

Eco-socialism or no socialism – a
shift in the coordinates for the left
生态社会主义或无社会主义-左翼
势力的转变

Keypoints and hypotheses
要点和假设

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Horizontal distribution and.....

- 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)

- “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**.
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- “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

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

- 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

- 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

- 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**。

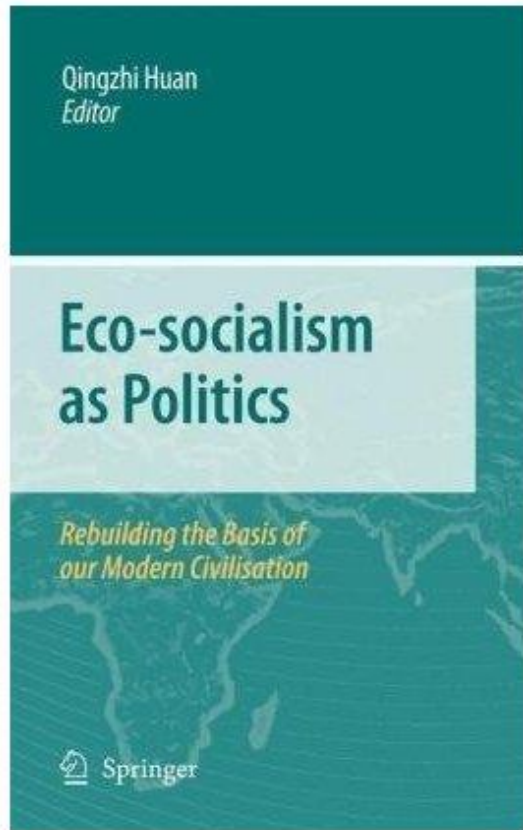
The essential news-2

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。

Almost forgotten eco-socialists

- 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



A new book

- New book of Huan Qingzhi (2010): Eco-socialism as politics – rebuilding the basis of our modern civilization. Springer
- Huan qingzhi 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）

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（全球及其余个各个层次上）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。

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。

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。

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。