

Western Marxist Philosophy 西方马克思主义哲学

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Introduction 导语

This course will provide an overview of the main themes and scholars of what is known as “Western Marxism.” It is widely agreed that “Western Marxism” began with Georg Lukács’s *History and Class Consciousness*, which was first published in 1923 (although the term “Western Marxism” was not used until the 1950s at the earliest). As to when it came to end, it may be argued that 1989 marks the moment, as we see, for example, in the work of Domenico Losurdo. Thus, we will study a number of important Western Marxist thinkers, from Lukács to Losurdo.

本课程将概述被称为“西方马克思主义”的主要学者和思想。人们普遍认为，“西方马克思主义”始于1923年首次出版的格奥尔格 Lukács 的《历史与阶级意识》(尽管“西方马克思主义”一词最早直到20世纪50年代才被使用)。至于“西方马克思主义”何时结束，可以认为1989年标志着—个时刻，例如我们在 Domenico Losurdo 的工作中所看到的。因此，我们将研究一些重要的西方马克思主义思想家，从 Lukács 到 Losurdo。

Clearly, “Western Marxism” is not simply Marxism that is found in the West. Western Marxism is particular type of Marxism, with specific ideological assumptions. This course will present these ideological assumptions through the study of key Western Marxist thinkers. The ideological assumptions are as follows:

显然，“西方马克思主义”不是简单的在西方找到的马克思主义。西方马克思主义是一种特殊的马克思主义，具有特定的意识形态假设。本课程将通过对西方主要马克思主义思想家的研究来呈现这些意识形态假设。意识形态假设如下：

The four reductions: 1) to social processes (and not nature); 2) to Marx (and not Engels); 3) to intellectual pursuits by “freelance intellectuals” (not Communist Party members); 4) to historical materialism (and not dialectical materialism).

四个减少：（1）到社会过程（没有自然）；（2）到马克思（没有恩格斯）；（3）自由知识分子（不是共产党员）；（4）到历史唯物主义（没有辩证唯物主义）。

The four determinations: 1) a situation of seeking power before a communist revolution (and so siding with Trotsky); 2) the “freelance intellectual”; 3) Western liberalism; 4) and Western imperialism.

四个决定因素：（1）共产革命之前（崇拜托洛茨基）；（2）‘自由知识分子’；（3）西方自由主义；（4）西方帝国主义。

The three negotiations: 1) Utopianism; 2) Western religion; 3) and Western “Maoism.”

三个越过：（乌托邦思想）；（2）西方宗教；（3）西方“毛主义”。

The three suspicions: 1) the role of the state; 2) the value of science and technology; 3) and the forces of production.

三个怀疑：（1）国家和民族主义；（2）科学技术；（3）生产力。

These features of Western Marxism may be called the “two fours and the two threes,” and they provide the following definition: Western Marxism is a truncated type of Marxism that has cut itself off from the

Marxist-Leninist tradition. It did so by focusing on the works of Marx alone, calling this “historical materialism” and rejecting Engels and thus the importance of the subsequent developments of Marxism. It has been primarily promoted by “freelance intellectuals” with little connection to Communist Parties, and it is always hoping for the ideal revolution (or even better, a peaceful transition) that will very quickly produce a utopian socialist society organised only by the people and without a state. It also dismisses the actual experience in developing countries of successful proletarian revolutions and the construction of socialism.

“两个四和两个三论”给出了如下定义：西方马克思主义是一种截断的马克思主义，它与马克思列宁主义传统相分离。它只关注马克思的著作，称之为“历史唯物主义”，排斥恩格斯(因此也排斥马克思主义随后发展的重要性)。它主要是由与共产党没有多少联系的“自由知识分子”推动的，它总是希望出现理想的革命(或者更好的是和平过渡)，很快就会产生一个乌托邦式的社会主义社会，只由人民组织，没有国家。它也否定了发展中国家无产阶级革命和社会主义建设的实际经验。

Most of the course will focus on key thinkers who exhibit these ideological features of Western Marxism. However, in the final part of the course we will study some thinkers who mark the end of Western Marxism.

本课程的大部分内容将侧重于展示西方马克思主义这些意识形态特征的关键思想家。然而，在本课程的最后部分，我们将研究一些标志着西方马克思主义终结的思想家。

Structure

This course has 32 academic hours (45 minutes each). Each academic hour will focus on a particular topic and a Western Marxist who represents the topic. I will present the main material in 30-35 minutes. The final part of the lecture will be devoted to Q&A. There will be a 5-6 minute break between each academic hour. Each lecture be based on an important text by a Western Marxist thinker, which will be provided – where possible – in both English and Chinese versions. I expect that everyone will read the text before class.

45 minutes	30-35 minutes: lecture
	10-15 minutes: Q&A
5-6 minutes	Break

Assessment

There will be a 1.5 hour (1 hour and 30 minutes) examination in the final two sessions of the course.

Lecture Outline

The following lecture outline indicates each topic according the academic hours of the course (32).

PART A: Introduction

Lecture 1

Introduction to course, details concerning the assessment (examination); questions and answers

PART B: The Four Reductions

The section deals with the four reductions of Western Marxism: to Marx; to social processes; to intellectual pursuits; and to historical materialism.

Lecture 2

The first reduction: to Marx (and the criticism of Engels). David McLellan (England).

We begin with a statement by David McLellan from 1977, who sums up in many ways a core feature of Western Marxism: the criticism and dismissal of Engels and the reduction to Marx. While trying to identify Engels's contribution where they aligned with those of Marx, McLellan dismisses the rest of Engels's work. This dismissal had the profound effect of discarding the whole Marxist tradition that was to come, since it was precisely Engels who enabled this tradition.

David McLellan, *Friedrich Engels*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1977, pp. 92-107.

麦克莱论。《恩格斯传》臧峰宇译，北京：人民出版社，2017，102-109页

See also: John Torrance, *Karl Marx's Theory of Ideas*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Lecture 3

The second reduction: to social processes (and not nature). Georg Lukács (Hungary).

This lecture will focus on a key essay by the Hungarian Marxist, Georg Lukács, entitled "What Is Orthodox Marxism?" The origins of Western Marxism are often traced to a key footnote in this essay, in which Lukács criticises Engels due to the latter's development of a dialectics of nature. This initial criticism would result in Western Marxism's focus on Marx alone and the dismissal of Engels's contribution. Further, Lukács emphasises that – in his view – Marxism is concerned only with social processes and history, and not nature and its dialectics.

Georg Lukács. "What is Orthodox Marxism." In *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. Cambridge, MIT, 1968. pp. 1-26.

卢卡奇。什么是正统马克思主义？《历史与经济意识》杜章智任立燕宏远译。北京：商务印书馆，47-75页。

Lecture 4

The third reduction: to the West and to intellectual pursuits. Louis Althusser (France).

The French Marxist, Louis Althusser, was hugely influential in the 1970s and 1980s. His main influence was to reduce Western Marxism to intellectual rather than political pursuits. Further, he reduced Marxism to a very Eurocentric focus on scientific discoveries.

Louis Althusser. "Marx's Relation to Hegel." In *Politics and History: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel*. Translated by Ben Brewster. London: New Left Books, 1972 (French 1968), pp. 161-86.

阿尔都塞。马克思与黑格尔的关系（上网）

Lecture 5

The fourth reduction: to "historical materialism" (and rejection of dialectical materialism). Tom Bottomore (England).

Tom Bottomore was a relatively quiet and unknown Western Marxist with a Trotskyite persuasion, although his main influence was through *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (1991). In this dictionary, he wrote two articles (among others), entitled "Dialectical Materialism" and "Dialectics of Nature." In these articles, we find one of the clearest rejections of a dialectical materialism in Western Marxism. In many ways, these articles indicate a clear direction of Western Marxism's truncation, focusing purely on historical materialism and the works of Marx, and not those of Engels.

Tom Bottomore, "Dialectical Materialism" and "Dialectics of Nature" in *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*. Edited by Tom Bottomore, et. al. Blackwell Publishers, 1991.

博托莫尔。“辩证唯物主义”和“自然辩证法”《马克思主义思想辞典》陈叔平 王谨 曾宪生 顾海良 史南飞 辛仲勤 译. 河南人民出版社, 1994 年.

Lecture 6

Review of the “four reductions”: to Marx (and not Engels); to social processes (and not nature); to Western intellectual pursuits; and to historical materialism (and not dialectical materialism).

PART C: The Four Determinations

The section deals with the four determinations of Western Marxism: seeking power before a revolution; the “free intellectual”; Western liberalism; Western imperialist colonialism.

Lecture 7

The first determination: “seeking power” before a proletarian revolution (and the option for Trotsky). Perry Anderson (England).

Perry Anderson was a very influential English Trotskyite, who came to control key publishing outlets, such as the journal *New Left Review* and the press, *New Left Books* (later *Verso*). Anderson’s booklet from 1976, *Considerations on Western Marxism*, identified some key features of Western Marxism, but also had some blind spots. In this lecture, we will discuss his observation that Western Marxism was characterised by an experience of defeat and retreat. As the prospects for a proletarian revolution in Western countries faded from view, they retreated to an ideological position that interpreted Marx (and some others) only from the perspective of “before October,” before a proletarian revolution. Thus, they simply could not understand what the construction of socialism “after October,” after the seizure of power through a revolution, would entail.

Perry Anderson. *Considerations on Western Marxism*. London: New Left Books, 1976, chapters 2 and 3.
安德森。《西方马克思主义探讨》人民出版社。高钰 文贯中 魏章玲 译。1981 年, 2-3 章

Lecture 8

The second determination: a Marxist as a “free intellectual.” Perry Anderson (England).

In this lecture, we remain with Anderson’s booklet from 1976, now focusing on his argument that Western Marxists lost contact with Communist Parties and proletarian struggles and became overwhelmingly “free intellectuals.” This process had profound implications for how they misrepresented Communist Parties and the nature of their engagements with Marx.

Perry Anderson. *Considerations on Western Marxism*. London: New Left Books, 1976, pages 42-48.
安德森。《西方马克思主义探讨》人民出版社。高钰 文贯中 魏章玲 译。1981 年, 13-17 页

Lecture 9

The third determination: Western liberalism. Immanuel Wallerstein (USA).

Western liberalism has been the dominant educational and cultural framework for the small number of countries that make up “the West.” In this lecture, we make use of the US Marxist, Immanuel Wallerstein, to understand how Western liberalism determined the way Marxists developed their positions. Wallerstein argues that with the dominance of Western liberalism, Marxists and socialists presented their proposals in terms of “speeding up” reform within a liberal framework. In this light, they may be called “liberal Marxists.” By contrast, conservatives try to “slow down” reform.

Immanuel Wallerstein. *The Modern World System, Volume IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789-1914*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011, chapter 1 (pp. 1-19).

沃勒斯坦。《现代世界体系：中庸的自由主义的胜利：1789 ~ 1914》吴英译。北京：社会科学文献出版社
出版年：2013年，2章。

Lecture 10

The fourth determination: Western imperialist colonialism (part 1). Terry Eagleton (England).

The British Marxist, Terry Eagleton, reveals a feature that was common among Western Marxists. They argued that a proletarian revolution could take place only in “advanced” capitalist countries. It followed that – so they believed – any proletarian revolution in a colonised and developing country was not a “real revolution.” The problem, of course, is that all successful proletarian revolutions, at least thus far, have happened in colonised and developing countries. So Eagleton – like many other Western Marxists – failed to understand why this had happened. Why? They view the world through the lens of Western imperialism.

Terry Eagleton. *Why Marx Was Right*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011. Chapter 2, pp. 12-29.

伊格尔顿《马克思为什么是对的》著李杨 任文科 郑义译。北京：新星出版社 2011年，2章，16-32页。

Lecture 11

The fourth determination: Western imperialist colonialism (part 2). Louis Althusser (France).

In this lecture, we return to Louis Althusser, since many Western Marxists share common features. On this occasion, we focus on his metaphor of the “continents” of theory. Althusser’s metaphor of the “continent” is very imperialist. He speaks of “discovering” a new continent, of “conquering” it with a new theory. By using this metaphor, Althusser turns “Marxism” into a theory of imperialism – in complete contrast to Marx and Engels.

Louis Althusser. “Marx’s Relation to Hegel.” In *Politics and History: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Hegel*. Translated by Ben Brewster. London: New Left Books, 1972 (French 1968), pp. 161-86.

阿尔都塞。马克思与黑格尔的关系（上网）

Lecture 12

Review of the four determinations: 1) a situation of seeking power before a communist revolution (Perry Anderson); 2) the “freelance intellectual” (most Western Marxists); 3) Western liberalism (Immanuel Wallerstein); 4) and Western imperialism (Terry Eagleton and Louis Althusser).

PART D: The Three Negotiations

This section deals with the three negotiations of Western Marxism: 1) Utopianism; 2) Western religion; 3) Western “Maoism.”

Lecture 13

The first negotiation: Utopianism 乌托邦主义 (part 1). Ernst Bloch (Germany).

Utopianism is a feature of Western culture, where it means a world that is qualitatively superior to the world we know, but is unknowable and unattainable. Western Marxism has had to negotiate its way through this type of Utopianism. In this lecture, we will consider Ernst Bloch, who was one of the important scholars who tried to argue that the desire for utopia was a desire for a better, communist world. He found this utopian desire in literature, culture, and philosophy, and tried to develop a method that would highlight the human desire for utopia. The risk here is that it falls into utopian socialism (空想社会主义).

Ernst Bloch. *The Principle of Hope*. Cambridge (USA): MIT Press, 1986.

布洛赫《希望的原理》梦海译。上海：上海译文出版社 2012 年（上网）

Lecture 14

The first negotiation: Utopianism 乌托邦主义 (part 2). Fredric Jameson (USA).

A second important proponent of utopianism in Western Marxism is the US Marxist, Fredric Jameson, who has argued that “utopia” is another term for “socialism.” He has tried to argue that the literary genre of science fiction is an expression of this desire for utopia, although his proposals for achieving such a state are more reformist than revolutionary.

Fredric Jameson. *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Stories*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

詹姆逊“马克思主义与乌托邦思想”，在《詹姆逊文集》第 1 卷，2004 年 98-105 页。

Lecture 15

The second negotiation: Western religion (part 1). Michael Löwy (France)

Western Marxism has needed to come to terms with the deep influence of religion in Western culture and philosophy. Many Western Marxists have engaged with religion at some point. In this lecture, we will consider a contribution by the French Marxist, Michael Löwy, who has written about liberation theology.

Michael Löwy. *Marxism and Liberation Theology*. Amsterdam: International Institute for Research and Education. 1988.

米歇尔·罗伊。《马克思主义与解放神学》张金鉴译，1988。

Lecture 16

The second negotiation: Western religion (part 2). Terry Eagleton (England).

In the first decade of the 2000s, the British Marxist, Terry Eagleton, wrote a number of works concerning Christianity. In doing so, he was recovering a concern of his youth in the 1960s. His main purpose in these new works, he claimed, was to recover a core feature of a Western society in decline and disarray.

Terry Eagleton, *The Meaning of Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 18-32.

伊格尔顿《人生的意义》朱新伟译，南京：译林出版社，2012.11，26-39 页。

Lecture 17

The third negotiation: Western “Maoism” (part 1). Richard Wolin (USA). (西方“毛主义” – 不是毛泽东思想)

In this lecture, we study the work of Richard Wolin on the development of Western “Maoism” in France in the 1960s and 1970s. Wolin shows how the “Left” in France had little knowledge of what was actually happening in China, apart from a few texts. So they constructed a type of fantasy or alternative world, which was actually their response to problems in France. This is what was called “Maoism,” a term not used in China but still used in some Western countries.

Richard Wolin. *The Wind from the East: French Intellectuals, the Cultural Revolution, and the Legacy of the 1960s*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010, pp. 1-21.

沃林。《东风：法国知识分子与 20 世纪 60 年代的遗产》中央编译出版社，2017 年，11-37 页。

Lecture 18: (2022.07.13, 14:45-15:30)

The third negotiation: Western “Maoism” (part 2). Alain Badiou (France).

The French philosopher, Alain Badiou, has never visited China. In his youth, he was part of the Western “Maoist” movement in France (1970s and 1980s), and it continues to influence his thought in many ways. Since 1989, he developed an idiosyncratic position, in which an “event” has a necessary condition but is not determined by this context – and indeed does not need a Communist Party. Thus, his theory becomes yet another version of a Eurocentric imperialism of thought. We may also detect in Badiou’s efforts to address the decline of the West by seeking out what he saw as its philosophical roots.

A.J. Bartlett and Justin Clemens, *Badiou: Key Concepts*. Durham: Acumen, 2010, pp. 13-21.

巴特雷 克莱门斯 蓝江 译《巴迪欧——关键概念》重庆：重庆大学出版社，2016年11月，17-29页

Lecture 19

Review of the three negotiations: Utopianism (Ernst Bloch and Fredric Jameson); Western religion (Michael Löwy and Terry Eagleton); Western “Maoism” (Richard Wolin and Alain Badiou).

PART E: The Three Suspicions

The part of the course deals with the three suspicions of Western Marxism: 1) of the state; 2) of science and technology; 3) of productive forces

Lecture 20

The first suspicion: suspicion of the state and nationalism (part 1). Benedict Anderson (England).

A notable feature of Western Marxism is an anarchist-inspired suspicion of the state and of nationalism of all types. In this lecture, we consider an influential work by Benedict Anderson – a brother of Perry Anderson – who worked for many years in Southeast Asia. Anderson sets out to deal with a significant shortcoming in Western Marxism: nationalism and the role of the state. A major influence on this suspicion of nationalism and the state was the experience of fascism in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s, and it has come to the surface again more recently with the return of fascism in many parts of Europe.

Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983, 2006, pp. 1-7.

安德森《想象的共同体：民族主义的起源与散布》（新版）台北：时报文化出版企业股份有限公司，2010年，37-46页

Lecture 21

The first suspicion: suspicion of the state and nationalism (part 2). Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt (Italy and USA).

For a few years in the early 2000s, the book *Empire* by Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt gained much attention in Western countries. It tried to argue that a new form of empire had arisen in the world, a global empire that was without a specific state as its head. Although the argument now has little appeal, the book has a deeply ingrained and anarchist-inspired suspicion of the state in all its forms. This work is among one of the clearest statements of a common theme of Western Marxism: suspicion of the state and thus a lack of understanding of and support for anti-colonial struggles for national liberation.

Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt. *Empire*. Cambridge (USA): Harvard University Press. 2000, pp. 132-34, 380-385.

奈格里和哈特《帝国：全球化的政治秩序》杨建国 范一亭 /译。江苏人民出版社，2003年,133-35,

Lecture 22

The second suspicion: suspicion of science and technology. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (Germany)

In the 1940s, two German Marxists – Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer – were in exile in the USA. During this time, they engaged in an open dialogue concerning key issues of Western society in light of fascism and the Second World War. Published as *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, one of their arguments concerned the role of science and technology, which they saw as enabling not only the war but also an attack on workers' conditions. This lecture will consider this suspicion, its insights and especially its limitations with regard to developing countries' needs for science and technology to overcome poverty.

Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno. *Dialectical of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002. (German 1947), pp. xiv-xix.

霍克海默和阿多诺（阿道尔诺）《启蒙辩证法（哲学片断）》渠敬东 曹卫东、译。上海：上海人民出版社，2006，“前言 1947、1948”，1-4 页。

Lecture 23

The third suspicion: suspicion of the forces of production. Ernest Mandel (Belgium)

In this lecture, we focus on an article by the Belgian Trotskyite, Ernest Mandel. In this article, he makes a typical move among Western Marxists: socialism is defined exclusively in terms of ownership of the means of production and a planned economy. This is a one-sided definition that distorts Marxism, since it ignores the other part of the dialectic, namely, liberating the forces of production.

Ernest Mandel, "The Actuality of Socialism." From *International Viewpoint*, 1985.

曼德尔。“社会主义的现实性”（1985）（上网）

Lecture 24

Review of the “three suspicions”: state and nationalism (Benedict Anderson and Hardt and Negri); science and technology (Horkheimer and Adorno); forces of production (Ernest Mandel).

PART F: The End of Western Marxism

The final part of the course concerns a number of thinkers who show that Western Marxism's hegemony – like that of the West – has broken down and is at an end.

Lecture 25

Reclaiming Engels: John Bellamy Foster (USA).

The strange path of Western Marxism began with a rejection of Engels and has ended with a reclaiming of Engels. This history should not have happened, and indeed has not happened in other parts of the world. But it did in the West. The end of Western Marxism began with a recovery of Engels, especially his contributions to the dialectics of nature. In this lecture, we will study a short article by the US Marxist, John Bellamy Foster, who points out that biologists in the West have found Engels's insights very helpful. Foster argues that it is time in the West to “return” to Engels for the sake of ecological politics.

John Bellamy Foster. “The Return of Engels.” *Monthly Review*. 2017.

Lecture 26

Western Marxism fails to understand the Middle East: Ali Kadri (Lebanon).

The Lebanese communist, Ali Kadri, has argued in a series of works that Western Marxism has comprehensively failed to understand the situation of developing countries that have been subject to Western imperialism. In this lecture, we will focus on a work that deals with Syria, where the USA has

waged and lost a war – due to Russian intervention. In all counts, Kadri finds that Western Marxism again and again fails in its efforts to understand what is going on.

Ali Kadri, *Imperialism with Reference to Syria*. Singapore: Springer, 2019, pp. 59-69, 92-103.

Lecture 27

Rethinking the whole Marxist tradition: Domenico Losurdo (Italy).

The Italian communist, Domenico Losurdo (whom I met for a long week of discussion in 2016 before he died a year later), is one of the most influential Marxist thinkers in the West who has focused on the comprehensive failures of Western Marxism. In this lecture, we will study a piece from 2008, which later became the core of his last book on Western Marxism. In his unrelenting polemic, Losurdo shows how Western Marxism limited itself to Western intellectual concerns, while completely ignoring and even dismissing any of the developments in Asia.

Domenico Losurdo, “How ‘Western Marxism’ Was Born and How it Died” (English translation by Roland Boer and Christina Petterson). In *Die Lust am Widerspruch. Theorie der Dialektik – Dialektik der Theorie. Symposium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstag von Hans Heinz Holz*. Eds. Erich Hahn and Silvia Holz-Markun, 35-60. Berlin: Trafo.

Lecture 28

The importance of the “Chinese way”: Stefano Azzarà (Italy).

In Italy, Stefano Azzarà, from the University of Urbino, has inherited Losurdo’s thought and developed it further. In this lecture, we will focus on an essay that will soon be published. It concerns how Losurdo was forced to rethink the whole Marxist tradition in light of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Stefano Azzarà. “The crucial role of Domenico Losurdo in the historical, political and philosophical understanding of the ‘Chinese Way’” (in press)

多米尼克·洛苏尔多对“中国道路”的历史、政治和哲学理解的重要作用

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PART F: Review and Assessment

Lectures 28-29: Review of the course, Q&A, and examination preparation.

Lectures 31-32: Examination.