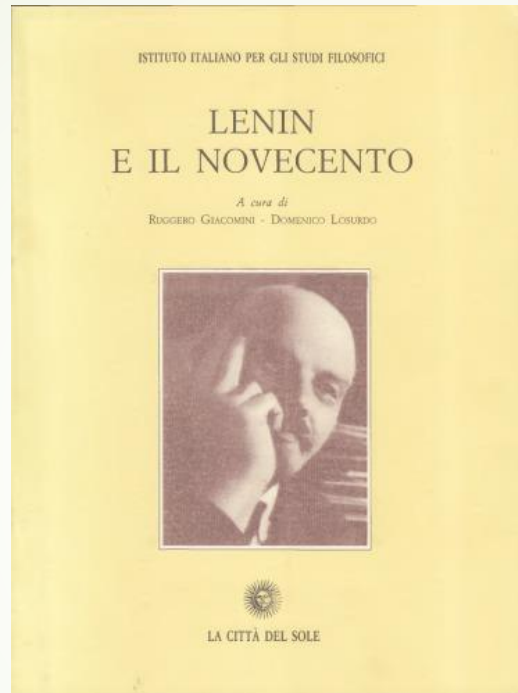
But they do not study the actual efforts to construct socialism, with all their struggles, contradictions, difficulties and great successes.

# What does this mean? 什么意思？

(西方) (西方) 马克思主义者研究马克思、恩格斯、列宁和毛泽东，为共产主义革命做准备

他们也对共产主义革命期间发生的事情感兴趣，但往往关注“背叛的故事”

但是他们没有研究建设社会主义的实际努力，没有研究一切斗争、矛盾、困难和伟大成功



'Flight from History? The Communist Movement between Self-Criticism and Self-Contempt'. *Nature, Society, and Thought* 13.4 (2000).  
'History of the Communist Movement: Failure, Betrayal, or Learning Process?' *Nature, Society, and Thought* 16.1 (2003).

# Our study 我们要读书

*Liberalism: A Counter-History*

自由主义：批判史

Italian 意大利语 2006.

English 英语 2011.

Chinese 中文 2014.

*Hegel and the Freedom of the Moderns*

黑格尔与现代人的自由

English 英语 2004.

Chinese 中文 2008.

Italian 意大利语 2012.

