

西方马克思主义哲学

Western Marxist Philosophy

薄国强教授 Professor Roland Boer

中国人民大学哲学院

Renmin University of China, School of Philosophy

## 导语 Introduction

This course provides an overview of international trends in Marxist research. Most of the course deals with Western Marxism, but there is also a final section on Marxism in Africa, Latin America, and other regions.

本课程概述了马克思主义研究国外动态。课程的大部分内容涉及西方马克思主义，但也有最后一部分是关于非洲、拉丁美洲和其他地区的马克思主义。

In regard to “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 and Lukács later denied that he had founded Western Marxism or was a “Western Marxist”). As to when it came to end, the process began in 1989 and is still unravelling. The works of Domenico Losurdo, among others, indicate that it has by and large come to an end. Thus, we will study a number of important Marxist thinkers, from Lukács to Losurdo.

关于“西方马克思主义，”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·卢卡奇的《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，这一过程始于1989年，并花了一些时间来解开。多米尼克·洛苏尔多等人的著作表明，到目前为止，它已经走到了尽头。因此，我们将研究一些重要的西方马克思主义思想家，从卢卡奇到洛苏尔多。

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 Marx (and not Engels); 2) to social processes (and not nature); 3) to Western science and philosophy (without the workers' movement); 4) to historical materialism (and not dialectical materialism).

四个减少：（1）马克思（没有恩格斯）；（2）社会过程（没有自然）；（3）西方科学和哲学（没有工人运动）；（4）历史唯物主义（没有辩证唯物主义）。

The four determinations: 1) the time before a communist revolution (and so siding with Trotsky); 2) the “freelance intellectual” (not Communist Party members); 3) Western liberalism; 4) and Western imperialism.

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

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

三次让步：（1）乌托邦思想；（2）西方宗教；（3）西方“毛主义”。

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

三个疑心：（1）国家和民族解放；（2）科学技术的价值；（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，我们将研究一些非洲，拉丁美洲和中东的学者，因为他们提供了与西方马克思主义不同的视角。

## Course Structure 课程结构

This course has 24 lessons. In each lecture we will study a particular topic and a Marxist who represents the topic. Course reading material will be provided – where possible – in both English and Chinese versions. I expect that everyone will read the text before class.

本课程共 24 节课。每节课我们将研究一个主题和代表这个主题的马克思主义者。在可能的情况下，将提供中英文版本的课程阅读材料。每个人都应该在课前阅读课文。

## Assessment 考试

TBA.

## Lecture Outline 课程大纲

### PART A: Introduction

#### 一， 课程导语

#### Lecture 1 第一节课

Synopsis of the course, assessment; questions and answers 课程大纲， 考试， 问答。

## PART B: The Four Reductions of Western Marxism

### 二，西方马克思主义的四个减少

The section deals with the four reductions of Western Marxism: to Marx (and not Engels); to social processes (and not the dialectics of nature); to Western science and philosophy (without the workers' movement); and to historical materialism (and not dialectical materialism).

四个减少：（1）马克思（没有恩格斯）；（2）社会过程（没有自然）；（3）西方科学和哲学（没有工人运动）；（4）历史唯物主义（没有辩证唯物主义）

#### Lecture 2 第二节课

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

第一个减少：马克思（没有恩格斯），英国人戴维·麦克莱伦。

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.

我们首先从戴维·麦克莱伦 1977 年的一个声明开始，他总结了西方马克思主义的一个核心特征：对恩格斯的批判和抛弃，以及对马克思的减少。麦克莱伦只有在恩格斯同意马克思的观点的情况下才会接受恩格斯的观点。除此之外，麦克莱伦对恩格斯的其他著作不屑一顾。这种对恩格斯的否定的深刻影响是：抛弃了整个未来的马克思主义传统，因为正是恩格斯使这一传统成为可能。

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

麦克莱伦。《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 第三节课

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

第二个减少：社会过程（没有自然辩证法），格奥尔格·卢卡奇（匈牙利）。

In this lesson 这些文章表明，西方马克思主义是一种截断型的马克思主义，只对历史唯物主义和马克思的著作感兴趣，对恩格斯和整个马克思主义传统不感兴趣。we will pay attention to a key essay by the Hungarian Marxist, Georgy Lukács, entitled "What Is Orthodox Marxism?" In an important and influential footnote, Lukács criticises Engels due to the latter's development of a dialectics of nature. Further, Lukács proposes that Marxism is concerned only with social processes and history, and not nature and its dialectics. However, we should note that although Lukács is considered the founder of Western Marxism, in later interviews he denied that he was a "Western Marxist."

本节课，我们将关注匈牙利马克思主义者格奥尔格·卢卡奇的一篇重要文章，题为“什么是正统马克思主义？”在一个重要而有影响的脚注中，卢卡奇批评了恩格斯对自然辩证法的研究。此外，卢卡奇认为马克思主义只涉及社会过程和历史，而不涉及自然及其辩证法。然而，我们应该注意到，尽管卢卡奇被认为是西方马克思主义的创始人，但在后来的采访中，他不承认自己是“西方马克思主义者”。

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 第四节课

The third reduction: to the West and to intellectual pursuits (without the workers' movement). Louis Althusser (France).

第三个减少：西方科学和哲学（没有工人运动），阿尔都塞（法国）。

The French Marxist, Louis Althusser, had a great influence on Western Marxism in the 1970s and 1980s. His main influence was to reduce Western Marxism to science and philosophy, without any connection with the workers' movement. In other words, he reduced Marxism to a very Eurocentric focus on scientific discoveries.

法国马克思主义者这些文章表明，西方马克思主义是一种截断型的马克思主义，只对历史唯物主义和马克思的著作感兴趣，对恩格斯和整个马克思主义传统不感兴趣。学者路易·阿尔都塞在 20 世纪 70 年代和 80 年代对西方马克思主义产生了重大影响。他的主要影响是将西方马克思主义减少为科学和哲学，与工人运动没有任何联系。换句话说，他将马克思主义减少为一种以欧洲为中心的科学发现。

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（线上）

#### Lecture 5 第五节课

The fourth reduction: to "historical materialism" (and not dialectical materialism). Tom Bottomore (England).

第四个减少：历史唯物主义（没有辩证唯物主义），汤姆·博托莫尔（英国）。

Tom Bottomore was a Western Marxist and a Trotskyite. Although he made a significant contribution to the new academic discipline of sociology in the 1960s and 1970s, 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. These articles indicate that Western Marxism is a truncated type of Marxism, concerned only with historical materialism and the works of Marx, and concerned not with Engels and the whole Marxist tradition.

英国人汤姆·博托莫尔是一个西方马克思主义者和托派分子。虽然他在 20 世纪 60 年代和 70 年代对社会学的新学科做出了重大贡献，但他的主要影响是通过 1991 年的《马克思主义思想辞典》。在这本辞典中，博托莫尔写了两篇文章，题为《辩证唯物主义》和《自然辩证法》。在这些文章中，我们发现了对西方马克思主义辩证唯物主义最明确的否定之一。这些文章表明，西方马克思主义是一种截断型的马克思主义，只对历史唯物主义和马克思的著作感兴趣，对恩格斯和整个马克思主义传统不感兴趣。

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。

### PART C: The Four Determinations of Western Marxism

#### 三，西方马克思主义的四个决定因素

The section deals with the four determinations of Western Marxism: the time before a communist revolution (and siding with Trotsky); the "free intellectual" (and not a Communist Party member); Western liberalism; Western imperialist colonialism.

四个决定因素：（1）共产主义革命之前（崇拜托洛茨基）；（2）“自由知识分子”（不是共产党人）；（3）西方自由主义；（4）西方帝国主义。

## Lecture 6 第六节课

The first determination: the time before a proletarian revolution (and the option for Trotsky). Perry Anderson (England).

第一个决定因素：共产主义革命之前（崇拜托洛茨基），佩里·安德森（英国）。

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 the booklet also had many faults. In this lesson, we will study 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, Western Marxists 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.

佩里·安德森是一位非常有影响力的英国托派分子，他控制了主要的出版机构，如杂志《新左派评论》和新左派书局（后来的 Verso）。安德森 1976 年的小册子《西方马克思主义探讨》确定了西方马克思主义的一些关键特征，但小册子也有许多缺点。在这节课中，我们将学习他关于西方马克思主义是失败和撤退的产物的观点。随着西方国家无产阶级革命的前景从人们的视野中消失，西方马克思主义者退到了一种意识形态的立场，即只从“十月之前”的角度来解释马克思（和其他一些人），即在无产阶级革命之前。因此，他们根本不理解“十月革命之后”，即无产阶级革命成功之后，建设社会主义的任务。

Perry Anderson. *Considerations on Western Marxism*. London: New Left Books, 1976, chapter 2.

安德森。《西方马克思主义探讨》人民出版社。高铨 文贯中 魏章玲 译。1981 年，第二章

## Lecture 7 第七节课

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

第二个决定因素：“自由知识分子”（不是共产党人），佩里·安德森（英国）。

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 “freelance intellectuals.” This process had profound implications for how they misrepresented Communist Parties and the nature of their engagements with Marx.

在这节课中，我们继续学习佩里·安德森 1976 年出版的关于西方马克思主义的小册子。在这一课中，我们关注他的论点，即西方马克思主义者与共产党和无产阶级斗争失去了联系，成为了压倒性的“自由知识分子”。这个过程对他们如何歪曲共产党以及他们与马克思交往的性质有着深远的影响。

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。高铨 文贯中 魏章玲 译。1981 年，13-17 页

## Lecture 8 第八节课

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

第三个决定因素：西方自由主义，伊曼纽尔·沃勒斯坦（美国）。

Western liberalism has been the educational and cultural hegemony for “the West” since the French bourgeois revolution of 1789. In this lesson, we study the US Marxist, Immanuel Wallerstein, to

understand how Western liberalism has influenced the thought of Western Marxists. In the context of Western liberalism, Wallerstein argues that Marxists and socialists have tried to “speed up” reform. In this light, they may be called “liberal Marxists.” By contrast, conservatives try to “slow down” reform.

自 1789 年法国资产阶级革命以来，西方自由主义一直是“西方”的教育和文化霸权。本课通过对美国马克思主义者伊曼纽尔·沃勒斯坦的研究，了解西方自由主义对西方马克思主义者思想的影响。在西方自由主义的背景下，沃勒斯坦认为马克思主义者和社会主义者试图“加速”改革。从这个意义上讲，他们可以被称为“自由马克思主义者”。相比之下，保守派试图“延缓”改革。

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 9 第九节课

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

第四个决定因素：西方帝国主义（上），特里·伊格尔顿（英国）。

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.

英国马克思主义者特里·伊格尔顿(Terry Eagleton)强调了西方马克思主义者的一个共同观点。他们认为无产阶级革命只能发生在“先进的”资本主义国家。因此，他们认为，在一个被殖民的发展中国家，任何无产阶级革命都不是“真正的革命”。西方马克思主义者的问题是，所有成功的无产阶级革命都发生在殖民和发展中国家。所以伊格尔顿——像许多其他西方马克思主义者一样——未能理解为什么会发生这种情况。为什么？他们透过西方帝国主义的“玫瑰色透镜”来看待世界。

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 10 第十节课

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

第四个决定因素：西方帝国主义（下），路易·阿尔都塞（法国）。

In this lesson, we return to Louis Althusser. Please see lecture 4 for an overview of Althusser’s life, works, and main ideas. On this occasion, we will discuss a metaphor used by Althusser: the metaphor of the “continent” 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.

本节课我们再次学习路易·阿尔都塞。请参阅第 4 讲，了解阿尔都塞的传记、著作和主要的理论。在此，我们将讨论阿尔都塞使用的一个比喻：“大陆”理论的比喻。阿尔都塞对“大陆”的比喻很有帝国主义色彩。他说要“发现”新大陆，用一种新的理论来“征服”这块大陆。通过使用这个比喻，阿尔都塞把“马克思主义”变成了一种帝国主义理论——这与马克思和恩格斯完全相反。

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）

## PART D: The Three Concessions of Western Marxism

### 四，三次让步

Western Marxism has also made concessions in three respects 西方马克思主义也在三个方面让步了：

- 1) Utopianism 乌托邦思想;
- 2) Western religion 西方宗教;
- 3) Western "Maoism" 西方“毛主义”

#### Lecture 11 第十一节课

The first concession: Utopianism (part 1). Ernst Bloch (Germany).

第一次让步：乌托邦主义（上），恩斯特·布洛赫（德国）

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.

乌托邦主义是西方文化的一个特征，它意味着一个在质量上优于我们所知的世界，但它是不可知的和不可企及的。西方马克思主义不得不通过这种乌托邦主义来谈判。在这节课中，我们将讨论恩斯特·布洛赫，他是一位重要的学者，他试图论证对乌托邦的希望就是对一个更美好的共产主义世界的希望。他在文学、文化和哲学中发现了这种乌托邦式的希望，并试图发展出一种方法来突出人类对乌托邦的希望。这里的风险在于，它可能陷入空想社会主义。

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 12 第十二节课

The first concession: Utopianism (part 2). Fredric Jameson (USA).

第一次让步：乌托邦主义（下），弗雷德里克·詹姆逊（美国）

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.

西方马克思主义中乌托邦思想的第二个重要支持者是美国马克思主义者弗雷德里克·詹姆逊，他认为“乌托邦”是“社会主义”的另一种说法。他认为科幻小说是对乌托邦的渴望的一种表达，尽管他关于实现社会主义的建议是改革性的，而不是革命性的。

Fredric Jameson. *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Stories*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007, pp. 1-9.

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 13 第十三节课

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

第二次让步：西方宗教（上），米歇尔·罗伊（法国）

In Western countries, religion has had a deep influence on culture and philosophy. As a result, many Western Marxists have felt the need to respond to religion, and some have made concessions to Western religions. In this lesson, we will consider a work on liberation theology by the French Marxist, Michael Löwy.

在西方国家，宗教对文化和哲学产生了深远的影响。因此，许多西方马克思主义者觉得有必要对宗教作出回应，一些西方马克思主义者对西方宗教做出了让步。在本课中，我们将讨论法国马克思主义者米歇尔·罗伊(Michael Löwy)关于解放神学的著作。

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 14 第十四节课

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

第二次让步：西方宗教（下），特里·伊格尔顿（英国）

In this lecture, we return to Terry Eagleton. Please see lecture 9 for an overview of Eagleton's life, works, and main ideas. In this lecture, we will discuss Eagleton's thoughts on Western religion, its influence on Western culture, and the history of this influence.

这节课的主题是特里·伊格尔顿。请参阅第9节课，了解伊格尔顿的传记、著作和主要的理论。在这节课中，我们将讨论伊格尔顿对西方宗教的观点，宗教对西方文化的影响，以及这种影响的历史。

Terry Eagleton, *Culture and the Death of God*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 174-208.

伊格尔顿《文化与上帝之死》河南大学出版社 2016 译者: 宋政超。第六章

#### Lecture 15 第十五节课

The third concession: Western "Maoism" (part 1). Richard Wolin (USA).

第三次让步：西方“毛主义”（上），理查德·沃林（美国）

In this lesson, 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 imaginary 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.

在本课中，我们研究理查德·沃林在20世纪60年代和70年代西方“毛主义”在法国的发展。沃林向我们展示了法国的“左派”是如何对中国的实际情况知之甚少的，除了一些文本。所以他们构建了一种幻想或想象的世界，这实际上是他们对法国问题的回应。这就是所谓的“毛主义”，这个词在中国不使用，但在一些西方国家仍在使用。

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 16 第十六节课

The third concession: Western "Maoism" (part 2). Alain Badiou (France).

第三次让步：西方“毛主义”（下），阿兰·巴迪欧（法国）



The French philosopher, Alain Badiou, has never visited China. In his youth, Badiou was involved in 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 philosophical system, in which an “event” has a necessary condition but is not determined by this context – and indeed does not need a Communist Party. Thus, Badiou’s theory becomes yet another version of a Eurocentric imperialism of thought. Badiou also tries to respond to the decline of the West by seeking out what he saw as its philosophical roots.

法国哲学家阿兰·巴迪欧从未访问过中国。巴迪欧年轻时曾参与法国的西方“毛派”运动(20世纪70年代至80年代),这一运动继续在许多方面影响着他的思想。自1989年以来,他发展了一种特殊的哲学体系,在这个体系中,一个“事件”有必要条件,但不受情况的决定——而且确实不需要一个共产党。因此,巴迪欧的理论成为欧洲帝国主义思想的另一个版本。巴迪欧还试图通过寻找他所认为的西方的哲学根源来回应西方的衰落。

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

## PART E: The Three Suspicions of Western Marxism

### 五, 三个疑心

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.

三个疑心: 1) 国家和民族解放; 2) 科学技术的价值; 3) 生产力。

#### Lecture 17 第十七节课

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

第一个疑心: 国家和民族解放(上), 本尼迪克特·安德森(英国)

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.

西方马克思主义的一个重要特征是无政府主义激发的对国家和民族主义的疑心。在这次讲座中,我们将讨论本尼迪克特·安德森的一本很有影响力的书,他在东南亚工作了很多年。安德森着手处理西方马克思主义的一个重大缺陷:如何理解民族主义和国家。对这种对民族主义和国家的疑心产生重大影响的是20世纪30年代和40年代欧洲法西斯主义的经历。法西斯主义一直是欧洲的一个问题,我们现在可以看到它再次出现。

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 18 第十八节课

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

第一个疑心: 国家和民族解放(下), 安东尼奥·奈格里和迈克尔·哈特(意大利和美国)

For a few years in the early 2000s, the book *Empire* by Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt was a hot topic of discussion in Western countries. This book argued that a new form of empire had arisen in the world, a global empire that was without a specific state as its centre. Although the argument now has little appeal, the book has an anarchist-inspired suspicion of the state in all its forms. Negri and Hardt's *Empire* is one of the strongest statements of a common theme of Western Marxism: suspicion of the state and of the anti-colonial movement and national liberation.

在 21 世纪初的几年里，安东尼奥·奈格里和迈克尔·哈特的《帝国》是西方国家讨论的热门话题。这本书认为，世界上出现了一种新的帝国形式，一个没有特定国家为中心的帝国。尽管这个论点现在已经没有什么吸引力了，但这本书还是有一种无政府主义者激发的对政府所有形式的疑心。奈格里和哈特的《帝国》是对西方马克思主义的一个共同主题的最有力的陈述之一：对国家、对反殖民运动和民族解放的疑心。

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 19 第十九节课

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

第二个疑心：科学技术的价值，西奥多·阿多诺和马克斯·霍克海默（德国）

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

20 世纪 40 年代，两位德国马克思主义者——西奥多·阿多诺和马克斯·霍克海默——在美国流亡过。在流亡期间，他们根据法西斯主义和第二次世界大战就西方社会的关键问题进行了对话。他们的对话被出版为《启蒙辩证法》，其中一个论点涉及科学技术的作用，他们认为科学技术不仅促成了战争，而且是对工人条件的攻击。在本课中，我们将学习这种对科学和技术的疑心，特别是在发展中国家需要科学和技术来克服贫困方面的局限性。

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 20 第二十节课

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

第三个疑心：生产力，欧内斯特·曼德尔（比利时）。

In this lesson, we will study an article by the Belgian and Trotskyite, Ernest Mandel. In this article, Mandel makes a typical assumption 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.

在本课中，我们将学习比利时人和托洛斯基人欧内斯特·曼德尔的一篇文章。在这篇文章中，曼德尔在西方马克思主义者中做了一个典型的假说：社会主义的定义完全取决于生产资料的所有制和计划经济。这是一种歪曲马克思主义的片面定义，因为它忽略了辩证法的另一方面，即解放生产力。

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

曼德尔。“社会主义的现实性”（1985）（上网）

## PART F: The End of Western Marxism

### 六，西方马克思主义的终结

This 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 coming to an end.

课程的这一部分涉及到一些学者，他们表明西方马克思主义的霸权——就像西方的霸权一样——已经瓦解并即将结束。

#### Lecture 21 地二十一节课

Reclaiming Engels: John Bellamy Foster (USA). 恩格斯返回了——约翰·贝拉米·福斯特（美国）。

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.

西方马克思主义的奇怪道路开始于对恩格斯的否定，而随着恩格斯的复兴，这条道路即将结束。这段对恩格斯的否定和复兴的历史不应该发生，也没有发生在世界其他地方。因此，西方马克思主义的终结始于恩格斯的复兴，特别是恩格斯的自然辩证法。本节课我们将学习美国马克思主义者约翰·贝拉米·福斯特的一篇文章，他认为为了生态社会主义，现在是西方“回归”恩格斯的时候了。

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

#### Lectures 22 第二十二节课

Rethinking the whole Marxist tradition: Domenico Losurdo (Italy). 重新思考马克思主义传统：多米尼克·洛苏尔多（意大利）。

The Italian communist party member, Domenico Losurdo, was one of the most influential Marxist thinkers in the West. In 2016, I met him in Beijing and Shanghai, where we had long and deep discussions, before he died a year later. Losurdo was from a Western country, Italy, but he was not a "Western Marxist." In fact, he has often criticised Western Marxism for its many failures and mistakes. In this lesson, we will study Losurdo's main ideas, and then study his criticism of Western liberalism, which is determined by excluding the vast majority of people around the world from the "freedom" it propagates.

意大利共产党党员多米尼克·洛苏尔多(Domenico Losurdo)是西方最有影响力的马克思主义思想家之一。2016年，我在北京和上海见到了他，我们进行了长期而深刻的讨论，一年后他去世了。洛苏尔多来自西方国家意大利，但他不是“西方马克思主义者”。事实上，他经常批评西方马克思主义的许多失败和错误。在这节课中，我们将学习洛苏尔多的主要观点，然后学习他对西方自由主义的批判。他把西方自由主义定义为把世界上绝大多数人排除在它所宣扬的“自由”之外。

Domenico Losurdo. *Liberalism: A Counter-History*. London: Verso, 2011.

多米尼克·洛苏尔多《自由主义批判史》译：王崇兴 张蓉，三辉图书/商务印书馆，2014年

## Lecture 23 第二十三节课

How “Western Marxism” was Born and How It Died: Domenico Losurdo (Italy). 西方马克思主义是如何诞生和死亡的——意大利多米尼克·洛苏尔多

In this lesson, we will study Domenico Losurdo's important article from 2008, entitled, “How ‘Western Marxism’ Was Born and How It Died.” This essay provided the foundation for Losurdo's last book on Western Marxism. The article analyses the limitations of Western Marxism, and how it ignored the real developments in socialist countries elsewhere in the world.

本节课，我们将学习多米尼克·洛苏尔多在 2008 年发表的一篇重要文章，“西方马克思主义是如何诞生和死亡的”。这篇文章为洛苏尔多最后一本关于西方马克思主义的著作奠定了基础。本文分析了西方马克思主义的局限性，以及西方马克思主义如何忽视了世界其他地方社会主义国家的实际发展。

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., 2008.

Additional reading 补充阅读：

Stefano Azzarà. “The crucial role of Domenico Losurdo in the historical, political and philosophical understanding of the ‘Chinese Way’” *International Critical Thought* 11.4 (2021)

“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”，作者：Stefano G. Azzarà（意大利乌尔比诺大学）译者：晏萍，大连理工大学马克思主义学院；罗兰·博尔（Roland Boer），大连理工大学马克思主义学院

## Lecture 24 第二十四节课

Course review 课程回顾.

This lesson reviews the ideology of Western Marxism, in terms of: the four reductions; the four determinations; the three concessions; and the three suspicions.

本课回顾西方马克思主义的意识形态：四个减少，四个决定因素，三次让步和三个疑心。