

**Elements for a reformulation of historical
materialism - Will ecosocialism become
"necessary"?- Conditions, opportunities
and main fields of a socio-ecological
transformation**

**历史唯物主义重构要素—生态社会主义
会成为“必需”吗？—社会生态变革的条
件、机会和主要领域**



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September, 2013
Shanghai
维也纳大学
2013.9
上海



Conference “The Role of Science, Technology and GeoPolitics in the 21st Century Evolution of Mankind”- Shanghai Maritime University, September 28-30th, 2013

“科学、技术及地缘政治在21世纪人类演进中的作用”研讨会
上海海事大学，9月28日-9月30日

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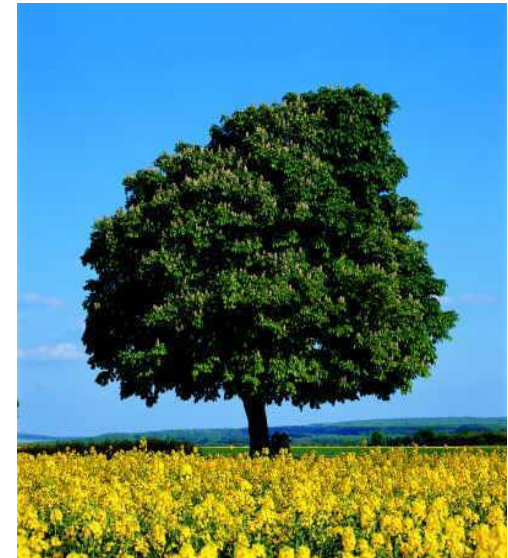
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Interesting to be in China

- On September 27th 13 the **IPCC** was introducing the summary of the **Fifth Assessment Report** on climate change
- 5 years after the Lehmann–bankruptcy and beginning of financial crisis but with a unchanged global financial architecture
- When signs of **new orientation towards restructuring**, upgrading and more qualitative development can be seen just now in China

来到中国是件有意思的事情

- 2013年9月27日，世界气候变化专门委员会（IPCC）上给出了气候变化的第五次评估报告概览供大家讨论
- 尽管距雷曼兄弟破产以及金融危机爆发已有五年时间，但全球金融结构并没有变化
- 现在只有中国还同时出现了结构重组、产业升级和高增长迹象



Almost forgotten eco-socialism

- For a long time forgotten strands of eco-socialist thinking

“... the absence of a strong socialist left is reflected in a corresponding lack of coherence in eco-socialist theory” Panitch Leo, (2006)

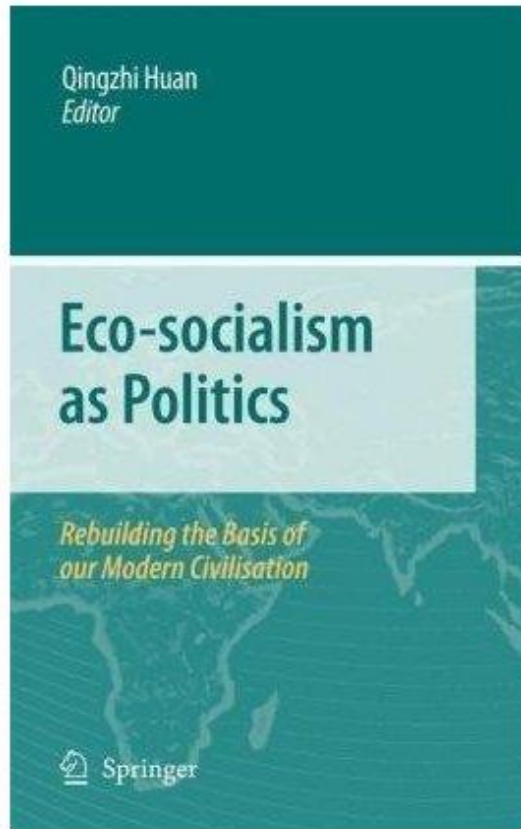
- 在很长的一段时间里，生态社会学者的思想被遗忘

“.....一个强大的社会左翼力量的缺乏,在生态社会学理论的语境下，反映出了不一致。
”Panitch Leo, 2006年

- *forerunners
- *Notion “ecosocialism” used since the 1980
- *various articles, authors and publications
- *with some different definition and reinterpretation of Marx
- *Journal Capitalism, Nature, Socialism
- *Big conferences 2012 in France, 2013 in USA

- *先驱者
- *1980年开始使用“生态主义”概念
- *大量文章，作者和出版物
- *对马克思的不同定义和重新阐释
- *《Capitalism, Nature, Socialism》期刊
- *2012年法国，2013年美国举办的大型研讨会

A book



- book of Huan Qingzhi (2010): Eco-socialism as politics – rebuilding the basis of our modern civilization. Springer
- 郇庆治的新书：《生态社会主义作为政治学——重构现代文明的基础》

Eco-socialism as politics – rebuilding the basis of our modern civilization

“The major strengths of eco-socialism – as an alternative to green capitalisms – lies in the socio-political criticism of the ecological maladies of capitalism. But eco-socialism is less successful when it comes to promoting the rationality and attractiveness of its institutional design for a red-green replacement”(P4)

“... the problem of ‘transformation agency’ is far from resolved.”(P4)

“生态社会主义的主要力量——作为绿色资本主义的替代品——在于对资本主义生态弊病的社会政治性批判。但是生态社会主义的结构上，它并没有足够的理性和吸引力，向绿色转型。”（第4页）

“‘改革的道路’问题离解决还有很远的距离。”（第4页）

Correlation of increasing ecological crisis and growing inequalities?

- Is it only by chance that in the period of increasing environmental crisis we also see growing inequalities within and between the countries?
- From experimental game theory: only fair solutions perform as stable.
- → We need not only fair global solutions but also fair solutions on country and regional levels.
- We need such fair solutions by regulation; the "markets" do not aim at fairness and equity because they are based on (different) purchasing power,
- Practically → tackle "energy poverty" by progressive tariffs (higher tariffs for higher consumption)

•加剧的生态危机和不平等之间的关系？

- 随着环境危机的加剧，国家内部以及国家之间的不平等也在加剧，难道这只是偶然么？
- 从实证博弈理论（以及实践经验）中我们了解到：唯有公平的解决方法才是稳定的。
- → 我们需要的不仅是公平的全球解决方法，同时还有国家和区域层面上的公平的解决方法。
- 我们需要通过行政管理来获得公平的解决方法；“市场”的目的并非公平和公正，因为市场是建立在（不同的）购买力之上的，所以需要用法来补充和确立公正。
- 具体来说→为解决“能源匮乏”而不断提高关税（消费越多关税越高）。



Horizontal distribution and.....

横向分配和...

- The current distribution (of wealth, income) refers to the **horizontal** equality between classes, regions, gender and other factors
- Future generations will be needing (also) sound **foundations of existence**, these are **threatened by irreversible environmental harms** and losses.
- 现在分配问题主要涉及**横向的平等**，存在于阶级，地域，性别和其他的因素之中。
- 下一代需要良好的**生存基础**。然而，这些都被**不可逆转的环境损害威胁着**。

...vertical distribution (in time)

...纵向分配（时间上）

- **“Political ecology”, “social ecology”:**
 - Focus on **time axis of distribution**: (long) time distribution
 - Concern for stable ecological systems refers to the **(vertical) equality between current and future generations.**
-
- **“政治生态”，“社会生态”**
 - 集中在分配的时间维度上：（长时期）的分配
 - 考量稳定的生态系统问题，涉及**(纵向的)关于当代与下一代的平等。**

<Flashlights 图景>



Flashlights Fukushima
福島

Deep Water Horizon
深水钻井平台



Floods in Pakistan
巴基斯坦的洪水

<Flashlights 图景>



Fires in Russia
俄罗斯的大火

Prices of oil, food and commodities
石油，食品和日用品价格



Mozambique 2011
莫桑比克 2011

<Flashlights 图景>



Hurricane Sandy
New York
2012

Heatwave summer 2013
Europe



Smog situation
North-eastern China
Early 2013



multifaceted faceted crises: **多面的危机**

- financial 金融的
- energy – resources 能源——资源
- food 食品
- environmental 环境的
- climate 气候
- ...

Basis of unsustainability

非可持续的基础

- The common basis of ecological crises:
The **unsustainable level of social metabolism**
 - * **input** from nature (resources) and
 - * **“output”** to nature (waste, emission)
- 危机的共同基础：
非可持续的社会循环
 - * **“输入”**（资源）以及
 - * **“输出”**（垃圾，排放物）

The current global process

当下的全球进程

- Unsustainable level of social metabolism in the developed countries - parallel with the broad industrialisation of emerging countries cause new situations: (flexible) **limits on the resource side, strict limits on the emission side (climate change)**
- 发达国家的非可持续性社会循环-并行出现的新兴工业化国家，它们共同造成的新局面：（有伸缩性的）**资源限制，和排放上的严格限制。**

Externalization of social costs

社会成本的外部化

- Unsustainable level of social metabolism **caused by accumulation of capital**
- We know the self- accelerating speed of **M-C-M'** ; **externalization** of social costs on the poor, less developed countries, and the planet globally
- 非可持续的社会循环
——朔源自资本积累
- 我们都知道自加速公式：**M-C-M'**；
社会支出的“外部化”由穷人、次发展国家以及全球公共承担。

The essential news -1

基本信息

- By climate change there are **DEAD** lines for irreversible losses and developments. The world community in Copenhagen and Cancun agreed: temperature change should only reach 2° C within 21st century; otherwise **uncontrolled irreversible processes**
- 气候变化警示了**最后的期限**-不可恢复的损失以及发展所招致。哥本哈根和坎库会议上全世界都表达了一致的意见：气温变化在**21世纪**不可超过**2摄氏度**；否则将成为**不可控制且无法挽回的进程**。

The essential news-2

基本信息

- By developments caused by uncurbed climate change, in uncontrolled irreversible processes **the “rich” also have to loose a lot**. This is a new historical situation shifting the parallelogram of power.
- But the concrete alternatives and real paths of transformations are weak points.
- 不可遏制的气候变化，这一不可控的进程对于“富人”来说也是很大的损失。新的历史局面改变了原有的力量平衡。
 -
- 但是具体的替代方案以及改革的真正道路都还不明朗。

Basics of climate policy

气候政策的基本原理

2° C target
Copenhagen accord
哥本哈根2°C目标确立的依据

because of irreversibility and
uncontrollable implications
when > 2° C

因为当环境增温大于2°C时，
会带来不可逆转和无法控制的影响

→ **fixed** volume of remaining GHG emissions

→ 固定温室气体排放量

How to allocate this volume of remaining GHG emission
= Which distribution among countries and persons?

如何分配温室气体排放量？ = 国家间和个体间该如何分配？

Missing link of climate policy

气候政策间缺少联系

2° C target
Copenhagen
accord

+

CBDR (Rio 1992
and Rio+20)

basic distribution principle 基本分配原则

but which concrete implementation? := **X**

但又是哪项具体措施呢？

The equation for the missing link of climate policy

为气候政策间缺少联系所建的方程

The diagram illustrates an equation for climate stabilization. It features two blue rounded rectangular boxes on the left. The top box contains the text "2° C target Copenhagen accord" in red. Below it is a plus sign "+". The bottom box contains the text "CBDR (Rio 1992 and Rio+20)" in red. To the right of this box is another plus sign "+". Below the second box is a large black "X". To the right of the "X" is an equals sign "=", followed by the text "climate stabilization" in green. Below "climate stabilization" is the Chinese text "气候稳定" in green.

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{2° C target} \\ \text{Copenhagen} \\ \text{accord} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \text{CBDR (Rio 1992} \\ \text{and Rio+20)} \end{array} + X = \text{climate stabilization}$$

气候稳定

Shortly: 简略地

2° C target + CBDR + X = climate stabilization

The missing link of climate policy:

Equal rights 权力平等

2° C target
Copenhagen
accord

+

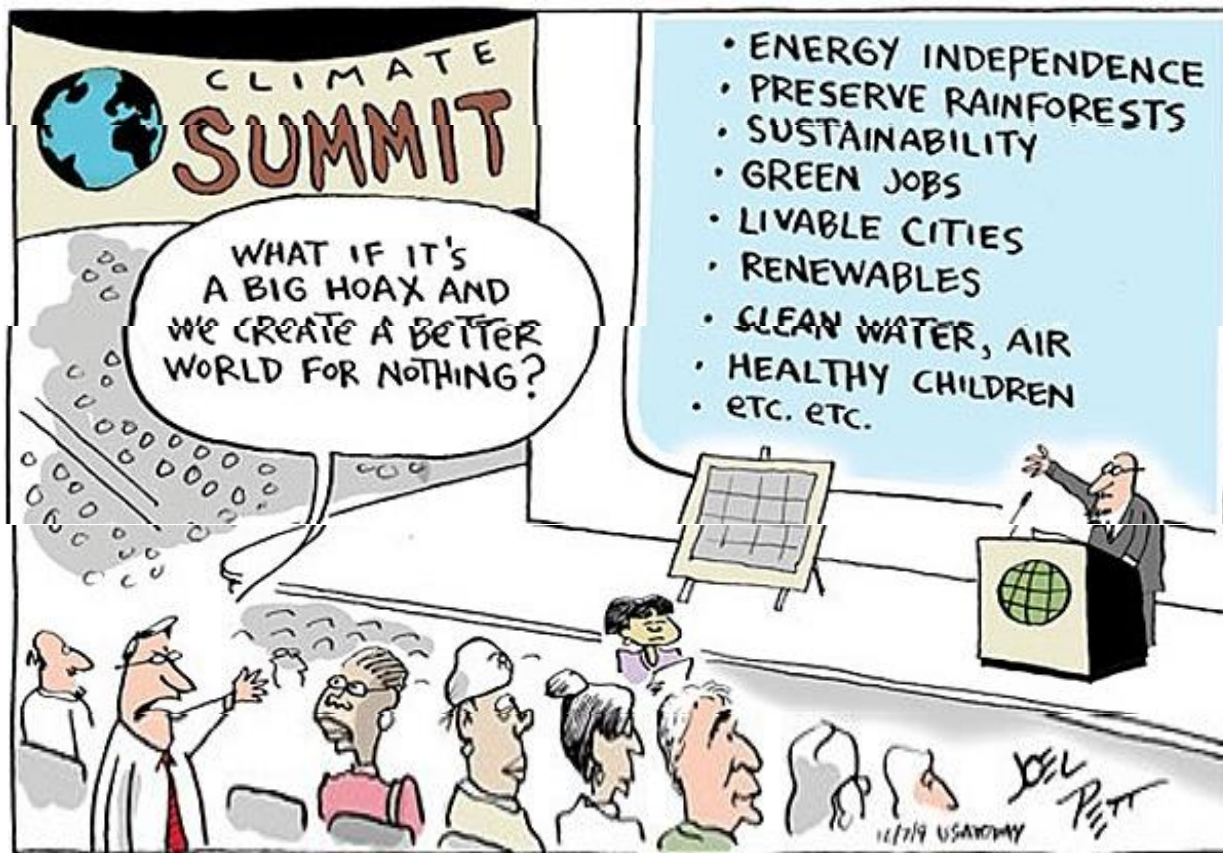
CBDR (Rio 1992
and Rio+20)

+

**Equal
rights**

=climate stabilization

气候稳定



Implications of the new situation:
新形势的预示：

- **Stable solutions** for the fundamental resource and emission problems are probably possible **only by “fair” distribution** (on global and various other levels) and solidarity.
- 基础性资源和排放问题的**稳定解决方案**只可能是**“公平”的分配**（全球及其余个层次上）以及团结一致的。

Implications of the new situation:
新形势的预示：

- **"Simultaneous" solutions for many problems – resources, emissions, distribution and development – are necessary.**
- “同时间”解决问题的办法-资源，排放，分配以及发展-依靠于需求。

Message of the forthcoming IPCC-report: global climate change mitigation still more urgently

- In the last years **climate change issue** has been **downgraded** as implication of the global financial and economic crisis
- But climate change phenomena continued e.g. by hurricane **Sandy** for **New York 2012, heat waves or smog situations**.
- But **changes until now are peanuts relative to probable changes** of the global and regional climate in the next decades of this century.
- With every year of not or only slow acting the **point of no return** and irreversible self-accelerating of climate change **comes nearer**; this probably will be the forthcoming **message of the IPCC**.

即将到来的IPCC报告传递的信息：缓解气候变化刻不容缓

- 在过去几年里，因为全球金融和经济危机的影响，气候变化问题被放在了次要的位置
- 但是气候变化的现象并未因此而消失：比如，**2012年纽约的飓风桑迪，热浪或是雾霾状况**。
- 但是同本世纪未来几十年可能会有的全球和区域气候变化相比，**至今为止的气候变化实在不足为道**。
- 年复一年，因为不采取行动或行动滞后，气候正以**不可逆转的**自我加速发生着变化，其**临界点也离人们越来越近**；这可能会是即将到来的IPCC所要传递的信息。

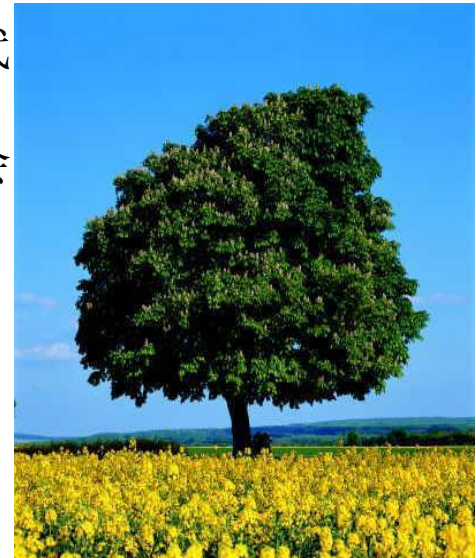


DEADlines changed the rule of the game

- Essential new factor in environmental crises : by climate change there are **DEAD**lines. There are irreversible tipping points and they change the rules of the game
- Until now distributional conflicts often have been solved also at the cost of the environment or at the costs of future generations.
- With climate change this is not possible any more: not to consider future harms will increasingly hurt short and mid term assets.
- Probably this will be more perceivable in China.

最后期限改变了游戏规则

- 环境危机中的新的关键因素：气候变化有最后期限。那些不可逆转的临界点改变了游戏规则
- 迄今为止，分配矛盾通常都是以牺牲环境或是下一代利益为代价解决的
- 气候变化使得这种解决途径不再有效：不顾及对未来的危害会对短中期的财产有损。
- 这一点在中国尤为明显。



Ignorance to CDBRRC, history, and equal rights

- “Common but differentiated responsibility” (CBDR), later on enlarged by „respective capabilities“ („CDBRRC“) would be a clear solution
- but the superficial acceptance in industrial countries and fundamental lack of historical understanding of the principle of CBDR, obviously is a main obstacle for progress in global climate change mitigation.
- not acknowledging CDBRRC means violation of the most fundamental principle of equal rights.

无视CDBRRC，历史和权力平等

- “共同但有差别责任”（CBDR），后来又扩充为“各自的能力”，（CDBRRC）会是一种清晰的解决方法。
- 但工业国只是象征性接受，各国也缺乏对CBDR根本的理解，这都阻碍了缓解气候变化的进程。
- 不承认CDBRRC违背了权力平等最基本的原则



Fundamental and comprehensive solutions are more effective

- Generally the relatively low (felt) degree of climate changes until now - is a first explanation for slow acting in most countries.
- **With every year** of not or only slow acting the necessary changes will have to be **more fundamental**
- Definitely we need **comprehensive solutions**; some incremental measures can show the way but are not sufficient.
- **Particular unique measures are often blocked** by lobbies because of alleged unfair one-sidedness.
- → Comprehensive measures: more effective.

根本全面的解决方法会更加有效

- 总的来说，至今为止大多数国家行动滞后的首要原因是气候变化程度还较轻（可感）。
- 如果年复一年不采取行动或行动滞后，那小的气候变化会成为根本性问题
- 显然我们需要全面的解决方法；一些渐进的措施可以为大家提供指引，但还不够。
- 因为所谓的不公平片面性，特定措施通常会被游说团体制止。
- → 全面的措施：更有效



New forms of rationality

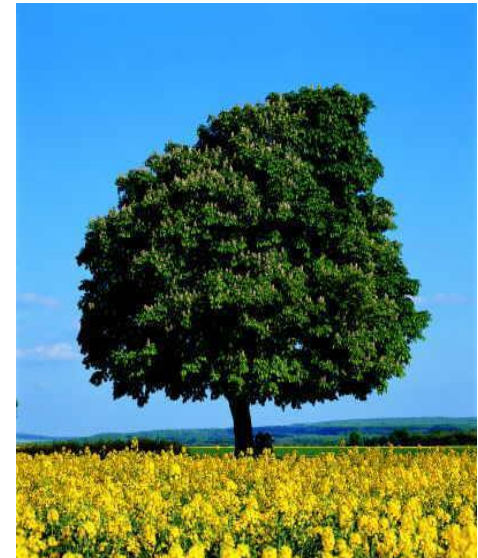
- Revised concepts of rationality and (eco-) efficiency has to be agreed therefore.
 - **Joint production** often forgotten is crucial for the adequate socio-ecological transition.
-
- 修正后的理性和（生态）效率问题将最终取得一致。
 - **联合行动**往往被遗忘——它们对于良好的社会生态转型非常关键。

Dominance of short time thinking

- =equivalent to a lack of reasonable planning, is an enormous obstacle for sustainability.
- Is connected with depreciation of future when discount rates (usually as high as profit rates in OECD-countries)
- By high discount rates in cost-benefit analyses future values e. g. of good water, biodiversity or climate stability are evaluated in small “net present values” (NPV); →disregard of services by nature.
- But discount rates near zero →small devaluation of futures values.

缺乏长远眼光

- =缺乏合理规划，这对可持续来说是个极大的障碍
- 同未来的折价相关，贴现率（在OECD国家，通常和利润率一样高）
- 比方，在成本利润分析法框架下分析优质水、生物多样性或环境稳定性终值，给定高贴现率，其“净现值”（NPV）会很小→不考虑环境的作用
- 当贴现率接近零→终值的折价会很小



Revival of democratic planning

- For an “optimal” or at least sufficient development with the adoption of limits on the input side (resources) and limits on the output side (because of complex implications of emissions and waste)==>

a **revival of democratic planning is on the agenda** – because by dominance of markets the solution of these problems within the deadlines is not impossible.

- 为了一个“优化的”或至少充足的发展，自然输入和输出的限制问题（由于排放和垃圾处理的复杂性）==>

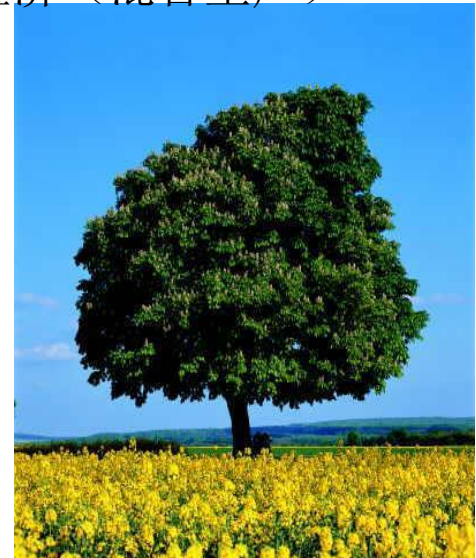
民主的复兴已经排上议程——通过对市场的支配，及时解决这些复杂的问题并非没有可能。

“Curse of resources”? – Curse of oligopolies & bad luck for big scale?

- Bad luck of unique scale of the Chinese Economy:
- The realization of economies of scale (mass production) and
- economies of scope (combined production) is a “secret” of the Chinese success
- But in the current global configuration + oligopolies in most markets:
- *Most resources which China buys and imports are increasing in price
- *Most products which China sells and export are decreasing in price

“资源的诅咒”? ——寡头垄断的诅咒&大规模的不幸?

- 中国经济特有规模的不幸
- 中国成功的“秘诀”之一：规模经济（大规模生产）和范围经济（混合生产）的实现
- 但当今世界格局+多数市场中的寡头：
 - *大多数中国购买和进口的原料，其价格都会上涨
 - *大多数中国销售和出口的产品，其价格都会下跌

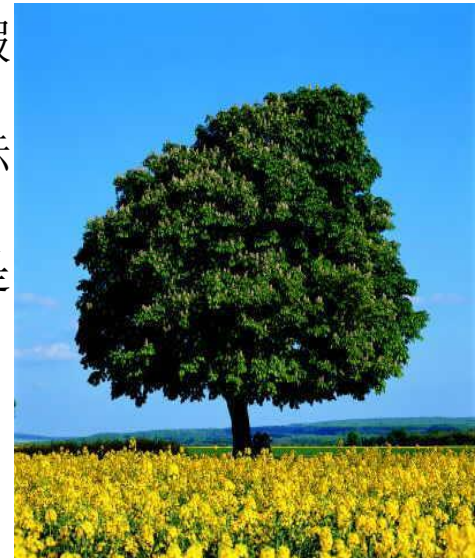


“Chinese characteristics” of industrial development

- Industrialization of China under different international circumstances: resources not “at colonial terms”- prices much higher.
- =Challenge but can stimulate higher resource efficiency.
- In times of globalization countries are deeply connected and influencing each other. So the hypothesis is rather soft.
- Current restructuring with big effects also to coal: indication for hypotheses.
- The economic restructuring in a coal region causes a lot of huge problems; but this is only a foretaste of the problems of a deep transformation.

工业化发展的“中国特色”

- 在不同国际环境下中国工业化：资源不再享受“殖民地优惠”——价格会更高
- =是挑战，但也刺激资源的有效利用
- 全球化时期，国家之间的联系紧密，相互间影响深远。所以假说很明显。
- 当下的经济结构调整对煤炭业也有一定影响：为假设提供实际参照
- 在煤炭领域进行的经济结构调整引出了很多问题；但这不过是更深层次改革的前奏罢了。



The NEXT Chinese dream: A Reversed ELVIN-hypothesis: this time probably China will go ahead

Mark Elvin: explanations why an industrial revolution happened in Europe but not in China, despite China was much earlier much more advanced: “**High equilibrium trap**”.

- “efficiency” was rather high,
- labour abundantly
- “need” or “incentive” for a fundamental transformation rather low

下一个中国梦：反埃尔文假设：这次中国可能会引领世界

- 马克·埃尔文：解释了尽管中国早就比其他国家发达了，可为什么工业革命出现在欧洲而非中国：“高均衡陷阱”
- “效率”已经相当高
- 劳动力富足
- 缺乏根本性变革的“需求”和“动机”



The NEXT Chinese dream: A Reversed ELVIN-hypothesis: this time probably China will go ahead

- In the next fundamental transformation - towards sustainability - probably China will be the/a leading country
- Hardly conceivable where currently 2/3 of energy is based on coal? But this is also a pressing factor for a necessary change.
- Implications on air quality, water and health + regional and global climate change – will make high pressure to some turnaround.
- High density of population in big regions; effects of emissions are much more sensible than e. g. in the USA

下一个中国梦：反埃尔文假设：这次中国可能会引领世界

- 在接下来的根本性变革里——向可持续——可能中国会成为那个/一个引领世界的国家
- 目前2/3的能源要靠煤炭提供，这难以置信吧？但这也是要进行改变的一个突出原因。
- 对空气质量、水和健康的影响+区域和全球气候变化——会迫使改变发生
- 在一些大的区域，污染密度很高；污染排放对这些区域的影响（比如美国）能更容易被感受到。



The NEXT Chinese dream: A Reversed ELVIN-hypothesis: this time probably China will go ahead

- Western countries are - like China centuries ago - in some “High equilibrium trap”:
- They already reached better environmental quality. Austria for example has lucky geographical preconditions for hydro energy and biomass so more than 2/3 of electricity is based on renewable energy.
- But Indicators of total resource and energy use **per capita** or the ecological footprint are high, higher than in China.
- But so also the pressure for a socio-ecological transformation and a globally compatible system of production and consumption is low (no existential needs therefor).

• 下一个中国梦：反埃尔文假设：这次中国可能会引领世界

- 西方国家——同几世纪前的中国一样——正处于“高均衡陷阱”
- 他们已经有了更好的环境质量。例如，因为先天地理条件，奥地利在生物存量和发展水能源方面很有优势，所以其三分之二的电力都源于可再生能源
- 但是人均总资源和能源利用指数或生态占用量要比中国高。
- 但同时社会生态变革同建立适应全球的生产和消费系统的压力较低（所以不会有改变的需求）

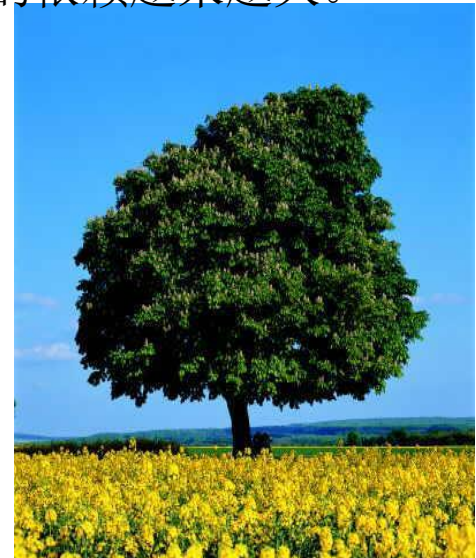


Advertising and the socio-ecologic transformation

- Highly imprinting the individual in western societies, beginning with children
- Interaction of “big corporate” and “big media”. Media increasingly financed by advertising. New media like Google aggravate this phenomenon.
- Form of advertising is blockading the transformation towards sustainability
- Advertising important in the globalisation of unsustainable consumer styles
 - by strongly influencing the preferences,
 - wasting of resources
 - for protection of market power and so decreasing possibilities for fundamental innovations “lock-ins”.

广告和社会生态变革

- 在西方社会，高度的印刻作用早在儿童时期就开始了
- “大公司”和“大媒体”之间的相互作用。媒体收入对广告的依赖越来越大。新媒体（比如谷歌）加剧了这种现象
- 广告的形式阻碍了向可持续发展的变革。
- 广告在非可持续消费模式下的全球化过程中起了重要作用
- ⑩ 严重影响人们的偏好
 - 造成资源浪费
 - 为了保护市场份额，根本性创新锁定的可能性在减小。

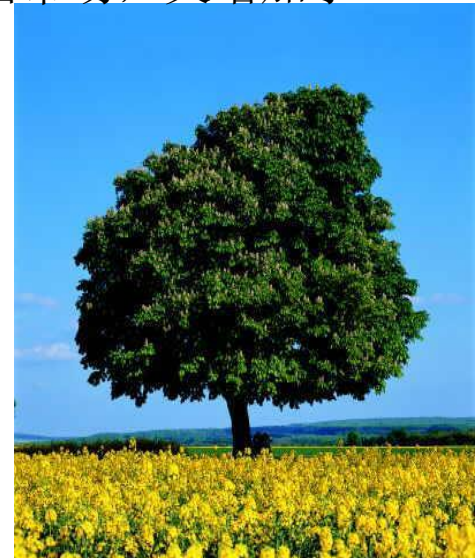


Advertising

- Commercial advertising is a result of oligopolisation. Because products often do not differentiate marketing by constructing brand images is made
- At the same time this strengthens oligopolisation in establishing by “entry barriers” and outkicking small and medium enterprises (SME).
- The consequence is the reduction of the role of consumer sovereignty
- China could avoid still undesirable developments by regulation

广告.....

- 商业广告寡头垄断的产物。因为产品的差异比较小，通过建立品牌形象可以差异化其产品，促进销售。
- 与此同时，通过设立“进入壁垒”并将中小企业（**SME**）逐出市场，又增加了寡头的垄断地位
- 这带来的结果是，消费者主权作用降低。
- 中国能进行市场调节，从而避免仍存在的不良发展方式

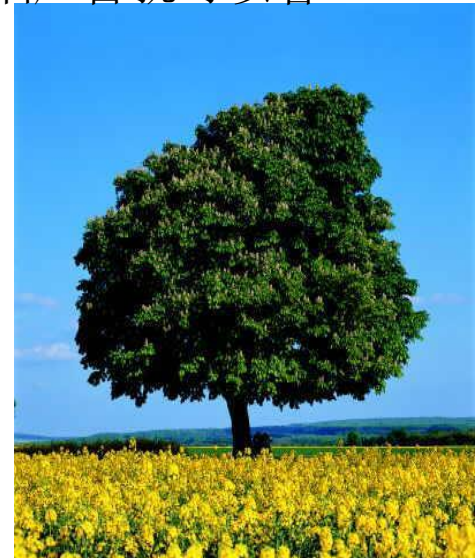


Advertisingsolutions

- The ban of commercial advertisement would be optimal.
- But also step by step measures of strong regulations. See the successes in the advertisement for cigarettes in USA and EU.
- Stopovers can be the *Ban of advertising in public spaces*,
- The *control of advertising on the Internet*,
- The end the commercialization of childhood*.
- In the neoliberal era taxes on advertising had been abolished or reduced - They could/SHOULD be AGAIN a relevant source for public budgets.

广告.....解决方法

- 禁止商业广告是最优选择
- 但是也需要一步步严厉的行政管理。从USA和EU成功禁止香烟广告就可以看出。
- 中间选择可以是
- 禁止在公共空间发布广告
- 控制网络广告
- 禁止童年的商业化
- 在新自由主义时期，人们取消或减少了对广告的征税，应该重新恢复这些税收以增加公共预算收入。



Some special points: **More Binding impact assessment**

- Prices currently only partly reflect social and ecological needs, and do not cover many costs → Harms are “externalized”.
- For the **internalization of costs**, for “right” prices some regulation is necessary, at least taxes, e. g. **carbon taxes**.
- → Law drafts (and laws) should be subjected more to a comprehensive economic, social and ecological **impact assessment** to consider future values, benefits and harms.

一些特殊要点: **更具约束力影响的评估**

- 目前价格只能部分反应社会和经济需求, 并且不能覆盖所有成本 → 危害“外部化”。
- 为实现**成本内部化**, 得到“正确”的价格, 进行一些管制是必要的, 至少对征税来说, 比如, 征收**碳税**。
- → 法律草案 (或者法律) 应该要经得起整个经济、社会和生态的影响评估, 要考虑终值、利润和危害。

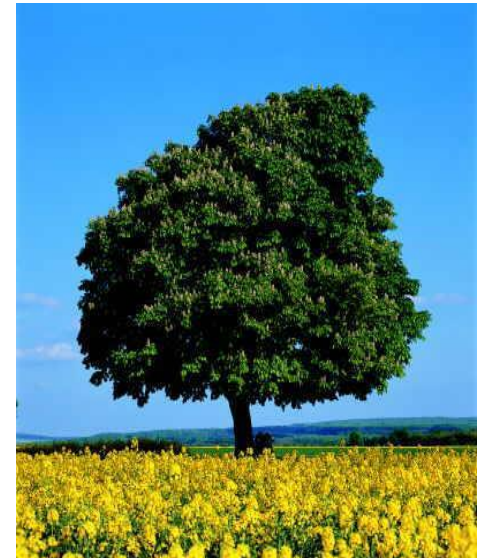


Indicators like EROI

- Alternative calculations on energy efficiency in the energy production:
- $EROI = \text{energy return on investment} =$
- $\text{all energy input} / \text{all energy output in a specific energy production}$
- a non monetary measure for efficiency. → unconventional fossil fuels (gas by fracking, tar sands) from a total energy view have poor performance.
- In this sense high value coal has a good performance (relatively small input of energy to get energy)(BUT emissions!)

类似EROI的指标

- 另一种计算能源生产上能源效率的方法:
- $EROI = \text{勘探开发的投资回报率} = \text{某特定能源生产形式下, 所有能源消耗} / \text{所有能源产出}$
- 一种非货币衡量效率的方法→从全部能源使用情况来看, 非传统的化石燃料(液压破碎法产生的气体, 焦油砂)表现较差。
- 从这个角度来看, 高价值煤炭表现较好(相较而言, 获得能源所需的投入较少)(但是会有污染排放!)



Conclusion

It is well-known that Confucius mentioned three methods to learn (wisdom): by reflection, imitation, and experience, the last one would be the bitterest. The eco-socialist orientation could be assigned to the first ones.

结论

孔夫子提出的三种学习（智慧）的方法广为人知：思之，效之，行之，而行最不易。生态社会主义者倾向归属于第一类。



Interpret, **change** and protect the world

- Referring to Feuerbach Marx mentioned that philosophers interpreted the world in different ways but the point is to change it.
- The eco-socialist addition would be **not only to change the world but to protect it.**
==> In the 21st century there will be eco-socialism or no socialism
- Feuerbach Marx提到过哲学家用不同的方法理解世界，但关键是要去改变它。
- 生态社会主义者除了去改变社会，还需要去保护它。
==> 21世纪将会是一个生态社会主义的社会，或者根本就没有社会主义。