

武汉大学西方马克思主义哲学研究所

中外马克思主义学者对话丛书

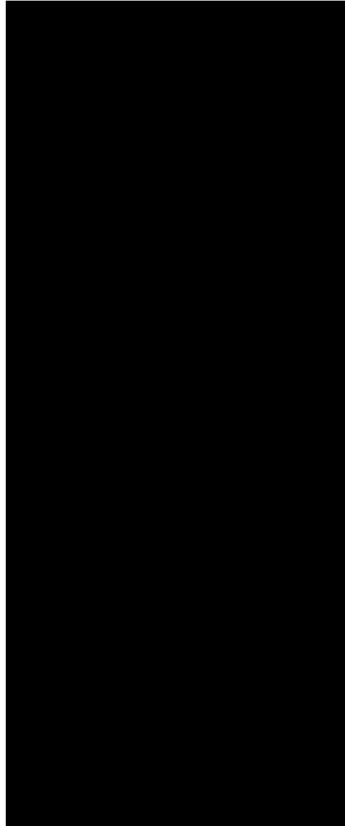


罗莎·卢森堡著作的研究和出版

吴昕炜 主编

社会主义的社会制度只能与而且只能是一个历史产物。它是在它自己的经验的学校中，在它得到实现的那一时刻，从某国历史的发展中产生的。因为它归根到底是有机自然界的一个部分，它同有机自然界完全一样，有一个对立面，它是在产生实际的社会需要的时候也产生满足这一需要的手段，在提出任务的时候也提出解决的办法。

人民出版社



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● 人 民 出 版 社

总 序

何 萍

对外开放，与国际社会开展广泛的学术交流，在此基础上，与国外马克思主义学者就当代国际社会和中国发展问题进行深层次的对话，一直是武汉大学马克思主义哲学学科点致力于学科建设的一项重要内容和发展目标。在我们看来，进行国际学术交流应该包含“请进来”和“走出去”两个互动的环节。所谓“请进来”，就是对外开放，就是通过翻译国外马克思主义学者的学术著作、参加国外学术会议、交流访谈等形式，了解和借鉴国外马克思主义学者的学术成就，把国外马克思主义的研究成就介绍到中国来，所谓“走出去”，就是要在国外出版社和重要期刊上出版译著和发表论文，让国外马克思主义学者了解我们的学术成果，要组织各种专业性的学术会议，在国际学术交流中发出中国马克思主义学者自己的声音，在讨论当代国际社会和中国发展问题中建立中国马克思主义学者的话语权。在这两个方面中，后者无疑是更重要的、也是更难做的方面。多年来，武汉大学马克思主义哲学学科点始终把后一个方面作为开展国际学术交流的目标。

为了实现这一目标，我们经过了许许多多的努力和探索。2000年，我们学科点组团赴美国参加2000年9月21—24日在美国麻省大学爱姆赫斯特分校召开的第四届马克思主义大会：“马克思主义2000”，并在会

上开辟了分会论坛：“中国的马克思主义哲学：历史、新近发展和社会功能”。在这个论坛上，我们学科点有七位教师向国外马克思主义学者报告了自己的学术成就。这些学术成就包括中国马克思主义学者对当今全球化运动的新认识、毛泽东思想和邓小平理论研究、改革开放以来中国的马克思主义研究等等。参加该论坛的国外马克思主义学者就我们报告的内容展开了热烈的讨论，他们特别关注中国改革开放的实践和理论，关注中国马克思主义学者对当今世界历史变化的看法，在论坛结束时，国外马克思主义学者激动地唱起了国际歌。在这次学术会议上，我们收获了很多东西，其中最重要的有两点：第一，我们对中国的马克思主义哲学研究有了新的认识，深切地感受到，我们的马克思主义哲学研究的主要任务不是去构造这样那样的体系，而是从全球化的大背景和我国社会主义建设的实际出发，提炼出既有民族特色又有世界意义的问题，提出自己的独特见解，促进世界马克思主义哲学的发展，同时，要与世界各国马克思主义研究者（无论是马克思主义者还是非马克思主义者）保持经常的对话和交流，只有这样，才能在不同视角、不同观点的相互碰撞中达到相互理解，使我们既能开阔视野，吸取人家的长处，又能扩大我们的世界影响；第二，要与国外马克思主义学者或学术机构建立稳定的合作关系，经常性的讨论我们共同关心的问题。在这次会议上，国外马克思主义学者主动提议，与我们共同主办“马克思主义2001”大会。这就是我们2001年在昆明主办世界马克思主义大会的背景。会后，我们将会议的论文，经过筛选和整理，集中发表在我们学科点办的刊物《马克思主义哲学研究2002》上。

有了这两次会议的经验，我们决定组织专题性的学术会议，与世界各国的马克思主义学者进行更深层次的学术交流。为此，我们先在2006年3月20—22日主办了“罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义”国际学术研讨会，后又在2012年10月20—22日与德国罗莎·卢森堡基金

会共同主办了“列宁思想在 21 世纪：阐释与价值”国际学术研讨会。罗莎·卢森堡和列宁是 20 世纪初的两位思想巨匠，他们的革命活动、他们的人格魅力、他们理论的创造性和预见性，都是无与伦比的。在他们生前，他们是亲密的战友，曾经共同进行过反对第二国际修正主义的斗争，他们之间也展开过激烈的争论，但这是为了在世界历史的新阶段坚持和发展马克思的学说、开辟社会主义的道路而进行的勇敢、坚毅的探索；在他们身后，他们所开创的社会主义事业，在欧洲、在亚洲、在北美洲、在拉丁美洲等全世界广大的地区，找到了继承人，并通过这些继承人的活动而形成了波澜壮阔的社会主义运动，产生了一大批社会主义国家，他们的名字连同他们的事业也由此而深深地镌刻在 20 世纪以来世界历史的进程中。当然，在 20 世纪跌宕起伏的社会主义运动中，他们的理论和实践也曾经不止一次地受到过怀疑和指责、诽谤和谩骂，但是，这一切都无法把他们的名字从人类思想史上抹去，相反，随着 21 世纪西方资本主义世界霸权的出现和世界金融危机的爆发，越来越多的人们开始重新关注和解释他们的思想。无论是在美国每年一度的“新左派论坛”上，还是在英国每年一度的“历史唯物主义年会”上，都设有研究他们思想的论坛，除此之外，罗莎·卢森堡基金会和国际罗莎·卢森堡学会自 20 世纪 80 年代开始，每两年主办一次罗莎·卢森堡国际学术研讨会，聚集世界各国的马克思主义学者，共同探讨当今世界人们最关心的话题。可见，今天，人们研究罗莎·卢森堡和列宁，绝不是为了怀旧，更不是要回到过去，而是为了面对现实，走向未来。我们主办“罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义”和“列宁思想在 21 世纪：阐释与价值”国际学术研讨会，就是为了在中国聚集世界各国的马克思主义学者，与中国的马克思主义学者一起探讨当今世界历史发展中的一些重大问题，也是为了使国外的马克思主义学者能够更多地了解中国社会主义的实践和中国马克思主义的理论现状。这两次学术会议的确收到了

这样的效果。从这两次学术会议的规模看，每次会议的参会者都在60人左右，其中国外马克思主义学者达到了20多人，在他们中，有来自欧洲、北美和澳洲等发达资本主义国家的马克思主义学者，也有来自亚洲、拉丁美洲等不发达国家的马克思主义学者。这些学者是带着他们最新的学术成就，满怀对社会主义的期望来参加我们主办的学术会议。有一件事生动地表达了他们的这一意愿。在“列宁思想在21世纪：阐释与价值”国际学术研讨会第一天的上午，美国著名马克思主义学者保尔·莱·布朗克教授因为误机晚到会场一个多小时。保尔·莱·布朗克教授是著名的罗莎·卢森堡和列宁思想研究专家，他主编的《罗莎·卢森堡：反思和著作》汇集了20世纪90年代以来西方国家研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的主要成果，最近，他又编辑出版了《列宁著作选：革命、民主和社会主义》、《卢森堡著作选：社会主义，还是野蛮》，这两本书分别收集了列宁和卢森堡有关社会主义革命和民主主义的论著，体现了当代列宁和卢森堡思想研究的走向。本来，会议安排了他在开幕式后作主调发言的，由于他无法按时到达，所以，我将他发言的时间稍作调整，安排在上午场的最后时段。飞机到达武汉后，他不是先去宾馆，而是直奔会场。他到会场的时间是上午十点半，离临时调整他发言的时间还有一个多小时，我当时请他去茶歇室先吃早餐，休息一下。他果断地回答：“我是来开会的，不是来吃东西的。”说完后，放下行李，拿着会议材料，径直走上了发言席。在发言中，他结合当代资本主义国家的金融危机，阐发了列宁的革命民主主义思想在21世纪的价值。他的发言赢得了雷鸣般的掌声，也把会议推向了高潮。类似的事情，在两次会议期间还有许多。从这一件件事情中，我深切地感到，能有这么多的国外马克思主义学者来参加这两次学术会议，并不是因为我们的会议组织工作做得有多么好，而是因为罗莎·卢森堡和列宁的名字太响亮了，真正吸引他们来到中国的，是罗莎·卢森堡和列宁开创的伟大事业，是中

国改革开放取得的辉煌成就。在这两次会议上，中国的马克思主义学者也不负众望，向大会贡献了高质量的学术论文，与国外马克思主义学者就当今世界历史发生的种种变化、世界社会主义运动中出现的问题、中国的改革开放和社会主义市场经济的发展等问题，进行了广泛而深入的学术交流，既有共识，也有争议。在这些交流和对话中，中国的马克思主义学者充分地表现了自己的理论自信 and 理论自觉。正是为了展示中国马克思主义学者的这一份理论自信和理论自觉，也是为了向中国学者介绍世界马克思主义学者研究的最新成就，我们拟以汇编国际学术会议文集为基础，出版这一套丛书。我们把这套丛书定名为：中外马克思主义学者对话丛书，就是为了确立中国马克思主义学者在与外国马克思主义学者对话中的主体地位，就是要证明：中国的马克思主义学者，无论是在对当今世界和中国问题的思考上，还是在对国外马克思主义思想家的研究中，都有自己的立场和观点，都已经达到了与国外马克思主义学者进行交流和对话的水平。这就是今天中国马克思主义学者的理论自信、理论自觉和理论自强。

我们力图把这套丛书办成开放性的丛书。这里所说的开放性有四层意思：其一，在丛书的种类上，坚持多样化。这套丛书以出版国际学术会议的文集为基础，辅之以出版我们学科点研究国外马克思主义思潮和代表人物的专著，这些专著不能是介绍性的，而必须是研究性的，也就是说，要有分析、有批判，要有自己的观点和立场。这样有利于从两个不同的方面表现中国马克思主义学术研究的开放性；其二，在丛书的文字上，坚持用中英文出版。这套丛书既要面向中国学者为主，也要适应国际学术交流的需要，为此，在出版国际学术会议论文集时，我们将文集分为中英文两个部分：中文部分发表中外学者论文的中文版，英文部分主要发表中国学者的论文摘要或全文，同时附上中外作者的信息；其三，在丛书的内容上，不断地拓展交流、

对话的领域。近30年来，中国的马克思主义学者在追踪国外马克思主义前沿问题的研究中形成了十分广阔的领域：有对第二国际马克思主义的研究、有对苏俄马克思主义的研究、有对以葛兰西、卢卡奇、柯尔施为代表的早期西方马克思主义的研究、有对法国新马克思主义的研究、有对生态学马克思主义的研究、有对英美分析马克思主义的研究、有对法兰克福学派的追踪研究、有对当代金融危机和世界霸权等现实的理论问题的研究，等等。中国的马克思主义学者关注这些领域绝不是偶然的，而是为了从中吸取对中国市场社会发展有益的思想资源。由此一来，中国的马克思主义学者在这些研究领域也形成了自己的话语系统，也有了与国外马克思主义学者进行交流和对话的基础。我们将在这个平台上主办更多的国际学术会议，出版更多的对话式的会议文集。其四，在时间上，我们并不以某一本书或某一时段为丛书的出版时限，而是把这套丛书作为开展国内外马克思主义学者对话的学术平台，不定期地推出好的学术会议的论文集和国外马克思主义研究的专著，以持续地推进中国马克思主义研究的世界化。

坚持开放性，是为了把这套丛书办得更好。在这条道路上，我们还有很多工作要做，也会遇到种种困难，这些都需要付出巨大的努力，同时也需要中外马克思主义学者的关心、支持和帮助。在过去的工作中，我们已经得到了中外马克思主义学者许许多多的关心、支持和帮助，我们希望能够继续得到中外马克思主义学者的关心、支持和帮助，我们也相信，中外马克思主义学者一定会更加关心、支持和帮助我们，因为开放中国的马克思主义学术研究，使中国马克思主义世界化，是我们共同的企盼，也是我们共同的使命。

2013年4月24日于珞珈山

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序

吴昕炜

大家现在看到的这本书是在“罗莎·卢森堡著作的研究和出版国际学术研讨会”会议论文集的基础上翻译、整理、汇编而成的。

“罗莎·卢森堡著作的研究和出版国际学术研讨会”于2015年7月29—31日在武汉大学召开，由武汉大学哲学学院、马克思主义哲学研究所、西方马克思主义哲学研究所、马克思主义理论与中国实践协同创新中心和德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会联合主办，来自德国、美国、波兰和中国等四国的罗莎·卢森堡研究专家就当前罗莎·卢森堡著作研究和出版的最新情况进行了热烈而充分的讨论。这次会议既是2006年在武汉大学召开的“罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义国际学术研讨会”的延续，同时也是当代罗莎·卢森堡思想研究最新成果的展示。2006年，在中国罗莎·卢森堡思想研究专家、武汉大学西方马克思主义哲学研究所所长何萍教授的精心策划和协调组织下，德国、法国、意大利、荷兰、英国、西班牙、奥地利、波兰、美国、日本、巴西、南非和中国共13个国家的专家学者齐聚珞珈山，从多个角度阐释了罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的当代价值，推动了理论界对罗莎·卢森堡思想的新理解和再认识。2014年，国家社会科学基金将“罗莎·卢森堡著作的整理、翻译和研究”列为重大招标项目并于当年立项。作为该项目的主持人及首席专家，何萍教授提议围绕罗莎·卢森堡著作的研究和出版召开一次专题国际学术会议，获得了罗莎·卢森堡研究领域国际国内众多专家的积极响应以及德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会的大力支持，促成了这次会议在武汉大学的成功召开。

这次会议的主题非常明确和集中，主要关注罗莎·卢森堡著作的研究和出版情况，同时涉及对罗莎·卢森堡思想的重新思考和评价。何萍教授在主旨发言中对这一主题进行了详细阐述，不仅梳理和总结了《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的版本流变，而且还在与德文版和英文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的对比中提出了中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的编辑思路。她认为，中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》既要充分吸收德文版和英文版的成果，又要扬弃德文版和英文版的不足，使其优于德文版和英文版。为了实现这一目标，中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的编辑和研究工作应着力解决两方面问题：一方面要完整全面地搜集和整理罗莎·卢森堡文献，特别是新发现的波兰文献，另一方面要依据新发现的罗莎·卢森堡著作、礼记和书信等文献，重新评价罗莎·卢森堡的思想。由于中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的编辑和出版既是中国罗莎·卢森堡思想研究史上的大事，同时也是世界罗莎·卢森堡思想研究进程中具有里程碑意义的事件，所以我们应把文献的整理、编辑与理论的研究紧密地结合起来，以新的理论研究推动文献的整理和编辑，从而开拓罗莎·卢森堡研究的新局面。

何萍教授的主张在随后的会议代表发言和讨论中获得了呼应和共鸣，与会专家从《罗莎·卢森堡全集》出版的现状与展望、罗莎·卢森堡思想的境遇与命运、罗莎·卢森堡思想的张力与影响等三个方面对罗莎·卢森堡著作及其思想进行了深入发掘。

首先，罗莎·卢森堡著作的出版和传播情况逐渐明晰。罗莎·卢森堡著作的全集最早由德国柏林迪茨出版社以德文整理出版，分为5卷本的著作全集和5卷本的书信全集。会上，德国学者艾维琳·维希博士介绍了罗莎·卢森堡著作的最新出版情况，指出，德国在已有的5卷本罗莎·卢森堡全集的基础上，2014年新出版了收录罗莎·卢森堡部分未发表作品的第6卷，目前正在编辑第7卷。新近发现的罗莎·卢森堡波兰文著作《民族问题与自治》和《1905—1906年的工人革命》也已于2014年译为德文出版。关于罗莎·卢森堡波兰文著作的具体情况，波兰学者霍尔格·波利特博士作了详细说明，指出，罗莎·卢森堡的波兰文著作约有3000页，其主要议题是波兰问题和工人的社会民主运动发展等问题，由于它们大多

数都是为当时欧洲的工人地下刊物而写，而且有不少是匿名的，所以并不为人熟知。发现这些文献主要是靠卢森堡留下的书信，特别是与约吉希斯的通信提供线索。目前，罗莎·卢森堡研究在波兰并不受重视，所以妥善保存这些珍贵的波兰文献并将其翻译成德语和英语流传后世就显得十分重要。关于罗莎·卢森堡全集英文版的情况，罗莎·卢森堡全集英文版主编、美国学者彼得·胡迪斯进行了简要介绍。他强调，英文版全集的编辑工作已经启动，目标是将罗莎·卢森堡的全部文献按经济著作、政治著作和通信集等三大部类分别编辑成14卷出版。关于罗莎·卢森堡著作在中国的出版情况，人民出版社邓仁娥编审指出，罗莎·卢森堡著作最早的中国版可追溯到1927年3月中国新文社在上海出版的由陈寿潜译、胡汉民校订的《新经济学》。1958年、1959年和1962年，三联书店分别出版了徐坚译《社会改良还是社会革命》，彭尘舜、吴纪先译《资本积累论》和彭尘舜译《国民经济学入门》。改革开放后，人民出版社于1984年和1990年分别出版了《卢森堡文选》上、下卷，并于2012年出版了新的《卢森堡文选》，形成了迄今为止在中国国内具有权威性和完整性的罗莎·卢森堡著作的中文版本。武汉大学赵士发教授提出了编辑罗莎·卢森堡全集中文版与马克思主义中国化的关系问题，认为全集中文版的翻译是马克思主义中国化的进一步展开。早期的马克思主义中国化从文献翻译开始，开创了一套属于中国的话语体系，如今，时代已经发生巨变，在新的历史条件下翻译全集应该联系中国与世界的学术语境，创造出新的学术话语，让罗莎·卢森堡全集走向当代和未来。

其次，罗莎·卢森堡思想的境遇与命运得到深刻反思。20世纪90年代，罗莎·卢森堡思想研究迎来历史性转折，国际学术界开始扭转以往对罗莎·卢森堡的批评性研究态度，代之以积极的评价与肯定性的研究。何萍教授总结了21世纪以来罗莎·卢森堡研究的新趋势，从罗莎·卢森堡英文著作的出版与评价、罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的主要论题、国际罗莎·卢森堡学会及其活动等三方面介绍了罗莎·卢森堡思想研究取得的新成绩。关于罗莎·卢森堡思想的历史定位问题，武汉大学赵凯荣教授认为，罗莎·卢森堡是可以作为艺术品收藏而极具价值的马克思主义最为重要的

人物之一。在马克思主义史上，这些重要人物大致可以分为三类：马克思和恩格斯主要是理论首创者；列宁和毛泽东主要是不发达国家的社会主义实践的首创者；罗莎·卢森堡和葛兰西则是发达或较发达国家社会主义的推动者，其理论尚缺乏有力的实体国家支撑，但在不断走向发达的社会主义（譬如中国）或一些发达国家的民主化进程中已经得到了某些有力的印证。来自中南财经政法大学的熊敏副教授和上海商学院的张小红博士均聚焦了罗莎·卢森堡研究的历程。熊敏认为这种历程的曲折性反映了罗莎·卢森堡研究的独特性，它与罗莎·卢森堡所提论题的固有价值及其高度敏感性相关，折射出马克思主义自身发展的曲折进程。张小红以20世纪90年代以来在中国召开的三次罗莎·卢森堡思想国际学术研讨会为例，说明了中国学者始终保持着对罗莎·卢森堡社会主义理论和政治思想的兴趣。

最后，罗莎·卢森堡思想的张力与影响获得凸显。在对罗莎·卢森堡著作和思想的传播进行历史考察的过程中，与会专家深入讨论了罗莎·卢森堡的若干重要理论和概念。彼得·胡迪斯考察了卢森堡的总体性概念，认为总体性并不是卢森堡思想的核心概念，而是卢卡奇在《历史与阶级意识》中的一种理论表达，因此，在继承卢森堡思想遗产时，必须对卢森堡的理论和概念进行严肃甄别。北京师范大学周凡教授认为，卢森堡的核心思想是自发性观念。他指出，学界以往对卢森堡自发性概念的理解充满了形而上学，实际上，自发性既包含客观性内容，又有主体性向度；既有必然性特征，又有偶然性成分；既有“决定”的要素，又有“自主”与“自由”的空间，它涉及一系列复杂深刻的历史哲学问题，而且，在革命实践层面上，它也是卢森堡全部政治策略的理论支撑点。中南财经政法大学的吴宁教授考察了卢森堡的无产阶级生活世界思想，认为这一思想是当代西方生活世界理论由认识论向唯物辩证法的转向，因为它揭示出无产阶级的生活世界是无产阶级以自由为必要条件，以文艺为重要途径依靠自身建构出来的，是偶然性与必然性的辩证统一，这同时也是对马克思主义唯物史观的捍卫和推进。除上述学者的讨论以外，熊敏还以保罗·策兰描写罗莎·卢森堡的诗句为切入点，对罗莎·卢森堡的生平和事迹进行了回

顾，吴昕炜介绍了波兰当代著名思想家泰伙士·科瓦利克对罗莎·卢森堡研究的贡献。

本书就是按照上述三方面的结构和顺序将会议论文翻译、整理、汇编而成的。何萍教授的主旨发言因具有提纲挈领的作用，所以置于篇首，作为全书的代绪论。需要指出的是，本书并非一本简单的会议论文集，而是中国第一部关于罗莎·卢森堡著作研究和出版的专题文集，是由德国、美国、波兰和中国等四国专家共同完成的反映罗莎·卢森堡著作研究和出版最新成就的力作。

这次会议的成功举办以及本书的顺利出版得益于全国哲学社会科学规划办公室和德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会的大力支持。本书也因此成为国家社会科学基金重大招标项目“罗莎·卢森堡著作的整理、翻译和研究”（项目编号：14ZDB002）的阶段性研究成果，以及武汉大学西方马克思主义哲学研究所与德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会愉快合作的历史见证。

2016年2月11日于武汉大学



代 绪 论
Introduction

中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》编辑和出版的意义与构想*

何 萍

从目前的情况看，世界上最有影响的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》有两个：一个是已经出版的德文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，另一个是正在出版的英文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，这两个版本在编辑结构上有很大的差别，但在主导思想上则是一致的，即都把罗莎·卢森堡当作马克思主义的政治经济学家和政治策略家，而不是当作一个哲学家。在这一主导思想下，罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学著作和政治哲学被人为地分隔为两个部分编辑，这就很难全面地反映罗莎·卢森堡的思想创造活动。与之不同，中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》将把罗莎·卢森堡定位于马克思主义的哲学家，以此为主导，运用历史主义的方法编辑《罗莎·卢森堡全集》。在编辑过程中，中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》既要充分吸收德文版和英文版的成果，又要扬弃德文版和英文版的不足，使其优于德文版和英文版。为了实现这一目标，中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》需要解决两大难点问题：一是罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献的搜集和整理，包括对罗莎·卢森堡用波兰文撰写的文章、著作和书信等文献的搜集和整理；二是依据新发现的罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献，重新评价罗莎·卢森堡的思想。

* Original title: The Meaning and Ideas of Editing and Publishing the Chinese Version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, by He Ping. 本文为国家社会科学基金重大招标项目“罗莎·卢森堡著作的整理、翻译与研究”(14ZD0002)的阶段性成果；武汉大学自主科研项目(人文社会科学)研究成果，得到“中央高校基本科研业务专项资金”资助。

2014年，国家社会科学基金将“罗莎·卢森堡著作的整理、翻译与研究”列为重大招标项目并于当年立项。这是中国罗莎·卢森堡思想研究中的一件大事，也证明了中国对于翻译和出版罗莎·卢森堡著作的重视。作为该项目的主持人，我想在这里谈三个问题：第一，为什么要编辑和出版中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，或者说，编辑和出版中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的意义何在；第二，编辑中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的总体构想；第三，编辑中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的难点。

一、编辑和出版中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的意义

概括地说，编辑和出版中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》是为了满足当下中国研究罗莎·卢森堡思想乃至20世纪马克思主义思想史的需要。

罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究在中国经历了一个艰难曲折的过程。我们可以把这个过程大致分为三个阶段：

第一个阶段是1919年至20世纪50年代。这是罗莎·卢森堡思想在中国传播的阶段。这一阶段的主要特点，是介绍罗莎·卢森堡其人和其思想。

1919年，在罗莎·卢森堡惨遭杀害之时，中国的报刊就报道过卢森堡牺牲的消息。中国共产党第一次代表大会的筹备者、中国共产党最早的马克思主义理论家、后来任武汉大学校长的李达，在1921—1922年两年间写了三篇文章介绍罗莎·卢森堡。第一篇是《介绍几个女社会革命家》，第二篇是《李卜克内西传》，第三篇是《女权运动史》。在《介绍几个女社会革命家》中，李达主要介绍了罗莎·卢森堡和克拉拉·蔡特金。在介绍罗莎·卢森堡时，李达把罗莎·卢森堡的性格、才华、诗性的气质和理论家的智慧融为一体，展现了德国一代革命家的风采，同时，还介绍了罗莎·卢森堡的四部著作：《资本之集中》（《资本积累论》）、《波兰产业的进化》（《波兰工业的发展》）、《改良呢？革命呢？》（《社会改良还是革命？》）、《德国社会民主党底危机》。从1922年开始，中国纪念卢森堡的活动从来就没有中断过。1922年在上海、北京、广州、武汉和长

沙等大城市举行过大规模的纪念会；1939年全国青年联合会出版《中国青年》发表了纪念卢森堡和李卜克内西的文章；1943年，值卢森堡和李卜克内西牺牲二十四周年之际，《群众》杂志刊出了题为《他们的名字是德国革命——纪念卢森堡、李卜克内西逝世二十四周年》的文章。这些纪念活动使罗莎·卢森堡作为革命家的形象铭刻在中国人的心里。相比之下，罗莎·卢森堡著作的翻译则少之又少。前不久，人民出版社的邓仁娥编审发现了陈寿僧译、胡汉民校订的罗莎·卢森堡的《新经济学》，该书于1927年3月由“中国新文社”在中国当时最大的商业中心城市上海出版。这是当时翻译出版的唯一一部完整的罗莎·卢森堡的著作，而且对于中国人的影响是很小的。这表明，当时，罗莎·卢森堡思想在中国产生影响，不是通过她的学术著作，而是通过中国人对她的革命事迹和著作的介绍，她的思想能够对中国革命产生积极的影响，是因为当时的马克思主义者对她的革命实践和理论思想作了很高的评价。相比之下，第二阶段对罗莎·卢森堡生平和思想的评价却低得多。

第二个阶段是20世纪50年代至90年代。这一阶段的主要特点是，罗莎·卢森堡的最重要的著作被翻译成中文出版，却没有对罗莎·卢森堡的思想展开实质性的学术研究，即便有少量的评介性论著，也都是以批评为主。

自20世纪50年代开始，系统地整理和翻译出版马克思主义思想家的著作成为中国马克思主义思想研究的一个重要方面。在这一方面，中共中央编译局不仅系统地整理、翻译和出版《马克思恩格斯全集》和《列宁全集》，而且还整理、翻译了第二国际和西方马克思主义的重要代表人物的著作。但是，由于当时受到苏联马克思主义批评、否定第二国际和西方马克思主义的强烈影响，中国对第二国际和西方马克思主义的重要代表人物的思想普遍持批评或否定态度。这一态度反映在著作的出版上，不是采取内部发行的形式，就是在公开出版的著作的扉页上明确地标出“供批判使用”的字样或在前言部分加上一些批评性的评价意见。罗莎·卢森堡著作的命运也不例外。在这一时期，罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学著作《资本积累论》（1959）和《国民经济学入门》（1962），作为第二国际马

克思主义的重要思想遗产得到了翻译和出版，但是，这两部重要的著作并没有引起学术界的兴趣，而是当作一部错误的、没有价值的著作被悬置起来。这一态度在《资本积累论》的《译后记》中清晰可见。这部著作的译者在《译后记》中对罗莎·卢森堡的革命实践和理论都作了否定性的评价；在评价她的革命实践时，指责罗莎·卢森堡犯了“半孟什维克错误”^①；在评价她的政治经济学理论时，批评她的资本积累理论的逻辑结论是“资本主义的自动崩溃论”，她对剩余价值实现问题的分析、对马克思的资本主义再生产理论的理解、“在自己的推理上”、在对帝国主义的理解上，都是不正确的。^② 这些指责和批判绝不是译者独创的，而是当时中国人评价罗莎·卢森堡基调的一种表述。正是这样一种态度，妨碍了罗莎·卢森堡著作的翻译工作，使罗莎·卢森堡著作的翻译和出版一度中断。直到20世纪80年代，罗莎·卢森堡著作的翻译和出版工作才得以重新开展。

自20世纪80年代开始，罗莎·卢森堡著作的翻译和出版不再限于她的政治经济学著作，而是扩大到她的政治学论著，其中最突出的，是中共中央编译局整理、翻译，由人民出版社出版的《卢森堡文选》的上卷和下卷，其中上卷出版于1984年，下卷出版于1990年。这两卷均摘自1972年出版的德文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，在时间上涵盖了罗莎·卢森堡从1883年到1919年期间的重要著作，包括她批判伯恩斯坦修正主义的名著《社会改良还是革命？》和批评德国社会民主党和俄国社会民主党的组织问题的名著《社会民主党的危机》、《俄国社会民主党的组织问题》、《论俄国革命》等。除此之外，罗莎·卢森堡的尚未翻译的政治经济学著作、文学论著和书信也开始陆续整理、翻译和出版，其中最重要的有：《德国社会民主党关于伯恩斯坦问题的争论》（内含罗莎·卢森堡1898—1903年在德国社会民主党的四次代表大会上就伯恩斯坦问题所发表的讲话）（1981）、《帝国主义与资本积累》（1982）、《狱中书简》（1981）、

① 彭尘舜、吴纪先：《译后记》，转引自〔德〕卢森堡：《资本积累论》，彭尘舜、吴纪先译，生活·读书·新知三联书店1959年版，第378页。

② 见彭尘舜、吴纪先：《译后记》，转引自〔德〕卢森堡：《资本积累论》，彭尘舜、吴纪先译，生活·读书·新知三联书店1959年版，第381—382页。

《论文学》(1983)等。这些著作的出版使中国学术界能够更多地了解罗莎·卢森堡的思想,但是,由于受到这一时期评价基调的限制,这一时期的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的水平在总体上并未超过第一阶段。从另一方面看,这一时期研究水平的局限性在很大程度上也要归咎于被翻译成中文的罗莎·卢森堡文献还十分有限。据初步统计,目前已经译成中文的罗莎·卢森堡文献在数量上仅占德文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》和《罗莎·卢森堡书信全集》的20%左右。这还不包括新发现的罗莎·卢森堡文献。在这种情况下,要想通过学术自身的研究改变罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的基调,无疑是十分困难的。

第三个阶段是20世纪90年代到现在。这是中国人严肃地开展罗莎·卢森堡学术思想研究的阶段。

尽管中国的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究受到中文文献数量的限制和评价基调的影响,中国学术界还是冲破了重重阻碍,开始了新一轮的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究。这一阶段的形成是由三个因素决定的:第一个因素是中国20世纪80年代开始的思想解放运动以及由此而推动的马克思主义思想史的研究。20世纪80年代的思想解放运动破除了苏联马克思主义哲学的影响,尤其是破除了斯大林思想研究的影响,中国学术界逐渐改变了对第二国际和西方马克思主义的批评态度,开始认真地研究第二国际和西方马克思主义。在这一研究中,罗莎·卢森堡的思想及其地位凸显出来,成为马克思主义思想史研究中的一个亮点。第二个因素是受国际罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的影响。自20世纪90年代开始,有两件事刺激了国际学术界对罗莎·卢森堡思想的重新研究:一件事是东欧剧变和苏联解体,这一件事促使人们重新思考罗莎·卢森堡的社会主义民主观以及她对俄国革命的批评;另一件事是美国借助互联网在全球范围内重建世界资本主义体系,这一件事促使人们重新思考罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》。这两件事都与中国的发展密切相关,所以,中国学者受到国际罗莎·卢森堡研究的影响,也开始从肯定的角度来重新研究罗莎·卢森堡的理论。第三个因素是中国青年一代学者对罗莎·卢森堡思想的兴趣。我这里所说的青年一代学者是20世纪90年代成长起来的一代学者。这些青年学者面对的是中国与

世界的关系问题、中国市场经济的负面效应等问题，正是在思考这些问题的过程中，他们对罗莎·卢森堡的思想发生了浓厚的兴趣，开始致力于罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究。这一研究的最主要成果和研究水平比较集中地反映在《罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义》这本文集中。这本文集是在2006年3月20—22日在武汉大学召开“罗莎·卢森堡及其当代意义国际学术研讨会”的会议文集的基础上编辑而成的。

自20世纪90年代以来，中共中央编译局曾经两次与国际罗莎·卢森堡学会合作在中国举办国际罗莎·卢森堡思想学术研讨会。一次是1994年11月在北京召开，一次是2004年11月在广州召开。这两次会议虽然时间不同，但在主题上都是讨论罗莎·卢森堡的社会主义民主思想，参加的学者也都是研究国际共产主义运动史的专家。与这两次会议不同，2006年在武汉大学召开的“罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义国际学术研讨会”突破了先前的单一社会主义民主思想研究的主题，在一个更加广阔的领域探讨罗莎·卢森堡在哲学、政治经济学、政治学、科学社会主义及东方社会研究领域的成就，其中讨论罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》的论文占了约三分之二的篇幅，参加的学者也不限于研究共产主义运动史的专家，而是扩大到中国各大科研机构 and 高等学校的专家，他们当中，有研究哲学的、政治学的、经济学的、科学社会主义的、西方马克思主义的和后现代思潮的，等等。他们从各自的领域对罗莎·卢森堡的思想进行了广泛的讨论，充分地展示了中国学者20世纪90年代以来研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的新成就。这一成就主要体现在四个方面：1. 结合当今国际垄断的形成、金融资本全球化的现实，重新评价罗莎·卢森堡与伯恩斯坦的论战，论证了研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的当代意义；2. 从马克思主义思想史的角度重新评价罗莎·卢森堡的著作和与列宁进行的思想论战，其中对罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》、她的民族自治的思想、她与列宁之间的论战等都作了肯定的评价；3. 探讨了罗莎·卢森堡思想与西方马克思主义之间的关系，肯定罗莎·卢森堡是西方马克思主义的思想先驱。这一点，对于西方学者来说，从来就没有疑义，但是，对于中国学者来说，却是一个很大的突破，它意味着，罗莎·卢森堡的思想研究已经开始进入了中国学术的主

流地带；4. 把罗莎·卢森堡作为一位哲学家来加以研究。这是中国学者对于世界罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的独特贡献。

随着中国罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的不断拓展和深化，翻译和出版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的要求也就提了出来。比如，自2007年秋由美国次贷危机引发的全球金融危机爆发以来，国际学术界开始了新一轮的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究。在这一轮研究中，罗莎·卢森堡的经济思想与当代金融危机的关系、罗莎·卢森堡的生态学思想、罗莎·卢森堡的社会主义革命的思想，尤其是罗莎·卢森堡晚年的革命思想等，成为罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的新课题。相比之下，中国学者至今都无法开展这些课题的研究。这一不足，在很大程度上是受到了罗莎·卢森堡中文文献的限制。确切地说，中国翻译和出版的罗莎·卢森堡文献尚不足以支撑上述课题的研究。因此，中国要想跟上国际罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的步伐，就需要有大量的罗莎·卢森堡的中文文献，尤其是新发现的罗莎·卢森堡文献。这就在客观上提出了整理和出版中文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的要求，而且新一代的年青学者也希望能够看到《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的出版。这一点，在我们2015年与罗莎·卢森堡基金会共同主办的“罗莎·卢森堡思想系列讲座”中也得到了体现。当时，参加这次系列讲座的青年学者是来自中国30多所大学及有关科研机构的青年学者，他们对国外学者讲授的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》德文版和英文版的出版情况抱有浓厚的兴趣，希望中国能够尽快地出版罗莎·卢森堡著作和书信全集。

以上三个阶段的发展表明，中国的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究已经进入了一个新时期。这一时期形成了新的研究课题，而且提出了翻译和出版罗莎·卢森堡全集的要求。在这个意义上，可以说，国家社会科学基金将罗莎·卢森堡著作的整理、翻译和研究列入重大招标课题，正是适应了中国罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的需要。

二、编辑和出版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的总体构想

根据中国学者的需要和中国罗莎·卢森堡研究的现状，我们的编辑和

出版工作分为两个部分：一个部分是充分利用新发现的罗莎·卢森堡文献，系统地研究罗莎·卢森堡的思想，整理罗莎·卢森堡的文献，编写《罗莎·卢森堡年谱》；另一个部分是编辑、翻译和出版十二卷本的中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，展示出一个真实完整的罗莎·卢森堡。

在这个总体构想下，我们拟开展三个方面的工作：

1. 开展对罗莎·卢森堡的生平、著作、思想研究。开展罗莎·卢森堡革命活动史、思想史及罗莎·卢森堡著作的考据性研究。这是整理和出版罗莎·卢森堡著作的前提性工作，也是出版罗莎·卢森堡著作的一个构成部分。通常，出版全集，都要对全卷和各卷的思想作一说明，而我国已出版的罗莎·卢森堡著作的说明，无论是在生平和著作的介绍上，还是在思想的评价上，都与罗莎·卢森堡现在已经新发现的文献有着很大的差距，因此，必须重新撰写。而要写好这一说明，就必须对当代国内外罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究有充分的了解，对罗莎·卢森堡的思想有充分的研究，包括对罗莎·卢森堡的著作和出版的考据性研究。

2. 整理罗莎·卢森堡的手稿、笔记和书信。从目前国内已经出版的罗莎·卢森堡文献看，现有的罗莎·卢森堡的中文文献有两点不足：其一，罗莎·卢森堡的主要著作，除了《卢森堡文选》（上、下卷）外，大多是以单行本的形式出版，这就很难呈现罗莎·卢森堡思想的全貌；其二，罗莎·卢森堡的大量手稿、笔记和书信都没有译成中文。至于新发现的罗莎·卢森堡文献，只发表了罗莎·卢森堡在1911年9月或10月初写的《〈信条〉：关于俄国社会民主党的状况》一文^①，其余的都没有翻译成中文发表，也缺乏系统的介绍，而这些文献都有着极高的研究价值，因此，本课题必须重点整理这一部分的文献，在此基础上，撰写《罗莎·卢森堡年谱》。这一工作是编辑《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的前提性工作，有着重要的学术价值。

3. 对已经出版的德文版和英文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》进行研究，充分吸收其中的优点，编写独具特色的中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》。

①：该文收入2012年由人民出版社出版的《卢森堡文选》中。

在这里，我想重点谈谈我对现有的德文版和英文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的看法。

现有的德文版和英文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，可以说是国际上罗莎·卢森堡著作研究和出版方面最有代表性的成果。这两个版本由于编辑和出版的时间不同，在编辑的结构和主导思想上有着很大的差别。

首先分析两者在编辑结构上的差别。

先看德文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》。《罗莎·卢森堡全集》是由两个部分构成的：一个部分是《罗莎·卢森堡著作全集》，另一个部分是《罗莎·卢森堡书信全集》。《罗莎·卢森堡著作全集》共六卷，是在20世纪70年代出版的五卷本的《罗莎·卢森堡著作全集》的基础上编写的，其中第一卷由1/1、1/2两册构成，汇集了罗莎·卢森堡1889年至1905年的论著、讲话、札记、笔记、手稿、评论文等；第二至四卷，汇集了罗莎·卢森堡1906年至1919年的论著、讲话、札记、笔记、手稿等；第五卷为政治经济学卷，汇集了罗莎·卢森堡三部最主要的政治经济学著作：《资本积累论》《资本积累——一个反批判》和《国民经济学入门》；第六卷汇集了新发现的罗莎·卢森堡文献。^①与此类似，《罗莎·卢森堡书信全集》共六卷，其中，前五卷是按照年代编辑的，第六卷是补卷，汇集了后来发现的罗莎·卢森堡的书信。从德文版的这两部分的内容看，德文版全集基本上搜集齐了罗莎·卢森堡的文献，但并没有把新发现的文献融于整体的文献中，而是采取了补卷的方式附在后面。此外，在内容的编辑上，德文版全集进行了简单的分类，即把罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学的主要著作单独成卷，既突出她的政治经济学著作的地位，又将她的政治经济学著作与政治学的著作相对地区分开来。

再看英文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》。英文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》由十四卷构成：第一至二卷为政治经济学卷，汇集了罗莎·卢森堡

① 据罗莎·卢森堡基金会负责此项工作的艾维琳·德希介绍，罗莎·卢森堡基金会正在编辑第七卷，该卷汇集了第六卷未收入的新发现的罗莎·卢森堡文献，预计2016年出版，余下的还将出版第八卷，集中出版罗莎·卢森堡用波兰文撰写的文献，预计2017年出版。到那时，罗莎·卢森堡的德文版将出齐所有的文献。

早期的《波兰工业发展》、在社会民主党学校授课时的笔记、手稿等和她的主要政治经济学著作；第三至九卷为政治学著作卷，其中，前三卷按照年代顺序编辑了罗莎·卢森堡1897年至1919年的政治学著作，余下的分别为罗莎·卢森堡论述民族问题和帝国主义问题的著作、笔记、讲话、札记等，被冠之以文化类；第十至十四卷为书信卷。这一结构鲜明地体现了英文版的三个特点：第一，以新出版的德文版为文献基础，将新发现的文献与先前发表过的文献统一编辑，不再以补卷的形式将其分开，这就在文献编辑的整体性上优于德文版。第二，在编辑结构上，强化了德文版隐含的分类法，明确地把罗莎·卢森堡的著作分为三类：一类是政治经济学的著作，一类是政治学的著作，一类是文化方面的著作。在德文版中罗莎·卢森堡早期的政治经济学著作和笔记与她的政治学著作并没有分开编辑，只是提取了她后来的政治经济学著作独立成册，而英文版则明确而完全地将她的政治经济学著作与政治学著作分开，然后将她的政治学著作进一步细化，把其中论述革命的部分冠之以政治学的著作，而把其他的部分统归于文化著作，并依据这一分类在第一、二两卷集中发表罗莎·卢森堡的全部政治经济学文献，在第三至五卷集中发表罗莎·卢森堡论述革命问题的著作，在第六至九卷中发表罗莎·卢森堡论述帝国主义、殖民地、民族自治以及文学等方面的著作。这一编排无疑强化了德文版隐含的分类法。第三，将罗莎·卢森堡的著作类和书信类文献合并编辑，增强了罗莎·卢森堡全集的整体感。

对比英文版和德文版的编辑结构，英文版将新旧文献融为一体、著作和书信统一编辑，在文献的统一性上的确优于德文版。但是，由于英文版过于追求分类的明晰化，在历史的整体感上又不如德文版。因为德文版从第一卷到第四卷，按时间序列编辑罗莎·卢森堡的文献，比较完整地展现了罗莎·卢森堡的思想进程，而英文版将罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学文献和政治学文献完全分割开来，使罗莎·卢森堡的思想碎片化了，在编辑体例上，似乎是在编专题论著集，而不合编辑全集的体例。为了弥补这一不足，英文版增加了许多有关背景方面的注释，这又显得视野更为开阔，值得特别重视。

其次，我们可以进一步分析和评价德文版和英文版编辑的主导思想。

德文版和英文版罗莎·卢森堡全集的编者把罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学著作和她的政治学著作分开编辑的思想基础是：罗莎·卢森堡是一个政治经济学家和政治策略家，而不是一个马克思主义哲学家。在我看来，这一观点很难全面地反映罗莎·卢森堡的思想创造活动。

事实上，罗莎·卢森堡和马克思、列宁一样，不是一个书斋的学者，而是注重现实、实践问题的革命家和理论家，因此，她所有的著作、讲话、笔记都是围绕着现阶段实践中提出的重大问题展开的。她在苏黎世大学期间曾经主修过哲学，研究过古希腊哲学、康德和黑格尔哲学，也系统地研究过马克思、恩格斯的著作，这些都培养了她的理论思维能力，使她善于从哲学世界观的高度，从政治、经济、文化的总体上来分析她所面临的、必须解答的问题，当她把这一思维方式贯穿于她的写作中时，她的每一部著作、每一本笔记，只要是对某一理论问题的分析，都不能不同时包含着哲学的、政治经济学的和政治学的内容。在她那里，不论是分析帝国主义经济现象的著作（如《资本积累论》），还是批判伯恩斯坦的著作（如《社会改良还是革命？》），都同时既是政治经济学的著作，又是政治学的著作，更是哲学的著作。对于这样一个思想家，如果忽视她的哲学思想，把她降低为一个单纯的政治经济学家和政治学家，并将她的著作进行简单的分类处理，是根本不能展现她思想中那些富有活力的东西的，也难以呈现她的思想在当代的价值。这与当代罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的水平是不协调的。在对罗莎·卢森堡著作的编辑上，也必然碰到难以克服的困难。我们可以英文版的编辑为例。英文版将罗莎·卢森堡的政治著作进一步分为两类，将其中有关民族问题和帝国主义问题的著作作为文化类单独编辑，以求与罗莎·卢森堡的革命民主主义思想分开，但是，民族问题和帝国主义问题的著作究竟属哪一类呢？它们难道真的就属于文化类吗，抑或还可以划归于政治经济学类呢？可见，要把罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学思想和政治学的、文化的思想清晰地、彻底地区分开来，是十分困难的。这就像要把马克思的《资本论》单一地划归为政治经济学著作一样，是极不合理的。这种刻意的分类只会使《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的编辑碎片

化，而要克服《罗莎·卢森堡全集》编辑中这种碎片化倾向，就必须采用历史主义的方法，而不是形而上学式的分类法。这就需要把罗莎·卢森堡当作一个马克思主义的哲学家来对待。

综合以上分析，德文版和英文版为中文版的编辑提供了充足的文献资料，又因其编辑结构的不合理性，而给予了中文版编辑进一步发展和突破的空间。

这种突破主要在三点上：

1. 在编辑思路上的突破。由于中文版在时间上晚于德文版和英文版，所以，在编辑的思路，可以充分吸取当代罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的成果。从总体上看，中文版的编辑思路定位于两点上：其一，把罗莎·卢森堡定位于一个马克思主义哲学家，从这样的思想高度去理解她的全部著作和思想，把她的政治经济学、政治学、文学等方面的思想作为她的哲学思想的内容，从历史哲学的高度去展现这些思想的深层内涵及其当代意义；其二，联系2008年以来由美国次贷危机引发的全球金融危机及其所带来的帝国主义、全球公平正义、生态等问题，研究罗莎·卢森堡的著作和思想。要注意清理和研究她的有关资本主义危机和前资本主义社会的笔记，研究这些笔记与她的帝国主义理论之间的关联，以及在帝国主义问题上，罗莎·卢森堡与她同时代的思想家之间的争论、她之后的思想家对她的批评和赞扬，从中阐明罗莎·卢森堡思想的当代意义。

2. 在文献的编辑上，把新发现的文献有机地融于已出版的文献之中，形成文献的整体性；在编辑结构上，运用历史主义的方法，以文献发表的时间顺序为主，兼顾分类方法，这主要表现在对一些文献细节的合理处理上，比如，把罗莎·卢森堡在社会民主党内有关伯恩施坦问题讨论中的讲话与《社会改良还是革命？》编为一组，把罗莎·卢森堡在社会民主党党校担任教员期间的讲稿、笔记、手稿与《国民经济学入门》编为一组，等等；在编辑过程中，加强注释，特别是对罗莎·卢森堡版本方面的注释，使中文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》能够满足中国学者研究的需要，而具有自身的特色；最后，在编辑的体例上，共编辑十二卷，其中前六卷为著作卷，后六卷为书信卷。

3. 在编辑的内容上,要突出罗莎·卢森堡与波兰革命传统和德国马克思主义传统之间的联系。具体地说,在实践方面,要联系波兰的、德国的工人运动和第二国际社会民主党内的斗争研究罗莎·卢森堡的生平活动和著作中的思想;在文献的整理方面,要特别注意罗莎·卢森堡的讲话、论战与她所处的政治背景之间的关系;在理论方面,要特别注意她与德国的马克思主义批判哲学传统的联系,确定罗莎·卢森堡在马克思主义思想史上的地位,特别要注意罗莎·卢森堡在论述康德哲学、黑格尔哲学、马克思和恩格斯哲学等方面的文献,并以此为理论背景,考察罗莎·卢森堡与伯恩斯坦的理论论战,发掘她的政治经济学和政治学著作、笔记、手稿背后的辩证法传统,揭示这些文献之间的关联和内在的逻辑理路。

三、编辑中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的难点

有了德文版和英文版的文献,有了国内外罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的最新成就,这是我们编辑中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的良好基础,但是,这并不等于说,编辑中文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的所有问题都解决了,余下的只有翻译工作了。从上述德文版和英文版在编辑结构和主导思想等方面存在的问题看,编辑中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》依然还有许多的工作要做。从总体上看,这些工作可大致分为两类:一类是罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献的搜集和整理;一类是依据新发现的罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献,重新评价罗莎·卢森堡的思想。在这两类工作中,我们面临着许多的难题。

在罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献的搜集和整理方面,我们至少有两个难点问题需要解决:一是研究罗莎·卢森堡生平和革命活动的波兰背景和波兰文献。我国已经出版的罗莎·卢森堡文献,无论是著作、札记,还是讲话稿、书信,都是她在德国背景下用德文撰写的,而没有她在波兰背景下用波兰文撰写的。这在文献上,是一个很大的缺失。根据德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会工作的罗莎·卢森堡文献研究专家霍尔格·波利特(Holger Politt)的统计,罗莎·卢森堡用德文写下了大约长达6000页的

著作，用波兰文写下了大约 3000 页的著作。这个统计数字告诉我们，罗莎·卢森堡用波兰文撰写的著作、札记、讲话稿、书信等已经占了罗莎·卢森堡文献 1/3 的篇幅。这 1/3 的篇幅记载了罗莎·卢森堡早年从事的革命活动，比如她与波兰革命者，也是她的亲密伴侣里奥·约吉希斯（Leo Jogiches）共同创办的沙俄境内第一份社会民主刊物——《工人事业》，罗莎·卢森堡作为该报的编辑，每一期都刊有她撰写的文章，这些文章记载了她从 1893 年到 1896 年的革命实践和思想发展过程。此外，还有她在波兰社会民主党刊物《红色旗帜》、《社会民主党评论》上发表的文章，其中包括她在 1908—1909 年间用波兰文撰写的重要著作《民族问题与自治》等等。¹ 这些文献的主题都是有关波兰问题、沙俄帝国主义与民族问题以及波兰、俄国工人运动及工人的社会民主运动发展的问题，反映了罗莎·卢森堡在民族问题、帝国主义问题和波兰工人运动问题上的立场和观点，是我们研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的宝贵文献。二是考据和处理新发现的罗莎·卢森堡的德文文献。自 20 世纪 30 年代开始，因斯大林禁锢研究罗莎·卢森堡的思想，罗莎·卢森堡的大部分文献也被封存起来。这其中，有政治经济学方面的论著，但大部分是有关政治方面的论著。直到东欧剧变和苏联解体后，这些文献才得以解密。对于这些文献、德文版的处理方式，以补卷的形式置于《罗莎·卢森堡全集》之后。这就是我们现在看到的德文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》第六卷和即将出版的第七卷。对于德文版来说，这两卷也不是经过系统地考据后，按照罗莎·卢森堡文献的时间顺序统一编辑的，而是将先发现的罗莎·卢森堡文献编辑成第六卷，将编辑之后新发现的文献汇集成第七卷。这样一来，中文版要利用这些文献，就需要对这些文献进行考据性研究，在此基础上重新编辑，将其融于已有的文献之中，展现一个完整的罗莎·卢森堡。

在依据新发现的罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献，重新评价罗莎·卢森堡的思想方面，我们面对的最大难题，就是如何澄清以往对罗莎·卢森堡思想的种种误读。在马克思主义思想史上，罗莎·卢森堡无疑

1. 详见本书霍尔格·波利特：《关于罗莎·卢森堡波兰文著作的一些方面》。

是最有争议的人物。历史地看，人们关于罗莎·卢森堡的种种争议无非出自两个方面的原因：一个是学术方面的原因，这就是，罗莎·卢森堡提出的许多新的理论观点不能被当时的人们所理解，比如，罗莎·卢森堡对马克思的资本积累图式的批评、对布尔什维克的极端集中主义的组织形式的批评等，不仅不为她同时代的大多数马克思主义思想家所理解，甚至在她身后的很长时间内，都不为大多数的马克思主义思想家所理解。正是这些不理解，招致了对她的无数批评，也引起了长时间的争议。另一个是政治方面的原因，这主要来自斯大林对罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的打压。长期以来，人们把罗莎·卢森堡思想不能得到客观评价的政治原因归咎于列宁对罗莎·卢森堡的批评，这实在是一种误解。不可否认，列宁对罗莎·卢森堡的批评为斯大林打压罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究提供了一个理由，但是，就列宁本意而言，他对罗莎·卢森堡的批评旨在阐明他们之间在认识上和理论上的分歧，至于在政治上，列宁从来没有压制过罗莎·卢森堡，更不否定她为工人阶级、为社会主义革命的实现所做的一切努力。正是这样，他才会以俄国作家伊·安·克雷洛夫的《鹰和鸡》的寓言来比喻罗莎·卢森堡，称罗莎·卢森堡“始终是一只鹰”，并指责“德国共产党人延缓她的全集的出版太久了”^①。与列宁不同，斯大林重在政治上打压罗莎·卢森堡，所以，他禁锢罗莎·卢森堡思想研究，封存了罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记、书信等许多文献，致使罗莎·卢森堡的全集无法出版。这种状况直到苏共二十大以后，才逐渐得到缓解。然而，就罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究而言，政治原因的消除与学术原因的消除并不同步，政治原因的消除只是学术原因消除的前提，但学术原因的真正消除，只有在经过了对罗莎·卢森堡的著作和思想的客观而深入的研究之后，才是可能的。罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献的解密无疑为学术原因的消除提供了文献上的根据。这也就是随着罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献的解密，对罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献的考据性研究，成为21世纪罗

① 参见列宁：《政论家札记》，转引自《列宁选集》第4卷，人民出版社1995年版，第643—644页。

莎·卢森堡思想研究的热点的重要原因。就目前的情况看，这一研究已经取得了两个方面的成就：一个成就是启动编辑和出版多种语言的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，另一个成就是依据新发现的罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信等文献，订正以往对罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学、政治哲学等观点的误读，重新评价罗莎·卢森堡与列宁的争论，给罗莎·卢森堡思想一个准确的历史定位。^① 这些成就，从不同的方面凸显了罗莎·卢森堡思想的当代价值，进而一点一点地改变着以往看待罗莎·卢森堡思想的观念。我们整理和编辑中文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》也是这个工作的一部分，在这个意义上可以说，中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的编辑和出版既是中国罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的一部分，也是世界罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的一部分。既然如此，那么，对罗莎·卢森堡著作、札记和书信进行考据性研究，并依据这一研究成果重新评价罗莎·卢森堡的哲学、政治经济学和有关社会主义民主的思想，从学术上消除以往人们对罗莎·卢森堡思想的种种误读，就应该成为本课题研究的一项必不可少的工作。这一工作在中国还未真正展开，因此，进行这一工作，必然会碰到来自观念上的、资料上的和理论上的许许多多的困难。这就要求我们把文献的整理、编辑与理论的研究紧密地结合起来，以新的理论研究推动文献的整理和编辑，在此基础上，编辑出高水平的中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》。

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① 详见保尔·泽瑞姆卡：《晚年马克思与卢森堡：政治经济学的新发展》，凯文·B·安德森：《马克思和卢森堡论非西方和前资本主义社会》，奥图卡·鲁本：《罗莎·卢森堡对列宁极端集中主义政党政观点和布尔什维克革命的批评》，伊藤成彦：《罗莎·卢森堡思想中的民族与国家》，袁何岸主编，熊敏总校订：《罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义》，人民出版社2013年版。



一、世界与中国：《罗莎·卢森堡全集》
出版的现状与展望

Part I The World and China: Current Situation and Prospects
of Publishing *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*

罗莎·卢森堡著作

——国内外讨论及其著作翻译的重要性*

艾维琳·维希

自从我们为基金会选定名称之后，罗莎·卢森堡基金会就一直致力于研究罗莎·卢森堡的思想遗产。起初，我们并不知道这个决定会对基金会的身份、形象和角色产生什么深远的影响。罗莎·卢森堡基金会的主要工作主题是公共政治教育。为了这种教育，我们必须做关于罗莎·卢森堡以及其他和社会主义政治教育密切相关的重要主题的研究工作。我们给予奖学金——现在接近 1000 欧元，同时，我们与遍布世界各地的 18 个办事处的同仁们一起工作。

在我们基金会工作的伊始，我们并不清楚是否有很多关于卢森堡的研究工作要做。然而，我们对于罗莎·卢森堡工作的投入被证明是既紧张而又充满活力的，它已经吸引并将继续吸引大量的活动家参与进来，这其中就有国际罗莎·卢森堡协会（IRLG）的参与。自国际罗莎·卢森堡协会 1980 年成立以来，它就一直致力于研究罗莎·卢森堡的著作，并源源不断地为新的争论做出重要贡献。自从 2000 年以来，德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会已经与国际罗莎·卢森堡协会及来自日本的伊藤成彦教授开展了一系列良好合作。伊藤成彦教授计划出版一套日文版的罗莎·卢森堡著作集，但我们并不清楚这套著作集的程度。

* Original title: Rosa Luxemburg's Work: National and International Discussions and the Importance of Translations of Her Works, by Evelin Wittich. 本文为国家社会科学基金重大项目“罗莎·卢森堡著作的整理、翻译与研究”（14ZDB002）的阶段性成果。

德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会以及它的合作者致力于研究政治教育及受罗莎·卢森堡思想遗产影响的社会主义左翼所关注的政治问题。在国内外，这项研究工作都有条不紊地进行着。

在与国际罗莎·卢森堡协会的合作及卢森堡地区基金会和国际办事处同仁们的共同努力下，德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会已经在诸如莫斯科、约翰内斯堡、巴黎、东京和广州等地成功举办了多次会议及研讨会。同时，我们也在阿雷格里港、爱尔福特、布宜诺斯艾利斯当然也包括柏林召开了多次世界社会论坛。在这些地区所开展的讨论的主题都集中在当代社会主义左翼所面对的核心问题上。罗莎·卢森堡的工作有如此多的方面与现时代密切相关，这是相当令人惊讶的，这其中包括了她的对于政治、民主及革命，民族主义和女权主义的关系及政党的理解，对广大政治活动主体——民众——所应扮演的角色的看法，以及她在经济学上的著作和她关于军国主义和战争的看法。许多人仍旧对罗莎·卢森堡有着强烈的好感，不仅仅因为她的政治信仰，也因为她是一个热爱生活、艺术、自然的感性的女人，而也正是因为这些性格特质使得她不断为社会正义而战。截然不同的人们被她的著作及她性格的不同方面所深深吸引并深受鼓舞。

社会主义左翼很少能够令人信服地将罗莎·卢森堡关于正义、团结、自由和解放的抽象概念运用到实践中去为缺乏政治头脑的人们做榜样。然而，罗莎·卢森堡却提供了一个有力的例子。她对于自身行为及思维完整性的忠诚（哪怕在特殊时期）以及她对于哪怕是敌人的真诚态度，都是值得效仿的。最终，社会主义左翼只能鼓励大家向解放迈进并通过追逐那些理想来远离剥削和压迫。

在一百多年间，始终会有一些带有情感色彩的关于修正主义基本问题的争论的讨论出现。在我看来，现时代关于修正主义基本问题争论的核心问题与过去有着同样高的水平。遗憾的是，这同时就意味着，如今想发展出能反映罗莎·卢森堡思想的可行方案是很困难的。

在最初的争论中（1889—1903年），社会民主党陷入了本质上的两难境地：党变得越强大，它的群众基础（记住，在那个时候妇女并没有投票权）越广泛，它的领导者就越多地强调对于资产阶级社会的仇恨和敌

意。社会民主党的领导者持续将这作为其日常事务的一部分，而党很显然无法简单地将革命目标和大众政党的政治实践结合起来。尽管爱德华·伯恩斯坦曾尝试着去提供一个解决这个两难境地的理论方法，罗莎·卢森堡却立即意识到他的方法最终只会导致在党的领导权及党的一些部分之间的自我满足感。卢森堡清楚地知道，这只会最终导致社会民主党与阶级斗争及建立正义社会的目标渐行渐远。

在《社会改良还是革命?》的开头，罗莎·卢森堡这样写道：“本文的标题，初看会叫人感到惊奇。社会改良还是社会革命？那么，社会民主党可以反对社会改良么？或者说，它可以把成为它的最终目的的社会革命，把推翻现存制度，同社会改良对立起来么？当然不是。社会民主党认为，为了社会改良、为了在仍然是现存制度的基础上改善劳动人民的生活状况、为了各种民主制度而进行的日常的实际斗争，宁可说是引导无产阶级的阶级斗争、力求达到最终目的、达到掌握政权和废除雇佣制度的必经之路。社会民主党认为，社会改良和社会革命之间有不可分割的联系，因为在它看来，为社会改良而斗争是手段，而社会改良是目的。”^①

人们过去及现在在修正主义争论所处的位置取决于他们处理政治的方法。在罗莎·卢森堡那里，正是她永不妥协的人文主义及正义感为她的政治活动和工作提供了坚实的基础。获得并维持权力地位并不是她最重要的目标，充其量，它们只是达到目的的一种手段。尽管不同政治方法之间的差异并不总是那么清晰，而且这种差异很少被正视或公开谈论，当代左翼、社会主义者和共产主义者之间的讨论，往往强烈表现出各自政治理解之间的显著差异。

第一次世界大战后，罗莎·卢森堡写道：“不受约束的革命力量和人类的感觉——才是社会主义的真正呼声。”^② 她坚定的理想主义旨在不断提醒工人运动，它需要对最初的革命保持忠诚，并始终坚持人本主义的原

① Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke* Band 1/1, Dietz Verlag Berlin, 1990, p. 369. 见〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡：《社会改革还是社会革命？》，徐坚译，生活·读书·新知三联书店1958年版，第1页。

② Rosa Luxemburg, "Eine Ehrenpflicht", in: *GW*, Vol. 4, p. 406.

则。罗莎·卢森堡无情地批判了社会民主党领导人，她指责他们不再受革命的人本主义驱使，甚至忘记了他们本来的目标。这种偏离导致了一种惯例：认为改良是革命斗争的替代品的信念，以及将选举作为中心的工会官僚主义和政党机器的影响越来越大。简而言之，党开始采取投机的形式来适应资本主义。^①

对于罗莎·卢森堡而言，最重要的行动者是“群众”，但她并没有对群众抱有幻想。“大众的心魂就像无边的海洋，永远承载着一切潜在可能性：死一般的平静和咆哮的暴风雨，最消沉的怯懦和最狂野的英雄主义。大众从来都应时代环境的必需，大众从来都会随时变成全然不同的模样。一名好船长只能是那种依水面的瞬间变化制定海图，而不是那种懂得如何依天象或海水深度来预知暴风雨的人……对于政治领袖而言，‘对大众的失望感’从来是最羞耻的陈词。一名成功的领袖，其战略不会顺应大众一时的情绪，而会顺应事物发展的铁律；他坚守自己的战略，不顾任何的‘失望感’，而至于别的，静静地交给历史去瓜熟蒂落罢。”^②

但是我们都可以看到一个重要的问题，那就是：在很多情况下，这些活动者们并不知道罗莎·卢森堡的实际工作及历史条件，而这对于她的思想和著作恰恰是至关重要的。她曾在她的时代（而并不是现在）存活，并一直工作和斗争着。但她的思想、政治担当、科学工作乃至她整个人对于今天都是有趣而重要的——尤其是对于过去的社会主义运动而言。

这就是我们要继续研究和翻译其著作的原因。

一、1990年以来的研究

例如，罗莎·卢森堡基金会萨克森办事处已经在克劳斯·金纳教授的指导下开展了长期的研究，并且已经出版了一系列出版物，特别是有关于

① See, Rosa Luxemburg, *im internationalen Diskurs*, Dietz Berlin, p. 31.

② Rosa Luxemburg, "an Mathilde Wurm, 16 February 1917", in: GB, Bd. 5, S. 176. 见 [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《致伊曼纽尔与玛希尔德·乌尔姆夫妇》，转引自 [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《狱中书简》，胡惟慈等译，花城出版社 2007 年版，第 85 页。

德国共产党的历史的。很显然在这一领域罗莎·卢森堡是一个重要的人物。

安格尼斯·拉施查（Annelies Laschitzka）在2014年出版了未曾出现过的罗莎·卢森堡著作德文版第六卷，现在她正在努力翻译第七卷。

霍尔格·波利特（Holger Politt），罗莎·卢森堡基金会华沙办事处的首位主任及建立者，一直致力于研究罗莎·卢森堡，并在华沙档案馆里发现了2000多页的罗莎·卢森堡未知的尚未翻译的著作。他得到了重要的罗莎·卢森堡研究者及专家之一费利克斯教授的大力支持。

霍尔格·波利特在2013年出版了罗莎·卢森堡的波兰语著作《民族自治问题》的德文版，并在2015年出版了罗莎·卢森堡的波兰语著作《1905—1906年工人革命》。他发现了这部波兰语手记并将它翻译为德文。他将在这里谈到这本书。

乔恩·施奇特朗普博士（Jörn Schütrumpf）和迈克·布里（Michael Brie）教授也已经代表我们做了十分重要的贡献。我在这里无法全部列出来，但是我们已经可以广泛地利用罗莎·卢森堡著作了。

所有这些研究清晰地表明，罗莎·卢森堡的著作和思想很明显是卡尔·马克思和弗里德里希·恩格斯的直接主要继承人，并且她对他们的理论做了部分的发展。

二、罗莎·卢森堡著作的翻译

1. 最重要的工作就是由彼得·胡迪斯主编、迪茨出版社支持并由沃索出版社（Verso books）发行的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》（英文版）。直到现在，罗莎·卢森堡的英文版著作只翻译了她全部著作的不到10%，而且翻译的效果很难说特别好。我们在2003年首次提到了这个想法，并从2006年开始实施。第一卷是《罗莎·卢森堡书信集》，已于2011年出版。虽然德文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》是英文版全集的基础，但是英文版全集与德文版全集大不相同。例如在德文版书信集（1989年迪茨出版社）的基础上，安格尼斯·拉施查在英文版中增加了40封信件。与德文版最

重要的不同在于，英文版是按照不同主题进行分类的，最终将发行2卷经济学著作，3卷关于革命的著作，并以此类推。最后，所有的信件都将被出版。这是一项庞大的工程，大约需要10年，关于此，彼得·胡迪斯教授可以给予各位更全面深入的信息。

2. 位于圣保罗的办事处出版了面对巴西和葡萄牙的3卷本葡萄牙语版《罗莎·卢森堡选集》。

3. 在我们已有的基础上我们正在准备出版土耳其语版本，但是我们现在仍处在设想阶段。首先我们翻译了罗莎·卢森堡波兰语著作《民族自治问题》和《1905—1906 工人革命》，并收到了来自土耳其大学的积极反响和强烈兴趣。

今年我们在柏林举办了一个关于罗莎·卢森堡研究工作的小型研讨会。来自英国伦敦的画家凯特·埃文斯（Kate Evans）参会并赠送了我们一本关于罗莎·卢森堡的漫画集，这引起了我们的共鸣。这样的艺术将是我们向人们（尤其是年轻人）展示罗莎·卢森堡的极好机会，当然，也不仅仅是限于年轻人。

如果你可以提供关于上述漫画集的中文版，我将祝贺你。这将是一项十分重要并且有趣的工作。中国的读者可以找到许多关于德国、波兰和欧洲一百年前的历史：

- 德国、波兰、俄国及其他欧洲民主党派的发展历史。
- 社会民主党的分裂。
- 关于斯大林主义的替代性思考、斯大林主义的发展以及“真正的社会主义”在东欧的崩溃。
- 重要和令人难忘的罗莎·卢森堡的生活。

这个版本对于历史和政治研究是非常重要的，当然，对于那些对政治感兴趣的不同的人也是十分重要的。

（作者单位：德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会）

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让罗莎·卢森堡为自己辩护

——英文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的编辑和出版*

彼得·胡迪斯

从表面上看，对于罗莎·卢森堡理论贡献的深度和广度，似乎没有更多值得学习的内容。毕竟，几十年来她的一些最为重要的著作——如《社会改良还是革命?》和《资本积累论》——在英语世界国家（以及其他地方）一直受到广泛探讨和热议。这主要是因为，作为一位马克思主义者，罗莎·卢森堡既反对议会改良主义暴露出来的缺点，又反对由此强加的“革命”专制，所以她的著作被一代又一代致力于从现存社会中寻找一条途径的活动家一读再读。同时，她那热情冲动和充满生气的个性多年来鼓舞了不少思想家和活动家。作为马克思主义运动中产生出的最重要的女性理论家，近些年来罗莎·卢森堡早已成为女权主义者讨论的一个重要主题，不仅局限于英语世界国家而且在国际上也受到热议。由于罗莎·卢森堡的著作受到广泛关注，需要了解的与她有关的一切内容，似乎我们已然获悉。但事实上，这是远远不够的。

值得注意的是，迄今为止，罗莎·卢森堡用德语、波兰语、俄语（以及少数一些意第绪语）写成的所有文章、随笔和演讲稿，至少75%的部分从未出现过英文版本。直至2013年，罗莎·卢森堡较为重要的著作《国民经济学入门》才出现了第一部完整版的英文翻译版本，被收录到

* Original title: *Allowing Luxemburg to Speak for Herself—The Project of Issuing The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg in English*, by Peter Hudis.

《罗莎·卢森堡全集》（以下简称《全集》）英文版第一卷中^①。这份 220 页的研究材料是对马克思主义政治经济学最好的概括之一，任何想要了解资本主义历史起源、资本主义全球扩张的驱动力、前资本主义和后资本主义社会组织形式之间的关系以及雇佣劳动的本质的学者，都应当阅读这本书。而且，到目前为止已出现的英文版的罗莎·卢森堡书信尚不足 20%——甚至还包括了 2011 年已出版的 600 页的《罗莎·卢森堡书信集》，这是目前关于她的书信最全面的文集，其在主流和激进媒体之中引发了相当大的讨论^②。

不仅仅是已经（或尚未）从德文版《全集》五卷本中翻译过来的作品数量广受争议，近来学术界找到了数百篇罗莎·卢森堡先前不为人知的或难以获得的文章、讲座稿和手稿。1907—1914 年间，罗莎·卢森堡在柏林德国社会民主党党校任教，教授政治经济学、社会学、人类学、经济学史和马克思的《资本论》，这早已不是秘密了，但仅在近些年（20 世纪 90 年代末），伊藤成彦教授才发现这些笔记和讲话的文本。其中有八篇现在可以找到，并首次被全文收录到英文版《全集》第一卷中。^③ 众所周知，卢森堡不仅是一位重要的革命理论家，而且在 1905 年俄国革命（她于 1905 年底回到俄属波兰）和 1918—1919 年德国革命中，她还是一位积极的参与者。然而直到最近，卢森堡许多关于这些革命的著作才浮出水面。幸亏有研究卢森堡的学者及传记作家安格尼斯·拉施查（Annelies Laschitzu）不知疲倦的努力，德国迪茨出版社才于 2015 年在德文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》（前五卷的）基础上增补出版了第六卷，包含了其 1893—1906 年间先前不为人知的著作（许多文章未署名，但经过细致的

① See "Introduction to Political Economy", in *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, Vol. 1, Economic Writings 1, edited by Peter Hudis, London and New York: Verso Books, 2013, pp. 89–300.

② See *The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*, edited by Georg Adler, Peter Hudis and Annelies Laschitzu, London and New York: Verso Books, 2011.

③ See *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, Vol. 1, Economic Writings 1, edited by Peter Hudis, London and New York: Verso Books, 2013, pp. 301–520.

研究，拉施查断定这些是卢森堡写的)。这一卷长达 900 页。^① 拉施查当前致力于（同样大篇幅的）《全集》下一卷的整理，这一卷将包含 1907—1918 年间罗莎·卢森堡先前不为人知的政治学著作。即使如此，这也仍然没有彻底探究新发现的档案资料。霍尔格·波利特——他继续费利克斯·季赫（Feliks Tycho）在华沙早期的工作——已经着手编译来源于波兰革命出版社的卢森堡著作，其中有许多从未出现在德语或英语中（而且许多没有出现波兰语再版文稿）。这些材料将会长达 3000 多页。^②

很明显，关于罗莎·卢森堡还有许多内容仍需我们去研究！所有这些材料——事实上，她所写的一切——将会出现在英文版《全集》中，共 14 卷。每一卷都将以最高的学术标准来出版，包含最新的编者注释以供读者参考，有涉及卢森堡当代作品的主题，还提供了许多关于其历史的、文学的、传记的参考文献的背景。我们将提供所有材料的新的翻译文本，包括那些之前已经出现了的英文版著作，确保在比照核对旧版译文的基础上形成新译文，以保证新展现的每一部作品成为一个整体。每一卷都会附一份详细的术语表，介绍文本中所提到的每一个术语。每一卷将会提供一份完整的书目信息，涉及卢森堡（书中）引用的或提及的其他人的每部作品的出版社和出版日期。我们这么做是为了确保这一版《全集》不仅能够广泛地为学者所用，也能够帮助那些不熟悉卢森堡著作相关背景的读者进行学习。

应该引起注意的是，在学术方面的如此考虑，并非总是出现在卢森堡著作英文版出版工作中。举一个例子，在《资本积累论》（1951）最初的英文版翻译中，马克思《剩余价值理论》的参考文献引用自 1905—1910 年间由卡尔·考茨基编辑的德文版。这在当时是恰当的，因为那时无法获得这本书的英文翻译版本。然而，《资本积累论》英文版的后续版本（最近的一版是于 2003 年出版的）不过是照抄了原先出现在 1951 年版本中的

① Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Band 6, edited by Annelies Laschitzka and Eckhard Müller, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 2014.

② For a sample of these writing recently translated into German, see Rosa Luxemburg, *Arbeiterresolution 1905/06: Polnische Texte*, edited by Holger Puhlt, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 2015.

《剩余价值理论》的相关参考文献——即使那时已有好几个关于马克思著作的英文译本可以利用而且考茨基的版本也被公认为不可靠的。在（由尼古拉·格雷（Nicholas Gray）翻译，保尔·莱·布朗克（Paul Le Blanc）和我（Peter Hudis）编辑的）《资本积累论》的新译本中，我们对书中出现的引自马克思（以及其他人）的部分，都提供了相关英文参考文献。¹

英文版《全集》将分为三大类——第一类包含卢森堡主要的经济学著作，第二类是她的政治学著作，第三类是她的全部书信。我们选择以卢森堡的一系列经济学著作作为开端，原因有二：第一，卢森堡一贯认为《资本积累论》和《资本积累——一个反批判》是她最为重要的两部著作，且这两部作品各有其独特的价值。加上《国民经济学入门》——从事于这一著作的（书写和整理）花了近十年时间，而且起初是这项工作促使卢森堡决定写作《资本积累论》——她认为这两本书体现了她对马克思主义理论的具体的科学贡献。第二，她的一些最为重要的但直至最近仍无法获得英文版本的著作是她的经济学著作——例如在1907—1914年间她在德国社会民主党党校任教时讲授的《国民经济学入门》以及与之相关的各种各样的讲座（手稿）。由于这些著作在英语世界国家长久以来难以获得，因此以这一系列经济学著作作为开端便合情合理了。

无可否认，将卢森堡毕生之作分为经济学和政治学著作，不免有些武断。就像她在其书信中指出的那样，她研究经济理论的最初方法，主要是受政治上的问题——欧洲帝国主义向亚洲和非洲的扩张——的刺激。她试图理解帝国主义现象，（揭示）它是如何走向消亡抑或（探明）资本主义“最后的危机”的努力，决定了她的经济学著作的大部分内容。同时，她许多“政治学”著作——如《社会改良还是革命？》——包含了对资本主义运动的经济规律和对周期性危机倾向性的精彩分析。考虑到卢森堡为发展其经济学著作所付出的大量时间、关心和关注，我认为以包含有卢森堡

¹ See “The Accumulation of Capital” in *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, Vol. II, Economic Writings 2, edited by Peter Hudis and Paul Le Blanc, London and New York: Verso Books, 2015, pp. 3–344.

对马克思主义经济学最为详细的具体分析内容的经济学著作作为《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的开端是有意义的。

经济学著作第一卷，于2013年11月出版，包含了前所未有的《国民经济学入门》一书的完整翻译，伊藤成彦教授发现的卢森堡在德国社会民主党党校授课时的讲稿和研究所构成的七份手稿，以及一份关于工资理论的手稿。这份手稿经由卢森堡传记作者和研究学者安格尼斯·拉施查（Annelies Laschitza）鉴别，确为卢森堡1897年在苏黎世大学时所著。我们坚信这一卷必将获得（读者）相当大的兴趣和关注，原因如下：第一，《国民经济学入门》对资本主义的本质、起源、历史和内部矛盾作出了精彩综述。我们相信，这将对那些想要深入探究现代资本主义复杂性的新一代学者有极大的帮助。第二，党校的手稿和讲稿显示，卢森堡不仅热情地钻研经济和政治现象，而且对当时新兴的人类学与人种学领域也作出了重要贡献。处在前资本主义的公共社会关系和财产关系中的许多反资本主义激进分子的利益，被卢森堡生动地描述为“非凡的毅力和恒心……他们的灵活性和适应性”^[1]。我们认为，她对这种前资本主义社会形式的赞赏将会表明当今寻找替代资本主义的一种选择，显然这是当今最为重要的理论和实践问题之一。第三，总的来说，这一卷有助于重现确立卢森堡作为同时代最主要的经济历史学家的地位——尤其是因为她关于中世纪、古希腊和古罗马奴隶制的手稿中所包含的敏锐洞察力。

经济学著作第二卷于2015年春出版，包含有《资本积累论》《资本积累——一个反批判》以及她为弗兰茨·梅林写作的《马克思传》而著的涉及《资本论》第二卷和第三卷相关章节的新译本（在有关卢森堡的英文文献中，她几乎不被承认是后者著作部分内容的作者）。虽然最初于1951年出版的艾格尼丝·史瓦西（Agnes Schwarzschild）翻译的英文版《资本积累论》在一些方面是恰当的，但它仍有许多不足——最重要的不足是它省去了最初的副标题，“从经济上阐释帝国主义”。它也省去了卢

[1] “The Dissolution of Primitive Communism”, in *The Rosa Luxemburg Reader*, edited by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson, New York: Monthly Review Books, 2004, p. 110.

森堡 1912 年写的简要前言。在这个前言中，她详细说明了其唯物主义和“科学的”研究是与“实践的、当代的帝国主义政治”相联系的。考虑到反对资本全球化所导致的对生态以及人类存在本身的社会生存能力的破坏的迫切需要，这是重新审视卢森堡为论证资本主义和帝国主义的完整性所做的努力的最合适时机。

目前，我们正在出版卢森堡的政治性著作，共 7 卷。起初我们打算按时间顺序出版这些作品——以她在波兰马克思主义运动中最早的著作作为开端且以其 1918—1919 年间关于俄国革命和德国革命的文章作为结尾。然而，鉴于发现了许多卢森堡前所未知或未出版的著作，经过与罗莎·卢森堡基金会内部的同事和迪茨出版社广泛的讨论后，（最终）研究决定我们应按不同的主题来出版这些文章。政治学著作的第一大主题将致力于“论革命”，它将占用整整三卷的篇幅（《全集》的卷三、卷四、卷五）^①。这一部分包含她所写的与 1905 年及 1917 年俄国革命和 1918—1919 年间的德国革命相关的所有文章。我们深信这几卷一定会使人们对卢森堡的贡献产生一个全新的视角，因为革命显然是她生活和思想的中心主题和组织生活（的实际内容）。这三卷中收录的卢森堡对她所处时代持续革命的分析 and 回应，会使得当代读者理解卢森堡对马克思主义哲学的政治贡献所产生的充分影响。另外，政治学著作将围绕其他主题，例如几卷收录其关于民族问题的作品，关于与第二国际中修正主义和机会主义之间的论战的文章，以及关于帝国主义的著作。英文版《全集》将会以五卷本卢森堡的书信集结尾，这些书信依据安格尼斯·拉施查（Annelies Laschitza）和君特·拉从（Günter Radczun）编辑、由迪茨出版社出版的（德文版）《全集》的。

我们之所以从事如此重大的任务，出版（英文版）《全集》，主要目的在于，让罗莎·卢森堡为自己辩护。这从来都不是一项简单的工作，甚至（真正实现这项工作的）可能性也微乎其微——因为许多关于卢森堡

① The first volume of writings “On Revolution” (Volume 3 of the *Complete Works*) will contain her writings on this subject up to and including December 1905.

的断言已流传多年，而发表言论的那些人当时并无法获得卢森堡著作的完整文本。事实上，自1919年卢森堡牺牲后，卢森堡的观点常常遭到攻击，其他时候则有一些思想家和政治家为其辩护，而这些辩护者（实际上）与卢森堡自己理论关注点和投身的事业几乎不沾边。20世纪20年代中后期，斯大林及其在德国共产党中的追随者发明了“卢森堡主义”这一带有轻蔑色彩的术语，并努力将卢森堡遗产从马克思主义运动中抹去，这个问题从那时一直持续至今。为了回应这类攻击，一些左翼分子走向了另一个极端，他们辩称，她是一个几乎反对布尔什维克的一切主张包括列宁（的思想）在内的社会民主主义者。例如，1961年，一位反共产主义者柏特瑞姆·沃尔夫（Bertram Wolfe）出版了一部精装版的有关罗莎·卢森堡1918年《论俄国革命》这本小册子的书，将其命名为《〈德国革命〉和〈列宁主义还是马克思主义〉》^①。事实上，卢森堡从未以此类标题写过任何文章，而“列宁主义”这一术语直到列宁逝世后才被创造出来^②。

五十年来，卢森堡的许多新著作出现在英语世界（以及其他国家），让我们能够更多地去把握其思想的独创性和多维性^③。然而，仍存在一种强烈的倾向，即却是根据那些实际上远离卢森堡自身思想的东西去领会她的思想遗产。例如，汉娜·阿伦特一句著名的断言，倘若不从马克思主义者的角度来解读卢森堡，那么她的洞见则是最值得赞赏的^④。相比之下，其他人坚持认为卢森堡是属于列宁阵营的正统马克思主义者，尽管她在许多论点上对列宁进行了尖锐的批评。另外，一些人认为卢森堡是“西方

① See *The Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism? By Rosa Luxemburg*, introduced by Bertram D. Wolfe, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961.

② To my knowledge, one of the first uses of the term “Leninism” dates to February 1924, shortly after Lenin’s death, in a speech by Stalin. Lenin never called himself a “Leninist”.

③ See especially Norman Geras, *The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg*, New York and London: Verso Books, 2015; Raya Dunayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution*, Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1981; and Frigga Haug, *Rosa Luxemburg und die Kunst der Politik*, Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 2007.

④ See Hannah Arendt, “A Heroine of Revolution”, in *The New York Review of Books*, October 6, 1966.

马克思主义”的创始人，尽管这一术语直到她逝世几十年后才被创造出来^①；许多西方马克思主义者（例如法兰克福学派的学者）反对卢森堡的主张即无产阶级的自我活动和阶级意识是社会革命的关键^②。

当然，卢森堡的思想受制于一系列来自不同立场甚至对立方向的解读，这是无可厚非的。一位思想家的观点的多样性展现出其（思想的）丰富性和深刻性，（而多样的观点）则从其主要的著作中抽取出来。然而，借鉴一位思想家的观点却不允许她为自己的立场辩护或代表自己发言，这是有问题的。任何尝试研究卢森堡著作的人面临的首要任务是，许多方面应依照（卢森堡）她自己的表达方式来获得可靠的解释。当然这并不是排除对卢森堡（著作）进行批判性阅读。卢森堡未能在若干问题上获得完全正确的认识（在一些论辩中也倒向错误的一方），这些自不待言。即使于最伟大的理论家而言，历史也是一个刻薄的领导。我的观点是，如果卢森堡的观点被理解为远离其本意的知识和政治倾向——如视之为自由主义者、列宁主义者或西方马克思主义者，那么，客观地理解卢森堡的贡献则会变得更难。我们首先需要从她自己的术语上来重新审视卢森堡。

正因为此，我们在《全集》中没有划分出一个单独的哲学板块。这并不是因为我们认为卢森堡思想缺乏至关重要的哲学内涵。实际上，她的许多观点——从自发性理论到阶级意识的概念——对当代哲学论辩有着极其重要的影响。但是，我们必须记住，卢森堡不是将自己看作一位纯哲学

① Maurice Merleau-Ponty first coined the term “Western Marxism” in 1955, in his *Les Aventures de la dialectique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1955).

② As Kevin Anderson has argued, insofar as “Western Marxism” is generally taken to refer to the effort to restore the Hegelian dimension of Marxist thought, its originator can be said to be Lenin, who penned the earliest and most important study of Hegel’s work since Marx’s death in his 1914–1915 “Abstract of Hegel’s *Science of Logic*”. The term itself was not coined until many years later, by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, in the 1950s, in *Aventures of the Dialectic*. For more on this, see Kevin B. Anderson, *Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995. It goes without saying, of course, that such Western Marxists as Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse rejected (at least by the 1950s) Luxemburg’s conception of the proletariat as revolutionary subject, as did Merleau-Ponty himself by 1950.

家，而是将自己视为一位政治经济学家和理论家。她是第二国际的产物，但其中不乏一些例外（如安东尼奥·拉布里奥拉）不认为哲学是马克思主义的重要组成部分。当时的正统马克思主义者追随恩格斯的观点，认为当马克思主义出现，“这样的哲学”就“结束”了^①。只有列宁1914年论述的“黑格尔‘逻辑学’的抽象性”——这是他从未发表且在他和卢森堡逝世后才公之于世——以及卢卡奇的《历史与阶级意识》、柯尔施的《马克思主义和哲学》（均于1923年出版），这三部直接转向哲学且适用于哲学的著作作为西方马克思主义者所采纳。

虽然卢森堡在苏黎世大学获得博士学位，但这是经济学博士学位——不是哲学的^②。没有证据表明卢森堡在大学期间修习了哲学课程（她更喜欢自然科学和数学），也没有证据显示她曾经阅读过黑格尔（相关著作）——或者认为这对其自身是非常重要的^③。当然，她也不了解马克思的大多数哲学著作——如《1844年经济学哲学手稿》和《政治经济学批判大纲》——因为这些文本在她逝世前尚未问世。然而，即使当她学习一些马克思早期的哲学著作（例如马克思1842—1843年间论出版自由的和关于黑格尔哲学的随笔，于1901年由弗兰茨·梅林出版）时，她倾向于忽略它们的重要性，（用她的话说）因为（这些文章）就像是“马克思思想活动的混杂的、脱节的碎片”，且以“一种胡乱的、似懂非懂的语言”表达出来。据卢森堡的看法，青年马克思的哲学著作揭露了“（马克

① See Engels's *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*.

② In the Western academic tradition, all Ph.D.'s are called "doctorates in philosophy" —even if the degree is in engineering or natural science. But this does not necessarily imply any study or knowledge of philosophy itself. The terminology derives from the scholastic tradition of the European Middle Ages, in which all branches of inquiry were treated under the rubric of philosophy.

③ There are only a handful of references to Hegel in Luxemburg's work, most of them critical—such as her famous complaint about Marx's use of "Hegelian reason" in chapter one of *Capital*. As for her knowledge of Kant, Luxemburg reported in a letter of July 12, 1898—several years after completing her studies in Zurich—that she had borrowed of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* from a local (Berlin) library. We have no direct evidence, however, that she ever read the book. See *The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*, p. 81.

思的)唯心主义概念中令人痛心疾首的不足之处”^①。当然,这并没有禁止她谈论辩证法。但几乎第二国际中的每一位后马克思(post-Marx)的马克思主义者都只是口头上承认“辩证法”——他们借此意指(他们有)精神动力且拥有一个完整的世界观——但并没有孜孜不倦地直接研究黑格尔和哲学^②。

捷克人道主义马克思主义哲学家卡莱尔·科西克关于卢森堡的一位最亲密的同事的记述,不仅仅适用于特定的个人:

弗兰茨·梅林支持他那个时代的观点,这将哲学史简化为仅仅是阶级冲突的反映,其否定了哲学的任何认识价值。哲学史变成了虚假意识的历史,成为历史的化石、时代的反思,只有当孕育它的历史条件存在,它的客观有效性才能持续……梅林这种还原论的哲学史概念仅仅是对于马克思主义和历史唯物主义的一个特定概念的局部表达,其主要范畴是现象的经济前提。经济决定论的前提是,假如它能够阐明其在上经济上受制约的程度,即是说,它们所依赖的经济因素,它能够发现知识现象(哲学、文化、文学)的内在价值和客观内容。^③

依据这些著作对她所在时代和我们的时代所产生的哲学影响,据此来解读卢森堡的政治学和经济学著作是完全合理的。但是,这与声称她将自己看作一位哲学家、看作一份独特的哲学事业的一部分相较,却是另一码事。我们不能复述卢森堡关注和强调的问题,而这在一些后来的马克思主义者看来是极其重要的。仅仅是在俄国革命转化为斯大林统治下的专制集

①: See Rosa Luxemburg, "Aus dem Nachlass unserer Meister", in *Gesammelte Werke*, Band 1. 2, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 2000, p. 137.

②: The exception to this, of course, was the widespread popularity of Neo-Kantianism among many of the leading figures of the Second International. However, their attraction for this school of thought was in order to separate themselves from Hegel and Hegelian philosophy, on the grounds that they constituted little more than abstract metaphysics.

③: Karel Kosík, "The History of Philosophy as Philosophy" [1958]. I wish to thank Ivan Landa of the Czech Academy of Social Sciences for making an English translation of this essay available to me.

权主义社会以后，马克思著作的哲学内涵才开始被理解。但这是发生在卢森堡逝世很久以后。

最首要的是，我们必须允许卢森堡在其（思想的）多维度中为她自己辩护，而不是使之沦为那种诱惑即用她的著作来支撑我们自己的政治的或哲学的兴趣和关注点的牺牲品。很大程度上，是这种精神促使我们投入时间和精力来出版她的英文版《全集》。

通过出版（英文版）《全集》，许多问题我们可以作出更好的回答。这些问题包括：她是否发展过一种独特的革命民主观点并使得她区别于同时代的其他人？显然，对于列宁组织上过度的中央集权制（在1904年和1911—1912年间）以及继布尔什维克掌权以后他对工人民主的抑制，卢森堡持强烈反对意见。但是，作为波兰马克思主义运动的领袖，卢森堡自己在她的工作中是否实践了革命民主概念？抑或她是否具有她所批判别人时所说的集中领导倾向？如若不能了解她所有的波兰文著作——（这些著作）学者至今仍很大程度上无法获得，则不可能完全回答这个问题。此外，卢森堡是否具有一个独特的组织性概念？或者，她是否仍受制于那些用来界定她所在时代革命者的那种组织性理论与实践？关于自发性及其在社会变革中的重要性，卢森堡无疑有许多话说，但是对于主导第二国际的“先锋党”的角色，她是否也有基本的理解，抑或她是否超越了它呢？她是一位对西方马克思主义后来的理论方法作出预测的辩证思想家吗？还是说，她的理论著作仍很大程度上受制于那些定义第二国际的马克思主义为经济决定论和经验主义的那类参数？最重要的是，从整体来看，卢森堡的著作是否直接处理今天所面临的激进运动中最重要的问题——为提供一种可选择的资本主义形式而发展出一个可行的概念，是“自由市场”还是所谓的中央集权制社会主义，应该对过去100年中这么多经济、政治以及环境毁坏等问题负责呢？^①

显然，直到她的全部文集可供探索，我们才有可能回答上述以及其他

① For more on this, see Peter Hudis, *Mars's Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2013.

相关问题。通过这项工作来探索我们对卢森堡了解多少，我们很容易遭受打击，因为只不过几年前，我们还对此几乎一无所知。举例来说，有多少人听说过她的人类学著作？又有多少人在多大程度上知道她研究前资本主义社会的积极贡献？又有多少人知道她是如何小心翼翼地揭示了非洲和拉丁美洲的土著居民灭绝的根源？为守护帝国主义扩张的受害者，她又发出怎样的呐喊？当她关于这个问题的著作被看作一个整体——现在可以通过英文版《全集》第一卷获得，我们就可以知道，她不是仅仅将殖民主义当作一个历史问题来处理，而是实际上将其作为最重要的种族批判问题之一，这是资本主义的通病。美国新一代反种族主义活动家兴起，特别是在过去一年里，在很大程度上提升争论点，即抓住了卢森堡的一些关注点。在这个意义上说，整个会议可以讨论卢森堡以及种族主义和反殖民统治的问题。

最后但并不是最次要的一点是，将卢森堡作为原始角色即她信件中所显著呈现的那样去理解她。为了帮助读者阅读英文版《全集》，沃索出版社于2011年为该系列出版了指南——安格尼斯·拉施查（Annelies Laschitzka）的译著和乔治·阿德勒（Georg Adler）的《您最真诚的罗莎》（*Herzlichst Ihrer Rosa*）一书，作为《罗莎·卢森堡书信集》（*The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*）来出版。这份600页的文集是所发表的关于卢森堡的英文版最全的书信集，英语世界国家学者第一次获得如此之多的卢森堡信件。

我们用这一册指南介绍《全集》是为了吸引读者关注卢森堡的兴趣点和贡献的多面性、多维度特征。这本书在学术期刊上、左翼刊物和网站上、大众传播的期刊和杂志上均受到广泛评论。在过去的五十年里，卢森堡在英语国家从来没有受到像在这一卷中所出现的评论如此之多的关注。这些评论有来自杰奎琳·罗斯（《伦敦书评》）、塞拉·罗博瑟姆（《英国卫报》）、维维安·戈尼克（《民族报》）、克里斯托弗·希钦斯（《大西洋月刊》）、乔尔·沙利特（《犹太前进报》）、亚当·柯什（《犹太人书评》）、乔治·菲什（《新政治》）、莱斯利·张伯伦（《新政治家》杂志），还有其他许多人的评论。一位马克思主义思想家受到（如此广泛的）公开讨论，尤其是在美国，这是极为罕见的，我们乐见这一卷引起的反响。

为什么《卢森堡书信集》的发行引发这么多关注？现在，卢森堡著作在世界其他地区的出版情况如何？这都值得我们去探讨。

当然，这些评论（几乎都是对卢森堡的贡献持赞赏态度）分析了她的遗产的不同方面。有的人认为，卢森堡矢志不渝地坚持主张参与性民主制，这与其克服资本主义的努力不可分离；有些人则强调卢森堡对资本全球化有先见之明；还有些评论者探讨她的人格，这涉及很多不同的方面。像英国女权主义学者和哲学家杰奎琳·罗斯（Jacqueline Rose）在《伦敦书评》中所说的那样，对卢森堡而言“革命的流沙与心灵的变化或多或少是相同的。就此而言，（她的）书信是极为重要的；不仅仅因为它们亲密关系的贮藏室，而且更展现出个人与政治之间的不间断的交流”^①。像许多评论者一样，罗斯看到卢森堡试图打破外部政治世界的论战与内部自我认识之间的壁垒；试图突破传统范畴（的束缚），使我们在比经济发展水平和政治组织等更广泛的条件下争取思想解放。“请保持你的人性！”^②——这声呐喊是玛蒂尔德·乌尔姆于1916年信中写到的——似乎吸引了许多人重新审视罗莎·卢森堡的遗产。

在我转述的这些评论中，无论我们获得了多少关于其著作各方面的专业知识，仍有许多关于卢森堡的内容需要我们所有人去学习。考虑到在20世纪20年代，保尔·弗洛利希已经致力于出版卢森堡的《全集》的事业，花了这么长时间，她所有的著作才最终付梓印刷，这实在令人羞愧。但从另一个层面来说，现在资本主义似乎达到了历史顶峰，可谓时机正好——预想替代资本主义的可选择性道路变得比以往任何时候都重要。

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译者：刘艳芳）

① See Jacqueline Rose, "What More Could We Want of Ourselves!", in *London Review of Books*, June 16, 2011, p. 5.

② "Letter to Mathilde Wurm of December 28, 1916", in *The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*, edited by Georg Adler, Peter Hudis and Annelies Laschitzka, London and New York: Verso Books, 2011, p. 363.

关于罗莎·卢森堡波兰文著作的一些方面^{*}

霍尔格·波利特

罗莎·卢森堡用德文写下了大约长达 6000 页的著作，用波兰文写下了大约长达 3000 页的著作。用德文写成的那部分不仅在德国，而且在世界范围内也是人们熟知的。用波兰文写成的那部分很多还是不为人知，肯定不及德文部分知名——这不仅是在世界范围内，而且在波兰国内也是同样的。造成这一状况的原因，只能到罗莎·卢森堡著作的接受史中去寻找。

罗莎·卢森堡所写的大多数波兰文著作都是为私运到其他国家的非法报刊而写的。这些国家包括法国、德国和奥地利，当时俄属波兰地区的工业中心——波兰王国。在 1815 年到 1915 年间，拥有 130000 平方公里广阔土地及 1000 万居民的波兰王国成了沙俄的西部地区。华沙和罗兹是重要的工业和工人中心。自 1890 年起，当地便出现强大的工人运动。

罗莎·卢森堡撰稿的第一份报刊是《工人事业》（*Sprawa Robotnicza*）。那时她还在瑞士。《工人事业》是沙俄境内第一份社会民主刊物。从 1893 年到 1896 年，该报出版了 25 期并发行了 1000 份。罗莎·卢森堡是该报的四个编辑之一，并且每一期都为该报撰写一些文章。

下一份合法出版的社会民主刊物是自 1902 年到 1913 年的《红色旗帜》（*Czerwony Sztandar*）。在此期间该报出版了 190 期，其中有超过 100

^{*} Original title: Some Aspects about the Polish Work of Rosa Luxemburg, by Hoiger Politt.

期出版于1905年到1906年的革命期间。革命期间《红色旗帜》发行了15000到20000份，并增刊1000到2000份。《红色旗帜》的主编是里奥·约吉希斯（Leo Jogiches），罗莎·卢森堡在政治事业和波兰社会民主运动上的亲密伴侣。

从1902年到1904年和1908年到1910年间出版了41期《社会民主党评论》（*Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny*）——波兰社会民主运动最重要的理论刊物和欧洲社会民主运动中最好的理论报刊之一。里奥·约吉希斯是编辑，罗莎·卢森堡是主要撰稿人。1908年到1909年间在这里刊印了罗莎·卢森堡波兰文的重要著作《民族问题与自治》。

在大多数情况下，罗莎·卢森堡都是匿名为非法的波兰报刊写作的。发现作者身份的重要线索是罗莎·卢森堡那些被保存下来的书信，尤其是与里奥·约吉希斯的通信。这些书信在20世纪50年代由波兰历史学家费利克斯·季赫（Feliks Tych）在莫斯科档案馆中发现。

罗莎·卢森堡著作波兰文部分的主要议题是波兰问题、在国际政治环境下沙俄帝国中的民主化之间的关系、最终在1905年1月圣彼得堡爆发的社会革命，以及工人的社会民主运动发展的问题。

1893年到1914年间波兰工人运动主要期间两个政党的主要议题是民族自决权和波兰独立的问题。波兰社会党（PPS）于1892年在巴黎近郊建立，力主重建一个独立的波兰。该党关于民族问题的杰出人物是马克思主义者卡茨米茨·克勒斯—考茨（Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz）。波兰王国和立陶宛社会民主党（SDKPiL）于1893年由罗莎·卢森堡和里奥·约吉希斯在瑞士成立，他们认为只有在德国、奥地利和俄国之间的基础上才能找到波兰问题的解决之道。所以，这些帝国之间的工人运动与德国、奥地利和俄国的社会民主党的联系十分重要。

对于今天罗莎·卢森堡的著作的接受情况来说，一个重要的事实是，自20世纪以来在波兰再无以罗莎·卢森堡为主题的研究，并且，在公众印象中这些研究是消极的。这不仅源于罗莎·卢森堡对波兰问题的看法，而且还源于人们对波兰的社会主义政权的主流印象。这就是为何要保留罗莎·卢森堡波兰文著作的原因所在。然而，通过其他语言、尤其

是通过德语和英语保留这些著作如何可能，则是需要我们继续研究的重要内容。

(作者单位：俄国罗莎·卢森堡基金会
译者：刘艳芳)

罗莎·卢森堡的著作和研究文献 在中国的出版和刊发*

邓仁斌

罗莎·卢森堡是19世纪末20世纪初欧洲国际共产主义运动的著名领袖，是德国马克思主义者、德国共产党的创始人之一，是第二国际的左派思想家和理论家。她生活和战斗在一个充满复杂的社会矛盾和革命难题的历史时代，但她以自己的革命意志和思想智慧，创造了国际共产主义运动史上可歌可泣的伟大壮举，她的思想和胆略以及优秀的革命品质，是全世界马克思主义者的永恒的宝贵财富。

我国马克思主义学术理论界对罗莎·卢森堡的关注由来已久。近30多年来，我国国内马克思主义史研究界和国际共产主义运动史研究界，以及马克思主义哲学史研究界和德国现代史研究界，一直都对罗莎·卢森堡的研究比较重视。近年来，学术界研究她的思想和著作的兴趣和意愿日益增强，且有持续升温之势。

为了适应这种学术状况，我认为系统地回顾和总结一下罗莎·卢森堡的著作和罗莎·卢森堡的研究论著在中国的出版和刊发情况，即把握研究卢森堡的中文文献资源的存量和增量的状态，对国内外的卢森堡研究有一定的明了底里的帮助和促进作用。

我花了一些时间，对国内出版与刊发研究罗莎·卢森堡思想和生平

* Original title: The Publication and Issue of Works and Research Literature of Rosa Luxemburg, by Deng Ren'ci.

活动的文献的历史和现状，做了一些梳理工作，觉得这个工作还有一些学术意义，因此乐于把它提供给大家，供学术界和出版界同仁作为工作参考。

这个梳理包括四部分内容：第一部分是关于罗莎·卢森堡的著作迄今为止在中国的翻译和出版情况；第二部分是研究罗莎·卢森堡的学术著作在中国的翻译和出版情况；第三部分是我们中国学术研究界、大学和出版界用中文写作的关于罗莎·卢森堡的研究论文在中国的刊发情况；第四部分是改革开放以来国内大学的硕士研究生和博士研究生撰写关于罗莎·卢森堡的思想的学位论文的成果情况。

一、罗莎·卢森堡著作在中国的翻译和出版情况

罗莎·卢森堡的著作的中文版在中国的出现，最早应该追溯到 88 年前的 1927 年 3 月，由陈寿僧译、胡汉民校订的罗莎·卢森堡的著作《新经济学》，由“中国新文社”在中国当时最大的商业中心城市上海出版。

新中国成立后的第 9 年，即 1958 年，三联书店出版了由徐坚翻译的罗莎·卢森堡的《社会改良还是社会革命？》这本书。

其后一年，即 1959 年，三联书店又出版了由彭尘舜和吴纪先两人共同翻译的罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》，1962 年三联书店还出版了彭尘舜翻译的罗莎·卢森堡的《国民经济学入门》一书。

到了“文化大革命”以后的改革开放新时期，罗莎·卢森堡的著作连续四年在中国都有出版：

1981 年 2 月，中共中央编译局出版的学术期刊《国际共运史研究资料》出版了一期增刊，叫做“卢森堡专辑”，其中发表了由编译局的 5 位研究者翻译的罗莎·卢森堡的 6 篇论文^①。该专辑中还发表了周懋庸对《俄国革命》手稿的写作、出版及其影响的介绍。专辑的附录中还有《罗

① 这 6 篇论文是：李宗禹翻译的《俄国社会民主党的组织问题》、殷叙彝翻译的《论俄国革命》、于沪生翻译的《再论群众和领袖》和《俄国的悲剧》、晓冰翻译的《国民会议》和周容翻译的《斯巴达克同盟想要什么？》（摘录）。

莎·卢森堡著作目录》。

同一年，人民文学出版社出版了由邱崇仁和傅韦翻译的《狱中书简》，1982年黑龙江人民出版社出版了由柴金如等翻译的罗莎·卢森堡和俄国的布哈林的合辑著作《帝国主义与资本积累》。

1983年人民文学出版社出版了王以铸翻译的罗莎·卢森堡的《论文学》。

1984年人民出版社出版了《卢森堡文选》（上卷）。

六年以后，到1990年冬天，我们人民出版社出版了《卢森堡文选》（下卷）。当时的20世纪80年代末中国的图书发行还是实行的计划经济，图书的印数都必须要通过新华书店进行征订，然后我们根据反馈的信息再决定印数。《卢森堡文选》下卷在1990年出版前的反馈的预订数不足500册。这个印数，按照中国出版业当时的惯例来说，确实是不值得出版印刷的。但是，为了给中国读者提供研究卢森堡的文本，为了推动卢森堡思想的研究工作，我们出版社没有考虑经济损失，毅然地印出了这几百册。与这种情况相比较，90年代末以后，中国学者和广大读者对罗莎·卢森堡的兴趣日益增加，因而对卢森堡著作的需求也不断递增。后来到了2010年前后，有些学者听说我们打算出新版的《卢森堡文选》，便主动打来电话催问具体的出版时间。这说明中国学术界对罗莎·卢森堡著作的出版有强烈的渴望。而由李宗禹研究员编译的新的《卢森堡文选》，到2012年才由人民出版社出版。这本新的文选的文本，是以以前的那个上下卷《文选》的译者在原有文本的基础上，对卢森堡思想的更深入一步的研究，形成了新的更为确切的理解，对以前的那个上下卷《文选》的内容作了调整，增加了《论俄国革命》等篇章。应该说，上面所谈到的这三本《文选》，到目前为止，是在中国国内具有权威性和完整性的卢森堡著作的中文版本。

这里还不应该忘记另外两本罗莎·卢森堡的著作，那就是由殷叙彝研究员翻译的、由贵州人民出版社在2001年出版的《论俄国革命·书信集》和傅惟慈等译的、由花城出版社在2007年出版的《狱中书简》。

二、中国人研究罗莎·卢森堡的学术专著和介绍 罗莎·卢森堡的通俗著作的出版情况

早在94年前的1921年，中国的马克思主义者李达，就在上海的《民国日报》副刊《妇女评论》上，发表了《介绍几个女革命家》一文，其中有一部分专门介绍罗莎·卢森堡。这是中国学术理论界第一次关注罗莎·卢森堡。

1922年，李达又发表了《李卜克内西传》和《女权运动史》两篇文章，在这两篇文章中，他都高度评价和赞扬了卢森堡的思想、才华和人格魅力，使中国的学术理论界进一步熟悉了罗莎·卢森堡。

新中国成立后，到1956年，人民出版社组织研究专家，编写了一本第二国际的六位马克思主义者的传记合辑，书名叫作《威廉·李卜克内西、奥古斯特·倍倍尔、保罗·拉法格、弗兰茨·梅林、罗莎·卢森堡、卡尔·李卜克内西》，其中对罗莎·卢森堡的介绍，是新中国成立之后的第一次。

从那时到现在，中国国内出版的研究和介绍罗莎·卢森堡的著作共有10本。它们是：

1. 由商务印书馆1972年出版的程人乾著《罗莎·卢森堡》，该书在1994年由人民出版社再版。

2. 人民出版社1983年出版的叶夫泽罗夫和亚日鲍罗夫斯卡娅著《罗莎·卢森堡传》。

3. 中共党史出版社1997年出版的尹庆军著《倍倍尔·卢森堡·蔡特金·台尔曼的故事》。

4. 由春风文艺出版社（沈阳）2000年出版的玛丽亚·赛德曼著、曹伯岩译《罗莎·卢森堡与列奥·约吉谢斯》。

5. 时事出版社2004年出版的陈其人著《世界体系论的否定与肯定——卢森堡〈资本积累论〉研究》。

6. 东方出版中心2009年出版的陈其人著《卢森堡资本积累理论研究》。

7. 人民出版社2011年出版的熊敏著《资本全球化的逻辑与历史——

罗莎·卢森堡资本积累理论研究》。

8. 人民出版社 2013 年出版的何萍主编的《罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义》

9. 人民出版社 2013 年出版的贾淑品著《列宁、卢森堡、考茨基与伯恩斯坦主义》。

10. 工人出版社 2014 年出版的孙兰芝著《卢森堡》。

三、中国在改革开放后的新历史时期研究罗莎·卢森堡的学术研究论文的刊发情况

从 1979 年开始，就有介绍罗莎·卢森堡的研究论文在中国国内的学术刊物上发表。根据我的大体统计，从这一年开始到 2015 年初，在中国的学术期刊（包括大学的学报、各级社会科学院的学术刊物以及其他学术机构的刊物）上，研究和介绍罗莎·卢森堡的生平、思想、著作、活动的学术论文共计有 224 篇。

其中刊发论文数量最多的是 1981 年和 2006 年：1981 年是 20 篇，2006 年是 34 篇。

其余刊发较多的年份分别是：1982 年（8 篇）、1983 年（7 篇）、1991 年和 1992 年（各 5 篇）、2002 年（6 篇）、2005 年（10 篇）、2007 年（7 篇）、2008 年（9 篇）、2009 年（17 篇）、2010 年（10 篇）、2011 年（14 篇）、2012 年（16 篇）、2013 年（9 篇）、2014 年（10 篇）。

通过论文刊发情况的统计数字，我们可以看出，与此前的 20 多年相比，2005 年以来的近十年对罗莎·卢森堡的学术研究在中国一直处于一个比较稳定的高涨期。

四、改革开放以来国内大学已经通过学位答辩的研究罗莎·卢森堡的学位论文成果情况

应该看到，已经通过答辩的学位论文，是研究著作出版的后备学术资

源。例如第二部分中熊敏和贾淑品的研究专著，就是在她们的学位论文的基础上加工写作而成的。

2001年以来，中国国内（未包括港澳台地区）以罗莎·卢森堡研究为论题的硕士和博士论文总共有25部，其中博士论文6部，硕士论文19部。这25部学位论文分别是：龙润霞硕士的《卢森堡社会主义革命理论评析》（1986）、杨少军硕士的《论卢森堡的建党思想》（1988）、姜乃兵硕士的《罗莎·卢森堡的民主观评析》（2004）、熊敏博士的《资本全球化的逻辑与历史：罗莎·卢森堡资本积累理论研究》（2006）、刘政仙硕士的《论罗莎·卢森堡对妇女解放运动的贡献》（2007）、张传恩硕士的《罗莎·卢森堡与列宁在党建问题上的争论及其启示》（2007）、张小红硕士的《论罗莎·卢森堡的民族思想》（2008）、刘长军硕士的《论卢森堡的马克思主义观》（2008）、何边硕士的《卢森堡〈资本积累论〉的解读》（2008）、张丽红硕士的《罗莎·卢森堡的民主思想与列宁的民主集中制思想的比较研究》（2008）、闵凯硕士的《卢森堡资本积累理论及其现实意义》（2009）、温士兴硕士的《罗莎·卢森堡民主思想研究》（2009）、王琳琳硕士的《论罗莎·卢森堡的民主观》（2010）、黄杰博士的《罗莎·卢森堡政治哲学研究》（2010）、卢迎春硕士的《论罗莎·卢森堡的社会主义观》（2010）、贾淑品博士的《卢森堡对伯恩斯坦主义的认识与批评》（2011）、张小红博士的《罗莎·卢森堡总体性方法研究》（2011）、赵春清博士的《历史与人的解放：罗莎·卢森堡社会革命思想研究》（2011）、王莉硕士的《罗莎·卢森堡哲学思想》（2011）、李静硕士的《罗莎·卢森堡思想研究》（2012）、范冉冉博士的《卢森堡总体性视域下的社会主义思想研究》（2012）、赵晨硕士的《罗莎·卢森堡经济理论述评》（2014）、沈文举硕士的《列宁和罗莎·卢森堡群众观的比较研究及当代价值》（2014）、袁征硕士的《列宁与罗莎·卢森堡民主思想比较研究》（2014）和钟路硕士的《罗莎·卢森堡的民族思想研究》（2014）。这些论文一共有15个论题，其中，研究卢森堡民主理论的有5部，研究卢森堡的经济思想的有4部，研究卢森堡的社会主义理论的有2部，研究卢森堡的革命理论的有2部，研究卢森堡的民族理论的有2部，

研究卢森堡的妇女理论的有1部，研究卢森堡的群众观念的有1部，研究卢森堡的总体性方法的有1部，研究卢森堡的哲学思想的有1部，研究革命思想的有1部，研究人的解放思想的有1部，研究哲学思想的有1部，研究政治哲学的有1部，研究卢森堡与伯恩施坦关系的有1部，从整体上研究卢森堡思想的有1部。这些学位论文反映了中国学术界在卢森堡研究领域后继人才的茁壮成长，也表现了中国在研究罗莎·卢森堡的学术领域的教育思想取向和后继人才培养的学术水平。

国内马克思主义学术研究界和出版界一贯认为，罗莎·卢森堡研究文献和研究著作的出版，是马克思主义思想史文献出版和学术研究出版事业的一个有机的、不可分割的、不可或缺的组成部分。我相信，我们对罗莎·卢森堡的著作文献的出版会做得更好。在条件成熟的情况下，我想其中也必然不能不包含《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中文版的出版，以及关于罗莎·卢森堡的大量研究著作（包括中国学者的研究著作和翻译外国学者关于罗莎·卢森堡的研究著作）的中文版的出版。

（作者单位：人民出版社）

《罗莎·卢森堡全集》翻译与 马克思主义中国化^{*}

赵士发

《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中文版的翻译和出版是当代中国马克思主义学界的一件大事，也是马克思主义中国化的一件大事。我们首先应当对《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的中文版给出一个恰当的理论定位，弄清它在马克思主义中国化中的地位和作用，并注意一些重要的问题，才有可能顺利推进这项工作的展开。

一、关于《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中文版的定位问题

给《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中文版一个科学的定位，这是一个前提性问题。卢森堡全集中文版的翻译、研究、编辑出版是一项系统工程，在定位上应有一个明确的说法，这是一个学术研究版还是一个政治学习版，还是二者兼具。这个定位决定了后面的编辑工作。如果是学术研究版，客观性是最高要求，那就要像有些学者讲的那样，严格以时间和历史为顺序，考证编排卢森堡的全集。而要便于学习的话，则要分门别类，按学科去编排更便于学习把握。如果要二者兼具，则按历史段分学科去编排。

关于定位，更为重要的，还要在马克思主义发展史上给它一个定位，

^{*} Original title: *The Translation of The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg and the Localization of Marxism in China*, by Zhao Shifa.

这是马克思主义中国化的一件大事。卢森堡思想反映了马克思主义的发展，在马克思主义发展史上占有重要地位，卢森堡关于资本实现的理论、关于民主的理论、关于社会主义革命的思想、关于妇女解放的思想等都是马克思没有来得及深入研究和展开的，从一定意义上发展了马克思主义。中文版的翻译将为中国学者打开一扇窗户，呈现19、20世纪马克思主义在波兰与德国的重要发展情况。这在一定意义上是马克思主义中国化的进一步展开，有助于中国马克思主义理论的研究和发展。中国学者们在研究罗莎·卢森堡的思想时，总会结合当代中国社会的理论与实践的需要，将卢森堡的思想中国化，这样，卢森堡的思想将走向当代，走向中国，并在中国的现代化实践中走向未来。于是，卢森堡全集的翻译就应当定位于当代中国马克思主义中国化的重要环节之一，我们所有从事这项工作的学者都应当感受到身上的这一责任。这个定位将有助于卢森堡全集翻译与研究水平的提高。

二、《罗莎·卢森堡全集》翻译与马克思主义中国化

（一）全集翻译与马克思主义中国化的前提问题

关于马克思主义中国化问题，在学界是有很大争议的。2013年在江西井冈山大学开全国马克思主义哲学史年会，主题就是马克思主义中国化。会上有人提出马克思主义中国化是一个伪命题，说这一命题的前提有问题。这一提法的逻辑是马克思主义属于西方文化传统，中国文明属于东方文化传统，两种特殊的东西不可能结合。显然，这种说法是有问题的。说马克思主义属于西方文化传统，充其量只是一个可能的前提。还有一个可能的前提，那就是马克思主义是一种世界历史性的理论，这是既合历史又合逻辑的。因为马克思主义是历史向世界历史转变时代的产物，马克思主义的研究对象是人类社会与社会化了的人类，我的理解，社会化了的人类就是相互之间具有普遍交往的人类，当时中国已经成为世界历史的一部分，马克思的东方社会理论对中国与东方社会多有论析。从逻辑上讲，马克思主义与中国实际的关系，不是特殊与特殊的关系，而是普遍与特殊的

关系，二者是对立统一的。其实，武汉大学前校长现资深教授陶德麟先生在《马克思主义中国化的两个前提性问题》这篇文章中，对马克思主义中国化的必要性与可能性有过充分的论证。马克思主义中国化最早就是从翻译开始的。马恩全集的中文翻译就是马克思主义中国化的重要实践，为中国马克思主义的发展作出了重要贡献。今天，卢森堡全集中文版的翻译出版，将是马克思主义中国化的又一次重要理论实践。如果翻译得好，将再次证明马克思主义中国化是可能的与必要的。

（二）马克思主义中国化对全集翻译提出的问题

这个实践过程中面临着双重挑战，一是跨语言的翻译问题，二是跨文化的理解问题。

就第一方面而言，卢森堡的原著有德文、波兰文和英文。这就要求中文版要尽量以原著为基础进行翻译，尽量全部由德语或波兰语直接翻译为汉语，英语版只能是个参考。因为，经过英语中介，德语和波兰语肯定会加入或者减少一些作者的原义，准确性和客观性会大打折扣。这中间牵涉到跨文化的理解问题，虽然英语和德语都属于西方文明，但在哲学上差别还是很大的，属于两种不同的哲学传统，在思维方式上也会有很大的区别——特别需要注意的是，德国马克思主义的理论传统。如果不注意这些区别，很可能就会在翻译过程中出现错误：如主体与主观、客体与客观、对立与矛盾、同一与统一等一些关键概念，在英语中区别不大，但在德语中可能有区别。我在德国访问卢森堡基金会座谈时，艾维琳·维希就说过英文版中有一些错误，这次来到中国后，她又专门找到我，直接说了她的想法，她说英文版中有“Many Mistakes”，建议我们应主要以德文版为依据翻译成中文版。的确，我们从德文直接翻译为中文，也可能会有错误，但至少错误会少些。

就第二个方面而言，文集出版工作要与中西文化交流、与马克思主义中国化的理论事业联系起来。卢森堡全集中承载着波兰与德国等国民族的价值观念，承载着马克思主义的价值理想，翻译它需要研究和了解这些价值观念，并以中文准确表达这些价值观念，做到信达雅，这不是一件容易

的事。我相信，英文版中的一些错误是与价值观念不同有关的。我们要弄清为什么英文版中会出现那些错误，尽量避免在中文版中犯这些错。特别是现在，我们中文版卢森堡全集工作基本分三块，一是翻译，二是研究，三是编辑出版。由于语言问题，前面的翻译工作与后面的研究与编辑由不同的人来做，中间可能会出现一些问题，如缺少研究的人去翻译，可能会出现错误。而研究者不能阅读原著，有时也不能发现错误。我想，这项工程一方面要求翻译者加强研究，另一方面也要求研究者加强德语学习。

三、《罗莎·卢森堡全集》编辑应注意的问题

首先，正确对待卢森堡与列宁、伯恩斯坦等人的论争。应在研究的基础上对相关内容加上必要的客观说明与编者注。一方面有助于人们正确理解和对待这些论争，另一方面也可让人们了解到现有研究程度，让后人少走弯路，从而有助于促进卢森堡思想研究。正确处理这个问题将有助于加深对马克思主义的理解。

其次，应对《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的德文版和英文版进行比较研究。一方面要厘清二者的区别和联系，弄清背后的原因。唯有如此，才可能在《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中文版的翻译过程中做到取长补短。另一方面要特别重视对两个版本特别是德文版的考证研究，因为德文版是翻译的母本，如果母本出了错误和问题，那中文版就成为以讹传讹。特别是那些卢森堡以笔名发表的论著，都需要作详细的考证，找到可靠的论据证明是卢森堡本人所作，才能收录文集。所以只有在考证研究的基础上，确认一个可靠的翻译母本作前提，才能弄出一个可靠的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中文版。

最后，应在翻译中创新马克思主义的学术话语体系。早期马克思主义中国化也是从翻译开始的，而且开创了马克思主义中国化的一套话语体系。今天我们翻译研究出版卢森堡全集，时代条件已经变了，时空间距更小，对我们创新马克思主义中国化的话语系统提出了新要求与新条件。在学术话语体系创新方面，应联系当代中国与世界的学术语境，创立新的学

术话语。如生态、女权、后现代社会这些问题，应创立马克思主义的话语体系。让《罗莎·卢森堡全集》及其承载的卢森堡思想走向当代，走向未来。

(作者单位：武汉大学哲学学院)



二、历史与现实：罗莎·卢森堡 思想的境遇与命运

Part II History and Reality: The Situation and the
Fate of Rosa Luxemburg's Thought

21 世纪以来国外罗莎·卢森堡 思想研究及其走向

何 萍 唐启良

进入 21 世纪以来，罗莎·卢森堡思想研究成为当代国外马克思主义研究的一个亮点。这个亮点始于 20 世纪 90 年代。在此之前，国外学者对罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究虽然从未间断过，但始终都是以否定罗莎·卢森堡的思想为基调的。这种否定的基调，一是来自列宁对罗莎·卢森堡思想的批评；二是来自 20 世纪 30 年代斯大林对罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的禁锢。从 20 世纪 90 年代开始，国外学者在反思苏东事变的经验教训和思考当代世界体系的问题中，重新思考罗莎·卢森堡的思想，逐渐改变了罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的基调，力图从肯定的角度发掘罗莎·卢森堡思想的当代意义。经过 20 世纪 90 年代的积累，进入 21 世纪后，罗莎·卢森堡思想研究以一个全新的面貌展现在人们的面前。在这里，我们将从三个方面介绍 21 世纪以来国外罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的进展情况。这三个方面分别是：第一，罗莎·卢森堡英文著作的出版及对罗莎·卢森堡思想的再评价；第二，罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的主要论题；第三，国际罗莎·卢森堡学会及其活动。

一、罗莎·卢森堡英文著作的出版及其思想的再评价

罗莎·卢森堡著作的原文是由四种语言写成的：波兰语、德语、俄语和意第绪语（Yiddish）。从 20 世纪 50 年代开始，国外学者将罗莎·卢森

堡的著作译成英文出版，极大地推进了罗莎·卢森堡思想在世界范围内的研究。从20世纪50年代到80年代，罗莎·卢森堡的主要著作和书信，都已经译成了英文。然而，由于受到罗莎·卢森堡思想研究基调的影响，这些译著，或者在评价上，或者在论著的择取上，失之偏颇。为了适应新一轮罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的需要，国外学者从20世纪90年代开始，着手重新编辑和翻译出版罗莎·卢森堡的英文版著作。其中，影响最大的有：2003年由英国劳特利奇出版社（Routledge）以“劳特利奇经典系列”出版的《资本积累论》（*The Accumulation of Capital*）、2004年由美国每月评论出版社（Monthly Review）出版的《罗莎·卢森堡读本》（*The Rosa Luxemburg Reader*）、2009年由英国梅林出版社（Merlin）出版的《罗莎·卢森堡政治和文学著作选》（*Rosa Luxemburg Selected Political and Literary Writings*）、2010年由英国沃索出版社（Verso）出版的《罗莎·卢森堡书信集》（*The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg: Letters from the Heroic German Revolutionary to her Comrades, Friends and Lovers*）、从2011年开始由英国沃索出版社（Verso）陆续出版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》（*The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*）。除此之外，还有一些著作把罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究论文和罗莎·卢森堡本人的著作合编一册，更显示出当代学者对罗莎·卢森堡思想的重新研究和评价的重视。保尔·莱·布朗克（Paul Le Blanc）主编的《罗莎·卢森堡：反思和著作》（*Rosa Luxemburg: Reflections and Writings*, Humanity Books, 1999）就是这样一部著作。这部著作的第一部分是研究罗莎·卢森堡的专题论文，第二部分是罗莎·卢森堡的原著。附录分别开列了罗莎·卢森堡的主要著作、研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的最重要的著作和相关论著。海伦·斯科特（Helen Scott）主编的《基本的罗莎·卢森堡：改良还是革命，群众罢工》（*The Essential Rosa Luxemburg: Reform or Revolution and The Mass Strike*, Haymarket Books, 2010）也是这样一部著作。《社会改良还是革命？》和《群众罢工》是罗莎·卢森堡生平最重要的两部著作，海伦·斯科特在全文发表这两部著作时，还为这两部著作写了导言、说明性注释、附录和历史性解读。

在这里，我们重点介绍其中最重要著作的具体内容及译者对这些著作的评价和择取论著的说明。

（一）《资本积累论》

《资本积累论》是罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学名著。这部著作写于1913年，原文是德语。在这部著作中，罗莎·卢森堡批评了马克思的资本积累图式，提出了自己的资本积累图式。罗莎·卢森堡指出，马克思的资本积累图式是从资本主义生产方式内部的生产、消费两大部类的生产和交换的比例关系来说明资本主义的再生产问题，这是根本不可能实现的，因为资本主义的再生产是一个历史的过程，这个过程是在资本主义与非资本主义的相互依存的环境中发展起来的，因此，资本积累的图式应该是由资本主义生产方式和非资本主义生产方式构成的一个整体。这个观点一提出，就受到了来自各个方面的批评：经济学家们主要围绕着罗莎·卢森堡在书中提出的资本积累图式的可行性，或赞成，或反驳罗莎·卢森堡；哲学家们主要围绕着罗莎·卢森堡与马克思的资本主义理论的关系来评价罗莎·卢森堡提出新的理论图式的意义，或指责罗莎·卢森堡对马克思《资本论》的批评是完全错误的，比如列宁和布哈林，或赞赏罗莎·卢森堡发展了马克思的资本主义理论，赞赏这部著作是自马克思之后，论述资本主义理论最精湛、最有价值的作品，比如梅林。这场争论也以《导言》的形式出现在《资本积累论》的英译本中。

1951年，英国的劳特利奇出版社（Routledge）出版了罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》的英译本，并请现代凯恩斯主义（Keynesian）新剑桥派的主要代表人物琼·罗宾逊（Joan Robinson）为该书写了导言。在这篇导言中，琼·罗宾逊把罗莎·卢森堡的这部著作置于现代凯恩斯主义的话语系统中加以评价：一方面，她赞赏罗莎·卢森堡提出和探讨了马克思《资本论》中隐藏的问题——资本主义的扩大再生产如何可能的问题；另一方面，她把罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式置于现代凯恩斯主义亟待解决的收支分配的平衡、有效需求和货币的关系等问题中加以探讨，评价这一图式的合理性和不足之处，这就把罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》一书

解释成了一部研究微观经济学的著作。琼·罗宾逊的这篇《导言》在很长时间内影响了西方学者对于罗莎·卢森堡《资本积累论》一书的研究方向。

2003年，劳特利奇出版社将罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》一书列入“劳特利奇经典系列”（the Routledge Classics），出版了第二版英译本，并请波兰科学院的著名经济学家、罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究专家泰狄上·科瓦利克（Tadeusz Kowalik）为该书的新版写一篇导言。科瓦利克自20世纪50年代开始，就追随罗莎·卢森堡的波兰继承人、波—德著名的经济学家米歇尔·卡列斯基（Michał Kalecki）研究罗莎·卢森堡的思想，也因此而受到迫害，一度离开波兰科学院而失业，直到波兰解禁罗莎·卢森堡思想研究后，他才返回波兰科学院，继续他的研究工作。卡列斯基主要从资本主义动力学理论的角度研究罗莎·卢森堡的思想。科瓦利克继承了卡列斯基的研究思路，从全球资本主义体系的内在动力的角度重新评价罗莎·卢森堡的思想。在这篇《导言》中，他不同意琼·罗宾逊把罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》纳入凯恩斯主义的话语系统中加以评价，主张从一个更宏大的视野，即资本主义全球化的视野来评价罗莎·卢森堡的这部著作的理论贡献。从这一观点出发，他强调，《资本积累论》是探讨当代全球社会资本的再生产问题的拓荒之作。在这部著作中，罗莎·卢森堡不仅提出了马克思未曾提出的新的问题，而且还提供了解决这一新问题的分析工具。这个新问题即是：资本主义全球发展的内在动力是什么？这个问题与资产阶级企业家的本质和所依存的环境之间有着什么样的密切联系？这个新的分析工具，就是罗莎·卢森堡提出的资本主义与非资本主义相互依存的资本积累图式。这一图式包含了罗莎·卢森堡解答资本主义全球发展问题的许多新观点：第一，罗莎·卢森堡提出，资产阶级企业家向落后地区的扩张行为不仅仅是受到追求利润的支配，也不仅仅是为了资产阶级企业家之间的竞争，而是为了他们的阶级，是为了某一国家获得全球资本，因此，资本主义与作为资本主义生存环境的非资本主义国家之间的交换过程，是资本主义存在的根基。罗莎·卢森堡以此说明了帝国主义为争夺殖民地而展开竞争的根源，也说明了帝国主义竞争中包含着殖民地

国家为争取民族解放而进行的反抗斗争。第二，罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累理论也是她批判伯恩斯坦改良主义的理论根据。伯恩斯坦提出修正主义观点的理论根据是，生产的集中、企业垄断集团的形成，使资本主义的危机越来越少、民主因素越来越多，在这种环境下，工人阶级只需通过合法的斗争形式就可以获得自己的政治权利和职业权利。罗莎·卢森堡在她批判伯恩斯坦修正主义观点的名篇《社会改良还是革命？》中，从政治哲学的角度分析了社会改良和革命之间的关系。在《资本积累论》中，罗莎·卢森堡强调，生产迅速集中、企业垄断集团的形式的确创造了垄断经济，加速了经济的发展，但是，这种经济的迅速发展是以非资本主义环境的存在为前提的，是发达经济体系通过侵夺、剥削落后的、前资本主义经济体系而实现的，这一切构成了帝国主义时代革命的特殊环境，而发达经济体系对落后经济体系的侵夺、压迫，就是帝国主义时代的新的革命形式。这就从政治经济学的角度论证了革命的必要性，批判了伯恩斯坦的改良主义观点。当代的经济学家和历史学家公认，罗莎·卢森堡所揭示的发达经济体系对落后地区经济体系的剥削，是近二百年来决定世界革命的特殊环境的最重要的因素之一。第三，罗莎·卢森堡在《资本积累论》的最后一章指出，帝国主义是军国主义；军国主义是资产阶级用于解决发达经济体系迅速向落后地区销售生产品和扩张资本的最重要的手段之一，因此，资本的全球扩张必然引起军备竞争，而军备竞争是资本主义全球发展的又一个动力。在概述了以上三个基本观点后，科瓦利克对罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》一书作了一个小结：“《资本积累论》透彻地研究了发达经济体系与今天称之为第三世界的经济体系之间的联系和矛盾。在罗莎·卢森堡看来，这种联系和矛盾是战争与革命的沃土，至少是世界经济永久地变化无常的沃土。在经历了近一个世纪的苦痛之后，几乎所有的政治家和经济分析家们都承认，这些问题在我们这个时代依然是最重要的。”^①科瓦利克对罗莎·卢森堡《资本积累论》思想的这一重新评价虽然与波兰

① Tadeusz Kowalik, "Introduction to the Routledge Classics Edition", from Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, Routledge Classics edition, 2003, p. xiv.

的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的传统相关，但更主要的还是概括了20世纪90年代以来罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的新观点。

这一点，我们还可以从印在该书首页上的保尔·泽瑞姆卡（Paul Zarembka）的一段话得到印证。保尔·泽瑞姆卡是美国纽约大学布法罗分校的教授，也是当代罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的代表人物。他为《资本积累论》的再版写下了这样一段话：“《资本积累论》对马克思的政治经济学作了最重大的发展。这一点在今天已经是无可争议了。这是一本由工人阶级革命领导人写的书。从批判地分析马克思的《资本论》第2卷的手稿开始，以叙述军国主义结束，卢森堡提供了说明资本主义全球化的动力和资本主义结构危机的理论根据。这本书虽然受到了她同时代的思想家列宁和布哈林的强烈批评，但它已经通过了历史的检验，不需要我们再承担任何风险了。”这个简短的评论包含了当代罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的三个最重要的论题：一是重新评价罗莎·卢森堡与马克思的关系，肯定了罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》是对马克思《资本论》的发展；二是提出了研究罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累理论的当代视角，即从全球资本主义发展的内在动力和危机结构方面思考罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累理论的当代价值；三是改变了评价罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累理论的标准，即不能以列宁和布哈林的批评为标准来否定罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累思想，而应该以20世纪以来的历史发展为标准，充分肯定这本书的理论价值。

如果把科瓦利克的导言和泽瑞姆卡的简短评论与琼·罗宾逊的导言作一个比较，我们可以清楚地看到罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》研究变化的轨迹：从20世纪初到60年代，国外学者主要从微观经济学的角度来理解罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累的图式，不断地纠缠于这个图式涉及的经济问题细节，从90年代开始，特别是进入21世纪以来，国外学者转向了从宏观政治经济学的角度来阐发罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式中提出的问题及其解决这些问题的路径，强调罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》是今天的人们研究资本主义世界体系的本质、内在矛盾和未来前景的重要思想资源。其实，罗莎·卢森堡早在她的《资本积累——一个反批判（马克思的信仰者怎样理解马克思的理论）》一书中就已经指出，她的批评家们

把她的资本积累图式理解为一个纯粹的经济问题，完全是一种误读；她提出资本积累图式只是一个例子，其目的在于解决资本主义世界体系及其资本主义世界性危机的一般理论问题。尽管罗莎·卢森堡反复强调这一观点，但在当时却很少有人能够理解，而在今天，这一观点已经为大多数的人所接受、所理解。在这个意义上，可以说，今天的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究与罗莎·卢森堡本人所陈述的思想是一致的。

（二）《罗莎·卢森堡读本》

《罗莎·卢森堡读本》^①是由彼得·胡迪斯（Peter Hudis）和凯文·安德森（Kevin B. Anderson）编辑、翻译的罗莎·卢森堡文集。编者在该书的《导言》中写道：“编写这个读本，旨在为那些力图重新思考今天社会变化的一些根本性问题的学者提供思想资源。”^②从这一目的出发，编者充分吸取了20世纪90年代以来的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的成果，选取罗莎·卢森堡的具有原创性的代表作，并将其分类编排，其中有些论著是20世纪90年代东欧、苏联等国家的档案馆新解密的罗莎·卢森堡文献，编者组织学者将其翻译成英文，使这些文献第一次以英文的形式公开发表。

在《导言》中，编者对《读本》的结构和第一次用英文形式公开发表的文献，作了一一说明。

从结构上看，全书共分五个部分。第一个部分：政治经济学、帝国主义和非西方社会；第二个部分：革命的政治学：改良主义批判、群众罢工理论、关于妇女问题的论著；第三个部分：与列宁争论中的自发性、组织和民主；第四个部分：从反对世界大战到革命的现实；第五个部分：“像雷鸣一般”。这五个部分分别反映了罗莎·卢森堡一生在五个方面的理论成就：第一个部分反映了罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学和帝国主义研究的成就；第二个部分反映了罗莎·卢森堡在反对修正主义方面的成就；第三个

① 以下简称《读本》。

② *The Rosa Luxemburg Reader*, edited by Peter Hudis & Kevin B. Anderson, Monthly Review Press, New York, 2004, p. 8.

部分反映了罗莎·卢森堡在思考俄国革命和社会主义民主建设方面的成就；第四个部分搜集了罗莎·卢森堡在第一次世界大战期间写的反对帝国主义战争和批判社会民主党内的机会主义思潮的论著，反映了她在批判社会民主党内的机会主义中取得的理论的和实践的成就；第五个部分搜集了罗莎·卢森堡在1899—1917年期间在狱中写给约吉希斯和李卜克内西等人的信，反映了一些重大的历史事件对她人生的影响以及她对这些历史事件的基本看法。

从第一次以英文形式发表的文献看，编者着重选取了三份文献：

第一份文献是《奴隶制》。这份文献是罗莎·卢森堡于1907年在柏林社会民主党学校讲授政治经济学课程之后写成的手稿。这部手稿一直封存在俄罗斯国家档案馆，直到20世纪90年代才解密。国际罗莎·卢森堡学会（International Rosa Luxemburg Society）的会长、日本罗莎·卢森堡思想研究专家伊藤成彦（Ito Narihiko）于2002年首次将这部手稿发表在《共产主义史研究年鉴》上，发表时用的是手稿的原始语言——德文。《读本》是第一次将其翻译成英文公开发表。这部手稿是人们开发罗莎·卢森堡的前资本主义社会理论研究的最重要的文献之一。

第二份文献是《俄国社会民主工党第五次代表大会上的致辞》。这份文献是罗莎·卢森堡在俄国社会民主工党第五次代表大会上的讲话。俄国社会民主工党第五次代表大会于1907年5月13日至6月1日在伦敦召开，罗莎·卢森堡以波兰王国和立陶宛社会民主党代表团成员和德国社会民主党代表团成员的双重身份出席这次大会，并在5月16日晚由列宁主持的第七次会议上作了重要讲话。在讲话中，她总结了1905年俄国革命的经验教训，尤其是在组织群众罢工方面的经验教训，展望了国际工人运动的前景，并根据这个经验和马克思的革命理论，评析了俄国革命中的各种政治倾向。这个讲话在会上引起了很大的反响。现在发表的这份文献，就是这个讲话的手稿。这个手稿收藏于莫斯科马克思列宁主义研究所中，1991年，杜娜叶夫斯卡娅（Raya Dunayevskaya）将这份文献以附录的形式在她的《罗莎·卢森堡、妇女解放和马克思的革命哲学》（*Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*）首次发表出

来。《读本》收录了这份文献，第一次以正文的形式将这篇讲话稿公开发表。这篇讲话稿是今天的人们重新研究罗莎·卢森堡对待俄国革命态度的重要文献，通过这份文献，人们可以澄清先前对罗莎·卢森堡对待俄国革命态度的种种误读。

第三份文献是《信条：关于俄国社会民主党的状况》。这份文献是罗莎·卢森堡于1911年9月至10月初写的一篇论文，论文是用波兰文写的，罗莎·卢森堡在生前并没有将它拿出来发表，而是转交给约吉希斯的，论文也没有明确的题目，题目是编者加上去的。在这篇论文中，罗莎·卢森堡分析了俄国社会民主工党内部出现的危机现象，批评了俄国马克思主义内部的各种不同的倾向，论证了俄国社会民主工党的统一问题。在这些批评和论证中，罗莎·卢森堡虽然更倾向于列宁和布尔什维克，而反对孟什维克和托洛茨基，但也对列宁的党内策略思想提出了批评。因此，这篇论文可以看作是罗莎·卢森堡对列宁的第三个批评，前两个批评分别是1904年对列宁有关组织观点的批评和1918年对俄国革命的批评。以往，人们只知道前两个批评，而不知道这第三个批评。直到1991年，波兰学者费利克斯·季赫（Feliks Tych）在莫斯科卢森堡波兰党文献馆中发现了这篇论文，并将它译成德文发表出来，人们才得以知晓。这份文献对于人们进一步研究罗莎·卢森堡与列宁的关系，是十分珍贵的。《读本》将这篇论文翻译成英文，收入其中。

从《读本》的结构和收录的文献看，《读本》突出了20世纪90年代以来罗莎·卢森堡思想研究中的三个最重要的问题：

第一个问题：罗莎·卢森堡对前资本主义社会的研究。对于罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学和帝国主义理论，以往的研究者只是从欧洲资本主义扩张的视角进行研究，于是，在文献上总是选载《资本积累论》和《资本积累——一个反批判》中论述帝国主义本质的章节。《读本》改变了这一研究视角，重在选载罗莎·卢森堡论述前资本主义社会的文献。第一部分分为四节：第一节：“积累的历史环境”，摘自《资本积累论》中的第25—27节。这三节论述的是资本积累图式中的非资本主义社会的状况以及非资本主义社会是如何进入世界资本主义体系的。第二节：“原始共产

主义社会的解体”，摘自《政治经济学导言》中论述古代德国、印度、南非的原始公社制度解体过程的部分。第三节：“奴隶制”。这是罗莎·卢森堡在1911年结束了在德国社会民主党学校讲授政治经济学课程之后，专门研究奴隶制的论著。这本论著足以表明罗莎·卢森堡对研究前资本主义社会的重视。第四节：“马提尼克”。这是罗莎·卢森堡于1902年5月写的一篇谴责欧洲和美国殖民者在拉丁美洲的残暴行径的短文。这篇短文表现了罗莎·卢森堡对欧洲以外，尤其是对欧洲殖民地事件的兴趣。这四节的文献向人们展示了一个新的罗莎·卢森堡，即一个关注欠发达国家问题的罗莎·卢森堡，罗莎·卢森堡思想的当代意义也由此凸显出来。

第二个问题：罗莎·卢森堡与列宁之间的争论。罗莎·卢森堡与列宁之间的争论是国际共产主义运动中的大事件。这个事件不仅影响了20世纪社会主义的历史进程，也影响了人们对罗莎·卢森堡思想的认识。自20世纪90年代以来，国外学者为了改变罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的基调，重提罗莎·卢森堡与列宁的关系问题，并使其成为罗莎·卢森堡思想研究中最重要课题。《读本》充分吸取了这一研究成果，辟第二部分专门选载罗莎·卢森堡的有关俄国问题的论著，同时，还在第二、三两个部分中收录了两份新解密的罗莎·卢森堡论述俄国问题的文献。这些文献为人们重新认识和评价罗莎·卢森堡有关俄国问题的观点，以及罗莎·卢森堡与列宁的争论，提供了新的可靠的材料依据。

第三个问题：罗莎·卢森堡与女性主义的关系。《读本》在第二部分的第9节中选载了罗莎·卢森堡在1902—1914年间写的妇女解放问题的论著。罗莎·卢森堡十分反感当时有人把她称之为一个女性主义者。她强调，她虽然主张妇女的解放，但她绝不是一个女性主义者，因为她的目标是解放全人类，而不仅仅是妇女。在这里，罗莎·卢森堡已经明确地区分了妇女解放问题上的无产阶级立场和女性主义立场，在她看来，女性主义立场是狭隘的，无产阶级立场才是她所主张的妇女解放的立场。正是这样，长期以来，人们从不把罗莎·卢森堡的妇女解放观作为一个相对独立的部分加以研究，以往出版的罗莎·卢森堡文选也都不收录这一方面的论著。《读本》大量地收录这一方面的论著，是受了杜娜叶夫斯卡娅（Raya

Dunayevskaya) 的影响。杜娜叶夫斯卡娅在《罗莎·卢森堡、妇女解放和马克思的革命哲学》(Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, University of Illinois Press, 1991) 一书中把罗莎·卢森堡看作是一个女性主义者, 专门论述了她的妇女解放观。这就使罗莎·卢森堡的妇女解放观成了一个需要重新定义和研究的问题。《读本》大量地收录这一方面的论著, 旨在突出这一问题。

除了上述三个问题外, 《读本》收录的其他文献也包含着许多罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的新课题。

(三) 《罗莎·卢森堡: 政治和文学著作选》

这本著作由迈克·琼斯 (Mike Jones) 编辑, 英国的梅林出版社 (Merlin) 2009 年出版。该书重点收录了罗莎·卢森堡政治学和文学方面的论著, 其中有些论著是先前不允许公开发表的。这些部分主要是罗莎·卢森堡反对工人运动中的分裂主义的论著, 尤其是反对德国和俄国工人运动中的分裂主义的论著。同时, 还收录了罗莎·卢森堡有关文化、民族主义和妇女权利方面的论著。编者在收录的每一篇论著中都加了注释, 并写了导言。这本书有助于人们更全面地研究罗莎·卢森堡的思想。

(四) 《罗莎·卢森堡书信集》

这本著作由安格尼斯·拉施查 (Annelies Laschitzka)、乔治·阿德勒 (Georg Adler) 和彼得·胡迪斯 (Peter Hudis) 共同编辑, 英国沃索出版社 2011 年出版。这是一本最全的罗莎·卢森堡书信集, 共收录了罗莎·卢森堡的 190 封书信。这 190 封书信分别是写给欧洲和国际工人党、社会主义运动的领导人: 里奥·约吉希斯、卡尔·考茨基、克拉拉·蔡特金和卡尔·李卜克内西的, 其中有许多信是第一次译成英文发表。这些书信反映了罗莎·卢森堡成为经济学家、社会理论家、政治活动家和文艺评论家之后的内心世界, 生动地展现了罗莎·卢森堡作为一个马克思主义理论家和历史人物的独特性格。

值得提出的是, 埃尔贝塔·埃廷格 (Elżbieta Etinger) 主编和翻译的

《同志和爱人：罗莎·卢森堡致里奥·约吉希斯的信》（*Comrade and Lover: Rosa Luxemburg's Letters to Leo Jogiches*, MIT, 1979）收录了罗莎·卢森堡从1893年至1914年给约吉希斯的信。这些信件生动地反映了罗莎·卢森堡的人生态度和理论创作的过程，对于人们研究罗莎·卢森堡思想有着十分重要的价值。

（五）《罗莎·卢森堡全集》

《罗莎·卢森堡全集》共14卷，总主编是彼得·胡迪斯（Peter Hudis），由罗莎·卢森堡基金会资助、沃索出版社出版。这套书从2011年起开始出版，预计三年内完成，现正在出版过程中。

这套全集收录了罗莎·卢森堡所有的著作、小册子、论文、书信、手稿。这些文献有的是以前发表过，而未曾译成英文发表的，也有一些是最近新发现的。那些曾经翻译成英文发表过的论著，这次也都结合它们的德文、波兰文、俄文、意第绪语进行了重新翻译和校对。其中每一卷都有注释和导言。

这套全集的出版将进一步推动罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究。

二、罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的主要论题

21世纪以来，罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究，从总体上看，是沿着重新评价罗莎·卢森堡、开发罗莎·卢森堡思想资源的学术理路发展的。为了重新评价罗莎·卢森堡，国外学者着重做了两个方面的工作：其一，利用新解密的罗莎·卢森堡文献，对以往的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的结论进行重新审视；其二，吸取当代经济学、政治学和哲学研究的新成果，重新解释罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学和政治哲学。这两项工作都是从已有的罗莎·卢森堡研究的论题开始的，却从中生发出许多新的研究课题。在此，我们将按其学术理路，叙述国外学者是如何从重新评价罗莎·卢森堡中转出新的研究论题的。

2008年，乔恩·施奇特朗普（Jörn Schütrumpf）发表了他的小册子《罗莎·卢森堡或：自由的代价》（*Rosa Luxemburg or: The Price of Free-*

dom)。这本小册子由罗莎·卢森堡基金会资助、迪茨出版社出版。在这本小册子中，施奇特朗普重新评价了罗莎·卢森堡的社会主义民主观念，在此基础上对罗莎·卢森堡其人、其思想作了新的历史定位。施奇特朗普认为，罗莎·卢森堡的信条是社会民主只有在承认和尊重每个人的个性化的基础上才是可能的，正是这一信条决定了罗莎·卢森堡的命运。这一信条激发了她的创造热情，当她把这一信条转化为方法的时候，她批判了伯恩斯坦的修正主义和考茨基的教条主义的马克思主义，成为德国社会民主党内最具创造精神的马克思主义理论家；当她把这一信条转化为社会民主的原则时，她批评了列宁的民主集中制原则，批评了俄国社会民主工党的组织生活。她也为此而付出了代价。她的资本积累公式提出后，因不被大多数的理论家所理解而受到多方面的批评；她对俄国社会民主工党的组织生活的批评受到了列宁的反批评；她因其社会主义民主原则与斯大林的集权国家观念相抵触而被视为苏联社会主义的死敌。这一切都阻碍了罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究。在人们眼里，罗莎·卢森堡只是一个勇敢的革命者，绝不是一个杰出的理论家。但是，在今天看来，罗莎·卢森堡的信条正是 20 世纪民主观念的经典表达。这就要求人们消除以往对罗莎·卢森堡的偏见，把她作为马克思主义思想史上最杰出的理论家来加以研究。由此，施奇特朗普对罗莎·卢森堡进行了重新定位。他认为，罗莎·卢森堡是与马克思、葛兰西、格瓦拉齐名的马克思主义的活动家和思想家。其中，罗莎·卢森堡与葛兰西有着共同的特点：“他们都没有掌握过国家权力，也没有因独裁者和极权主义政府的诋毁而使自己的名字褪色。”^①但是，他们的思想命运却大不相同：葛兰西的思想得到知识分子认同已经很多年了，而罗莎·卢森堡，人们只熟悉她的名字和她命运的结局，却不了解她的思想和著作。他写这本小册子，就是要唤起人们对罗莎·卢森堡思想和著作的兴趣，就是要展现罗莎·卢森堡作为一个追求自由平等和团结、不屈服于任何权威的思想家的形象。施奇特朗普的这本小册子虽然没有对罗

① Jörn Schütrumpf, *Rosa Luxemburg or: The Price of Freedom*, Karl Dietz Verlag, Berlin GmbH, 2008, pp. 9-10.

莎·卢森堡的思想作深入、系统的研究，却宣告了罗莎·卢森堡研究新阶段的到来。这个新阶段的特点就是，从肯定的方面研究罗莎·卢森堡的思想，发现她的思想的当代价值。这类传记性的著作，还有保尔·弗洛利希（Paul Frölich）的《罗莎·卢森堡：生平与著作》（*Rosa Luxemburg; Her life and Work*, Haymarket Books, 2010）。弗洛利希生于1884年，1953年去世，1902年到1918年是德国社会民主党的党员，后来，与罗莎·卢森堡一起成为德国共产党的创始人。在这部传记中，他以自己的亲身经历撰写了罗莎·卢森堡在德国社会民主党内的工作，描述了她如何从一个普通的波兰小女孩成长为一位德国社会民主党的最重要的领导人和国际共产运动的杰出革命家和理论家，刻画了罗莎·卢森堡鲜明的个性特征和政治品格。埃尔贝塔·埃廷格（Elżbieta Etinger）的《罗莎·卢森堡的一生》（*Rosa Luxemburg; A Life*, Beacon Press, 1986）把罗莎·卢森堡的一生概括为三个时期：波兰时期、瑞士时期和德国时期，分别论述了罗莎·卢森堡在这三个时期的经历和特点。与施奇特朗普的小册子相比，这两部著作更详尽地论述了罗莎·卢森堡的成长道路、革命经历和思想贡献。因此，如果人们在读了施奇特朗普的小册子后，还想更多地了解罗莎·卢森堡的话，那么，这两部著作无疑是最好的参考书。

罗莎·卢森堡的富有个性的理论创造主要体现在她的政治经济学研究和政治哲学的研究之中，后来的人们对她思想的不理解和对她的批评也集中在这两个领域。正是这样，20世纪90年代兴起的新一轮罗莎·卢森堡研究，就把研究的起点定在反思先前人们对罗莎·卢森堡这两个领域思想的批评上。

政治经济学的研究，是罗莎·卢森堡思想创造的基础。她的帝国主义理论是她研究政治经济学的直接成果；她对伯恩斯坦的修正主义、考茨基的机会主义的批判是以她的政治经济学成就为根据的；她对德国社会民主党和俄国社会民主工党的批评也是建立在她的政治经济学成就之上的。正是这样，她的政治经济学所受到的批评也最多。因为她的政治经济学成就集中体现在她的资本积累图式上，而以往人们对罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学成就的否定也都集中在对她的资本积累图式的批评上。于是，新阶段的

罗莎·卢森堡研究也以重新评价资本积累图式为出发点，从中发展出罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的新论题。这一方面的代表作是里卡多·白罗费沃尔（Riccardo Bellofiore）主编的《罗莎·卢森堡与政治经济学批判》（*Rosa Luxemburg and the Critique of Political Economy*）。这本书是在 2004 年意大利贝加莫大学召开的国际罗莎·卢森堡学术研讨会论文集的基础上编辑而成的，2009 年由英国劳特利奇出版社出版，2010 年，《历史唯物主义》杂志在伦敦举办历史唯物主义年会时，辟专场讨论并向学术界推荐这本书。从总体上看，这本书在两个方向上开发出罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的新课题。

第一个方向是用现代的经济学理论重新阐发罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式，揭示了罗莎·卢森堡资本积累图式的现代意义。在这本书中，里卡多·白罗费沃尔主张用当代货币循环理论来解释罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式。他认为，以往人们都是用马克思的剩余价值理论来解释罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式，是根本看不到罗莎·卢森堡资本积累图式中的问题的。因为，剩余价值理论只是解决相对剩余价值生产的问题，而相对剩余价值的生产主要与利润率、劳动率、商品实现等技术指标相关，并不论及资本的扩大再生产问题。但是，罗莎·卢森堡在提出她的资本积累图式时已经明确地指出，她的资本积累图式是用于解决资本的扩大再生产的问题，而资本的扩大再生产所要解决的核心问题是：作为货币流通的资本主义过程是怎样的、货币和需求是从哪里来的？说明这些问题的技术指标应该是货币的有效需求、货币的流通、资本市场的扩大等等。以往的研究者因为没有看到这一点，所以，用剩余价值理论来解释罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式，并用说明剩余价值生产的一些技术指标，如利润率的下降和市场比例失调而导致市场的无序化、商品生产过剩等来计算罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式中的两大部类之间的比例关系，以此说明这个图式与马克思的图式的关系。这种研究方式与罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式是毫不相干的。如果我们转换一个视角，用当代货币循环理论来解释罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式，那么，我们就会看到罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式的三大贡献：第一，它揭示了资本主义过程中的宏观货币的本质，从而提出了资

本积累中极其重要的金融问题；第二，它证明了扩大再生产的动态平衡依赖于投资的动态平衡，而投资的动态平衡又依赖于投资的动机；第三，它说明危机理论的根据在于价值和剩余价值生产的动力，因为危机的出现是资本家为提取相对剩余价值而引起相对工资下滑的必然结果。这三大贡献表明，罗莎·卢森堡是当代货币循环理论的先驱。在这里，白罗费沃尔不仅提供了解释罗莎·卢森堡资本积累图式的新的理论模型，开辟了解决罗莎·卢森堡资本积累图式问题的新路径，而且还转换了罗莎·卢森堡资本积累图式的问题，拉近了罗莎·卢森堡资本积累图式与现代经济学理论的距离。简·托伯罗维斯基（Jan Toporowski）、保尔·马蒂克（Paul Mattick）也都从当代金融学的角度分析了罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式，说明罗莎·卢森堡的国外市场概念对于人们认识当代发达资本主义国家和欠发达国家的金融体系有着十分重大的意义。通过他们的阐释，当代经济学中的货币和需求、资本的货币循环、金融与银行业的发展、世界金融体系中的发达国家与欠发展国家的关系、国外市场等问题，都进入了罗莎·卢森堡政治经济学的研究，成为罗莎·卢森堡思想研究中的新论题。

第二个方向是从非资本主义社会，或前资本主义社会的角度阐发罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式，开发罗莎·卢森堡政治经济学研究的新领域。保尔·泽瑞姆卡（Paul Zarembka）在他的《晚年马克思和卢森堡：政治经济学的新发展》一文中提出，马克思在《资本论》中虽然假定了总体的资本主义生产方式，似乎把非资本主义生产方式包含于总体的资本主义生产方式之内，但这只是一种倾向，并不是真正的存在。明确地提出总体资本主义的概念，并把非资本主义的生产方式纳入总体资本主义生产方式的，是罗莎·卢森堡。正是这一点，构成了罗莎·卢森堡政治经济学遗产的核心。在《资本积累论》的第三部分和《政治经济学入门》中，罗莎·卢森堡分析了俄国公社的生命力及其与欧洲文明的联系，强调资本主义生产方式是资本主义社会和非资本主义社会的结合物，资本的扩张必然把原始公社的人和他们的生产资料一并纳入到价值生产的过程之中。罗莎·卢森堡正是通过考察非资本主义社会对于资本主义价值生产的作用，才解答了马克思资本积累图式中的难题。列宁、考茨基、布哈林、格罗斯

曼等同时代及之后众多的批评家没有看到这一点而对罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式横加指责，他们的批评中经常是相互矛盾的，其中每一个批评都非常草率粗心，并没有构成真正有分量的批评来与罗莎·卢森堡的理论对峙。在这里，洋瑞姆卡提出了罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的许多新论题：罗莎·卢森堡与马克思的前资本主义社会理论的比较研究、罗莎·卢森堡与世界体系研究、罗莎·卢森堡与欠发达国家研究、罗莎·卢森堡的帝国主义理论与当代新帝国主义等等。从2007年开始，这些论题已经进入了国际罗莎·卢森堡学会两年一度的学术会议，成为越来越重要的主题。

除了上述论题外，波兰学者提出了研究罗莎·卢森堡思想在波兰的影响的论题。科瓦利克在他的论文《罗莎·卢森堡和卡列斯基的资本主义动力学理论与视角》中比较了罗莎·卢森堡的资本主义理论和卡列斯基的资本主义理论之间的同一和差别。在谈到两者的差别时，他强调，卡列斯基关注的是当下资本主义经济的衰退趋势，而罗莎·卢森堡却力图发现资本主义未来崩溃的根源。他由此而证明了罗莎·卢森堡资本主义理论的当代意义。

在政治哲学的研究方面，罗莎·卢森堡与列宁的关系是罗莎·卢森堡思想研究中最突出的论题。这个论题的凸显主要来自两个方面的原因：第一，俄国问题是罗莎·卢森堡理论创造的重要领域，她的国际主义理论、社会主义民主理论都是通过论述俄国问题而表达出来的。罗莎·卢森堡重视俄国问题的研究，是与她的生活经历相关的。罗莎·卢森堡是波兰人，她出生的年代正是波兰王国资本主义加速发展的时期，也是波兰无产阶级成长的时期。也就是在这个时期，波兰王国在工厂企业、法庭、行政机关和教育等领域推行全俄罗斯化的政策，使波兰的自主权和民族传统文化受到了严重的侵害，从而激起了工人阶级和知识分子强烈的抵抗情绪。在这种环境下，波兰的第一个无产阶级政党——“无产阶级党”的理论家们围绕着社会主义与民族解放的关系、争取民主的斗争与争取民族自主权的斗争的关系等问题展开了激烈的讨论，从而创造了自己的理论传统。概括起来，这个传统有两个最突出的特点：其一，坚持马克思主义，以建立科学社会主义为目标；其二，坚持国际主义，尤其强调要联合俄国革命运

动，建立与俄国革命者之间的联系。罗莎·卢森堡中学毕业后，就参加了1888年新组建的“第二无产阶级党”，成为K. 谢潘斯基小组的成员，在实践上，她参加了该小组的地下活动，在理论上，她受K. 谢潘斯基的影响，坚持马克思主义和国际主义传统，钻研无产阶级革命和民族自主权问题、俄国革命问题。这些问题成为她终生的理论课题，也是她从马克思主义理论创造的主要领域。她在成为德国社会民主党的领袖后，对俄国问题的研究有了更广阔的视野，开始结合世界社会主义运动及其未来前景来思考俄国革命问题，这就使得俄国问题的研究成为罗莎·卢森堡政治哲学的最重要内容，也是人们研究罗莎·卢森堡的政治哲学不可绕过的论题。第二个方面主要来自列宁对罗莎·卢森堡的批评及其影响。在对待俄国问题上，罗莎·卢森堡曾经与列宁发生过激烈的争论，在罗莎·卢森堡去世后，列宁依然坚持他对罗莎·卢森堡的批评立场。由于列宁的批评，在20世纪90年代以前，人们对罗莎·卢森堡的思想始终持否定的基调。正是这样，当人们想改变对罗莎·卢森堡思想的评价，要重新发掘她的思想价值时，就自然地把罗莎·卢森堡与列宁之间的关系当作罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的突破口。这也使罗莎·卢森堡与列宁的关系成为新一轮罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的主题。

针对上述两个方面的原因，研究者们分别采取了两种不同的研究方式。针对第一个原因，研究者们根据新解密的文献，对罗莎·卢森堡有关俄国问题的观点进行了考据性的研究，澄清了先前对罗莎·卢森堡思想的种种误解。国际罗莎·卢森堡学会的秘书长、德国学者奥图卡·鲁本（Ottokar Luban）在《罗莎·卢森堡对列宁“社会主义运动中实行党的极端中央集权”观念的批判》一文中，根据新解密的文献，对罗莎·卢森堡从1904年到1918年有关政党问题的研究资料进行了考证、核实，指出，罗莎·卢森堡批评俄国革命观点是一贯的，并不像先前传说的那样，有一个前后变化的过程，因为罗莎·卢森堡1904年、1908年对列宁的极端中央集权的政党观念的批判，并不是出于某种特别的政治情势而进行的一场偶然的论战，而是源自她与列宁在如何实现社会主义这个问题上的基本分歧。保尔·莱·布朗克（Paul Le Blanc）在他主编的《罗莎·卢森

堡：反思和著作》(Rosa Luxemburg: Reflections and Writings)一书中，发表了《罗莎·卢森堡和列宁论革命组织》一文。在这篇论文中，他对罗莎·卢森堡从1903年到1914年的有关文献进行了考证和分析，指出，卢森堡主义与列宁主义之间的对立不是认识论上的对错，而是一种历史现象，即卢森堡主义代表了我们这个时代的思想，而列宁主义则符合了当时的历史条件。针对第二个原因，研究者们通过反思20世纪80年代以来的国际共产主义运动的现实，重新评价罗莎·卢森堡理论和列宁理论的得失，这是国际罗莎·卢森堡学会研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的基本立场。伊藤成彦教授在他新近获奖的论文《民族问题是人类的疑点吗？如何阅读罗莎·卢森堡的“民族问题和自治”》中提出了研究罗莎·卢森堡理论的基本立场：联系苏联入侵阿富汗到苏联社会主义体系崩溃，以及由此而引起的多民族国家的分离和民族独立这一历史事实，反思罗莎·卢森堡的民族和自治理论。这一立场本身就是对罗莎·卢森堡思想的肯定性评价。正是从这一立场出发，伊藤成彦教授提出了他的新见解：在罗莎·卢森堡那里，民族自决权是以人民自决的权利为基础，如果人民自决的权利实现了，民族自决的权利也会自动实现。因此，只有在充分发达的市民社会的基础上建立起真正的民主，才能解决民族自治的问题。这一基本观点是与她对帝国主义本质和社会主义民主制的理解相一致的。与之不同，列宁则主张利用国家去建设社会主义和解决民族问题。如果说列宁向我们描绘的是当时俄国的现实，那么，罗莎·卢森堡则向我们描绘的是“废除民族国家以后的世界”，因此，罗莎·卢森堡的民族和国家理论不属于过去，而是属于现在的。这篇论文写于20世纪90年代，直到2010年才由保尔·泽瑞姆卡翻译成英文在《政治经济学研究》第26卷上(Research in Political Economy, Volume 26, 2010, Emerald Group Publishing, UK)发表出来。

罗莎·卢森堡与列宁的关系是一个十分广泛的论题。罗莎·卢森堡基金会俄国办事处将21世纪以来发表的研究这一论题的论文汇编于《德国与俄国：事件、形象、人》(ГЕРМАНИЯ И РОССИЯ: СОБЫТИЯ, ОБРАЗЫ, ОЛЮДИ)第7辑中，由科学出版社2009年出版，该辑的副

标题是：《俄—德学术著作汇编》（Сборник российско-германских исследований）。从汇集的论文看，这个论题已经发展为德国马克思主义和俄国马克思主义关系的研究，包含罗莎·卢森堡与布哈林、罗莎·卢森堡与布尔什维克、罗莎·卢森堡与当代俄罗斯、罗莎·卢森堡与李卜克内西、罗莎·卢森堡与伯恩斯坦的关系等。这些论题从不同的方面深化了对罗莎·卢森堡政治哲学的研究。

从目前的情况下，研究罗莎·卢森堡的政治经济学和政治哲学，是罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的主要领域，除此之外，也有研究罗莎·卢森堡的辩证法和妇女解放的论文。不过，这方面的论文在数量上远不及前两个方面多。要了解这方面的成果，有两本书值得一读：一本是杜娜叶夫斯卡娅（Raya Dunayevskaya）的《罗莎·卢森堡、妇女解放和马克思的革命哲学》（*Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, University of Illinois Press, 1991）；另一本是保尔·莱·布朗克主编的《罗莎·卢森堡：反思和著作》（*Rosa Luxemburg: Reflection and Writings*）。

三、国际罗莎·卢森堡学会及其活动

国际罗莎·卢森堡学会（International Rosa Luxemburg Society）是一个国际性的研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的学术团体，也是一个开放的学术团体。该学会成立于1980年9月，现任会长是日本中央大学名誉教授伊藤成彦（Ito Narihiko），秘书长是德国学者奥图卡·鲁本（Ottokar Luban）。该学会由罗莎·卢森堡基金会资助，每隔两年或三年在世界上的某一个地区和国家召开国际罗莎·卢森堡学术讨论会，并在会后，精选出优秀的论文集结成论文集由罗莎·卢森堡基金会资助出版，同时将每次的论文和罗莎·卢森堡研究的最新成果发表在学会的网站上。

2007年，伊藤成彦教授出版了他的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究论集《罗莎·卢森堡思想导论》（*Wegweiser zum Gedanken Rosa Luxemburgs, Junget-sushu*, 2007）。该论集分为两个部分：第一个部分是他从1991年到2006

年参加每一次国际罗莎·卢森堡学术会议的讲话和提交的论文，第二个部分是他参加与罗莎·卢森堡相关的学术会议提交的论文。在该书的序言中，他叙述了成立国际罗莎·卢森堡学会的经过及其学术发展的艰辛过程，其中有一段话给人的感受尤其深刻：“这每一次会议都不仅仅是对国际罗莎·卢森堡学会成员的、而同时向所有的研究者开放。因此，我不得不在每一次的开幕式上讲叙会议的背景。结果，你会发现我的开幕式发言有很多重复之处。然而，另一方面，你也会发现，这每一次的讲话都反映了各个城市独特的气氛和罗莎·卢森堡研究的意识形态环境。”^[1]从这段话中，人们可以领会到这本书的价值，即它不仅反映伊藤教授个人的学术成就，更重要的是记录了 20 世纪 90 年代以来罗莎·卢森堡思想研究在时间和空间上的拓展和变化。在这里，我们以这本书为蓝本，叙述国际罗莎·卢森堡学会的历史和现状。

国际罗莎·卢森堡学会的成立大会于 1980 年 9 月在瑞士的苏黎士召开。成立这个学会的目的，是要在 1979 年末苏军入侵阿富汗以及社会主义的声誉蒙受损失的背景下，通过推进罗莎·卢森堡的研究，使社会主义在地球上获得新生。会上拟定每隔二至三年在不同的地区和城市召开国际罗莎·卢森堡学术讨论会。此后，学会相继在西欧的林茨（1981）、巴黎（1983）、汉堡（1985）和西柏林（1989）举办了国际学术研讨会。苏东社会主义解体之后，学会的研讨会难以在西欧召集，故于 1991 年 11 月在东京、1994 年 11 月在北京、1996 年 9 月在华沙、1998 年 5 月在芝加哥召开。直到 1999 年才又回到西欧，1999 年元月在柏林举行研讨会，2000 年 9 月在苏黎士召开学会成立 20 周年纪念大会，2002 年 9 月在德国的波鸿召开会议。此后又分别于 2004 年 11 月在中国的广州、2007 年 4 月在日本东京召开学术会议。2009 年元月时值罗莎·卢森堡遇害 90 周年，学会在柏林举行罗莎·卢森堡纪念会，会后，专门组织与会者参观罗莎·卢森堡在柏林斗争的遗迹和她遇害的地方。2011 年 10 月又在莫斯科召开了学术会议。

[1] Ito Narihiko: *Wegweiser zum Gedankens Rosa Luxemburgs*, Jungebuscha, 2007, p. 5.

迄今为止，该学会已经在世界各地召开了17次学术研讨会，推动了罗莎·卢森堡在世界范围内的研究。其中，中国对国际罗莎·卢森堡学会的持续支持和罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的发展作出了重要的贡献。中共中央马克思恩格斯列宁斯大林著作编译局曾于1994年和2004年两次承办国际罗莎·卢森堡学会的学术研讨会。伊藤成彦教授在2004年11月广州召开的国际罗莎·卢森堡研讨会上强调，在1989年东欧剧变后1994年在北京召开国际罗莎·卢森堡研讨会，对于国际罗莎·卢森堡学会具有生死存亡的意义。^①除了承办1994年和2009年的两次国际罗莎·卢森堡学会的学术会议外，武汉大学于2006年3月20—22日举办的《罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义国际学术研讨会》也有着重大贡献。^②在这次会议的闭幕式上，伊藤成彦教授高度赞扬了这次学术研讨会：“这次罗莎·卢森堡国际学术会议实现了对罗莎·卢森堡思想的综合性研究，不仅是中国罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的新起点，也是世界罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的一个重要的转折点。”自这次会议后，罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》及其世界体系的研究成为国际罗莎·卢森堡学会举办的国际学术研讨会的新主题。正如伊藤成彦教授在他的书的序言中所说的：“在筹备2007年召开的第15次国际罗莎·卢森堡学术会议的过程中，我强烈地感受到，罗莎·卢森堡研究的一个新的领域产生了。这也同时意味着，我们应该通过罗莎·卢森堡的研究最终战胜全球资本主义和帝国主义。”^③从2006年开始，在2007年到2011年连续三次召开的第15、16、17次国际罗莎·卢森堡学术研讨会上，罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》及其世界体系的思想都成为主要论题。其中，第15、16次学术会议的论文已经合编成《罗莎·卢森堡著作的经济学和历史—政治学的观点——国际罗莎·卢森堡学会2007年4月东京和2009年元月柏林》一书，由柏林迪茨出版社2010年出版。因此，我们在这里，只介绍第17次国际罗莎·卢森堡学术研讨会的情况。

① See Ito Narihiko: *Wegweiser zum Gedanken Rosa Luxemburgs*, Jungezeitung, 2007, p. 124.

② 关于这次会议的报道，请见：《“罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义”国际学术研讨会论文集》，复旦大学哲学学院编：《国外马克思主义研究报告》（2007），人民出版社2007年版。

③ Ito Narihiko: *Wegweiser zum Gedanken Rosa Luxemburgs*, Jungezeitung, 2007, p. 6.

第 17 次国际罗莎·卢森堡学术研讨会由罗莎·卢森堡基金会俄罗斯办事处和俄罗斯国家社会和政治历史档案馆共同承办，于 2011 年 10 月 5—6 日在莫斯科俄罗斯国家社会和政治历史档案馆举行。会议的主题为：“理论，背景，现实暨罗莎·卢森堡诞辰 140 周年”，下设两个议题：一、罗莎·卢森堡与“世界政治学”——世界经济和帝国主义（Rosa Luxemburg and “World Politics”——World Economy and Imperialism）；二、罗莎·卢森堡与俄国（Rosa Luxemburg and Russia）。参加这次会议的学者来自阿根廷、巴西、中国、德国、法国、意大利、日本、俄罗斯和美国。

10 月 5 日上午的第一场大会由法国学者米歇尔·罗威（Michael Löwy）教授作基调发言。罗威教授报告的题目是：“西方帝国主义与原始共产主义：对罗莎·卢森堡经济学著作的新解读”。他提出，过去对罗莎·卢森堡帝国主义理论的讨论主要集中在对资本主义的再生产和流通过程的研究上，但这只是罗莎·卢森堡帝国主义理论的一个向度，除此之外，罗莎·卢森堡的帝国主义理论还有另一个向度，即帝国主义对前资本主义的经济体系的斗争、对“自然”经济和农业经济（其中许多是各种形式的原始共产主义经济形式）的无情破坏。卢森堡对这一向度的研究主要体现在她的《国民经济学入门》中和《资本积累论》的最后一章中。她研究原始共产主义社会的目的，一方面是想通过分析原始共产主义社会的存在对于世界资本主义体系的意义，动摇那种“私有制具有永恒的性质”的旧观念，因为资产阶级经济学家不能设想公社所有制，也不能理解任何与资产阶级文明不相似的事物，因而他们顽固地拒绝承认历史上的公社现象；另一方面是以原始共产主义作为一个史前参照系来批判资本主义，揭露其非理性的、物化的、无政府主义的特征，揭示使用价值和交换价值之间根本的对立。这两个方面表明，罗莎·卢森堡研究前资本主义经济体系的方面具有更为重要的意义。作为对这一报告的呼应，巴西圣保罗大学的教授伊莎贝尔·洛雷德（Isabel Loureiro）作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡的《资本积累论》在拉丁美洲的现实”的报告。洛雷德教授认为，欧洲资本主义对殖民地国家的掠夺是资本的扩大再生产所不可缺少的，不仅在所谓的“原始积累”阶段如此，而且在当今同样如此；拉丁美洲政治

和经济过程的重要特征就是丧失了对自然资源（碳氢化合物、矿石、水、生物多样性）的自主权，跨国公司给拉丁美洲国家强加了一种模式，即专注于原材料出口并以对自然资源的盲目开采为基础；资本不能永远积累下去，当然不是因为这个世界将完全资本化，从而像卢森堡那样找到它的逻辑和历史的限度，而是因为我们这个星球的自然限度，目前“通过剥夺而进行积累”的模式遇到了农业生产不可持续的问题。武汉大学的何萍教授作了题为“世界体系中的东方和西方——论罗莎·卢森堡和列宁之间帝国主义理论的差异”的报告。何萍教授对比罗莎·卢森堡和列宁的帝国主义理论的之间差异，强调他们观点的差异不是绝对对立的，而是互补的，两者分别从价值向度和技术向度揭示了当代世界体系的内在联系。从这两个向度的互补中来分析当代世界体系，特别是分析欠发达国家的现状，应是当前世界体系研究的主要方面和主要方法。

围绕着会议的第一个议题，代表们还进行了多视角的探讨。

意大利贝加莫大学的里卡多·白罗费沃尔（Riccardo Bellofiore）教授作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡论资本主义的动力、分配和有效需求的危机”的报告，分别从政治经济学和政治学两个方面分析了罗莎·卢森堡的理论性质。他指出：在政治经济学方面，罗莎·卢森堡不是“消费不足论者”，因为传统的“消费不足论者”没有对作为有效需求组成部分的投资方面给予足够的关注，而卢森堡则是从投资的不确定性中分析需求危机的根源；在政治学方面，罗莎·卢森堡既不是一个“自发论者”，也不是一个“决定论者”，因为罗莎·卢森堡从来就不反对组织，她所反对的是把组织变成少数人的政治活动，而主张到真正的运动中去寻找组织的合法性，在工人自治的基础上建立民主社会以及避免把经济目标当作首要目标；同样地，卢森堡也不把共产主义看作是必然的，她强调，共产主义是没有任何终极保证的现实可能性。这些观点是对以往罗莎·卢森堡理论性的挑战。

莫斯科国立大学的教授亚历山大·布兹格林（Alexander Busgulin）作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡、弗拉基米尔·乌里扬诺夫和资本理论：回应二十一世纪的挑战”的报告。他分析了列宁的帝国主义理论和罗莎·卢森

堡的资本积累理论在当今资本主义性质改变的情况下所取得的成果，指出，晚期资本主义的发展呈现出“否定之否定”的轨迹，社会改良时期资本主义矛盾的部分消除，已经成为列宁—卢森堡时期帝国主义尖锐矛盾的一种不彻底的“否定”。反过来，到了新自由主义时期（苏联解体十年后），这种“否定之否定”的轨迹发展到了下一个“否定”阶段。在这个阶段上，资本主义社会发生的一些变化证明了列宁和卢森堡两人思想的现实性，例如当今跨国公司的统治、世纪之交的“单极世界”、世界金融危机等，这些现实性从不同的方面证明了列宁、卢森堡有关“垄断的发展”“实行国家调控的帝国主义类型”“资本积累的限度和困境加剧”等观点。俄罗斯的学者还围绕着罗莎·卢森堡与俄国的关系讨论了罗莎·卢森堡的世界体系思想。帕维尔·库迪金（Pavel Kudjukin）作了题为“俄国民粹主义者、罗莎·卢森堡眼中世界资本主义性质和世界体系分析”的报告。

德国柏林的学者为大会贡献了考证罗莎·卢森堡政治经济学研究的文献。埃克哈德·米勒以“罗莎·卢森堡在 1907 年秋天的公开授课稿《国民经济学导论》：六个不为人知的柏林政治警察的报告”为题，讲述了自己新发现的罗莎·卢森堡文献。他发现了柏林警察的一些档案，这些档案记录了 1907 年秋罗莎·卢森堡为柏林社会民主党作的关于国民经济学的系列公开讲座，这些讲座是她的著作《国民经济学入门》的预备阶段和基础。《国民经济学入门》这部著作是作为片段流传下来的，它全面地阐述了罗莎·卢森堡对政治经济学的理解。这部著作的手稿形成于 1907 年秋季罗莎·卢森堡为柏林社会民主党成员所作的公开系列讲座的准备以及 1907 年至 1914 年在党校的经济学讲座，第一次世界大战期间在监狱中经过扩充而成。这些讲座表明，卢森堡怎样根据历史上的政治案例及作为社会民主党成员获得的经济工作经验，来揭示资本主义经济的起源和运行机制。弗拉迪斯拉夫·赫德勒（Wladislaw Hedeler）以“布哈林对罗莎·卢森堡《资本积累论》的研究（1914/1925）”为题，分析了苏联研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的历史状况。他指出：在俄罗斯保存的档案中，仍然有许多未公开发表的与列宁有关的重要材料，这其中就包括迄今未完整发表的

列宁对罗莎·卢森堡《资本积累论》一书的摘录、笔记和评注；这些摘录、笔记和评注虽然经过布哈林1924年至1925年的修订和完善，但仍然不完整。在1933年、1975年和1985年，时任苏共总书记的斯大林、勃列日涅夫和戈尔巴乔夫仍然授权部分发表列宁的这些摘录、笔记和评注，以满足他们各自经济和政治路线的需要；前苏共的主要领导人用这些或多或少经过挑选的材料并没有为苏共制定出最终被普遍接受的党的政策，那些制定出的政策只被“领导同志”接受。这些考证材料对于人们研究罗莎·卢森堡政治经济学思想的形成及其在苏联的影响是十分珍贵的。

在会议的第二个议题上，俄罗斯学者的发言是最值得重视的。由于列宁对罗莎·卢森堡的批评、斯大林对罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的禁锢，苏联一直对罗莎·卢森堡的思想少有研究，在这次会议上，俄罗斯的学者从俄国思想史的角度重新评价了罗莎·卢森堡的政治哲学思想。莫斯科大学教授阿列克谢·古谢夫（Alexei Gusev）作了题为“‘党派统治’或‘无限民主’？罗莎·卢森堡论无产阶级专政”的报告。古谢夫教授考察了罗莎·卢森堡对“无产阶级专政”本质的论述，把马克思、恩格斯、考茨基及列宁等人对“无产阶级专政”的论述与卢森堡的论述进行了比较，从而凸显了卢森堡对无产阶级专政的态度，并重构了卢森堡关于“无产阶级国家”本质特征的观点。他指出，卢森堡对1917年10月革命后布尔什维克政策的批评（主要是在1918年的《论俄国革命》中），不仅因为她与列宁等人在策略上存在分歧，更因为她与他们在理论上的分歧。谢尔盖·克雷蒂宁（Sergey Kretinin）教授作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡和奥托·鲍威尔论1917年俄国革命”的报告。克雷蒂宁教授指出：奥托·鲍威尔在《世界革命》一书中尖锐地批评布尔什维克，与鲍威尔不同，卢森堡则宣称布尔什维克有成功的机会；后来鲍威尔试图在布尔什维克和社会主义改良派之间走一条中间路线，以实现苏联民主化的最终目标。安德鲁·克尔加诺夫（Andrej Kolganow）以“罗莎·卢森堡的革命问题及其当代反思”为题，重新评价了罗莎·卢森堡有关俄国革命的思想。他指出：在对俄国革命的批评中，罗莎·卢森堡的观点是：布尔什维克在俄国革命中所采取的策略与社会主义革命的主要途径之间存在着差异，这种差异的

核心就是关于无产阶级民主的问题，卢森堡并没有质疑在无产阶级占少数的情况下为了保持无产阶级的政权而偏离民主权利和自由的必要性，但她认为这无论如何都“背叛了美德的需要”。其他学者也就这个问题展开了讨论：雅科夫·德拉布津（Yakov Drabkin）教授作了题为“巴黎公社的同龄人：罗莎·卢森堡、列宁和其他人”的发言；伊涅塞·雅斯波罗夫斯卡娅（Inessa Jashborovskaja）教授作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡和列宁的公社纲领的原则和意识形态根源”的发言；罗伯特·叶夫泽罗夫（Robert Jevzerov）教授作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡反独裁的遗产：俄国经验”的发言；亚历山大·瓦特林（Alexander Vatlin）教授作了题为“马库松的证词：关于罗莎·卢森堡和卡尔·李卜克内西在1919年元月15日被捕的新文件”的发言；康斯坦丁·莫诺索夫（Konstantin Morozov）教授作了题为“‘她想烧毁这本书’：论1922年社会主义革命对罗莎·卢森堡的《论俄国革命》一书的审判”的发言；弗拉基米尔·谢切诺柯（Wladimir Schewtschenko）教授作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡和俄国、世界的改良与革命的辩证法”的发言。此外，麦伦·库拉诺夫（Marlen Korallow）博士和亚历山大·里库林（Alexandr Nikolin）博士还分别评价了罗莎·卢森堡的文学思想，作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡对艺术的理解”和“罗莎·卢森堡和俄国革命文学”的发言。俄罗斯学者的这些发言表明了俄罗斯对罗莎·卢森堡思想评价的转变，同时也表明，俄罗斯思想界已经进入了一个反思革命的阶段，而反思革命的中心问题则是：革命和民主的关系问题，这个问题既是罗莎·卢森堡与列宁争论的主要问题，也是当代社会主义改革中最重要的问题。

德国是罗莎·卢森堡革命的主要活动地，在罗莎·卢森堡与列宁之间，德国人更赞赏罗莎·卢森堡的思想。这种评价倾向在这次会议上也有强烈的表现。出席这次会议的德国学者对比了列宁的俄国革命和国家资本主义理论，高度评价了罗莎·卢森堡的有关思想。霍尔格·波利特（Holger Politt）博士以“罗莎·卢森堡波兰语著作中的俄罗斯（1893—1912）”为题，论述了罗莎·卢森堡在波兰—俄国问题上的国际主义思想。他提出，罗莎·卢森堡根据19世纪90年代中期以来的国际形势的变

化，认为俄罗斯帝国（特别是波兰本身）的社会发展背景下的“波兰问题”，不再是政治议程的一部分，也不是波兰无产阶级政治斗争的核心问题，而是国际无产阶级革命的问题，因此，应该在俄罗斯帝国范围内共同建立波兰社会民主党，以促进波兰无产阶级和俄罗斯无产阶级的共同斗争，只有这个庞大帝国中不同的无产阶级共同斗争，才有成功推翻沙皇统治的希望。克劳斯·基廷根（Klaus Gietinger）作了题为“卢森堡、列宁、柯伦泰、奥辛斯基和社会主义制度下的生产组织——他们之间有共同点吗？”的发言，他指出，这四位社会主义理论家对于社会主义条件下的生产组织有着不同的见解；列宁赞成个人独裁，主张在俄国实行国家资本主义，以便为社会主义做充分的物质准备；罗莎·卢森堡明确地反对这种形式的国家资本主义，认为“泰勒制”不适合于社会主义，专政不是在阶级名义下的少数人的领导，就是说，专政必须从群众的直接参与中一步一步产生，处于整个社会的控制之下；列宁和卢森堡之间的鸿沟在于他们对公共生活中官僚主义和民主主义之间、党派独裁（某个派系或个人）和广泛的民主之间、暴政和教育问题的不同观点；奥辛斯基攻击列宁以德国“国家资本主义”为导向的集中制，主张企业管理三三制（三分之一是挑选出来的工人，三分之一是地区国民经济委员会和工会的成员，三分之一是技术人员）；柯伦泰也攻击“泰勒制”，主张通过工会来管理国家经济，希望把工会作为社会主义的组织者。安德烈亚斯·迪耶斯（Andreas Diers）以“罗莎·卢森堡对沃尔夫冈·阿本德洛特的世界政治和帝国主义观的影响（1918—1933）”为题，分析了沃尔夫冈·阿本德洛特的20世纪20—30年代的政治思想的著作及文章，指出了罗莎·卢森堡对沃尔夫冈政治观念的影响；在20年代，沃尔夫冈·阿本德洛特继承了罗莎·卢森堡的传统，认为议会民主制度必须为议会制度所取代；在对第一次世界大战性质的评估上，沃尔夫冈·阿本德洛特与罗莎·卢森堡是一致的，但在民族自决权问题上则与罗莎·卢森堡不一致；沃尔夫冈·阿本德洛特自己在《工人运动中的生命》中提到，他在20年代受罗莎·卢森堡政治理念的影响胜于他受列宁的政治理念的影响。约尔格·沃伦贝格（Jörg Wollenberg）教授作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡和不来梅左翼：他们对俄国革

命和德国革命看法的异同”的报告。他指出：不来梅联盟也与“斯巴达克团”合作，但是，这两个联盟在许多观点上并不一致，例如，在对待德国社会民主党分离的问题上、在对待组织问题上、在对待群众行动与辛迪加合作的问题上等；不来梅左翼同卢森堡一样，批评布尔什维克的组织模式，反对任何形式的民主集中制；尽管卢森堡克制与不来梅左翼的联系，但1916年10月她在监狱里还是订阅了不来梅的《劳工政策》，1918年9月，罗莎·卢森堡就是根据这些不来梅报刊上的文章，开始起草关于俄国革命的未完成的手稿。德国学者的这些研究代表了西欧学者对罗莎·卢森堡民主思想的理解，而他们对罗莎·卢森堡思想的考证材料，弥补了以往人们对罗莎·卢森堡民主思想研究的不足。

除了俄罗斯和德国学者对罗莎·卢森堡俄国问题的富有成就的研究外，其他国家的学者也结合本国的经验和自身的研究课题，讨论了罗莎·卢森堡的俄国问题。伊藤成彦教授作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡和彼得·A. 克鲁泡特金”的报告。他指出：作为同时代人，罗莎·卢森堡和克鲁泡特金从未谋面，两人的教育也不同，但在追求社会主义这一点上他们是相同的：作为一个革命理论家，卢森堡宣称她的政治前提是社会主义，她多次指出建立社会主义民主的必要性，在这一点上，她批评列宁，但她指出，她的批评不是针对社会主义内容本身；克鲁泡特金不是马克思主义者，却总是追求社会主义，反对资本主义、反对政府。阿根廷的学者巴勃罗·斯莱文（Pablo Slavin）教授作了题为“俄国革命的经验 and 马克思主义思想的合法性：卢森堡和考茨基的思想”的报告。他认为：苏联模式的失败并不是历史唯物主义的失败，而是清楚地表现了历史唯物主义的现实性，罗莎·卢森堡和卡尔·考茨基运用历史唯物主义方法预测了这种失败；卢森堡和考茨基都意识到，实现社会主义的物质条件存在于欧洲其他一些国家，而不是存在于俄国，因此俄国不可能“跳跃”进入社会主义，只有国际性的社会主义革命才能使俄国更接近于社会主义制度的建构；基于对俄国现实物质条件的认识，考茨基向往资产阶级革命，罗莎·卢森堡则相信，在没有国际革命支持的情况下，布尔什维克的经验不足以实现社会主义，但它可以为更高级的民主建设打下基础，同时可以发挥类似于学

校的教育功能为将来即将进行的革命服务；罗莎·卢森堡和卡尔·考茨基提出的质疑不是针对革命本身，而是针对在布尔什维克控制之下的革命所采取的形式，他们都拒绝承认专政（在资产阶级意义上的专政）是建设社会主义的唯一解决办法。美国学者杰克·雅克布斯（Jack Jacobs）教授作了题为“罗莎·卢森堡、以色列、巴勒斯坦和‘两个国家’方案的可行性”报告。他指出：罗莎·卢森堡一生都认为，波兰和俄罗斯相互交织，建立一个独立的波兰国家既不可行也不可取，卢森堡反对用“两个国家”的解决方案来解决波兰问题；卢森堡在意识形态层面上反对犹太复国主义，蔑视同时代的其他民族主义运动；波兰、捷克和乌克兰等国的独立证明了卢森堡的预测是错误的，雅克布斯认为，“两个国家的解决方案”是目前在中东实现和平的最佳方案。武汉大学的汪信砚教授以“罗莎·卢森堡的民主思想和当代中国的民主结构”为题，阐述了罗莎·卢森堡民主思想的内涵及其对当代中国民主建设的意义。他指出，罗莎·卢森堡的民主思想主要包括两个方面的内容：第一个方面是关于无产阶级政党组织原则的民主思想，即关于党内民主思想、无产阶级政党组织原则的问题，罗莎·卢森堡并不明确反对民主集中制，然而，她强烈反对列宁所主张的民主集中制，认为这种制度赋予党的领导层作出武断决定并采取强制性行动的全部权利，这就人为地强化了领导层的保守主义并达到危险的状况；第二个方面是关于社会主义国家制度即关于社会主义民主的思想。这两个方面的思想在许多方面对中国的民主建设具有启发意义：首先，罗莎·卢森堡有关无产阶级政党的组织原则有利于中国共产党党内民主建设，特别有利于作为党的组织原则的民主集中制，对于防止和消除党内的个人专制现象提供了重要的思路；其次，罗莎·卢森堡关于社会主义国家制度的民主的思想，有助于中国正确解决民主和独裁之间的关系，从而有助于当今中国的社会主义民主建设；最后，罗莎·卢森堡和列宁之间关于民主的辩论和思想差异，将促使中国找到具有本国特色的社会主义民主建设的道路。

应该说，这次国际罗莎·卢森堡学术研讨会在莫斯科召开具有十分重要的意义。从会议的议题到学者们的讨论，这次会议不仅向我们展示了当

前俄罗斯学术界的思想动向，表现出俄罗斯的意识形态氛围，而且也展示了当代罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的新材料、新问题和新观点。现在，国际罗莎·卢森堡学会已经决定，下一届的国际罗莎·卢森堡研讨会在巴黎召开。我们相信，下一届的国际罗莎·卢森堡学术研讨会将会向我们呈现当代法国的思想氛围。

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罗莎·卢森堡的历史定位

赵凯荣

一、历史价值：一条绝对的艺术收藏尺度

如何评价一种历史的价值，迄今为止，除了收藏的尺度外，我们还未发现任何别的评价尺度。一种东西究竟有无收藏价值，以及收藏价值究竟如何，只有把它放进艺术品拍卖场，立见分晓。

艺术品拍卖标准主要是一种历史眼光，一件拍卖品可能在当时就十分昂贵，以后还在不断增值，但也有这样的情况，一件艺术品在当时曾经卖出很好的价格，但以后则很少被人问津。我注意到一个现象，在当今世界，现当代的艺术作品远远高于古代甚至古代的经典时期的作品，在中国也是一样，在不久前的一场拍卖会上，武汉一位40多岁的画家曾梵志的一幅画拍出近2亿人民币的价格，甚至高出了一位已有历史定位的中国著名中国画大师黄胄的作品。但是，这是否就意味着这位年轻画家已以这样做人的成绩奠定了他的历史基础呢？当然不是，时候未到。构成当代和当下的，往往可能是太多的激情和冲动，是太多的炒作和人为造势，是太多的幻想和自欺。

但历史终究会使一切沉寂、沉淀下来，将真正有价值的东西浮现出来。广义的艺术收藏规律都是如此，能写入历史的，终究是那些后来仍然被视为有价值而不是当时被认为有价值的东西，不管是政治、法律、宗教、诗歌、绘画、音乐、文学乃至人的实践或重大历史事件。现在一些中国学者也明白了这一点，他们知道，一部著作是否有较高的价值，一个重

要的尺度是，百年后，人们是否仍然会阅读它、谈论它。

算起来，罗莎·卢森堡遇害已近百年了，直到今天，人们仍然在阅读和谈论她的论著，特别是还在这个时候选择出版中文版的《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，本身就是对罗莎·卢森堡价值的历史肯定，根据艺术品收藏的重要的尺度，这本身就是对罗莎·卢森堡的历史定位。

由于这个原因，不管中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》与德、英版如何不同，不管它采取什么编排原则，它首先应是艺术品，艺术是文化遗产最高的形式。这一点，马克思早就意识到了，他在多处这样谈到他的《资本论》：不管这部著作有什么缺点，它有一个最大的优点，这就是，它是一个艺术的整体。为了这个目的，马克思在给恩格斯的信中曾得意地告诉他，最近又把黑格尔的《逻辑学》看了一遍，这对整理材料很有帮助。确实是这样，不管对《资本论》提出什么批评，但许多人不得不承认，这是一部结构十分完美的艺术作品，至少我本人就是这样感受的。所以，同样的，《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中文版不管有什么缺点，它首先应该是一个艺术整体。

这也同时意味着，必须从艺术整体的角度去看待《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，因为一件真正的艺术品，一定是全人类共同的遗产，它必定对绝大多数有审美眼光的人放射出迷人的光芒，人们在面对一件真正的艺术品时，是很少去考虑这是哪个阶级的甚至是哪个敌人的这类问题的。我注意到艾维琳博士的一个说法，她想告诉大家卢森堡是多么可爱，她的作品是多么具有艺术气质，这才是艺术整体性中最重要的一环，而在过去相当长一段时间，卢森堡却被大大妖魔化。如果只有工人阶级才喜欢马克思，那么马克思永远不会成为全人类的文化遗产和艺术精品；同样的，如果只有社会主义特别是左翼才喜欢卢森堡，《罗莎·卢森堡全集》也不会成为人类的文化遗产和艺术精品。

当然，正如马克思的著作既是全人类文化遗产和艺术精品更是马克思主义的首创精神一样，《罗莎·卢森堡全集》也应该既是全人类的文化遗产，同时也在马克思主义的历史中占有其崇高位置，但正是在这方面，还存在一些困难。

二、罗莎·卢森堡在马克思主义历史中定位的困难

过去对罗莎·卢森堡有过一个定位，这个定位主要与列宁的评价有关。列宁那句评价耳熟能详，直到今天仍然被人们广泛引用并津津乐道，这个评价就是，鹰有时候也会飞得像鸡一样低，但鸡永远成不了鹰。这个评价隐喻了：罗莎·卢森堡尽管应该同伯恩斯坦和考茨基区别开来，但同时也要尽量与列宁区别开来。这个区分意味着，对罗莎·卢森堡是可以批评的。

应该说，这个判断是很不公允的。

更糟的是，罗莎·卢森堡是与列宁争论最多，同时也是对列宁批评最多的人。由于这个问题没有解决，现在的实际状况仍然是：只要罗莎·卢森堡与列宁争论（更不要说批评列宁）的，罗莎·卢森堡就是错误的。这也导致了，直到今天，在我国就罗莎·卢森堡与列宁的争论发表文章和论著仍然是十分困难的，更不用说谈论罗莎·卢森堡对列宁的批评了。而这些争论对于马克思主义和社会主义现实运动本来可能是最为重要的，至少，它反映了马克思主义和现实社会主义可能存在的问题，可以使我们防微杜渐、防患未然；至少，有可能使苏联和东欧社会主义免于解体和崩溃。

在这种情况下，要出版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》就相当困难了，至今我们还不曾给有“污点”的马克思主义者出版过全集。可以这样说，在我国，罗莎·卢森堡的历史定位甚至比普列汉诺夫都要低。

三、如何思考罗莎·卢森堡的历史定位

在马克思主义的人物排序中，马克思无疑是最少争议的，这倒主要不是由于马克思是马克思主义和共产党的肇始者，把马克思列入第一人，更主要的是他思想的原创性和首创性，这种原创性思想是如此丰富，以至于今天仍然可以源源不断阐发出新思。恩格斯主要是作为马克思的“连体

人”出现的，就像邓小平说毛泽东思想也有其他中国共产党领导人的智慧一样。

除了马克思，下一位人物当然是列宁。

现在也有另一种倾向，即过分解读罗莎·卢森堡对列宁的批评，从而想动摇列宁的地位。这同样是不可取的。从某种意义上说，列宁是比恩格斯更为重要的马克思的连体。

尽管马克思批判了“理性形而上学”的“同一哲学”，但从某种意义上说，马克思的哲学也仍然是一种“同一哲学”类型，而且和大多数“同一哲学”一样，必将关涉到理论和实践两方面。

“理性形而上学”旨在表明，世界上已经先有一种理性存在，这种理性会在时间长河中逐渐绽出其现实性，从而构成所谓本体论或本体论辩证法的主要内容。过去有种误解，认为只有马克思才第一次在哲学中发现了实践并把实践引入哲学。实际上，实践在“理性形而上学”中早已存在，只不过，实践不过是理性自我实现的工具而已。譬如柏拉图在《斐多篇》中就指出，桌子在工匠打造前就已作为理性而存在，而工匠只不过是使其“呈现”出来而已。启蒙主义正是建立在这样一种基础上：逻辑自洽的理性的自我实现的力量。

马克思对“理性形而上学”的批判主要集中在两个方面：一方面，理性不可能先在，任何规律性的东西，只会在现实的实践中形成；另一方面，任何理性、思维、意识等都不会单独地、独立地存在，它们都是与人的实践及其产物的某种“共存”、“共在”。在人类实践的背景下，没有打上人的意识烙印的物质存在和独立于物质存在的意识等都是片面的。在此，人们很容易把柏拉图关于桌子在打造出来时已经在工匠脑中存在这段话和马克思的那段著名论述混淆起来，马克思也说了：最蹩脚的工程师也比蜜蜂高明，因为工程师在建造前已经在头脑中造好了。但是，有一点在马克思来说是确定无疑的，理性的存在如果没有在现实中实现，这种存在就是没有完成的，甚至只是幻想、妄想。这让人想起黑格尔对康德的“有”或“没有”一百元的那个著名事例的批判。康德认为，“有”或“没有”一百元是一样的，因为“有一百元”并不比“没有一百元”有

更多的规定性，反之，“没有一百元”也不比“有一百元”规定性更少，这是对的。但正如黑格尔所言，真的有一百元和只是幻想中有一百元在现实中是完全不同的。不过，在海德格尔多后，这反而被作为“在场性”而饱受批评。

这样我们就可以深刻理解列宁的地位了：没有列宁，马克思主义只是一种意识存在、观念存在、精神存在和理想性存在，列宁使得马克思主义完整了，理论和实践统一了、同一了。如果说恩格斯对马克思主义理论的逻辑论证和通俗解释是马克思主义理论化的不可或缺的一部分，那么，没有列宁，马克思主义只是作为一种理性类型的存在，既没有现实性，更没有完成。如马克思在理论上的首创一样，列宁完成了实践的首创。当然，与这种实践首创相伴随，也有理论细节上的差异和不同。

与列宁情况较为类似的是毛泽东，同列宁一样，毛泽东及其中国共产党人在另外一种类型上也把马克思主义理想具体化、现实化。当然，相比列宁，在实践上，这已经不能算是严格的首创，因为在此之前，这种现实的模型已经由列宁和他的党创立出来，这是非常首创性的一步，如果说在此前，“可能”还是“不可能”还尚存争议，那么现在，它已经是现实地存在了。不过，尽管毛泽东与中国共产党确实是“以俄为师”的，但就其是另一社会主义类型而言，毛泽东及中国共产党人的创造性也是不言而喻的。

相比之下，罗莎·卢森堡没能提供一个成功的现实模型是殊为可惜的，因为这是另一种完全不同于列宁和毛泽东所实践的类型，而且也是离马克思原创思想最近的一种类型。根据这种思想，应该首先是经济发达的英法德美等国而不是经济落后的俄国和中国等首先建成社会主义。在这个意义上，罗莎·卢森堡与安东尼奥·葛兰西有些类似，他们提出了一种如何在发达或较发达国家建设社会主义并留待后人具体化、现实化的构想。

这样，通过百年来的积淀，可以作为艺术品收藏而极具价值的马克思主义最为重要的人物谱系也就较为明晰了，他们大致可以分为三类：马克思（包括恩格斯）主要是理论首创者；列宁、毛泽东主要是不发达国家的社会主义实践的首创者；罗莎·卢森堡与安东尼奥·葛兰西则是发达或

较发达国家社会主义的推动者，这一理论尚缺乏有力的实体国家支撑，但在不断走向发达的社会主义（譬如中国）或一些发达国家的民主化进程中已经得到了某些有力的印证。

四、论战所暴露出的马克思主义的重大问题

罗莎·卢森堡也承认，在马克思之后，马克思主义出现了停滞，停留在了马克思生前的水平上。列宁也持类似的观点，不过更激进，认为不仅停滞，而且是倒退，认为20世纪以来没有一个马克思主义者是真正懂马克思的（“没有一个”当然也应包括列宁自己、罗莎·卢森堡和普列汉诺夫等），不仅达不到马克思的水平，而且远远低于马克思的水平。实际上，列宁和罗莎·卢森堡在这点上是非常接近的，他们在此主要针对的是历史辩证法。

现在，我主要就一些论战折射出的问题简要谈一下。

从罗莎·卢森堡与伯恩施坦的论争中我们看到，伯恩施坦确实看到了问题：一个不断在改变的资本主义和一个已经死亡的马克思说过的言语。资本主义天天在变，而马克思已逝，他不能再言，因此，他竭力反对马克思主义是科学这种说法。根据伯恩施坦的理解，科学就是必然要实现的东西，不管人们同意还是反对，它都要实现。但马克思主义却非要通过人们的斗争实践才能实现，这还是科学，还是客观必然性吗？

这是典型的理性形而上学的观点，正如前面所举的柏拉图桌子的例子一样，实践被贬低为桌子理性自我实现的手段和工具，但对马克思来说，一来不存在先于事件而存在的事件的理性，二来，在事件形成中才形成的关于事件的规律，只有通过人的实践才可能具有现实性。桌子的理性（柏拉图），或工程师的草图（马克思）没有人的实践，照例不会自己呈现出来。至于资本主义天犬变，仅仅基于马克思已去世从而断言马克思主义已经过时，卢森堡认为，这是完全不懂历史辩证法的说法，问题取决于两个重要方面：一是，资本主义的变化是否已经超出了资本主义的规定性？资本主义变得还是不是资本主义？二是，马克思的学说是否是一种可

以超越自己有限性的辩证学说？一方面，它是否只是一种辩证方法？另一方面，它是否可以根据历史的变化自我否定？譬如，我们可不可以根据马克思的辩证方法，在现实变化时改变我们的理论与实践？

在与伯恩斯坦的论战中涉及的诸多问题中比较重要的是马克思主义的科学性问题和经济危机问题，其中经济危机问题更为关键，因为它是马克思革命理论的基石。

按马克思的说法，资本主义由于其自身的经济原因，一定会导致经济危机，从而导致社会革命。这可以说是马克思学说中的基石。但伯恩斯坦试图动摇它，他认为：一方面，资本主义通过信用制度等已经可以避免或克服这种危机，另一方面，就危机而言，它不过是资本主义的某种障碍而已。正是在这点上，卢森堡体现了自己卓越的才华，并对马克思主义理论做出了重大创新。

卢森堡也认为，对马克思的危机理论历来确实有诸多误解，但是，一方面，信用制度不是避免而是加重了危机的可能和风险；另一方面，更重要的是，危机不是障碍而是资本主义自我否定和自我矛盾解决的唯一的方法。过去，包括马克思在内都没有特别注意这一点，在马克思和恩格斯的许多通信中，谈得最多的都是危机是如何渐渐到来并让资本主义如何崩溃，没有或很少谈到，危机也是资本主义自身的解决方式，因此，一场危机可能给资本主义带来伤害，也可能带来新的生机。为此卢森堡甚至断言，没有危机，资本主义根本不能生存，这对马克思主义来说，可谓惊天动地也是最为深刻的一种发展。

在此基础上，卢森堡提出了与马克思不同的见解，即危机并不发生在资本主义衰弱时期，恰恰相反，只会发生在其规模扩张时期，且并非一定十年一个周期，而是具有突然性的。所以，卢森堡也承认伯恩斯坦关于欧洲已经二十多年没有危机的说法，也以为对马克思的危机周期思想存在误解，认为马克思对欧洲危机及革命的期望过早。这方面，除了卢森堡，一直未有重大的进展。

至于对列宁的批评和与列宁的的争论，较为尖锐的主要是在建党和党应该如何领导革命问题上。

至于如何利用危机和革命，列宁和卢森堡在大的方面上也是基本一致的，与伯恩斯坦不同，他们都认为要以政权为目的，但在细节上差异较大。

现代政治主要是政党政治，没有自己的政党，运动不可能有任何成效。但在卢森堡看来，列宁所提倡的党太过于专制，中央委员会不仅决定一切，连基层党组织人事任命、工作安排、开展活动等都要统一管理，完全剥夺了基层党组织和人员的积极性及民主精神。卢森堡说得当然没错，但是考虑到俄罗斯主要是个落后、涣散的农业大国，没有这种强制措施甚至难于开展任何有效工作。有趣的是，对于俄罗斯的基本国情，卢森堡不能说没看到，她在许多论述中都有批评，但不知为何在这点有此疏忽。

列宁如此赞成使用集权的方式，以至于卢森堡怀疑他能否和其他党内派别团结相处，在这一点上卢森堡不幸言中。但在列宁的党和取消派、召回派、孟什维克真正分裂时，卢森堡尽管对各派都进行了批评，但还是坚定站在了列宁布尔什维克党的立场上。

至于党如何领导革命，卢森堡对列宁的批评可能完全是误会，因为列宁实际上也认为，革命是不可能预料到、计划到，并通过命令有条不紊地进行的。卢森堡认为，无论是俄国1905年革命还是十月革命，都是由于一些难以预料的原因导致的（为此指责卢森堡是自发运动者是不对的，确实很少有马克思说的那种危机及革命相伴的确定性），但党应该积极利用并抓住这些时机夺取政权。在这里，卢森堡再次表达了对中央委员会集权、专制的反感和厌恶。她要求党不能先验提出自己的指示和命令，强迫基层贯彻执行，应该在广泛民意基础上求得共识，并在此基础上充分调动基层党员和群众的积极性等思想，在今天这仍然是极为正确的。但显然，卢森堡对列宁为什么早就预谋一场革命，并为革命积极宣传、并对革命有周密计划（这一点卢森堡认为不可能做到，做到危害会更大）、并为此一层层活动等一系列做法深表怀疑。但当十月革命胜利后，她又对列宁等人的勇气和胆识高度赞赏。

实际上，卢森堡在这里开启了一个后来葛兰西深度发展的问题，即在东方，列宁的做法虽然冒险，却可能是可行的，因为国家就是一切。因

此，一次革命是可能的（当然卢森堡也认为，可能不止一次）。反之，在西方发达国家，很难这样建党，也很难以这样一种专制方式运作。根据葛兰西的看法，西方有强大的市民社会的基础，这种市民社会植根于个人和个性的基础，这使得专制和集权的统一变得十分困难，不过由于它们有较高的自我意识，很容易在某种共同意志下形成巨大的统一力量。如葛兰西所言，在这种国家要形成统一的巨大力量，重要的不是攻坚战，而是运动战，首先要在文化、意识形态上取得胜利。

与考茨基的论战中比较有代表性的是群众罢工和议会政治问题。

这也是卢森堡为什么在与考茨基的论争中比之议会民主更加强调群众罢工的意义，同样的，指责卢森堡有工联主义倾向反对暴力革命的思想也是不实之词。而且卢森堡也认可那种认为总罢工可以根本性解决问题的方式，考茨基才是把争取议席看得比政权本身还要重要的人，而卢森堡既不反对合法的议会斗争，也不反对罢工且特别看重罢工这种合法手段的斗争，当然也不放弃在极端条件下的暴力革命，就像她对列宁十月革命的支持一样。我们无法说卢森堡在论战中真正有什么错（与斯大林完全相反），相反，她实际提出了在发达国家不能像在落后国家那样实现社会主义的方向和道路。要说有什么遗憾，只有一个遗憾，那就是，马克思关于全世界无产者联合起来的看法，在国家、民族战争中，在“保卫祖国”的现实中，根本没有经得起检验，全世界无产者不是联合起来，反而是为各自的国家拼杀成了一团。卢森堡虽然对德国社会民主党在第一次世界大战中的言行进行了深刻反思，但对这个问题并没有真正从理论上解决。

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沉浮九十年

——对卢森堡研究的回顾与反思^{①*}

熊 敏

罗莎·卢森堡，这个名字在近几年的中国学界又渐渐响亮起来，一批有影响的学术刊物甚至开辟了研究专栏，向这位90年前的革命者再度致敬。这应该算得上是国内卢森堡研究的二次复兴了。事实上，无论就国际还是国内而言，与国际共运史上的其他人物相比，“重新发现卢森堡”，都是一个堪称奇特的现象。在其他人物那里，没有发生过这种大起大落，又一次次复归的情况。那么，究竟是什么原因造成了这一现象呢？而这一现象本身是否也具有某种意义呢？在人们专注对卢森堡思想本身的研究的同时，对卢森堡研究中所表现出来的这一特殊起伏加以了解和反思，显然会帮助我们从事想史的角度对卢森堡，乃至整个马克思主义史的发展轨迹作一种更深入和更全面的把握。

一、国外研究概况

1919年1月，卢森堡遭到悲剧性的暗杀，并在死后继续被敌人诬蔑为“嗜血的罗莎”，而她的原德国社会民主党（SPD）的“同志们”则在

①. 本文得到教育部人文社会科学研究青年项目“资本全球化的逻辑与历史：罗莎·卢森堡资本积累理论研究”（11YJC720049）和2013年中央高校基本科研业务费专项资金项目“罗莎·卢森堡与依附学派、世界体系学派的比较研究”（2722013JC003）的资助。

* Original title: Ninety years of ups and downs: Review and Reflection of Research on Rosa Luxemburg in China, by Xiong Min.

一旁冷酷地宣称，“现在他们自己成了他们血腥的恐怖行为的牺牲品”^①，来自党内和党外的全面诛杀在掐灭她的生命火焰的同时，也试图埋葬她的思想。直到1922年，保尔·列维，这位德国共产党当时的领导人，同时也是卢森堡生前的律师和朋友，与当时的第三国际发生分歧并遭到开除出党，出于为自己申辩的目的，出版了以《俄国革命——批判的评价》为题的卢森堡的狱中手稿。因为这篇卢森堡在生前本无意发表的文章在肯定1917年俄国革命的巨大意义的同时，也论及其中存在着的一些弊病，它立即引起强烈的反响。但在当时，很多人是按照自己的需要来解释和利用这本书的，如考茨基认为，卢森堡对布尔什维克的历史功绩的肯定已经无足轻重，此书最重要的意义在于：“它热情和激烈地捍卫了民主制。这一态度使布尔什维克的热情崇拜者写的这本书成了对他们的严厉的控告。”^②流亡巴黎的白俄反革命分子编辑的刊物也根据考茨基的评论大做文章，攻击苏俄。作为对这种歪曲利用的回应，卢森堡的生前好友蔡特金和瓦莱茨基发表声明和文章，指出她在出狱后由于能更为详细地了解苏俄的情况，特别是由于投身德国革命的实践，已经改变了她对俄国革命的一些看法。因此他们斥责列维发表《俄国革命》是违背卢森堡的生前愿望的。蔡特金等人的意见当然有一定根据，但是他们在捍卫布尔什维克和卢森堡本人的声誉时也忽视了其中所包含的积极的有价值的因素。而作为她生前的主要论战者和这篇文章批评的对象，列宁在1922年《政论家的短评》中一方面批评列维出版此书是在“资产阶级及其代理人第二国际和第二半国际面前献殷勤”，另一方面仍然对卢森堡作出了很高的评价，使用了“高飞的鹰”这一著名的比喻。列宁还主张出版卢森堡的传记和全集，并斥责了德国党对于承担这一义务的冷漠态度。^③

在卢森堡身后的20世纪二三十年代，一批受罗莎·卢森堡思想影响的

① 德国社会主义党报《前进报》在卢森堡被害两天之后，即1月17日刊登的官方公告中的用语。参见玛丽亚·赛德曼：《罗莎·卢森堡与列奥·约吉谢斯——革命时代的爱情》，曹伯岩译，春风文艺出版社2000年版，第157页。

② 殷叙彝：《谈谈卢森堡的〈俄国革命〉》，《读书》1981年第3期。

③ “全”字的俄文用了斜体，以示着重，意即并不从中过滤掉她的“错误言论”。

欧洲共产党人在他们的论著中直接或间接地提到卢森堡，这其中最著名的要属格·卢卡奇的《历史和阶级意识》。当时的卢卡奇面临着这样一个问题：为什么在处于同一个帝国主义时代的俄国社会主义革命能够取得胜利，而在西欧进行类似的革命则流于失败呢？卢卡奇是通过阅读卢森堡和列宁而走向马克思主义的，因此这两人的思想自然而然成为他进行理论反思的重要资源。在他看来，卢森堡和列宁都是与第二国际庸俗实证论鲜明对立的真正马克思主义者，那么这种区分究竟是如何造成的呢？卢卡奇以卢森堡的著作为蓝本进行了探求，从而得出了答案：真正的马克思主义绝不意味着固守教条，而主要是一种方法。卢森堡恰恰恢复了这种方法，即将部分置于历史总体和社会总体之中，总体对于部分有着至高无上的地位，正是这种总体性作为历史主体的无产阶级与作为客体的历史发展本身的结合提供了依据和可能。在此意义上，我们可以说，卢卡奇正是借助卢森堡的中介恢复了马克思主义哲学中的黑格尔方面，即强调社会发展的历史性和辩证性，从而发展出一条独特的，带有较多哲学色彩的“西方马克思主义”道路。与之类似，在另外两位公认的“西方马克思主义”创始人柯尔施和葛兰西那里，卢森堡也成为他们进行理论思考的一个起点。柯尔施在《马克思主义和哲学》中认为她与列宁都是第二国际时期反教条、反正统和开放型的思想家，并明确地将她归入“西方的马克思主义者”的行列。葛兰西在《狱中札记》中也强调卢森堡对马克思主义的理解具有独创性，而且，当他提出阵地战和运动战的著名区分时，正是以卢森堡的群众罢工观点作为后者的一种代表形式。由此，罗莎·卢森堡与“西方马克思主义”产生了深厚渊源。

但是，从1925年起，由于斯大林将卢森堡与托洛茨基提出的“不断革命”论捆绑在一起，因此他与托洛茨基之间的争斗也殃及对卢森堡的评价和研究工作。1931年，斯大林更是指名批评以罗莎·卢森堡为代表的德国左派，说他们“犯有许多极严重的政治错误和理论错误”。德共领袖台尔曼也在一篇响应斯大林的报告中说：“在罗莎·卢森堡同列宁观点不一致的所有问题上，她的意见都是错误的。”^①由此，在社会主义阵营，

① 殷叙彝：《谈谈卢森堡的〈俄国革命〉》，《读书》1981年第3期。

官方炮制出的对“卢森堡主义”的批判开始广为流传，卢森堡作为列宁的对立面和被击败的对手出现在各种教科书和辞典中，卢森堡的形象和思想出现严重失真，更谈不上对她有所研究。由于社会主义阵营采取了一边倒的立场，而西方左派对当时的社会主义阵营又主要采取同情和保护的态度，因此，卢森堡研究陷入了一种整体停顿的状况。20世纪50年代后期，随着斯大林统治的结束，这一状况有所改观，但由于积重难返，并未彻底扭转局面。这一期间，流亡法国，曾与卢森堡在德国共产党共事的保尔·弗洛利希完成了首部卢森堡的传记《罗莎·卢森堡：生平与著作》。这部著作采用评述结合的方式，对卢森堡的生平作了较为真实可靠的描述，对她的思想作了较为中肯的评价，因此出版后在西方世界引起一定反响，并在这段相对封闭的年代成为研究卢森堡的少数基本著作之一。

20世纪六七十年代，世界处于动荡不安之中，1965年的越战和1973年的经济危机接二连三地暴露出资本主义世界深刻的信仰危机和结构危机，东欧则发生了匈牙利事件和捷克事件，表露出人们对现存社会主义模式的困惑和不满。此时，对资本主义危机模式有着深刻理解，对社会主义发展道路作过独立探索的罗莎·卢森堡重新回到了人们的视野，出现了各种关于她的人物传记、著作和书信选辑以及专题论文，研究焦点多集中在卢森堡对西欧革命道路的思考 and 社会主义民主的思想，卢森堡也被较多地与新“左”派运动和民主社会主义联系起来。这段时期，西方学者的研究专著主要有J. P. 内特尔的《罗莎·卢森堡》，N. 杰拉斯的《罗莎·卢森堡的遗产》，莱·巴索的《罗莎·卢森堡的革命辩证法》等，其他散论则见于本·阿格尔的《西方马克思主义概论》，戴维·麦克莱伦的《马克思以后的马克思主义》，亨利·列斐伏尔的《论国家》，汉娜·阿伦特的《黑暗时代的人们》等。他们从各个方面肯定了卢森堡的思想，认为其思想价值超越了马克思主义的界限，超越了她所处的时代，对当代更具有启示意义。在国际学术交流方面，1973年，一位意大利上议员主办了首届罗莎·卢森堡研究国际会议。1980年，在日本学者伊藤成彦的提议下，国际罗莎·卢森堡协会在瑞士的苏黎士成立。此后，罗莎·卢森堡

国际研讨会每隔两三年举办一次，一直延续至今^①。

苏联与东欧的卢森堡研究也取得一定进展，其总体特征表现为更多地强调她同列宁的一致性，少提或不提她的“错误”，但卢森堡的一些与列宁有分歧的见解仍旧是他们研究中的禁区。如安格尼斯·拉施查和君特·拉从合著的《罗莎·卢森堡：她在德国工人运动中的作用》，罗·叶夫泽罗夫和英·亚鲍罗夫斯卡娅合著的《罗莎·卢森堡传》，都试图对卢森堡做出较为客观的评价，重新肯定其长久被埋没的对马克思主义发展的功绩，但在涉及卢森堡与列宁发生争论的地方，仍然强调列宁的绝对正确性。对其文集和书信集的编撰曾一度中止，现在又重新开始，在1970—1975年间出版了5卷本的《卢森堡全集》，在1982—1997年间出版了6卷本的《卢森堡书信全集》，从而为人们全面、真实地了解卢森堡的思想提供了可靠的资料来源。

自20世纪六七十年代国际上重新发现卢森堡开始，卢森堡的形象和思想基本上得到了恢复。80年代之后，研究热潮虽然已经过去，但卢森堡始终处于人们的视线以内，对其思想的研究也更注重在原有基础之上的提升和拓展。如“后马克思主义”的代表人物拉克劳和墨菲在《文化霸权和社会主义的战略》一书中从新的理论着眼点和问题域出发，重新审视卢森堡的理论遗产，并从他们对卢森堡自发性概念的独特解读和她因此而面临的“两难困境”中拓展出他们的霸权理论和偶然性逻辑。虽然他们并不把卢森堡作为后马克思主义思想的直接来源，但毫无疑问，他们正是从对卢森堡自发性概念的深度解读中发现了问题，进而努力通过理论创造来寻求问题的答案。2000年，哈特和奈格里出版了广受关注的《帝国》一书，在对帝国的“生产之道”进行考察的部分，他们从对卢森堡资本积累理论的理解出发，认为在努力思考“外界”的重要性和真正的局限

① 由该协会举办的历次研讨会：1981年在林茨，1983年在巴黎，1985年在汉堡，1989年在西柏林，1991年在东京，1994年在北京，1998年在美国，1999年在柏林，2000年在苏黎士，2002年在波鸿，2004年在广州，此外，国际上还不时举办关于罗莎·卢森堡的各种专题研讨会，如2004年12月在意大利召开的“罗莎·卢森堡与政治经济学批判”专题会议，2006年在中国武汉召开的“罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义”国际学术研讨会等。

方面，卢森堡可以算得上是 20 世纪第一位伟大的生态思想家，从而将卢森堡的思想与时代所面临的问题更紧密地联系在一起。而时至全球化的今日，卢森堡的意义也更加全球化了，换言之，无论对西方还是东方，她都日益凸显出独特的魅力。

二、国内研究概况

卢森堡作为以身殉志的女英雄，在中国早已为人知晓，在 20 世纪 20 年代初的广州国民革命运动中，游行队伍就曾高高举起她的画像。但由于受到苏联对卢森堡采取贬损封杀态度的影响，她作为富于独创性的马克思主义理论家的意义，在国内也长期以来得不到正确认识。直到 20 世纪 50 年代后期即苏共二十大之后，随着对斯大林时期的清算的开始，对卢森堡的评价开始发生逆转，这种变化反映在国内，就是开始陆续翻译出版卢森堡的部分论著和书信，如《资本积累论》、《社会改良还是革命？》、《狱中书简》等。但此时国内的各种马克思主义史教科书中仍然很少提到甚至根本不提罗莎·卢森堡，即便提到也是一笔带过，且主要沿袭苏东的提法，只是将她视为一位不断向列宁靠近的革命者。而当 20 世纪六七十年代国际上掀起卢森堡研究的热潮时，中国此时正处于相对封闭的“文化大革命”时期，甚至连对卢森堡的相关介绍和翻译工作都停顿下来，更谈不上对她进行研究^①。国内卢森堡研究的真正开始是在“文化大革命”结束之后。学术界思想得到解放，理论研究重新活跃起来，此时虽然国外卢森堡研究的热潮已达尾声，但对刚刚经历过一场因狂热个人崇拜而导致的巨大灾难的中国学者而言，对社会主义民主作过深刻阐发的卢森堡无疑深入人心。因此，作为对国外研究热潮的一种滞后回应，国内学者在 80 年代开始进行较集中的卢森堡思想的介绍和研究工作，如《国际共运史研究资料》曾专出一期“卢森堡专辑”，对国外的相关研究情况作了较为

① 当时有些西方学者甚至将中国“文化大革命”的发生与卢森堡的群众观点联系起来，认为前者正是受了后者的影响。这种牵强附会实际上反映出当时东、西方马克思主义之间存在着的文化隔膜和由此产生的种种误读。

详尽的介绍。1984年,《卢森堡文选》上卷出版,结束了世界上许多国家或有卢森堡全集或有她的选集、专题文集,而唯独我国没有任何集的局面^①。但相对而言,这一时期的卢森堡研究还主要停留在单方面的引进和介绍阶段,无论从研究成果、研究频度还是国际交流上来看,都未尽如人意。直到1994年,国内才出现了第一部比较全面和客观地介绍卢森堡生平及其思想的专著,即程人乾的《罗莎·卢森堡——生平和思想》。

进入21世纪以来,随着资本主义全球化进程的加快,中国的社会主义建设面临着严峻的挑战。此时国内学者的目光再度聚焦于卢森堡,因为正是她早在近一个世纪之前提出的资本积累理论能够帮助人们真切地认识到全球化背后的资本驱动力,而卢森堡关于社会主义民主的思考在今天对于增强社会主义的活力和生命力则显得更具价值。新展开的这一轮研究无论在广度上还是在深度上都有所发展,研究者或者专注于对卢森堡某个具体观点的考察,或者关注其所实现的理论范式的转换,或者强调从方法论的高度对其理论作一种总体的把握,又或者从理论发展的渊源探求卢森堡思想的价值。与前一阶段相比,当前取得的研究成果也较多,且主要以研究论文形式出现。这期间只出版过一本专著,即陈其人所著的《世界体系的否定与肯定——卢森堡〈资本积累论〉研究》,这本书可算得上是国内出版的第一本关于卢森堡资本积累思想研究的专著,作者在书中对卢森堡资本积累思想发展的脉络有一定梳理,而且提出了卢森堡的理论是一种世界体系论的观点,从而将卢森堡与兴起于20世纪六七十年代的一个理论派别联系起来,但就全书来看,作者似乎并没有具体论证这二者之间的关联和区分,而且在主要内容上局限于经济学方面的讨论。此外,这一时期卢森堡研究所取得的进展还表现在文献资料的进一步丰富和国际交流的逐渐频繁,如翻译出版了不同版本的卢森堡的书信集^②从而使研究者能更全面地理解卢森堡的思想和感受她的人格魅力;国内学者开始积极关

① 然而,《卢森堡文选》下卷却在时隔七年之后才问世,且印数极为有限。文献建设方面的滞后显然影响到国内卢森堡研究的进展。

② 参见〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡:《论俄国革命·书信集》,殷叙彝等译,贵州人民出版社2001年版;〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡:《狱中书简》,傅惟慈等译,花城出版社2007年版。

注国际卢森堡研究的动态，组织或参与各种形式和不同主题的国际会议，并在这一过程中实现了良好的互动，从而为进一步的深化交流奠定了基础。

三、反思“重新发现卢森堡”现象

正如以上概述所反映的，在卢森堡身后的九十年里，人们时而贬抑她，时而赞誉她，一次次地将她遗忘，又一次次地重新想起，就此而论，卢森堡研究本身已经演绎成为一段传奇。那么，对这个传奇，我们究竟应该做怎样的解读呢？

首先，这种研究中的起伏是因为对卢森堡思想观点的判断标准不断发生转换所致。总体而言，在卢森堡那里表现出的是—种个体化的、富有创造性的并以斗争与摩擦的方式体现出来的马克思主义，她的经济理论、政治理论以及她对马克思主义本身的理解都强调—种开放性，她作为—位有着强烈批判精神的马克思主义者，曾质疑马克思在《资本论》中陷入的矛盾，曾与列宁在组织、民族等问题上展开数十年的论战，也曾怒斥以考茨基和伯恩斯坦为首的—第二国际的叛卖行为。因此，以何标准来衡量和把握这位集开放性与批判性于—身的思想家，必然会影响到人们对卢森堡及其思想价值的定位，进而影响到卢森堡研究的兴衰命运。

那么，研究者们究竟采用了哪些不同的判断标准呢？概括而言，我们可以大致划分出两类标准。—种从僵化、保守的教条主义出发去量度她，这时卢森堡就表现为离经叛道和—不合时宜的典型，她构成了对马克思、列宁的权威身份的—种威胁，她在现实政治斗争中的失败也恰好证明了她的好高骛远。而正是因为使用了—这一标准，斯大林时代的社会主义阵营在对待卢森堡时走向了两个极端：或者夸大她与列宁的分歧，全盘否定她；或者强调她与列宁的—致，抹杀其思想的独特性。诚如莱·巴索所言：“共产党—般是从这样的前提出发的：列宁从来没有错误，他是—贯正确的；因此卢森堡和列宁进行的每一次论战，她在每一个概念上都是错误的，她

的功绩仅在于她逐渐接近了列宁的真理。”^① 幸运的是，还有另一种标准，即卢卡奇意义上的“正统马克思主义”标准，它同时也是从卢森堡自身的思想观点之中推导出来的一种标准。从这种历史的、发展的和总体的观点出发，卢森堡恰恰是马克思主义精神最坚定的捍卫者，是马克思主义方法最忠实的执行者，而且在内容和实质上都真正地发展了马克思主义。因此对以卢卡奇为代表的“西方马克思主义”者来说，卢森堡意味着向原来的、未被歪曲的马克思主义的复归，而且这种复归，并不是要回到马克思主义创始人曾经得出的具体结论和观点，而是要回到他们的方法和其中所体现出的精神，并运用这种方法和精神去探究自己时代的问题。对受到卢森堡关于社会主义民主思想鼓舞的研究者来说，即使卢森堡所作的批评是违反需要一个高度集中制政权的那一时刻的历史现实的，但这一批评的精神是必需的，“社会主义民主”也始终是长存于人们心底的一种深刻的政治信念而不是一时的策略。而对有意将卢森堡与马克思置于同一个坐标系中加以对比的当代研究者来说，当前更重要的不再是卢森堡与马克思理论的同—性上寻找肯定卢森堡思想的证据，而是从两人理论的差异性上发掘其思想的当代价值。

其次，卢森堡研究的起伏还与其论题的高度敏感性相关。在现在的研究者看来，卢森堡不仅是一位19世纪末至20世纪初的马克思主义的激进左派，更是一位通过资本积累的逻辑推断而预见到20世纪末至21世纪初的世界图景的马克思主义预言家和对缺乏社会主义民主的严重后果曾经发出大声警告的智慧先驱。然而，正是在卢森堡提出的这两个基本论题上，一直以来存在着巨大的争议，并决定着卢森堡思想观点在特定时代的命运浮沉。

卢森堡的狱中手稿所集中表达的关于社会主义民主的观念，是当前研究者最为频繁地提到的一个论题。该文稿于1922年以《俄国革命——批判的评价》为题首次发表。发表后，立即在共产国际内外引起激烈的

① 参见莱·巴索：《罗莎·卢森堡的革命辩证法》，转引自中共中央马克思恩格斯列宁斯大林著作编译局国际共运史研究室编：《国际共运史研究资料》（卢森堡专集），人民出版社1981年版。

争论。1928年，在柏林发现手稿原件。此后，在德、法、美等国曾多次出版过单行本，影响很大。但是，由于文章涉及苏联模式这个敏感的问题，所以几十年来，无论对置身于该模式之内的人们还是对处于模式之外但待之以善意和包容态度的西方同情者来说，都对此讳莫如深，尽量避免直接论及它。这种状况，一直延至20世纪70年代中期才开始改变过来。而且即使在此时，社会主义阵营对这一论题的讨论也始终只是小心翼翼地展开。直到1989年苏东发生剧变之后，对卢森堡这一论题的探讨才彻底摆脱了禁锢，因为人们这时才最为真切地感受到，没有真正社会主义民主保障的社会主义只能是一种遭到扭曲的、虚弱的社会主义，在发展的道路上不可能持久。而在我国于2001年出版的《论俄国革命·书信集》的出版前言中，编者也再次为它正名，指出“这篇至今仍有争议的著作，不仅是卢森堡最重要的著作之一，而且也是马克思主义思想史上最富于理论价值的著作之一”。

卢森堡力图对当时的帝国主义新现象做出解释的资本积累理论也是研究中争议不绝的一个焦点论题。其理论代表作《资本积累论》写于1913年，出版之后，出乎卢森堡的意料，她遭到不少人的批评，列宁在私人通信和几篇文章中也表示对其理论的不赞同，并曾计划专门撰文对《资本积累论》进行批评^①。卢森堡在世时就已受到的这些批评很自然地导致她的这一理论在其身后遭到忽视。然而，卢卡奇在1923年发现了这本书的巨大价值，认为它是使马克思主义在理论上再生的两部基本著作之一（另一部是列宁的《国家与革命》）。当然，卢卡奇对这本书的推崇主要是从方法论的角度而言，他从中继承了她的怀疑批判的精神，并进一步从哲学上提炼出其中的总体思想。一条新的发展路线开辟出来了，作为它的起点的卢森堡却渐渐淡出了人们的视线。这一方面是因为随着新的发展方向的确立，它自身有一个独立发展的过程，而不再需要依赖于它的最初起点，另一方面也是因为随着苏联斯大林时代的到来，对卢森堡的负面评价已经定性，而作为苏联社会主义的同情者和支持者，西欧马克思主义者们

① 但似乎是因为时间不够，他只起草了一个提纲。

或多或少会受到一定的影响。

也就是从那时候起，这样一种观点开始广泛流行起来，即认为她在《资本积累论》中得出了“资本主义自动崩溃”的结论，她在其中阐述的关于帝国主义的观点是同考茨基的观点相一致的。1951年厄斯纳的《卢森堡评传》更从哲学、经济和社会主义革命等方面系统评论了她的理论观点和政治观点，强调她有一个错误的理论体系即卢森堡主义，而卢森堡主义在很大程度上就是建立在把经济过程看作是一种自发、自动地导致资本主义崩溃的过程的资本积累理论之上的。这种简单粗暴的归结和由此而导致的误解无疑妨碍了人们对其理论作进一步的探究。而在此后的历史发展中，资本主义的持续繁荣又似乎证明了它依靠自身生存的力量，卢森堡得出的关于资本主义即将崩溃的结论与此不符，被认为说服力不强。此外，由于资本积累问题较多地关涉到经济方面的内容，很多研究者对此不感兴趣或因自身知识结构问题而力不从心。因此，对卢森堡资本积累理论的研究长期以来成为卢森堡研究中的一个薄弱环节，即使在“重新发现卢森堡”的20世纪六七十年代，相关的研究者也寥寥可数。研究的转折点发生在资本全球化已成社会基本事实的今天，因为正是卢森堡的资本积累理论对世界历史发展的这一基本趋势及其命运给予了逻辑上的有力论证，卢森堡研究中的重心由此发生了转换，卢森堡的资本积累理论第一次被如此醒目地推向台前，并正在越来越多地成为研究者们关注的论题。

最后，从整个历史发展的角度来看，我们似乎也能找到“重新发现卢森堡”的答案。写作《罗莎·卢森堡、妇女的解放和马克思的革命哲学》一书的杜娜叶夫斯卡娅对卢森堡曾作过一个定位，她指出“卢森堡的意义总是在历史的危急关头显现出来”。今天我们反观卢森堡研究的历史进程，发现这的确是一个事实。而究竟是什么造成了这一事实呢？一个主要的原因在于，卢森堡在她那个时代将处于马克思主义创始人视野边缘的一些问题凸现出来，关注了这些所谓的“边缘问题”，并在这些问题上拓展了马克思主义的视域，恢复了真正马克思主义的思维方法。这种特征一方面使卢森堡的思想在当时具有常人难以比拟的深刻的历史洞察力，另一方面也预示着具有该特征的思想将面临在历史长河中不断沉浮的命运。

当一种超前于时代的思想最初被提出的时候，它所面临的多半是人们的漠视、不解甚至扼杀；而当时势到来，预言成真的时候，它可能倏忽之间成为街头巷尾的热议和学术发掘的焦点。事实上，历史似乎总是以这种方式在不断前行：当历史之河沿着惯性的河床缓缓流动的时候，在它表面的波澜不惊之下，那些棱角毕露却弥足珍贵的理论结晶也被时间之沙渐渐埋藏；而当历史之河行至水流湍急、河道急转之处时，翻腾的浪花就会将沉沙掀起，彰显出思想的光芒。

因此，卢森堡的几度复归，一方面是由于卢森堡本人思想所固有的价值，另一方面又有其深刻的社会历史背景，即它既与当代资本主义的发展有着密切的联系，又与战后国际共产主义运动的演变存在着有机关联，同时还依托于研究者们自身思维方法和视角的转换。总之，卢森堡的思想研究如同卢森堡的整个人生经历一样，跌宕起伏崎岖不平，这种研究和评价上的起落既喻示着卢森堡理论遗产的独特魅力和它在发展上的丰富可能性，同时也在一定意义上折射出马克思主义发展的历史变迁及其曲折前进。而且，正是在对马克思主义者罗莎·卢森堡的再度发现和重新解读过程之中，“把握马克思主义的真谛”不再只是一个虚化了的口号，它正在为人们真切地感受和努力地践行。此时此地，卢森堡的最后话语显得如此掷地有声：“我过去存在，现在存在，将来依然存在！”

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中国学者研究卢森堡思想的 学术视域和理论旨趣回顾

张小红

1921—1922年间，中国共产党早期的马克思主义理论家李达先后在《民国日报》副刊《妇女评论》上发表《介绍几个女社会革命家》、《女权运动史》等文章，介绍罗莎·卢森堡这位卓越的国际工人运动史上的革命家、马克思主义思想家革命的一生和忘我的牺牲精神。罗莎·卢森堡开始进入中国人的视野。中国的卢森堡研究总的来说大致经历了介绍传播（20世纪20—40年代）、著作翻译出版（20世纪50—80年代）和思想深入研究（20世纪90年代至今）三个主要阶段，其中，思想深入研究阶段在前两个阶段的基础上不仅成为可能，而且获得丰硕的成果，大量的研究论文、著作涌现^①，特别是在与国际学术界日益频繁地交流中先后于1994年11月在北京、2004年11月在广州、2006年3月在武汉召开的三次罗莎·卢森堡思想国际研讨会，有力地推进了中国卢森堡研究。本文仅围绕在中国召开的这三次国际研讨会，回顾中国学者卢森堡研究旨趣的变化和视域的扩展，展望卢森堡研究的未来发展。

20世纪80年代末90年代初，苏联解体、东欧剧变，这一系列事件的发生凸显了罗莎·卢森堡在世纪初对俄国革命的批评、关于社会主义民主等思想的价值。时值罗莎·卢森堡遇害75周年，1994年11月1—3日，

① 据不完全统计，20世纪90年代至今，在中国学术期刊上发表的关于罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的论文有170多篇，著作6部。

由国际罗莎·卢森堡协会和中共中央编译局国际发展与合作研究所共同主办的罗莎·卢森堡思想国际研讨会在北京召开。这是第一次较大规模的国际研讨会，有来自德国、俄国、美国、瑞士、奥地利、匈牙利、荷兰、波兰、韩国、日本等国 30 多位学者专家，和来自北京、上海、南京、济南、太原等城市的 10 多位中国学者的参加，围绕着 6 个主题，即革命运动中的罗莎·卢森堡、罗莎·卢森堡与社会主义民主、罗莎·卢森堡的方法与观念、罗莎·卢森堡的遗产、罗莎·卢森堡的书信和罗莎·卢森堡与民族问题展开热烈的讨论。^① 其中，中国学者从《论俄国革命》这一重要文本出发，在肯定了卢森堡关于俄国革命的批判性分析基础上，发掘卢森堡社会主义民主思想，指出：第一，在卢森堡思想中，无产阶级专政与社会主义民主是一体两面，最广泛的人民民主是无产阶级专政的必要条件和保证。没有人民最广泛地参与管理国家和社会事务，没有人民的监督，苏维埃的生活会日益陷于瘫痪，官僚主义将大行其道。第二，在政党及其领袖与群众的关系上，卢森堡重视群众的首创精神，始终坚持群众是历史的推动者这一历史唯物主义观点。对将卢森堡的观点概括为“自发论”的说法进行驳斥。第三，从哲学命题角度对卢森堡的名言“自由始终是不同思想者的自由”进行解读，认为卢森堡这一名言所体现的自由并不是指不受任何限制的自由，而是本着担心俄国革命在与国内外敌人的严酷斗争中不由自主趋向专横独断而提出警醒，希望保卫革命果实，践行社会主义民主。第四，还从方法论视角指出卢森堡在社会主义模式问题上的贡献，卢森堡认为实现社会主义的模式是多种多样的，是特定的历史条件的产物。俄国布尔什维克党在社会主义革命中采用的策略和措施不应该成为其他国家党必须仿效的唯一模式，相反，各国家党应该根据各国国情探索适合本国的社会主义革命模式。而且，因为实现社会主义的模式与作为思想体系或作为社会制度的社会主义本身不是一个概念，苏联的解体并不意味着社会主义的失败，只要人类解放依然是奋斗的目标，作为思想体系或运

① 王学东：《罗莎·卢森堡思想国际研讨会在北京举行》，《国外理论动态》1995年第3期。

动的社会主义就始终存在。^①除此之外，中国学者还就罗莎·卢森堡的民族观点等问题进行了交流讨论。这次研讨会主题丰富，展现了当下卢森堡国际研究的进展，而中国学者的关注点无疑与苏东剧变密切相关，以阅读《论俄国革命》为切入点挖掘她对俄国革命模式、社会主义建设具体策略等批判性思考，反思苏联模式、反思苏联解体，客观评价卢森堡与列宁的分歧。

时隔十年，伴随着中国改革开放的不断深入，罗莎·卢森堡国际学术研讨会再次来到中国，于2004年11月21—22日在广州召开。这次研讨会由中共中央编译局世界社会主义研究所、国际罗莎·卢森堡协会、德国罗莎·卢森堡基金会共同主办，华南农业大学、华南师范大学协办。与会者有来自德国、美国、俄国、法国、日本、印度、奥地利、挪威、瑞士、中国等国50多位专家学者，围绕着罗莎·卢森堡的民主思想、罗莎·卢森堡民族观、罗莎·卢森堡的社会主义观、罗莎·卢森堡关于前资本主义结构的思想等主题进行了热烈且广泛的讨论。民主思想再次成为热点，中外学者分别从制度民主、基层民主、社会民主、党内民主等角度展开深入讨论。其中，中国学者充分关注了卢森堡的党内民主思想，指出：第一，卢森堡的党内民主思想是与列宁的民主集中制不同的“自我集中制”，它一方面体现为党内“大多数人的统治”，这是由无产阶级政党的性质决定的；另一方面表现为一种对党员个人和下级党组织具有约束力的“强制性的综合”，这是与无政府主义、资产阶级所鼓吹的“绝对自由”相区别的。第二，卢森堡反对“极端的民主制”，深信群众的首创精神，相信只有始终使自己成为有觉悟的群众的代言人和执行人的政党及其领袖才能越有力量、越有威信。第三，要保证党内的民主，就要允许党员对重大问题展开自由讨论并提出批评建议的自由，即保证党内的思想自由和批评自

①：如殷叙彝以“罗莎·卢森堡‘俄国革命’的现实意义”、周德庸以“自由始终是持不同思想者的自由”、许复宇以“把群众看成历史的主人是卢森堡的一贯思想”、胡文建以“罗莎·卢森堡和社会主义模式问题”为题分别做了交流；参看刘慧楠：《罗莎·卢森堡国际研讨会速要》，《当代世界与社会主义》1995年第1期。

由，认为这是攸关党的生死存亡的问题。^① 这次研讨会专题更加丰富，卢森堡关于前资本主义结构的思想成为一个新的生长点；主题更加突出，聚焦民主思想反映了中国学者立足中国社会主义现代化建设、推进政治体制改革现实观照中运用卢森堡思想反思中国问题。

2006年3月20—21日，由武汉大学哲学学院、武汉大学马克思主义哲学研究所联合主办的“罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义”国际学术研讨会在武汉召开，来自12个国家的60多位中外专家学者围绕着罗莎·卢森堡与马克思、列宁的关系、罗莎·卢森堡与西方马克思主义的关系、罗莎·卢森堡《资本积累论》的当代研究、罗莎·卢森堡的政治哲学等议题展开讨论。这次研讨会与前两次研讨会相比较，中国学者既延续了对罗莎·卢森堡政治思想和社会主义理论的关注，又开辟出研究的新视域，如在哲学上，从总体性方法、以民主为总体视野的革命辩证法等角度探讨了卢森堡与西方马克思主义之间的关系，肯定了卢森堡是西方马克思主义的先驱，开拓了一条不同于列宁主义的马克思主义解释路径；在政治经济学方面，重视她最为重要的政治经济学著作——《资本积累论》的当代价值^②，探讨了卢森堡对马克思扩大再生产图式的理解、在资本实现问题上与马克思之间的同与异、卢森堡与《反批判》中的货币资本流通等问题，肯定了卢森堡提出的非资本主义生产形态是资本主义积累的前提，重视帝国主义的经济根源和经济职能，坚持从经济与政治相互统一的原则把握资本主义发展的新阶段等观点。^③ 这些新视域早现了中国卢森堡研究的新进展。

20世纪90年代以来在中国召开的这三次罗莎·卢森堡思想国际研讨会，主题各异，却也相互承继，始终保持着对卢森堡社会主义理论和政治思想的兴趣，始终秉持着卢森堡思想对于思考中国问题的意义。也正因此，中国学者研究的重心也紧密贴近着时代脉搏，关注点由“社会主义

① 庄俊举：《罗莎·卢森堡国际学术研讨会综述》，《当代世界与社会主义》2005年第1期。

② 本次会议提交的论文中以该著作基本思想为研究对象的论文约占了三分之二，表明卢森堡的政治经济学思想在全球化的当下对认识和理解资本主义发展新阶段的理论价值。

③ 参见何律主编：《罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义》，人民出版社2013年版。

民主—党内民主—《资本积累论》研究”，从社会主义理论、政治思想拓展到政治经济学理论、哲学思想，从各个方面推进着卢森堡思想的研究。但是，卢森堡思想的研究依然存在很大空间，例如资本积累问题，从经济学角度来说它与马克思的再生产理论的关系，对经济全球化的发展趋势、金融危机的反思，从政治学角度来说对于理解和思考发达资本主义国家与发展中国家之间的关系，中国现代化的问题等等都有待于深化。再如，卢森堡的个人生活情趣与思想之间关系如何看待？卢森堡与女性解放……这一系列问题的进一步探讨，将随着武汉大学哲学学院何萍教授领衔的《卢森堡全集》中文版的翻译工作推进而得到有力支撑。

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三、理论与实践：罗莎·卢森堡 思想的张力与影响

Part III Theory and Practice: The Tension and Influence
of Rosa Luxemburg's Thought

重新发现罗莎·卢森堡“总体性”概念的贡献

彼得·胡迪斯

尽管罗莎·卢森堡的著作在最近十几年的政治及哲学界被广泛地翻译、争论和不恰当地引用——从社会民主到马克思列宁主义、从女性主义到西方马克思主义——从总体的角度去理解罗莎·卢森堡的著作在历史及现代的作用无疑仍是十分重要的。即将出版的中文及英文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》无疑为我们达到这个目标提供了极好的机会。这篇文章致力于探索《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的出版将在何种程度上加深我们对于罗莎·卢森堡关于两个重要议题——自发性与组织性的关系、马克思主义思想中“总体性”概念——的贡献的理解。

一

自从1919年去世以来，罗莎·卢森堡的思想就经常被与她的理论关注点背道而驰的思想家和政治倾向所攻击或辩护。从20世纪20年代中后期斯大林和他的德国共产党中的追随者们发明带有贬义的“罗莎·卢森堡主义”开始，这种试图将她的思想遗产从共产主义运动中抹除的问题就一直存在。为了应对这种攻击，有些左派走向了另一个极端，他们声称罗莎·卢森堡是一个社会民主主义者，说她几乎反对布尔什维克的一切主张，包括列宁的思想在内。例如，1961年一位反共产主义者柏特瑞姆·沃尔夫出版了一本以《〈俄国革命〉和〈列宁主义还是马克思主义〉》为

题的关于罗莎·卢森堡 1918 年撰写的《论俄国革命》的英文小册子^①。事实上罗莎·卢森堡从未写过任何关于这个标题的论著——“列宁主义”^② 个术语也是列宁去世后才被发明的——而这也并没有使柏特瑞姆·沃尔夫感到困扰。在接下来的五十年里，卢森堡的许多新著作出现在英语世界（以及其他国家），这也为更为准确地把握罗莎·卢森堡思想的原创性和多样性做出了极大贡献^③。然而，仍存在一种强烈的倾向，即却是根据那些实际上远离卢森堡自身思想的东西去领会她的思想遗产。例如，汉娜·阿伦特曾声称，如果卢森堡的见解不从马克思主义者的角度来进行解读才是最好的^④。相反的，另一些人则坚持将她理解为一个属于列宁阵营的正统马克思主义者，尽管在她的一生中曾有许多针对列宁的犀利批评。还有一些人认为她是“西方马克思主义”的开创者，尽管“西方马克思主义”这个术语在她逝世几十年后才被创造出来。^⑤

当然，卢森堡的思想受制于一系列来自不同立场甚至相互对立方向的解读，这是无可厚非的。一位思想家的观点的多样性展现出其（思想的）丰富性和深刻性，（而多样的观点）则从其主要的著作中抽取出来。然而，借鉴一位思想家的观点却不允许她为自己的立场辩护或代表自己发言，这是有问题的。任何尝试研究卢森堡著作的人面临的首要任务是，许

① See *Rosa Luxemburg, Leninism or Marxism? The Russian Revolution*, edited by Bertram D. Wolfe, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961.

② To my knowledge, the first use of the term “Leninism” dates to February 1924, shortly after Lenin’s death, in a speech by Stalin.

③ See especially Norman Geras, *The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg*, New York and London: Verso Books, 2015; Raya Dunayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution*, Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1981; and Frigga Haug, *Rosa Luxemburg und die Kunst der Politik*, Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 2007.

④ See Hannah Arendt, “A Heroine of Revolution”, in *The New York Review of Books*, October 6, 1966.

⑤ As Kevin Anderson has argued, insofar as “Western Marxism” is generally taken to refer to the effort to restore the Hegelian dimension of Marxist thought, its originator can be said to be Lenin, who penned the earliest and most important study of Hegel’s work since Marx’s death in his 1914–1915 “Abstract of Hegel’s *Science of Logic*.” The term itself was not coined until many years later by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, in the 1950s. For more on this, see Kevin B. Anderson, *Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

多方面应依照（卢森堡）她自己的表达方式来获得可靠的解释。当然这并不是排除对卢森堡（著作）进行批判性阅读。卢森堡未能在若干问题上获得完全正确的认识（在一些论辩中也倒向错误的一方），这些自不待言。即使于最伟大的理论家而言，历史也是一个刻薄的领导。我的观点是，如果卢森堡的观点被理解为远离其本意的知识和政治倾向——如视之为自由主义者，列宁主义者或西方马克思主义者，那么，客观地理解卢森堡的贡献则会变得更难。我们首先需要从她自己的术语上来重新审视卢森堡。

这也是我们积极投入《罗莎·卢森堡全集》英文版出版工作的主要原因。我们打算出版她写的所有东西——书、小册子、文章、论文、手稿以及信件——共 14 卷。其中有两卷包含了她已出版过的经济学著作。我们目前正在致力于出版主题为“论革命”的卷次，它将占用整整三卷的篇幅，这三卷也是其政治学著作七卷中的一部分。在全集中也将包含五卷她的书信集。

在整理这些著作的过程中，我们发现我们对罗莎·卢森堡仍知之甚少，因为她 80% 的著作从未被翻译为英文，包括在五卷本德文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中出现的文章、随笔及演讲稿都从未被翻译为英文。而且，到目前为止出版的英文版的罗莎·卢森堡书信尚不足德文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的 20%——甚至还包括了 2011 年已出版的 600 页的英文版《罗莎·卢森堡书信集》，而这是目前关于她的书信集最全的英文版本。然而这仅仅是冰山一角。直至 2013 年，罗莎·卢森堡较为重要的著作《国民经济学入门》才出现了第一部完整版的英文翻译版本，被收录到《罗莎·卢森堡全集》（以下简称《全集》）英文版第一卷中^①。这份 220 页的研究材料是对马克思主义政治经济学最好的概括之一，任何想要了解资本主义历史起源、资本主义全球扩张的驱动力、前资本主义和后资本主义社会组织形式之间的关系以及雇佣劳动的本质的学者，都应当阅读

① See “Introduction to Political Economy”, in *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, Vol. 1, *Economic Writings 1*, edited by Peter Hudis, London and New York: Verso Books, 2013, pp. 89–300.

这本书。虽然罗莎·卢森堡在柏林社会民主党党校任教是一个众所周知的事实，但直到20世纪90年代她任教时讲授的《国民经济学入门》以及与之相关的各类讲座和手稿才被发现和找到。其中，有（她任教时期的）七份手稿——即关于中世纪、古希腊和古罗马的奴隶制以及资本主义应对经济危机的倾向的手稿——首次完整出现在《罗莎·卢森堡全集》英文版的第1卷中。这些（新发现的）手稿，展示了罗莎·卢森堡在持续探索前资本主义社会形式——在将这些形式作为是寻找替代当今资本主义之一种选择的意义上——的积极作用的过程中，伴随着对当时最新的人类学、人种学和社会学之发展的研究。

然而，还有更多的材料最近才暴露出来。在J. P. Nettl 1966年撰写的广为人知的英文版罗莎·卢森堡传记中，他列出了不少于708篇罗莎·卢森堡在1891年到1919年间撰写的德文、波兰及俄文著作。许多论文和文章都是以佚名或化名的形式发表的，因此并未包含在德文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中。德文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中也并未包括她大量的关于波兰的著作（Neul罗列了许多）。安格尼斯·拉施查为了编译这些未发表的2000多页的德文著作费尽心，她于2015年发行了长达950页的包含罗莎·卢森堡1893年到1906年间发表的著作卷。还有一卷涵盖了罗莎·卢森堡1907年到1919年未发表著作的差不多篇幅的卷本也将被出版。这些材料涵盖了对于17世纪英国革命的研究、关于南非历史的笔记以及1918年关于俄国革命的著作等，其中也包括了一些警方询问罗莎·卢森堡时的笔录。此外，2000多页从未被翻译为德文或英文的波兰语著作也已被收集，在这里我要由衷地感谢来自华沙的霍尔格·波利特（Holger Polit）先生的工作。以上我所提到的所有材料都将最终出现在英文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》中。

二

通过出版英文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，有许多问题我们可以作出更好的回答，这些问题包括：罗莎·卢森堡是否发展过一种独特的革命民主

观点并使得她区别于同时代的其他人？她是否具有一个独特的组织性概念？或者，她是否仍受制于那些用来界定她所在时代革命者的那种组织性理论与实践？她是否理解在革命之后需要做什么——这种革命关涉着我们的任务，即发展一种可行的替代去代替过去 100 年称之为“社会主义”的失败？很显然，对这些问题的解答仍旧需要等待另一个时机。在这里，我想做的是研究罗莎·卢森堡对于 1905 年俄国革命的回应是如何体现了她关于自发性与组织性之间关系的理解的。

卢森堡从 1905 年俄国革命中提炼出的“革命”的概念可以说是一个创举，与其他人仅仅将“革命”作为一个单一孤立的事件不同，她将“革命”理解为与统治阶级持续斗争的过程——正是这一斗争过程将导致现存社会的整体转变。与许多马克思主义者及无政府主义者不同，她坚持认为政党和激进分子无法“制造”革命。相反的，应激发民众的“自发性”，来应对特定的历史和物质条件。革命的任务是掌握、理解和整合这些行为，并给予人们将阶级社会连根拔起的指导——而不是假装他们可以通过带有革命意志的行为创造或者组织革命。正如她在 1905 年 1 月 28 日的一篇题为《俄国革命》的文章中所说——这篇文章是她于 1905 至 1906 年间以同一标题（即《俄国革命》）所写的一系列文章中的一篇：

毫无疑问，彼得堡工人的第一次群众起义甚至对于俄国社会民主党本身也是一种意外。这次惊心动魄的政治暴动的表面领导显然不在社会民主党的手中。……这只要换句话来说，便可证明，社会民主党不懂得推动现实的革命群众运动，因为按计划发动、组织和要加领导的，短时间“制造出来的”革命，只有在普特卡默的警察或者普鲁士和俄国检察官的丰富的想象中才存在。^①

① See “Die Revolution in Rußland”, in *Gesammelte Werke*, Band 1, No. 2, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 2000, pp. 481–482. For an English translation, see “The Revolution in Russia”, in *Witness to Permanent Revolution: The Documentary Record*, edited by Richard B. Day and Daniel Gaido, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011, p. 361.

从1905年的俄国革命中，卢森堡得出了五个结论。首先，她认为俄国革命“本身是完全特殊和新的”，它并不是早期欧洲革命的重演，而是“迄今为止最明显的无产阶级革命”。尽管群众反对专制并为资本主义社会中的民主权利而战，他们也提出了空前规模的“纯粹的无产阶级社会”的要求。第二，她认为，俄国阶级力量的联盟完全不同于西欧，俄国的无产阶级拥有更大的革命潜力。小资产阶级实际上并不存在，而资本主义也并不是自由价值的倡导者，而是保守主义的代名词。因此，在革命性转变中起主导作用的任务就落到了工人阶级的头上。第三，这意味着尽管革命采取的是争取资本主义民主的“形式”，其本质“内容”却是为了无产阶级的。第四，她认为，俄国和波兰的无产阶级不会仅仅提出资产阶级民主革命的要求，而将寻求“永久”的革命。卢森堡是第一个如此谈论1905年俄国革命的，在1905年2月4日的《新时代》中她写道：“现在为了保持永久革命地位的社会民主任务才真正开始。”^① 在随后的两年里，许多马克思主义者——从托洛茨基到梅林以至考茨基，甚至右翼孟什维克分子如马丁诺夫——谈论了“永久革命”，但卢森堡是第一个使用这个术语的。第五，她从1905年的俄国革命中提出了大规模罢工的重要性——不论是对于俄国还是整个社会主义运动。她也意识到了许多德国工会及政党领导人之所以反对大规模罢工，恰恰是因为他们依赖传统的组织模式和议会的操纵。在她看来，他们没能控制1905年的俄国革命说明俄国和波兰群众相比于德国的弟兄拥有更先进的斗争性和更强烈的阶级意识——尽管后者有更有组织性的工会、更先进的社会主义文化以及更庞大的党组织。

显而易见，尽管从1905年至1906年开始，罗莎·卢森堡在德国生活了将近十年，她的政治观念并没有被德国社会的社会、政治及文化态度所局限。她对第二国际中的政治家及领导者——不仅仅是伯恩斯坦、也包括倍倍尔和考茨基——无情批判的原因，在于她倾向于从俄国和波兰的革命传统的角度来达到革命的政治。

① Luxemburg, "After the First Act", in *Witness to Permanent Revolution: The Documentary Record*, edited by Richard B. Day and Daniel Gaido, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2001, p. 370.

然而，我们不可避免地注意到她关于1905年俄国革命的著作中有一个明显的遗漏——无论是在她关于工人罢工的小册子里还是她的其他文章或论文中，她都没有指出1905年出现的工人自发性组织的新形式——苏维埃。她为什么会这样做？她肯定知道苏维埃所扮演的角色，然而她并没有让苏维埃成为其中的一个类别（在1917年的俄国革命中问题将变得十分不同）。第一个苏维埃在1905年5月中旬出现在俄国一个纺织工业中心伊万诺沃州^①，她在一系列文章中论及了工人罢工的角色，却并未提到苏维埃。当1905年底波兰无产阶级提出与社会民主党成立工人委员会，她也没有这样做，而是以左翼是在冒“机会主义者”风险的理由回绝了邀请^②。相较于她对群众自发性行为的关注，她没有讨论苏维埃的行为的确很奇怪。但有比苏维埃更引人注目的群众自发性行为吗？

当我们在这点上将她与经常被描述为只对政党的组织形式感兴趣的列宁作比较的时候，这个问题变得更加尖锐。1905年列宁写了一篇名为《我们的任务和工人代表苏维埃（给编辑部的信）》的文章，并将其投送到《新生活》杂志，尽管它并未送达^③。列宁在其中写道：

我认为在这个问题上要求工人代表苏维埃接受社会民主党的纲领并加入俄国社会民主工党，也是不妥当的。我觉得，在目前，为了领导政治斗争无疑既需要苏维埃（改变了方向的苏维埃，关于这个方向立刻就要谈到），又需要党……可是我错了。但是我（根据我手头上不充分的、仅仅是“书面的”材料觉得，在政治上必须把工人代表苏维埃看作临时革命政府的萌芽。我觉得，苏维埃应当尽快地宣布自己是全俄国的临时革命政府，或者（完全是一码事，只是形式不

[1] See Oskar Anweiler, *The Soviets: The Russian Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Councils, 1905—21*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1974, p. 40.

[2] I wish to thank Eric Blanc for bringing this point to my attention in personal correspondence.

[3] For a detailed discussion of this article and the circumstances in which it was finally published, see Solomon M. Schwarz, *The Workers' Movement and the Formation of Bolshevism and Menshevism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, pp. 189–191.

同而已) 必须建立一个临时革命政府。^①

据我所知, 在卢森堡 1905—1906 年的著作中, 并没有包含呼吁苏维埃建立临时政府的著作。为什么会这样? 一种可能的解释是她致力于将俄国 1905 年革命的经验教训应用于德国。不像工会运动和社会党派欠发达的俄国, 德国的工会运动和社会党是极富组织性和强大的。然而, 尽管德国运动相比于俄国更富有组织性, 它也在另一方面更缺乏革命性。卢森堡想要把俄国的革命动力和主动性带到西方——但是, 鉴于已存在于德国的高度发达的组织形式, 她看到了发明新的运动形式的极少需求, 于是她希望她能在他们现有的组织机构的基础上说服社民党和工会采取大规模罢工。如果这个解释是正确的, 她对于大规模罢工的强调及对苏维埃组织形式的忽略的倾向也是可以理解的。也不难理解为什么 1917 年至 1918 年第一次世界大战期间德国工会和社会民主党联合形成政府时她会采取不同的角度看待这个问题, 并采用了布尔什维克的口号“一切权利归苏维埃”。

然而这并不是唯一可能的解释。她可能并不愿意将优先权放在与社会民主运动相对独立的组织形式上。卢森堡从未质疑过统治第二国际的主要的组织主题——需要单一的、统一的政党去领导群众。尽管她对自发性的群众斗争有着极高的敏感性并且反对那些(如列宁)倾向于盲目迷恋组织集中和分层的组织形式的人, 在维护先锋党的领导地位的观点上, 她并没有跟他(或者其他那个时代的领先的马克思主义者)有所不同。卢森堡组织性的概念在自发性和党的领导这对孪生观念上所表现出的紧张与矛盾是否可以解释她在 1905 年苏维埃所表现出的中心角色的相对沉默?

三

这个问题是乔治·卢卡奇在他的著作《历史与阶级意识》中提出的, “卢森堡比许多人都早而且清楚地认识到群众革命行动的自发性”, 她也

① “Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers’ Deputies”, in *Lenin Collected Works* Vol. 10, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965, p. 19.

相信“无产阶级阶级意识的这种形态就是党”^①。他认为，卢森堡对于自发性组织形式和党的双重认同说明她形成了“总体性”的概念，而且她是马克思之后的第一个将辩证的概念运用于总体性的思想家。在卢卡奇看来，总体性意味着“在整体中的无上地位”，它秉持“把所有局部现象都看作是整体——被理解为思想和历史的统一的辩证过程”^②。

卢卡奇认为马克思提出的总体性概念——“思维和存在的识别，相信他们的团结统一和整体的过程”——直接来自黑格尔的想法很显然是正确的。他认为那些占据了第二国际的庸俗的唯物主义者将黑格尔当作一条“死狗”的做法很显然是缺乏远见的。卢卡奇的影响最深远的贡献仍是他努力重建马克思思想中的哲学思想及被第二国际忽略的与黑格尔思想联系的根基。然而，卢森堡从未研究过黑格尔，在她的著作中也从未提到过他，事实上，她极少引用黑格尔恰恰是非常关键的。此外，她从未提及过总体性的概念。因此，总体性概念真的可以定义卢森堡的著作吗？还是说卢卡奇错误地将其对总体性概念的理解注入了卢森堡的著作中？

正如卢卡奇在他的论文《作为马克思主义者的罗莎·卢森堡》中所说的那样，在《资本积累论》中，卢森堡强调马克思《资本论》第二卷中对资本主义的考察并不是从单个的资本家出发，而是从整个资产阶级出发——也就是，从总体出发。但是这并不能说明卢森堡借用了黑格尔—马克思主义者的总体性概念。毕竟，几乎所有读过《资本论》的读者——包括了那些对黑格尔或总体性概念缺乏兴趣的人——都承认这个经济真理。此外，尽管卢森堡是马克思《资本论》的一个伟大的阐释者，但她从未具体讨论过异化、物化、商品拜物教等核心概念。那么我们又怎么可以在她没有过多涉及这些概念的时候声称她有总体性的概念呢？

再一次的，卢森堡究竟是像卢卡奇所说的是马克思之后的第一个马克思主义者，她重新利用了马克思的总体性概念，还是说卢卡奇将他对于总

① Georg Lukács, "The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg", in *History and Class Consciousness*, London: Merlin Press, 1971, p. 41.

② Georg Lukács, "The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg", in *History and Class Consciousness*, London: Merlin Press, 1971, pp. 27-28.

体性概念的理解强加给了卢森堡？考虑到卢森堡对于总体性概念的贡献已被证明给许多人，这并不是一个学术性的问题。

卢卡奇讨论总体性的最重要的方面在他的《历史与阶级意识》中有着极为著名的表述：“现实只能作为总体来把握和冲破，而且只有本身是一总体的主体，才能做到这种冲破。”^① 原子化的、资本主义社会的个人是无法把握社会的总体性的。资产阶级思想，产生于独立的个人，可以认识整体的某些方面，却并不能认识整体。现实的总体性只能被集体的和总体性的主体——工人阶级——理解和把握。基于这些，他认为无产阶级构成了主体和客体，而这恰恰是黑格尔哲学体系的核心。

然而，卢卡奇的无产阶级观念代表黑格尔的主体和对象的统一的看法使其陷入了一个棘手的矛盾中。如果无产阶级可以作为一个总体来把握社会总体，如何解释工人的日常意识与真正的社会主义社会的巨大差距——鉴于正统马克思主义者及卢卡奇所坚称的工人只能通过他们自己的努力获得工会意识那样？

此外，如果无产阶级的阶级意识如卢卡奇声称的那样可以累加，如何解释1914年那场痛彻心扉的背叛，当数以百万计的工人遵循他们的社会民主主义领导人而支持世界大战？为了回答这些问题，卢卡奇引入了他著名的“被赋予的阶级意识”。“真正的”阶级意识是以无产阶级的阶级意识表现出来的，是党的意识：“党担当者崇高的角色：它是无产阶级阶级意识的支柱，是无产阶级历史使命的良知。”^② 无产阶级最终并不是“总体性”的主体，相反的，能够掌握社会总体性的主体是党。

卢卡奇认为他对于“被赋予的阶级意识”的表述解决了作为同一的主客体无产阶级和经常导致机会主义的阶级局限之间的矛盾，而实际上他只是将这种矛盾转化到了一个更高的层面。在他后来（1967年）在《历史与阶级意识》的描述中他提到：“这里我是指列宁在《怎么办？》中提

① Georg Lukács, “The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg”, in *History and Class Consciousness*, London: Merlin Press, 1971, p. 39.

② Georg Lukács, “The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg”, in *History and Class Consciousness*, London: Merlin Press, 1971, p. 42.

到的同一内容。他认为，社会主义的阶级意识与自发产生的工团意识不同，它是‘从外面’，也就是‘从经济斗争范围外面，从工人同厂主的关系范围外面’灌输到工人群众中去的。”^①然而，工人通过自身的劳动只能获得关于工会意识的观念只不过是从小资产阶级的角度出发无法掌握社会总体性的另一种说法。卢卡奇很明显掉入了他自己制造的逻辑矛盾中。在反对资本主义思想的原子化个人主义中，他却认为无产阶级的主客体可以通过累加的方式获得总体性从而把握现实性。然而，考虑到现阶段意识与真正的社会主义社会思想之间的差异性，这个主体并不能承受起他所赋予的理论重量。因此，他提出了一个新增的主体要素——党——来解决这个矛盾。但是如果“真的”无产阶级的阶级意识产生于党，那么就是党而不是无产阶级是可以把握社会总体性的作为总体性的主体。“党”凌驾于无产阶级之上了，不是历史的产物，而是一个无所不知的党。^②我们得出的逻辑结论就是无产阶级是具有惰性的。

总而言之，卢卡奇的地位使他通过投入到“一个有意识的和历史的任务”中而盲目迷信“党的领导”的作用，而哪怕列宁都从未如此声称过^③，更不用说卢森堡了。

在他后期在《历史与阶级意识》中的自我批判和重估中（写于1967年），卢卡奇承认他所谓的无产阶级的主客体统一滑入了黑格尔的唯心主义。^④正如

① See the “Preface to the Second Edition” in *History and Class Consciousness*, p. xviii.

② 当然也可以争论说我们没有理由假设会存在这样一个具有最先进和革命性的无产阶级和随之而来的意识的“党”会凌驾于整个大众之上。然而这忽略了一个事实，那就是拉萨尔、考茨基和列宁都明确说由于工人阶级只能拥有贸易意识，领导党的“科学之轮”将会是资产阶级的知识分子。卢卡奇自身从未挑战过这个看法。先锋党的概念仅仅是基于无产阶级在革命知识分子中的领导作用。

③ 值得注意的是，尽管列宁有许多追随者，他从来试图在《怎么办？》里提出一个通用的理论。在1920年之前，他不允许自己的论著被翻译为其他语言，因为他将自己的组织理论视为是适应第三国际理论和俄国实际而生的。认为列宁创造了一个“原始的”组织理论的想法已经在很大程度上造成的危害。对列宁本人也并不公平。

④ 我同意他后期的自我批评。正如杜娜叶夫斯卡娅所说：“卢卡奇自身过度强调了无产阶级的‘意识’以至于它遮蔽了作为物质力量和理论的实践的作用，因此也为退回黑格尔所说的‘主客体统一’的唯心主义和党‘知道’的理论提供了空间。”可参见 *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, edited by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson, Lexington Books, 2002, p.219.

他自己所说，他误入了“脱离黑格尔的黑格尔主义”^①泥潭。然而也可以说，卢卡奇的这种防卫使他陷入了“脱离列宁的列宁主义”。为了提供一个外部的对立统一者以消解他理论中的固有矛盾，卢卡奇不得不重视党的作用。也是因为这个原因，在他的文章《对罗莎·卢森堡〈论俄国革命〉的批评意见》中，他觉得发行卢森堡1918年对于俄国革命之后所导致的对民主和自由的压制行为的布尔什维克主义的批判是很有必要的。

奇怪的是，在这篇文章中他完全没有提到卢森堡有使用总体性的概念。尽管他对于罗莎·卢森堡关于俄国革命的一些批评——如她反对布尔什维克给农民们属于他们自己的土地，也反对给予前沙皇国家民族自决权——是很有说服力的，卢卡奇认为卢森堡“高估”了革命自发性的作用，同时她也高估了这种自发性在从资本主义自然进化到社会主义的“有机”过程中的作用。他认为，尽管资本主义是从封建社会关系中逐步产生的，社会主义并不一定得在资本主义的基础上产生，相反，社会主义必须在政府力量的推动下产生，而相比于之前的历史进程，这种政府力量在社会主义转型中的作用更为重要。^②卢森堡对于列宁“不民主”主义进程的批评，在他看来，恰恰反映了她未能理解政府在创造社会主义社会中所采取的措施的本质。

最为重要的是，他断言卢森堡反对布尔什维克所提倡的制宪会议，理由是“她断然反对成立苏维埃体系”。这显然是错误的，因为与其在1905至1906年的反常沉默不同，卢森堡在1917至1918年间曾明确接受了“一切权力归苏维埃”的口号。卢森堡批评制宪会议，并不是因为她不支

①. *History and Class Consciousness*, p.xxiii.

②. In making this claim Lukács adopted a position at variance with that of Marx in *Civil War in France*, which was written under the impact of the Paris Commune of 1871. Marx argued that whereas bourgeois revolutions were “forced to develop... the centralization and organization of state power”, the Paris Commune “was a revolution against the state itself... this new Commune... breaks the modern state power” in that it aspires for “the reabsorption of the state power by society.” See Marx’s *Civil War in France*, in *Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 24 (New York: International Publishers, 1989), pp. 486–487. For a further discussion of this in relation to modern-day revolutions, see Peter Hudis, *Marx’s Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism* (London and Boston: Brill, 2012).

持苏维埃系统，而是因为她担心它强调了布尔什维克主义对于民主的漠视，而这是对所有普遍的权力机关包括苏维埃都不利的。

在卢卡奇看来，“卢森堡错在不断地用革命未来阶段的原则来与当前的要求相对立”^①。然而也可以说，这正是她的力量所在。她清楚地明白在手段和目的之间有不可或缺的联系，当目标是在群众广泛参与的基础上建立社会主义社会时，并不是每一个手段都会被采用。然而，卢卡奇对她对自由言论的辩护无动于衷，认为革命“不允许自己被限定在复杂的自由议题中”。他甚至写道：“自由（和社会化一样）并不代表价值本身。自由必须为无产阶级统治服务，而不是无产阶级统治为它服务。”^②在他看来，似乎只要是维护党的霸权地位，任何行动都是被允许的，哪怕它意味着扼杀它所代表的工人阶级的自由。^③这个黑格尔主义的马克思主义者突然沉溺在对于实用功利主义的寻求中。

尽管卢森堡——像列宁和卢卡奇那样——坚持先锋党的概念，她从未将党凌驾于民众的自由之上。卢卡奇对于卢森堡总体性概念的阐释也并没有对她在革命转变中独特的实际地位发挥多大作用。

我钻研这个议题的原因有如下两点：1. 揭示将卢森堡的思想遗产阐释为其并没有提出或发展过的理论的危险；2. 进一步了解她的著作以便于我们更好地了解她对于组织、革命及前资本主义社会本质概念的贡献及局限。这并不仅仅是为了历史及学术活动，也是为了解决我们当代社会的紧要问题——而这也正是我们出版中文版和英文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》的目的所在。

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① Lukács, “Critical Observations on Rosa Luxemburg’s Critique of the Russian Revolution”, in *History and Class Consciousness*, pp. 277–278.

② Lukács, “Critical Observations on Rosa Luxemburg’s Critique of the Russian Revolution”, in *History and Class Consciousness*, p. 292.

③ In the last years of his life (in 1968), after he had broken from Stalinism, Lukács changed his position on these questions, adopting as much more supportive attitude to the concerns that Luxemburg voiced in 1918 regarding the relation of democracy and socialism. See his *The Process of Democratization*, translated by Susanne Bernhardt and Norman Levine (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991).

罗莎·卢森堡的自发性理论及其政治意义

周 凡

长期以来，罗莎·卢森堡的自发性理论受到苏联官方马克思主义的严厉批判，但是，这丝毫不能表明自发性理论是一种错误的理论。对自发性理论的不公正指摘源自对自发性概念的形而上学理解。实际上，自发性既包含客观性内容，又有主体性倾向；既有必然性特征，又有偶然性成分，既有“决定”的要素，又有自主与自由的空间。只要不将某一方面肆意片面化或极端化，而是把这些不同的方面以一定的张力维系在一起，便可得出一个包蕴深厚的辩证的自发性概念。自发性观念是罗莎·卢森堡以一贯之的核心思想，它涉及一系列复杂深刻的历史哲学问题，而且，在革命实践层面上，它成为罗莎·卢森堡全部政治策略的理论支撑点。

罗莎·卢森堡是第二国际马克思主义的左派领袖，她因最猛烈地抨击伯恩斯坦的修正主义而成为捍卫马克思主义革命性的典范。著名马克思主义学者戴维·麦克莱伦把罗莎·卢森堡奉为德国社会民主党内最杰出的激进派斗士。她对马克思主义的虔诚信仰，她激扬飞越的革命热情，她坚贞不渝的斗争意志，她抛头颅洒热血的崇高献身精神，使她无愧于伟大的无产阶级革命家、无愧于“革命之鹰”的光荣称号。然而，令人寒心的是，罗莎·卢森堡被右派残酷地杀害，却遭到左派最无情的批判。20世纪20年代，德国共产党的激进分子费舍尔（Ruth Fischer）把“卢森堡主义”比作“梅毒病菌”。1931年，斯大林为了从理论上彻底肃清托洛茨基的余毒，竟宣称罗莎·卢森堡要为“不断革命论”负责。好像在理论上，不谈论罗莎·卢森堡的错误就算高抬贵手了，她哪里还有什么理论上的原创

性！就像科拉科夫斯基所说，“罗莎·卢森堡政治上和理论上的卓越点并没有引起重视，它如同一纸空文，人们口头上颂扬她，人们记起她，只是因为她是为革命献身的烈士”^①。但是，必须指出的是，罗莎·卢森堡之所以在马克思主义发展史上占有卓越的地位，最主要的还是因为她在理论上做出的不可磨灭的巨大贡献。西方马克思主义的主要创始人卢卡奇受到罗莎·卢森堡很大的影响，他把罗莎·卢森堡的论著作为他阐发阶级意识及总体性观念的蓝本。20世纪60年代，“西方新左派在寻求苏联官方正统马克思主义的替代模式时，对罗莎·卢森堡的观点发生了日益浓厚的兴趣”^②；而罗莎·卢森堡关于社会主义民主的论述更是受到晚近以来西方左翼学者们的青睐，他们认为罗莎·卢森堡不仅首创了“社会主义民主”的概念，而且她创造性地发展了马克思主义的民主理论。更令人惊奇的是，连英国后马克思主义代表人物拉克劳与墨菲也从罗莎·卢森堡那里借取理论资源，他们的成名之作《霸权与社会主义策略》就以解读卢森堡为开端。然而，长期以来，我国学术界对于罗莎·卢森堡的研究仍然没有摆脱苏联官方评价的模式，仍然局限在列宁主义甚至斯大林主义的视域之内，这是导致我们对罗莎·卢森堡的学术探讨没有突破性进展的主要原因。

罗莎·卢森堡受到苏联官方的批判，原因在于她在一系列问题上与列宁不一致、原因在于她在一些重要而又十分敏感的问题上与列宁意见相左，其中最要害的问题是关于组织问题的争论。诚如卢卡奇所言：“在纯粹理论中，各种不同的观点和思潮可以和平相处，它们的对立只是采取讨论的形式，讨论可以在同一个组织中进行，而不必把这个组织炸毁。但是只要这些同样的问题被赋以组织的形式，它们立刻就会变得尖锐对立起来，甚至彼此完全不能相容。”^③事实也正是如此——由于罗莎·卢森堡

① Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism, Volume II: The Golden Age*, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 97.

② Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism, Volume II: The Golden Age*, Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 97.

③ [匈]卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智、任立、燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第390页。

与列宁就组织问题产生分歧，所以他们难免“尖锐对立”甚至“完全不能相容”。不过，关于组织问题的“对立”却不能仅仅局限在组织的层面上被思考。组织问题既不是抽象孤立的，更不是枝节性的、纯粹技术性的问题，它涉及革命的最重要的实质问题，“如何组织革命党的问题只能从革命理论本身中有机地发展出来”^①。所以，对罗莎·卢森堡与列宁关于组织问题的争论的合理解释必须到他们的革命理论本身中去寻找，必须到他们的革命理论的独特性中去寻找。

提到罗莎·卢森堡革命理论的独特向度，不可避免要涉及她的自发性概念。英国马克思主义学者诺曼·杰拉斯说：“罗莎·卢森堡极其强调群众的自发性，大凡对她略有所知的人至少对此大抵都是了解的。”^② 科拉科夫斯基则断言：“与党组织相对照的自发性问题是罗莎·卢森堡与布尔什维克发生最激烈冲突的症结所在，罗莎·卢森堡发现同样的危险存在于所有国家的民主党分文中。在她看来，列宁、考茨基、饶勒斯和屠拉梯全都错误地低估了群众的自发性并想以‘领导’的教义去压制它，就此而言，在整个社会民主运动中，她是唯一持这一观点的人。”^③ 而戴维·麦克莱伦甚至认为：“罗莎·卢森堡革命观的核心是‘自发性’概念。这一概念后来在正统的共产党人使用中成了一个被滥用的术语。”^④ 我们且不论自发性概念是否构成罗莎·卢森堡的整个理论体系的轴心，只是多少有点保守地断定一个不容置疑的基本事实：自发性观念确实是卢森堡思想的一个十分重要的、独特的方面。故意将这一方面加以遮掩，或者出于好意竭诚将之淡化，或者虽承认它的存在却否认它与列宁思想有任何的差异，都不是真正科学的态度，都无助于我们全面透视罗莎·卢森堡的自发性观念的整体理论图景。

① [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智，任立，燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第385页。

② Norman Geras, *The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg*, N.I.B., 1976, p. 111.

③ [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智，任立，燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第82页。

④ [英] 戴维·麦克莱伦：《马克思以后的马克思主义》，李智译，中国人民大学出版社2004年版，第50页。

一

罗莎·卢森堡在她的许多重要著作中反复阐述过自发性概念。即便是拒不承认罗莎·卢森堡有自发性理论的人也绝不能否认这一点。1893年，当时还在苏黎世大学求学的年仅22岁的罗莎·卢森堡已是波兰有较高声誉的马克思主义理论家，这年8月，她为出席第二国际苏黎世代表大会而以《工人事业》编辑部的名义草拟了一份报告。由于这个报告旗帜鲜明地反对波兰社会党的革命策略，罗莎·卢森堡被取消了大会代表的资格。在报告中，罗莎·卢森堡批判波兰社会党的实际行动和策略表现出空想的、密谋的布朗基主义倾向，她指出，虽然这个党确信只要有一批坚决的、机警的和目标明确的密谋家，就能进行革命，但是它“曾经不得不多次支持群众中自发出现的、争取经济或政治目标的骚动，尽管这些是与它的整个活动的性质相矛盾”^①。虽说在这里罗莎·卢森堡只是附带地说到群众自发性而没有展开论述，但作为罗莎·卢森堡第一次提及群众自发运动的早期文献，它所包含的两个要点值得特别记取：第一，罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念最初就是作为对布朗基主义的抵制而提出的，它植根于罗莎·卢森堡这样一个信念：无产阶级革命不会按照个别人物的愿意或一小部分人的策划或密谋而成功，它只能由资本主义的发展所造成的推翻资本主义的政治力量——无产阶级所完成；第二，在这个报告中，罗莎·卢森堡并没有把自发性与建立党的组织相“对立”，相反，她强调，社会民主党人要站在斗争的最前列，要为斗争“制定统一的计划，提供一个组织，并努力使这一斗争具有明确的目标”，为了斗争的顺利进行和取得积极成果，“社会民主党必须创立相应的组织”^②。

十年之后，在《俄国社会民主党的组织问题》（1904年7月）中，罗莎·卢森堡在批评列宁的《进一步，退两步》所确立的“极端集中主

①：〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第3页。

②：〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第4页。

义”原则时，明确阐述一种“行为在先”的自发性观念：“一般来说，社会民主党的斗争策略就其主要方面来说不是‘发明’的，而是在试验性的、常常是自发的阶级斗争中发生的一系列连续不断的巨大创造行动所产生的结果。这里的情况也是不觉悟的人先于觉悟的人，客观历史进程的逻辑先于历史进程的体现者的主观逻辑。”^①弗雷德·厄斯纳断定，在这篇文章中，罗莎·卢森堡的自发性理论“已经明显地表现出来”^②。这篇文章由于直接而尖锐地指摘列宁所主张的集中制是“把布朗基密谋集团的运动的组织原则机械地搬到社会民主党的工人群众运动中”^③遭到列宁和斯大林最为严厉的批评。列宁反驳说，罗莎·卢森堡不仅歪曲了他的意思，也真正歪曲了马克思的辩证法，她无疑是“将马克思主义庸俗化和卑劣化了”，而斯大林更为强烈地谴责罗莎·卢森堡是对布尔什维克的“卑污的市侩的诬蔑”^④。这篇文章首开罗莎·卢森堡与列宁思想差异之先河，同时也引发了此后几十年来苏联官方马克思主义理论家对自发性理论众口一词的诟骂。

罗莎·卢森堡关于自发性概念的最集中、最全面、最深入的论述当推1906年的《群众罢工、党和工会》。弗雷德·厄斯纳尽管对自发性概念提出了严厉的谴责，可他不得不承认，罗莎·卢森堡在这本小册子里，“用非常细致的笔调来形容个别罢工运动的自发性质”^⑤。从罗莎·卢森堡为该书俄文版所写的序言中可以径直地了解到，这本不厚的小册子实际上承载着宏大的理论抱负，“总罢工的问题渐渐成了德国社会民主党的整个思想生活与兴趣的中心……这个问题象一个焦点集中了有关德国工人运动的所有争论的问题”^⑥。而这个焦点问题之焦点、所有争论问题中最有争议的问题莫过于自发性问题。在该书中，罗莎·卢森堡系统地阐述了群众革

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第507页。

② [德] 弗雷德·厄斯纳：《卢森堡评传》，孔固、李度译，三联书店1964年版，第20页。

③ [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第504页。

④ [德] 弗雷德·厄斯纳：《卢森堡评传》，孔固、李度译，三联书店1964年版，第22页。

⑤ [德] 弗雷德·厄斯纳：《卢森堡评传》，孔固、李度译，三联书店1964年版，第33页。

⑥ [苏] 叶夫泽罗夫、[苏] 亚日鲍罗夫斯基：《罗莎·卢森堡传》，江秋翔译，人民出版社1983年版，第150页。

命运动的自发性的多层关系：它与客观历史规律的关系、它与群众革命意识的关系，它与党的领导的关系、它与工会组织的关系，它与人为的计划之间的关系、它与偶发性的事件之间关系，等等。可以说，《群众罢工、党和工会》是罗莎·卢森堡对自发性概念的理论内涵与特征作出总体勾画的典范之作。

值得玩味的是，在这本最集中论述自发性观念的著作中，罗莎·卢森堡没有批评列宁，而列宁也从未没有批判罗莎·卢森堡的这本书，不仅如此，列宁还给了它很高的评价，说它是罗莎·卢森堡用德文撰写的结合西欧运动发展的特点阐释群众性罢工的一篇最优秀的著作^①。诺曼·杰拉斯正是以这一点为基础，进一步得出一个更为大胆的推论。他说，列宁从来就没有明确地批判过罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念。他还指证说，列宁在1922年所写的《政论札记》中列举了卢森堡的一系列错误：“罗莎卢森堡在波兰独立的问题上犯过错误，在1903年对孟什维克主义的评价上犯过错误，在资本积累的理论问题上犯过错误，在1914年7月犯过同普列汉诺夫、王德威尔得、考茨基等一起主张布尔什维克和孟什维克联合的错误，1918年在监狱里所写的著作中也犯有错误。”^②但是，列宁唯独没有提到卢森堡1906年在自发论上存在什么“系统性的错误”^③。

这当然是诺曼·杰拉斯出于可以理解的善意、诚心为了维护罗莎·卢森堡的而作出了一项可贵的学术努力，然而，他要真正令人信服地证实自发性问题上列宁完全同意罗莎·卢森堡，仅仅说没有见到列宁对自发性概念的直接批评肯定还不够，他还应当进一步举出列宁明确赞成罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念的实例。这一点，诺曼·杰拉斯恐怕无能为力。更棘手的问题是，诺曼·杰拉斯又如何解释列宁当年交给《新时代》杂志的那篇激烈批判罗莎·卢森堡的文章？^④如果他辩驳说，列宁的批评只限于组织

① [苏]叶夫泽罗夫、[苏]夏日鲍罗夫斯基编：《罗莎·卢森堡传》，江秋翔译，人民出版社1983年版，第151页。

② 《列宁选集》第4卷，人民出版社1995年版，第643页。

③ Norman Geras, *The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg*, N.I.B., 1976, pp. 130-131.

④ [德]弗雷德·厄斯纳：《卢森堡评传》，孔圆、李度译，三联书店1964年版，第21页。

问题而与自发性概念全无干系，那么，他必须证明罗莎·卢森堡对自发性观念的阐发与社会民党的组织问题根本没有一点瓜葛，而这一点，诺曼·杰拉斯更是做不到。

二

同样是为罗莎·卢森堡辩护，保尔·弗洛利希表现得与诺曼·杰拉斯大不一样，他不是想方设法抹去罗莎·卢森堡与列宁之间的差异，而是径直否认罗莎·卢森堡曾经有过自发性理论。他愤怒地指出，“宣称罗莎·卢森堡创造了自发性理论并使她成为神秘主义甚至是自发性方法论的牺牲品”^①是对罗莎·卢森堡思想的有意歪曲，他考证说，共产国际执委会第一任主席季诺维也夫是第一个做出这种宣称的人——季氏这样做无非是为了提高苏共在第三国际中的地位，其他人不断重复季氏的论点以至于它竟成为政治的、历史的原则。然而，十分有趣的是，保尔·弗洛利希在证明罗莎·卢森堡没有自发性理论时引用罗莎·卢森堡的短短的一段话中，“自发的（spontaneous）”一词就出现了两次。^② 尽管保尔·弗洛利希声称自发性理论是一些小人“为了特定的政治目的而构制的一个神话”^③，但是，他不得不承认罗莎·卢森堡论述过自发性概念！他自己也说“按照罗莎·卢森堡的界定，运动的自发性并不排除有意识的领导，相反，它需要领导。在罗莎·卢森堡看来，被她的批评者归之于她并且被定为宿命论的自发性根本不是从天上掉下来的”^④。为什么保尔·弗洛利希承认罗莎·卢森堡“界定”并阐述过自发性概念却矢口否认她有自发性理论呢？是因为自发性在罗莎·卢森堡的整个思想体系只是一个微不足道的附属性概念？还是因为罗莎·卢森堡对自发性的阐述十分单薄、其概念化程度尚未达至一定的宽度和深度？都不是。

① Paul Frölich; *Rosa Luxemburg: Ideas in Action*, Pluto Press, 1972, p. 140.

② Paul Frölich; *Rosa Luxemburg: Ideas in Action*, Pluto Press, 1972, p. 142.

③ Paul Frölich; *Rosa Luxemburg: Ideas in Action*, Pluto Press, 1972, p. 144.

④ Paul Frölich; *Rosa Luxemburg: Ideas in Action*, Pluto Press, 1972, p. 143.

为了说明罗莎·卢森堡不可能会有自发性理论，保尔·弗洛利希在其所写的评传中，特意援引了1900年7月13日罗莎·卢森堡写给考茨基的一封信中的一个著名片段——在这个极为精彩的文段中，罗莎·卢森堡描写了她观看大海和莱茵瀑布时的强烈感受。她说，面对永恒的大海，最撼人心魄的感觉，就是觉得自己已经不复存在。而在瑞士观看莱茵瀑布的时候，她也产生了同样的感觉。那一秒也不停、夜以继日、延续了数个世纪的咆哮，给了她一种灵与肉均遭毁灭的恐怖感：

甚至现在，每当我路过那里，每当我从车窗里看到那可怖的景象，那飞逝四溅的水珠，那翻卷滚动的白色水帘，每当我听到那震耳欲聋的咆哮，我的心脏就像是被窒息了那样。我的心里就发出一个声音：那就是敌人。你感到惊奇吗？那肯定是敌人——人类的虚荣心，正是这种虚荣心把人类自己想象得非同一般，可是突然之间，它就分崩瓦解，变得什么也不是了。顺便说一句，哲学中也有类似的效果。对于世间发生的万事万物，本·阿巴奇说过，“此万古皆然矣”，“船到桥头自然直”，等等，在这种观念之下，人类的能力、意志和知识似乎都是多余的。……这就是为什么我不喜欢这类哲学，并且坚持宁可从莱茵瀑布上跳下去，像坚果那样随波逐流，也不愿意装腔作势地摇头晃脑地看着瀑布奔流而下的缘故。瀑布的奔涌，自我们远古的祖先那里就开始了，在我们死后还会继续下去。^①

保尔·弗洛利希说，罗莎·卢森堡宁肯跳到莱茵瀑布中去，也不愿意放弃对历史进程的干预，这表明这位女革命家不会赞同那种认为历史有其不受人类活动影响的“命定的”自然进程的哲学学说，这也就证明了罗莎·卢森堡不可能有所谓的自发性理论。从保尔·弗洛利希的这一论证过程，可以领会出，他所说的自发性理论无非是一种否认任何意志的介入行为而只承认客观历史进程的宿命论。自发性理论之所以是“理论”，不仅

① Paul Frölich: *Rosa Luxemburg: Ideas in Action*, Pluto Press, 1972, p. 141.

在于它以一种客观主义的历史哲学为根基，而且它被“发现”具有极为丰富的政治蕴含：“否认或者至少降低了党对阶级斗争的领导作用，对群众的无批判的盲目崇拜，过高估计了非人格的、客观的发展因素，不承认或者说低估了有意识的、有组织的行动的重要性。”^① 既然在保尔·弗洛利希心目中罗莎·卢森堡是一位激进的政治行动主义者，是一位具有理论天才的革命家，他当然不会同意将如此机械的、宿命论的客观主义归在罗莎·卢森堡名下，更不能接受把如此严重的政治罪责强加在罗莎·卢森堡身上。可见，保尔·弗洛利希之所以矢口否认罗莎·卢森堡会有自发性理论，根本原因在于他认为如此糟糕的“理论”完全是别人恶意“附加”在罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念上的。

然而，保尔·弗洛利希一杆子推完了事的做法未免过于简单。他只想到“自发性理论”这么糟糕，罗莎·卢森堡根本不会有，却没想到罗莎·卢森堡的自发性理论根本没有这么糟糕！就此而言，保尔·弗洛利希对罗莎·卢森堡的辩护仍然是消极的。从表面上，他与诺曼·杰拉斯似乎背道而驰：一个想确立自发性理论，一个要拒斥自发性理论；但是，在一定意义，他们却具有潜在的相通之处：苏联官方对罗莎·卢森堡自发性观念的批判在一定程度上仍然对他们具有潜在的影响力，以至于他们一个不敢承认罗莎·卢森堡与列宁的差异；一个丧失了构想罗莎·卢森堡本人的自发性理论的能力。

不过，只要想到保尔·弗洛利希的书写于20世纪30年代，我们也就不会苛求于他了。毕竟，在那个时代，有太多的人认定自发性理论只能这样来描述。造成这一状况并非仅仅是政治意识形态上的原因，一些理论家把罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念与她的主要经济著作《资本积累论》所主张的资本主义“自动崩溃论”联系起来，把自发性概念与罗莎·卢森堡对历史发展的客观规律的强调与坚信联系起来，从而把自发性中本来蕴含的客观性特征强化到一种无以复加的极端地步。“宿命论的客观主义”解读模式的问题性在于它将自发性与必然性直接等同起来，而且这种必然性

① Paul Frölich; *Rosa Luxemburg: Ideas in Action*, Pluto Press, 1972, p. 141.

被界定为与人的主观能动作用完全绝缘的坚硬必然性（hard necessity），即是说，它先行将历史主体的全部有意识活动从历史发展的客观进程中过滤掉，得出一个干瘪的、先验的、严格主义的必然性概念，然后反过来自来用这种在自家手里“脱水”的怪物蒙在罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念上。

不可否认，罗莎·卢森堡在阐述自发性概念的时候，多次提到过必然性概念并且也确实将自发性与历史发展的客观规律联系起来。在《俄国社会民主党的组织问题》中，她之所提出自发性概念，就是为了抵制那种“认为社会民主党的革命策略可以一劳永逸地预先加以规定”的主观主义组织原则^①，就是为了防止作为革命领导人的“高贵主体”在历史过程中有时的“疯狂跳跃”，她指出：“‘客体’表明自己更强大些，鞭子很快就获得了胜利，因为它是历史发展过程中的现阶段的‘合法’表现。”^②在《群众罢工、党和工会》中，罗莎·卢森堡再次强调，既然大规模的群众罢工在一定的时刻以“历史的必然性”从社会状况中产出来的历史现象，那么，就不能从意愿的立场出发对群众罢工“主观的判断”，而是要从“历史必然性的立场”出发对群众罢工的根源进行“客观考察”^③。因此，我们不能因为拒斥对罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念所做的“宿命论的客观主义”解读而连自发性概念本来蕴含的必然性因素（或客观性维度）也一同否认。对于必然性，不能过度诠释，但也不能不加诠释。如果把罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念理解为不受任何客观历史因素制约的“主观任意主义”，这岂不是与“宿命论的客观主义”殊途同归了吗？因为这两种“主义”都与“组织”的观念完全不相容，只不过，一个是不需要组织，一个是无须组织。如果这样的话，自发性概念的“政治罪责”仍然无法推卸。

在处理自发性与必然性的关系上，诺曼·杰拉斯的好心肠再一次表现出来。在被戴维·麦克莱伦盛誉为“对罗莎·卢森堡的观点的最佳评论”

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第517页。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第517页。

③ [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第517页。

的《罗莎·卢森堡的遗产》一书中^①，诺曼·杰拉斯想通过“虚化”必然性概念来为罗莎·卢森堡开脱严格决定论的指责。他的见解是，罗莎·卢森堡虽然频频使用必然性概念，但这只是表面现象，实际上，必然性未必起到那么大的、那么实在的、那么严格的作用。这是因为：其一，必然性这个术语是“第二国际”时代所有马克思主义者（从考茨基到列宁）通用的政治词汇，但这绝不排除他们的革命政治学之间存在着实质性的差异；其二，历史发展的必然规律（社会主义的必然胜利）这种表述只有一种心理学的意义，“它反映的可能是罗莎·卢森堡对无阶级通过阶级斗争取得成功结果的能力的信任、她的革命乐观主义以及对社会主义胜利的信仰”，这种心理品格固然对于每一真正的革命者来说，是十分重要的，可是，“它本身并不等同于理论性上的必然性概念——按照此一概念，社会主义革命，作为不可阻挡的经济规律的结果，它超越于人的干预力量之外”。^② 在诺曼·杰拉斯的如此“开脱”之下，罗莎·卢森堡的必然性概念几乎飘飘欲飞了，好像罗莎·卢森堡使用必然性概念完全出于意识形态装点和心理自励的需要，这样一来，他也就间接揭示了罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念的非宿命论特征。尽管诺曼·杰拉斯出于善良的愿望，同时也是为了颇为正当的目的，但是，他把必然性几乎化作一具名不副实的空壳的做法也未必尽合罗莎·卢森堡的本意，在消解必然性之重的同时，必然性的“漂浮”也会使人产生失重之感。

三

诺曼·杰拉斯之所以“虚化”必然性的作用，说到底还是因为他所理解的必然性的含义同样是那种与人的主观能动作用完全绝缘的坚硬必然性（hard necessity）。可以说，只要如此来界定历史必然性概念，罗莎·

① [英] 戴维·麦克伦伦：《马克思以后的马克思主义》，李智译，中国人民大学出版社2004年版，第60页。

② Norman Geras, *The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg*, N.I.B., 1976, p. 36.

卢森堡的自发性概念就得不到真正积极的诠释。如果历史必然性本身即包含着主体干预历史进程的有意识活动，而作为这种必然性的“表现”的自发性又如何能与必然性格格不入呢？如果自发性与必然性并不是僵硬对立的关系，又有什么理由要去害怕这种必然性呢？所以，问题的关键不是去“虚化”必然性，而是去“软化”必然性。“软化”的关键在于达至对历史领域中的必然性的非形而上学的理解。这种理解就是既要承认历史必然性本身具有客观性特征，同时又具有主体性维度，它是客观性与主体性的辩证统一。其要旨在于，不仅是要看到历史领域中的必然性不能与主体的有意识活动相剥离，而且还体认到历史的客观进程恰恰由主体的有意识的活动所构成。正如罗莎·卢森堡所说的那样：“人不能随心所欲地创造历史，但是，人们是自己创造自己的历史的。无产阶级是否采取行动，取决于当时社会发展的成熟程度，但社会却不是超然于无产阶级而自行向前发展的。无产阶级既是社会发展的动力和原因，同样也是它的产物和结果。无产阶级的行动本身是它要参与决定历史的一个部分。”^①既然历史主体的有意识活动是客观历史进程的一部分，那么这种历史的“客观性”当然也就包含着主体性维度。历史的客观性不能机械地理解为物质性，更不能理解为与人无关的纯粹自然存在。就罗莎·卢森堡对自发性概念的客观性特征的强调而言，这种强调也不能武断地理解是一种绝对的“客观主义”。

无论如何，不承认自发性概念的客观性维度是不太合乎文本事实的，罗莎·卢森堡的《群众罢工、党和工会》就是要批驳无政府主义的总罢工理论所蕴含的主观主义方法论，即罗莎·卢森堡所说的“抽象的、非历史的观察方法”——这种方法“以为群众罢工仅仅是技术上的斗争手段，可以随心所欲地、诚心诚意地‘决定’或‘禁止’它，就象一把刀子，可以把它折叠起来放在衣袋里‘以防万一’，也可以根据决定把它打开来使用”^②。在罗莎·卢森堡看来，无论是那些一厢情愿地想给群众罢

①：[德]罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第398页。

②：[德]罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第38页。

工规定确切日期的人，还是想以禁止宣传使群众罢工化为乌有的人；不论是那些由于意识到无产阶级的弱小和资产阶级的强大这一事实而激烈反对群众罢工的人，还是那些不顾严酷的现实及其可能性与不可能性的而执意煽动危险行为的“革命浪漫主义者”，他们都共享着无政府主义者的思想方式和抽象逻辑，建立在这一方法论基础之上的观点绝“不是马克思的历史唯物主义”^①。因为资产阶级的警察也得出了惊人相似的结论：整个现代工人运动不过是由一小撮破坏分子和煽动分子人为地、随心所欲地搞出来的。

大规模的群众罢工不会仅仅因点火似的革命宣传而随人心愿式地突然爆发，也不因某些秘密的协议或公开的决议而秩序井然地进行或停止，它的产生受制于诸多客观存在的因素，正如罗莎·卢森堡在《尤尼乌斯的小册子》（1916）（即《社会民主党的危机》）所总结的，大规模群众集会和群众行动能否真正地发生，“取决于许多政治的、经济的和精神的因素，取决于当时的阶级对立的紧张程度、群众觉悟的程度、群众的斗争情绪的成熟情况，这些都是难以预料的，是任何政党都不能人为地制造的。这就是巨大的历史危机同一个纪律严明的政党在和平时期能够依靠领导‘机关’的指挥棒，并井有条地进行的那种小规模示威行动之间的差别。历史性的时刻总是要求有相应的人民运动形式，甚至不顾党的一切规章制度，创造新的形式，临时想出以前不知道的斗争手段，整理和充实人民的军械库”^②。既然革命时期的大罢工的产生有不依赖于领导者意志和组织性策划的制约的现实的、客观的因素，那么自发性概念当然也就承载着脱出恣意人为的主观意愿之外的客观诉求。就革命罢工之产生是诸多客观条件作用的自然结果而言，自发性描述的就是结果对于其原因的依赖关系，或者说是由某些既定的根源引发出一一定的效果的自然“趋势”。

然而，仅仅这样规定还大成问题。因为，我们得知道什么才算是客观存在的条件。难道罢工前的宣传鼓动、组织策划、领导人的决心和意志，

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第39页。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第452页。

以及广大群众的阶级觉悟都不是客观存在？难道这些因素绝对不可能成为导致罢工发生的原因？我们看到，罗莎·卢森堡从来没有否认这些人因素的可能作用与价值，也从来没有将所有人为的因素无一例外视为“纯粹主观”的东西加以排斥。她完全承认“纯政治的、有计划有目的”的人为策划既可以发动群众罢工也可以结束群众罢工，并且这类罢工“所表现出的党的纪律性、有意识的领导和政治思想都是最高程度的”^①。可见，有意识的人为筹划与构想并不是完全不能转化为积极的现实效应的“抽象冥思”，领导人的意志与精神力量也可能成为物质力量。但是，这并不等于说，这种类型的罢工的产生相对于它产生的原因也是“自发的”，如果照此把自发性的“客观主义”内涵规定为由于受某些原因的决定而必然发生的性质，那么，所有的活动都可以称为自发性活动，这样一来，自发性本身也就丧失了意义。

正是在这个关键点上，罗莎·卢森堡引入了一个重要的区分：示威性的罢工和斗争性的罢工——前者总是有一个先在的理论图式从而表现为一个有序展开的“示范性”；群众的行动或多或少的是在图示或例证事先运筹的东西，在这里，群众似乎作为“客体”而存在，或者说在运动的背后隐藏着一个“高贵的主体”^②；而后者却是在斗争中形成某种“相应的人民运动形式”或者说创造出“新形式”，因而群众作为“历史发展过程的更加合法的孩子”^③登上历史的舞台，成为斗争的名副其实的“真正的主体”^④。尽管罗莎·卢森堡不排除示威性罢工中也存在某些自发性因素，但她主要是把斗争性罢工作为自发性的典范形态。那么，在斗争性罢工中，罗莎·卢森堡是否将有意识的鼓动之类的人为活动排除在外呢？是否根本否定党对运动的领导作用呢？显然没有！在分析1896年彼得堡总罢工时，罗莎·卢森堡写道：“这次运动的实现却表明了社会民主党多年鼓动的成果。在总罢工过程中，社会民主党的鼓动分子站在运动的最前

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第65页。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第517页。

③ [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第517页。

④ [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》上卷，人民出版社1984年版，第66页。

列，领导这次运动，并利用运动本身进行生动活泼的革命鼓动。”^① 问题不在于有意识的干预本身，而在于这种干预是否“适应局势和尽量密切地同群众的情绪保持联系”^②；问题不在于是否需要领导，而在于这种领导以何种性质、何种形式履行与表现自己的职能。在一个著名的段落中，罗莎·卢森堡精辟地阐述了自发性罢工中党的领导所应该发挥的作用：“不是要为群众罢工的技术方面和内在机制煞费脑筋，越俎代庖，而是要在革命时期也承担政治领导。为斗争制定口号，给斗争指出方向；在安排政治斗争策略时，要使现有的和已经进发的、已经行动起来而无产阶级的全部力量在斗争的每一阶段和每一时刻都有用武之地，而且要在党的战斗阵地上表现出来；要使社会民主党的策略在果断和锐利方面不但永不落后于实际力量对比的水平，而且还要跑在它的前面，这些才是群众罢工时期的‘领导’的最重要的任务。”^③ 这充分表明，自发性的产生可以是符合局势并已深入人心的鼓动宣传的“结果”，而正确的领导也可以并应当成为自发性持存、光大并沿着正确方向发展的重要力量。由此看来，罗莎·卢森堡不是一概地否定有意识干预的作用，而是对那些外在于群众革命实践或者脱离群众运动的无生气的、没有现实性的、抽象的人为筹划加以清算和剔除。

如果说罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念确实蕴含着客观性维度，那么这种客观性并不是一种机械的纯自然的客观主义（即一种绝对的客观主义）——它把革命主体的所有人为因素统统排除在外。我们知道，罗莎·卢森堡作为一位在反伯恩斯坦修正主义斗争中成长起来的左派领袖，她非常重视群众革命意识的具体生成这一事关革命成败的重大问题，而她本人就是一位以激发群众革命意识的宣传鼓动而闻名的天才演说家和理论家。在第二国际革命家当中，再没有谁能比她更深刻体会到坚定的意志、炽热的激情、执着的追求、革命乐观主义的人生态度以及大无畏的牺牲精

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第44页。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第71页。

③ [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第73页。

神对于一个革命者的珍贵，因为她曾七次被捕，六次入狱，最后将生命也献给了崇高的革命事业；再没有谁比她更深知正确的理论对于保证无产阶级革命沿着马克思主义的方向发展所能起到的无与伦比的重要作用，因为正是这个矮小瘦弱的女子最先站出来给修正主义以致命的打击。正是因为她是这样一位以全身心投入革命的政治行动主义者，她才能最深刻地体验到、才能最敏锐地洞察到主观的愿望、理论的构想如果脱离了群众、如果不符合时宜、如果不切合实际、如果不能真正融进实践、如果违背了历史的客观规律，它会带来多么大的损失甚至危害甚至失败！罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念所蕴含的客观维度在其最本质的意义上就是为了限制纯粹主观主义的谬妄，就是为了防止无产阶级的阶级意识的异化并使之显示它的真实形态，一如卢卡奇所言：“无产阶级的阶级意识，作为‘主体’的过程的真理本身，远不是稳定不变的，也不是按机械‘规律’向前运动的。它是辩证过程本身的意思；它也同样是一个辩证的概念。因为只有当历史的过程迫切需要无产阶级的阶级意识发生作用，严重的经济危机使这种阶级意识上升为行动时，这种阶级意识的实践的、积极的方面，它的真正本质才能显示出它的真实形态。”^①而在罗莎·卢森堡看来，自发性就是无产阶级意识真实形态的真实展现，这一展现对于历史发展的客观过程而言是必然的。罗莎·卢森堡自发性的客观性内涵必须放在作为真正革命主体的群众之阶级意识生成的角度，必须放在无产阶级的意识从潜在状态上升到总体性的实现状态的角度，才能得到合理的理解。也只有这种理解，才能避免把罗莎·卢森堡对客观因素的作用强调理解为完全排除了一切人为干预的“宿命论的客观主义”——它无异于把罗莎·卢森堡等同于无为主义和等待主义，在历史的必然规律面前放弃主动的介入，从而等待历史的列车把革命者自动地带到目的地——而这恰恰是罗莎·卢森堡竭尽全力加以反对的观点。

①：[匈]卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智、任立、燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第93页。

四

看到历史必然性中的主体性维度，是通达对自发性概念的辩证理解的重要一步，但仅仅就此止步，还远远不够。还必须进一步“软化”必然性概念——这种“软化”就是在融入主体性的基础上，大胆地向偶然性敞开空间。只要不是把自发性直接等同于“坚硬的必然性”，而是把它看作是一种“软的必然性”的表现，那么它就不能不容纳偶然性。首先，自发性所以是“自发的”，它本来就含有脱出“他者”预先规定的含义，如果要发生的事，其发生与否、其如何发生都已完全被“他者”所决定，那么它就不能说是“自发的”。再者，如果自发性直接等同于必然性，在其严格的意义上，也谈不上“自发”，而只能说是“自在”；只要把自发性理解为必然性的“表现”，那么这种表现活动究竟如何“表现”自身则总有某种未定之数。

从罗莎·卢森堡对群众自发性运动的生动描述中，我们可以捕捉到她的自发性观念所蕴含的三重“偶然性”：第一重偶然性是自发性运动起因的偶然性。罗莎·卢森堡指出，自发性群众大罢工的一个明显特征就是“引起它的因素虽然完全不同”，但往往都是“一些微不足道的小事”，正是这些具有特殊性的、表面上是次要、十分偶然的事件，突然促发了或汇成气势磅礴的大规模革命运动。哪些形势之下会立即引发群众大罢工，“这确实是很难有把握预言的”^①，即便是在革命时期，“要预见并估计哪些原因和因素能够引起爆发，哪些却不能够，这对无产阶级的任何一个领导机构都是极为困难的”^②。第二重偶然性是自发性运动发展过程的不可完全预测性。在自发性群众大罢工中，局部性的斗争如何演变成普通的斗争风暴，经济斗争与政治斗争如何相互转换，新的组织方式如何从斗争中诞生出来，这些都是事先难以控制和预定的。正如罗莎·卢森堡在《群

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第91页。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第71页。

众罢工、党和工会》的一个著名段落所描绘的那样。

在斗争的每个个别行动中，总有许多无法预见的经济的、政治的和社会的、普遍的和局部的、物质的和精神的因素在共同起作用，没有一个行动能象算术题那样判定和解答。革命——即使是以社会民主党为首的无产阶级在其中起着领导作用——不是无产阶级在旷野上举行的演习，而是当各种社会基础不停地断裂、破碎和变化时发生的斗争。^①

第三重偶然性是自发性运动发展趋势与结局的偶然性。自发性群众大罢工有时突然出现“前所未有的局面”，有时“似乎毫无结果地退了潮”，有时整个运动“朝着从经济斗争到政治斗争的方向发展”，有时它“也朝相反的方向发展”，“它能在革命似乎已经陷入绝境时突然开辟新的、广阔的革命前景；当人们满有把握地指望它时，它却遭到了普遍地失败。它有时象宽阔的海洋一样汹涌澎湃地荡及全国，有时又分成无数涓涓细流，形成一片广阔的水网。它时而象一股清泉从地下喷涌而出，时而又完全渗入地下”。^②

可见，在罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念的阐述中，自发性与偶然性的联系非常频繁、密切，自发性概念的偶然性内涵也十分突出、明显。可是，长期以来，人们竟对这一关联与意涵视而不见或见而不言，从而导致把罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念中的必然性因素绝对化为一种完全脱离必然性、与必然性毫无联系的“纯粹必然性”。将自发性中的偶然性因素故意抹掉，无疑是对罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念的形而上学歪曲。马克思曾说，“如果‘偶然性’不起作用的话，那么世界历史就会带有非常神秘的性质”，套用马克思的这句话，完全可以说，由于一些人看不到自发性中的偶然性意义，所以他们把自发性弄成了一个神秘的怪物。

①：〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第71页。

②：〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第64页。

在确认自发性的偶然性意涵方面，最值得称道的莫过于英国当代新左派思想家拉克劳与墨菲。在被称为后马克思主义代表作的《霸权与社会主义策略》中，他们对罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念提出了一种“偶然性解读模式”。在他们看来，罗莎·卢森堡的自发性的基本内涵就是一种偶然性，这种偶然性的核心意义并不在于斗争起因及形式的多样性和“出乎意料”，而在于斗争的各种要素或环节在达成政治同一性上的偶然性。即是说，政治认同不是在斗争之前由某种支配性的东西决定了的，而是在具体的斗争中即时性的偶然建构起来的。拉克劳与墨菲认为，在罗莎·卢森堡那里，偶然性作为铸造政治同一性的特殊机制已经发挥了实际的作用，而它之所以能够起到如此的作用，是因为在革命的形势中，不可能最终确定每一个孤立斗争的本义，“每一斗争都超出了单一的意义，它不仅具有其表面的意义，而且还包含着象征的维度。更为重要的是，它的意义本身并不是固定的，因为它依赖于变动不居的接合，从罗莎·卢森堡自发言论的视域，这种可变的接合抵制任何先验的决定”^①。质言之，偶然性所以能成为造就政治同一性的“机制”，乃是由于“能指的漂浮”；如果没有意义的超出和“剩余”，如果意义是固定不变的，那么，在斗争过程中就不可能有积极性的建构空间。

直面偶然性、承认偶然性，并且相信偶然性独自能够完成统一分散的主体立场的历史重任，这是拉克劳与墨菲对罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念的建构主义诠释的最鲜明特色。他们运用后结构主义和后现代主义的分析策略将自发性概念所蕴含的偶然性意义发挥到了极致。不过，这种极致状态在最大限度地张扬偶然性的动态的随机生成性的同时，也最大限度地疏离了偶然性与必然性的关系。诚然，拉克劳与墨菲清楚地看到，在罗莎·卢森堡那里，偶然性逻辑与必然性逻辑“相遇”了。但是，他们认为，偶然性与必然性的“相遇”并不是发生在自发性概念内部，即是说，必然性不是作为自发性的内在因素而是作为自发性外部的抽象限制而存在。“自

① Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso, 1985, p. 15.

发性逻辑和必然性逻辑并没有作为两个具有各自独特性并且互有积极助益的原则而会合起来说明某种历史情景，相反，它们作为两个对立的逻辑，通过互相限制对方的作用而发挥各自的作用。”^① 基于此，拉克劳和墨菲断定，罗莎·卢森堡这里存在着明显的“二元论”——“这种二元论是通过承认作为非决定的不确定因素的实在（*hypostasis*）而建立起来的，这些不确定因素作为一种独立存在（*entities*）逃出了结构的决定，但是这些独立存在物却被理解为结构性决定的否定性的颠倒（*the negative reverse*）。”^② 在拉克劳与墨菲看来，罗莎·卢森堡确实承认了偶然性的存在，但她仅仅将其作为“非决定”与作为“决定”的必然性完全对立起来；如此一来，罗莎·卢森堡容纳偶然性的可贵努力并没有产生积极的结果，因为，“如果我们仔细地观察，就会看到，这种处置方式全然没有同结构性决定决裂，它只涉及必然性的决定作用的局限性（即必然性的缺位）”^③。也就是说，罗莎·卢森堡虽然承认“社会生活有大片的领域脱离了经济决定论”，但是，她仍然坚信，“在经济决定论起作用的地方，这一作用必须按决定论的典范形式来理解”^④。

可以看到，拉克劳与墨菲并不像诺曼·杰拉斯一样认为罗莎·卢森堡的必然性概念在理论上只是一个“名义”上的概念。在拉克劳与墨菲看来，必然性在罗莎·卢森堡的理论体系中非但起作用，而且还起着十分重要的、关键的作用，之所以重要，是因为罗莎·卢森堡一直把必然性的作用定位于应该发生的“主角”，而偶然性的作用，只是在必然性缺席情况之下“替补逻辑”，既然作为“决定”力量的必然性与作为不确定性的偶然性因素既不均衡对等，又不处在“同一层面”，所以拉克劳与墨菲说，

① Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe: *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso, 1985, p. 12.

② Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe: *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso, 1985, p. 47.

③ Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe: *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso, 1985, p. 47.

④ Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe: *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso, 1985, p. 47.

罗莎·卢森堡的“二元论”并不是真正意义的二元论，它是“虚假不实”的二元论^①。必然性的作用之所以关键，是由于如果没有必然性的作用，罗莎·卢森堡的阶级主体的政治统一性就失去了根据^②。应该说，在这一点上，拉克劳与墨菲对诺曼·杰拉斯的批评是很有道理的。但是，他们对必然性作用的指证并不为了肯定这一作用，恰恰相反，指证它是为了解构它，是为了摆脱它，是为了把构成偶然性逻辑运作的阻滞力的必然性彻底消除掉。因为，在他们看来，革命主体的政治同一性实际上是由偶然性逻辑“建构”的，可是，罗莎·卢森堡却偏偏将之归于必然性逻辑的“决定”，从而使偶然性的特殊统一机制没有得到合理的界定和命名。也就是说，偶然性逻辑在罗莎·卢森堡那里虽然显现出来了，却又令人惋惜地遭致必然性的限制和遮蔽。所以，他们要诉之于一种“去蔽还原”的解构运作，使受到束缚和拘役的偶然性从困厄中走出来，达到无所羁绊的自由状态。这充分表明，拉克劳与墨菲虽然看到了必然性的作用，却将这一作用看“外”了，看“歪”了。他们没有把必然性作为自发性的内在因素来看待，更没有把必然性对偶然性的作用在辩证的积极的意义上恰当地加以考量。

拉克劳与墨菲以其独有的睿智与敏锐洞察到了罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念所蕴含的偶然性意蕴，并极力把这一意蕴彰显为一种具有自主建构能力的接合原则。但是，他们所持的后马克思主义立场决定了他们不可能在罗莎·卢森堡自发性的本来意义上理解这种偶然性意蕴。承认罗莎·卢森堡自发性概念的偶然性蕴含并不是表明罗莎·卢森堡的自发性完全等同于偶然性，更不是说自发性就是完全脱离了必然性的“纯粹偶然性”。在讨论自发性概念的时候，拉克劳与墨菲触及偶然性与必然性关系，然而，他们只从消极的意义上理解这种关系，其理论根由在于他们割裂了偶然性与必然性的辩证关系，把必然性仅仅理解为对偶然性的不必要的外在限制

① Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe: *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso, 1985, p. 47.

② Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe: *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, Verso, 1985, pp. 42-43.

和单纯否定。就此而论，他们关于罗莎·卢森堡陷入了“二元论”的断定，如其说适用于罗莎·卢森堡，倒不说更适用于拉克劳与墨菲自己。

五

罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念是一个有很大理论容量的辩证概念，它涉及一系列复杂深刻的历史哲学问题，同时也包含着许多新颖独到的政治思想。这一概念既有客观性内容，又有主体性向度；既有必然性特征，又有偶然性成分，既有“决定”的要素，又有自主与自由的空间。只要不将某一方面肆意片面化或极端化，而是把这些不同的方面以一定的张力维系在一起，便可得出一个异常丰满的辩证的自发性概念。实际上，卢卡奇在《作为马克思者的罗莎·卢森堡》（1921年1月）一文中，已经肯定了罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念的总体性和辩证性本质。他说，“罗莎·卢森堡比其他许多人更早而且更清楚地把握了革命群众行动的自发性”，也正是同一个罗莎·卢森堡“强调了那个更早提出的论题的另一方面：即这些行动是经济过程的必然产物”^①。自发性不仅具有革命主体的自我认识的方面，而且也具有历史过程的必然性方面，它是这两个方面的有机融合和辩证统一，质言之，真正的革命主体的自我意识同时也就是对客观历史过程的总体把握，而作为革命主体的阶级意识的自然爆发的自发性运动，它所展现的无非是历史主体与客体的生动而具体的统一。

但是，我们不无遗憾地看到，同一个卢卡奇在一年之后所写的《对罗莎·卢森堡〈论俄国革命〉的批判意见》（1922年1月）一文中，却一反原来的立场、一反言犹在耳的关于罗莎·卢森堡的观点“成为真正革命积极性的源泉”的信誓^②，常粗暴地指责罗莎·卢森堡“夸大革命进

① [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，王伟光、张峰译，华夏出版社1989年版，第41页。

② [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智、任立、燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第94页。

程的有机性质”，说她“陷入了最惊人的自我矛盾之中”^①。在这篇文章中，我们发现，卢卡奇完全附和了列宁主义对罗莎·卢森堡的批判论调，认为罗莎·卢森堡过高估计了革命的自发力量的，“由此导致了她的错误概念中的最关键性的一点：过低估计党在革命中的作用，过低估计与自发力量的经济发展必然性对立的有意识的政治行动”^②。卢卡奇之所以如此指摘罗莎·卢森堡，是由于他洞察到了罗莎·卢森堡与列宁思想之间的差异并认识到“列宁和卢森堡之间的对立有相当深远的根子”^③。卢卡奇指出，列宁和卢森堡之间的对立主要在于如何解决发生在党内的意见分歧，是诉诸革命政党内部的思想斗争，还是在组织领域内解决。列宁选择后者，卢森堡选择前者。而卢森堡之所以选择前者，是基于这样一种观念：组织问题不能看作是革命精神的保证，组织形式本身也是发展着的东西，“真正的革命精神只有在群众的自然的自发性中才能找到”^④。这表明，自发性问题乃是罗莎·卢森堡与列宁之间对立的思想根源。

越是仔细地对《作为马克思者的罗莎·卢森堡》和《对罗莎·卢森堡〈论俄国革命〉的批判意见》加以比较阅读，越是强烈地感受到卢卡奇对罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念的评价不仅仅是前后不一致，而且相互矛盾。导致这一变化的客观原因是，保尔·莱维在1922年将罗莎·卢森堡1917年在布累斯劳监狱所写的论俄国革命的手稿公开发表。由于罗莎·卢森堡在手稿中对俄国革命后列宁的许多政策提出了十分尖锐的批评，从而激起苏联官方对罗莎·卢森堡的新一轮的批判热潮。在这一特殊的政治背景和苏联官方意识形态的强势影响之下，卢卡奇主动地站到列宁一边，试图在列宁主义的框架之内深入“揭批”罗莎·卢森堡的错误。从主观

① [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智、任立、燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第381页。

② [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智、任立、燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第363页。

③ [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智、任立、燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第373页。

④ [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智、任立、燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第374页。

方面来说，卢卡奇在匈牙利革命的高潮期及革命的失败和流亡时期，其思想观念并不是完全稳定一致的。日本学者初见基通过对《什么是正统马克思？》和《历史唯物主义的功能变化》的原稿与收入《历史与阶级意识》的修改稿的精细对比，指出卢卡奇从1919年到1922年其思想变化表现为对以俄国马克思主义为代表的“正统马克思主义的适应过程”，“即他想把更加‘正统’的思想框架导入自己的思想体系之中”^①。如果初见基的论断成立的话，我们也可以提出一个对初见基的观点加以强化的延伸性结论：从《作为马克思者的罗莎·卢森堡》的写作到《对罗莎·卢森堡〈论俄国革命〉的批判意见》的写作，卢卡奇对列宁主义的“适应”或者说向列宁主义的“靠拢”更加自觉、也更加明显。正是这种自觉的“适应”过程使卢卡奇渐渐放弃了对自发性概念的辩证阐释，走向了对自发性的政治责难。初见基甚至认为，卢卡奇在写作《物化与无产阶级意识》时已经对“无产阶级的自发性彻底绝望”，于是他“开始思考‘前卫党’的作用，即他以一种超前意识论述了无产阶级的阶级意识，把现实中作为虚伪意识的意识导向具有‘客观可能性’的阶级意识”，但是，卢卡奇没有警觉到，前卫党本身“并非是一个经常寻求变革革命的社会组织，而是陷入站在超越的位置上掌握绝对真理这种自以为是的怪圈的社会力量……卢卡奇的这一思维逻辑也有强词夺理之嫌，而且，由此引发的弊端则数不胜数”^②。

尽管卢卡奇在对自发性概念的政治批判上与列宁保持同一口径，但他也不得不承认自发性观念在政治上并非毫无积极作用。在《对罗莎·卢森堡〈论俄国革命〉的批判意见》一文中，卢卡奇说，罗莎·卢森堡“看到了传统组织观念的缺点在于它对群众的错误关系……她自己的结论一方面导致她反对这种对组织的过分强调，另一方面导致她规定党的任务”，而罗莎·卢森堡对党的政治领导的规定是“在理解组织问题上向前

① [日] 初见基：《卢卡奇》，范景武译，河北教育出版社2001年版，第258—260页。

② [日] 初见基：《卢卡奇》，范景武译，河北教育出版社2001年版，第277页。

跨出的一大步”^①。但是，必须看到，卢卡奇在如此评价的时候，他有一个十分重要的限制条款：“传统组织”只能是“西欧组织形式”。这是因为西欧（尤其是德国）组织形式“在群众自发运动面前软弱无力”，“这种组织总是一瘸一拐地落在群众的实际行动的后面，不是促进而是阻碍这种运动，根本谈不上领导”^②。在卢卡奇看来，列宁所领导的布尔什维克成功地克服了西欧组织形式的局限性，因此，罗莎·卢森堡基于西欧的经验所得出的结论，如果指向西欧社民党，它无疑是正确的，而如果指向布尔什维克，则肯定是十足的错误。

实际上，这是既要站在苏联官方立场上对罗莎·卢森堡采取断然的批判态度同时又小心翼翼地有保留地承认自发性观念的正面价值的所有学者的惯常做法。苏联两位学者在他们所写的《罗莎·卢森堡传》中，在评价罗莎·卢森堡的《俄国社会民主党的组织问题》时，采用的也是卢卡奇式的策略，他们认为，罗莎·卢森堡对列宁的组织原则批评不是根据对俄国社民党现状的分析，而是基于德国和波兰工人运动的政治经验：

她所看到是德国社会民主党执行委员会的活动，它忽视了运动发展趋势和基层主动性，只着眼于取得议会斗争的成功，把党变为保守的、阻碍群众运动的东西。通过这个党的例子，她看到了党的领导脱离群众的危险性在增长。同样，她也很了解波兰社会党的实践，这个党的右翼领导执行的路线是违背普通党员和左翼活动家的意见和目标的。因此，她强调“党—群众”问题的意义，目的是要极力防止“极端集中的党”她认为有可能引起的后果：遏制革命运动规模的扩展和在革命斗争进程中不断参加进去的群众的革命热情和政治积极性

① [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智、任立、燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第388页。

② [匈] 卢卡奇：《历史与阶级意识》，杜章智、任立、燕宏远译，商务印书馆1996年版，第388页。

的提高。^①

不难发现，这种评判或多或少隐含着这样的意思：仅就罗莎·卢森堡对极端主义的组织原则的批判内容而言，它具有一定的合理性，如果将这种批判应用于德国或波兰，它是对的；而如果将之用于俄国布尔什维克，它则是错的，这就是说，罗莎·卢森堡之错并不错在“内容”上，而是错在“对象”上，她批错了对象！人们或许可以推想，如果罗莎·卢森堡用同样的言辞去批孟什维克，她不仅不会错，而且还一定会受到特别的表扬。

然而，罗莎·卢森堡确实批判过列宁，而且，她之所以阐发自发性观念主要针对的就是列宁。1904年，当列宁还没有获得对俄国社会民主党的完全控制时，罗莎·卢森堡就对列宁的组织原则提出尖锐的批评；而当列宁领导布尔什维克取得十月革命胜利后，罗莎·卢森堡仍然“不识时务”地批评已经取得了国家权力的作为布尔什维克领袖的列宁。卢卡奇深谙斯大林式的信条——胜利者是不应受到指责的，而罗莎·卢森堡则无此顾忌，她之所以有如此的勇气和气魄，是因为她的理论的彻底性，是因为她所持有真正的革命立场，是因为她比其他人更早、也更清醒地意识到，如果党脱离了群众，如果党不真正代表广大人民群众的利益，如果党把人民赋予的权力用于“统治”人民，如果党不是不断扩大群众基础，而是蜕变成一个由少数人构成的特权集团，那么，就必然导致政治生活的官僚主义化，就必然导致公共政治空间的萎缩，就必然导致人民群众的治自由的丧失，就必然导致对社会主义民主事业之根基的毁坏。

罗莎·卢森堡首创了社会主义民主这一概念，在《论俄国革命》中，她对社会主义民主的内容与性质做出了至今无人超越的精辟论述，她说，无产阶级取得了政权后，就应创造社会主义民主去代替资本主义民主，而社会主义民主无非就是无产阶级专政，但无产阶级专政“不是一个党或

① [苏]叶夫泽罗夫、[苏]夏杜鲍夫斯卡娅：《罗莎·卢森堡传》，汪秋翻译，人民出版社1983年版，第110—111页。

一个集团的专政”，“不是少数领导人以阶级名义进行的事业”，“它必须处处来自群众的积极参与，处处于群众的直接影响下，接受全体公众的监督，从人民群众日益发达的政治教育中产生出来”，它是“最大限度公开的、由人民群众最积极的、不受阻碍地参加的、实行不受限制的民主的阶级专政”^①。罗莎·卢森堡之所以能够得出如此的政治民主观念，其理论根源即在于她的自发性概念，据此，完全可以说，罗莎·卢森堡的《论俄国革命》虽然没有直接论及自发性概念，它却是阐发自发性概念的政治意义的最好文本。

（作者单位：北京师范大学哲学学院）

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论俄国革命·书信集》，殷叙彝等译，贵州人民出版社 2001 年版，第 32—33 页。

罗莎·卢森堡的无产阶级生活世界思想研究^{*}

许慧 吴宁

罗莎·卢森堡的无产阶级生活世界思想是对当代西方哲学家们的生活世界理论由认识论向唯物辩证法的转向，也是击碎“卢森堡困境”的一记重拳。该思想深刻揭示出：无产阶级的生活世界不是自然环境和历史给定的，而是无产阶级自身建构的；无产阶级生活世界的建构以自由为必要条件，以文艺为重要途径；无产阶级生活世界的超越性不仅表现在能够真实地认识客观世界、对世界的不合理性进行反思与批判，还表现在其革命性能够成为改造世界的物质力量；无产阶级的生活世界是偶然性与必然性的辩证统一，是对马克思主义唯物史观的捍卫和推进。

罗莎·卢森堡（Rosa Luxemburg）1871年3月5日出生于波兰小镇扎莫希奇（当时属于俄罗斯帝国）一个并不富裕的犹太中产阶级家庭。她是杰出的马克思主义思想家、理论家、革命家，德国社会民主党左派领袖，德国共产党创始人之一。1795年，卢森堡的祖国波兰遭受沙皇俄国、普鲁士、奥地利三国瓜分。波兰人民进行了顽强持续的民族解放斗争。19世纪80年代，波兰无产阶级觉悟有很大提升，开始了大规模的罢工运动和抗暴斗争。“少年的卢森堡常常看到工人们打着红旗、高唱革命歌曲，进行示威游行，并同镇压他们的沙皇军警在华沙街道上英勇搏斗。”^①反对资本主义、修正主义和帝国主义世界大战的暴风骤雨中，不畏强暴，英

^{*} Original title: Study on Rosa Luxemburg's Proletarian Life-World Thought, by Xu Hui & Wu Ning.
① 程人乾：《卢森堡》，商务印书馆1972年版，第3页。

勇牺牲，被列宁誉为“革命之鹰”。卢森堡也是国际共运史上一位具有独特地位的革命领袖，她一生爱好极为广泛，精通六国语言，对文学、绘画、音乐、数学、生物学、植物学、地质学都有所涉猎，特别是对文学和艺术有其独到见解，是一位才情横溢的杰出女性。1955年版《狱中书简》的序言中曾对卢森堡进行了这样的评价：“很少有人具有像她那样渊博的德国历史知识。也没有人能够比她更为珍视德国人民的文化遗产。这种对德国人民文化遗产的珍重在她身上产生了一种新的鼓舞力量，促使她跟一切压迫德国人民的反动势力进行激烈的战斗，促使她满怀热情地用双手为工人阶级开辟一条自由发展的道路。”^① 卢森堡广泛的兴趣、渊博的学识和丰富的革命经历构筑了她个人丰富的生活世界，这也使她对无产阶级生活世界的建构、特质及其与革命的关系问题上作出一番哲思，虽没有形成一套完整的生活世界理论，但其独到的生活世界思想散见于其文章和著作中，在生活世界受到工具理性殖民的今天具有重要的研究价值。

一、无产阶级生活世界的建构

“生活世界”的概念源自20世纪现象学的学派创始人德国哲学家胡塞尔（E. Edmund Husserl, 1859—1938）的著作《欧洲科学危机和超验现象学》。胡塞尔提出生活世界为的是克服欧洲深刻的科学危机与哲学危机，走出西方哲学非理性和主客二分的泥淖。他在该书中指出：“作为唯一实在的、通过知觉实际的被给予的、总是被经验到并能被经验到的世界，即我们的日常生活世界。”^② 胡塞尔认为，科学与生活世界密切联系，生活世界是科学产生的场域，为科学的产生提供动机；科学在生活世界中获得直观，是生活世界的表现。胡塞尔之后，海德格尔、伽达默尔、许茨、哈贝马斯等人都对生活世界理论进行了进一步研究和发展。有学者提出：“当代西方哲学们对生活世界的理解并不完全相同，无论是胡塞尔将

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《狱中书简》，邱崇仁、傅书译，作家出版社1955年版，第1—2页。

② [德] 胡塞尔：《欧洲科学危机和超验现象学》，王炳文译，商务印书馆2001年版，第159页。

其理解为‘非课题的、奠基性的、直观的、主观的世界’、‘主观相对性的世界’、‘生活周围世界’，还是许茨将其理解为‘日常生活的世界’或哈贝马斯将其理解为‘信念的储存库’，但毋庸置疑的是，在这种演化过程中，在这些哲学家那里，生活世界始终被理解为一种视域性的存在。”^①有学者则认为，当代西方哲学家受胡塞尔影响纯粹从认识论的角度将生活世界理解成为一种给定的认知环境，他们理论的不同之处只体现在认为生活世界是“先验还原”（胡塞尔）还是“存在”（海德格尔）、是代表“当下”（胡塞尔）还是包含“过去”（伽达默尔）、是“科学基础”（胡塞尔）还是“文化世界”（许茨）。哈贝马斯虽指出前人对生活世界的理解缺乏对传统的批判性，但他将生活世界理解为“信念的储存库”又回到了将生活世界理解为既定的、受动的、稳固的知识背景的老路上。

卢森堡作为一名马克思主义的捍卫者自觉运用马克思主义哲学的方法论——唯物辩证法对生活世界作出了新的诠释，这与其他当代西方哲学家们从认识论的角度理解生活世界有本质区别。卢森堡的生活世界思想带有强烈阶级属性，为无产阶级服务，特指无产阶级的生活世界。

1. 无产阶级必须自觉建构自己的生活世界

生活世界一方面是无产阶级的日常生活实践的经验积累；另一方面又作为其文化背景和精神动力。与当代西方哲学家普遍认为的生活世界是先验的、历史给定的甚至作为人与人之间相区别的世界的不同之处在于：卢森堡认为无产阶级的生活世界不是与生俱来、固化不变的，而是能够并且需要通过不断的生活实践和文化艺术熏陶自觉建构和逐渐提升的。卢森堡指出：“人类的整个文化史是以‘一些人决定另一些人’为基础的，它深深地植根于物质生活条件中，要改变这一点，需要极为痛苦的继续斗争，才有可能。”^② 无产阶级的生活世界不是既定的，更不是天生比资产阶级生活世界肤浅、粗陋、低俗。相反，无产阶级是最具有先进性、斗争性和革命性

① 夏宏：《视域：生活世界理论发展的内在逻辑》，《江苏社会科学》2009年第2期。

② 参见M. V. 特洛塔、克·思斯琳：电影剧本《罗莎·卢森堡》，格罗雷出版社1986年版。中译本见《世界电影》1995年第6期。

的阶级，是时代的最强音，应该在坚持不懈的斗争和学习中不断建构和完善自己的生活世界，体现时代最丰富的生活实践经验和最充盈的精神文化世界。

2. 自由是建构无产阶级生活世界的必要条件

曾多次入狱的卢森堡对自由有其独特的理解，在其无产阶级的生活世界思想中也体现出对自由的一再强调，这也是对当代西方哲学家们的生活世界理论的一大突破。卢森堡将自由看作是建构无产阶级生活世界的必要条件，对自由作为生活世界条件的分析包含三个维度：一是自由在时空的维度。卢森堡将马克思的思想概括为：“无产阶级的生活开始于他们的劳动结束的时候。”^① 无产阶级的生活世界是在除却了生产劳动的“自由”时空中展开的。充足的时间和空间是无产阶级建构生活世界的首要条件，是其能够不断实践、学习的重要保证。二是自由在政治层面的维度。卢森堡在《论俄国革命》中指出：“自由受到限制，国家的公共生活就是枯燥的、贫乏的、公式化的、没有成效的，这正是因为它通过取消民主而堵塞了一切精神财富和进步的生动活泼的源泉。”^② 工人运动标志着无产阶级作为独立的政治力量登上历史舞台，政治自由是无产阶级争取本阶级利益的前提条件，对建构丰富、活泼的无产阶级生活世界起决定性作用。三是自由意见的维度。卢森堡在指出：“没有普选，没有不受限制的出版和集会自由，没有自由的意见交锋，任何公共机构的生命就要逐渐灭绝，就成为没有灵魂的生活，只有官僚仍是其中惟一的活动因素。”^③ 无产阶级拥有表达自己意见的权利，能够在与社会其他成员平等的条件下进行意见交换和相互交往是建构无产阶级生活世界的重要保障。

3. 文艺是无产阶级建构生活世界的重要途径

卢森堡具有较高的文学艺术修养，对文艺有一番独到的见解，是国际共运史上不可多得的才女。虽然现实的生活实践和经验是建构生活世界的

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论文学》，王以铸译，人民文学出版社1983年版，第29页。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《狱中书简》，傅惟慈等译，花城出版社2007年版，第7页。

③ [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论俄国革命·书信集》，殷叙彝等译，贵州人民出版社2001年版，第31页。

主要途径，但卢森堡显然更加强调文艺对无产阶级生活世界的建构作用，这与她自身的经历和爱好密不可分。卢森堡在谈到艺术的地位及功能时指出：“艺术同一切公认的美学哲学概念相反——决不是奢侈品，不是在多愁善感的灵魂中激起美感、快乐的情绪以及诸如此类事物的手段；艺术就和人类的语言一样，是人们的一个重要的、在历史上形成的交往形式。”^① 她认为，文艺作品是现实生活世界的表现形式，与生活世界密切相关，是生活世界的艺术化或艺术化了的生活世界。卢森堡还指出：“没有伟大的人格和伟大的世界观，就没有伟大的艺术。”^② 文学作者、艺术家自身的生活世界内涵是其作品的源泉，也是其作品艺术品质高下的重要判断依据。国内学者在对卢森堡革命文学观的考察中指出：“作为交往形式的艺术同劳动人民的社会感情的综合，是艺术创作同劳动者日常生活的融合……这些观点在卢森堡所著的《柯罗连科：〈我们同时代人的故事〉译序》中也有明确的表达。”^③ 卢森堡认为，反映无产阶级生活世界的优秀文艺作品是对无产阶级生活经验、文化实质的总结和升华，具有让广大无产阶级丰富和提升其生活世界的重要作用，是建构无产阶级生活世界的重要途径。

二、无产阶级生活世界的特质

卢森堡认为，无产阶级作为解放全人类、解放自身的革命力量，其生活世界具备三个特质：

1. 无产阶级的生活世界具有真实性

卢森堡除了喜爱文艺以外，还对生物学、植物学、地质学等自然科学充满了研究热情。她入狱后曾在书信中多次请求友人帮她寄送自然科学方面的专业书籍，在狱中艰苦的条件下还能从她的书信中找到大量对大自然

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论文学》，王以铸译，人民文学出版社1983年版，第31页。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论文学》，王以铸译，人民文学出版社1983年版，第50页。

③ 陶国山：《论罗莎·卢森堡的革命文学观》，《湖北大学学报》（哲学社会科学版）2012年第5期。

的吟咏和细致入微的描绘。在卢森堡看来，无产阶级的生活世界应该基于真实的生活和情感，能让无产阶级保持质朴务实的本质，更能激发其不畏艰险的革命斗志和乐观主义精神，而不是一个让无产阶级意志消沉或者沉迷幻想的虚幻世界。卢森堡主张细致、真切地感受生活：“如果一个人自己不能从最微小的和日常的事物中感受生活，或者，说得更确切些，自己不能独立进行判断的话，能够解释生活的魔力在什么地方么。”^① 她认为建构无产阶级生活世界要以真实性为基本准则，对文艺作品提出要真实反映无产阶级的日常生活。她以小说《日常生活现象》对当时俄国人民日常生活所做的真实描写为例，高度评价该小说“没有感伤情绪，除了十分淳朴和实事求是的精神，除了老老实实地把实际材料汇集起来之外，就什么都没有了。但是这普普通通的材料汇编却说明作者深刻理解人类各种各样的痛苦，受到折磨的人的灵魂的一切苦难，社会罪行的全部底细，这一普普通通的材料汇编充满了出自内心的热情和崇高的道德感，以致这部小册子竟成了一部有震撼人心力量的起诉书”^②。卢森堡强调文风的质朴和情感的真实流露，对不结合生活实际的浮夸文风作出了猛烈抨击：“对于那些作家，我有点讨厌他们有本领出色地、完美地掌握形式，掌握诗的技巧，但同时缺乏伟大而崇高的世界观，这确是事实。这种不调和的情况在我思想中显得如此空虚，以致美丽的外形在我看来竟成了丑脸。”^③ 具有真实性的生活世界是无产阶级认清并改变现状的前提。

2. 无产阶级的生活世界具有批判性

国外学者指出：“卢森堡阶级意识理论并不是革命转型的外围问题或次要方面。她认为，只有社会变革者通过有意识的决策，与价值生产决裂，社会主义才能得以建立……无产阶级的阶级意识觉醒使其有战胜资产

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论文学》，王以铸译，人民文学出版社1983年版，第29页。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论文学》，王以铸译，人民文学出版社1983年版，第84页。

③ [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论文学》，王以铸译，人民文学出版社1983年版，第159—160页。

阶级的可能性。”^① 卢森堡认为，无产阶级的阶级意识是具有批判性的意识，是对其所处的现实生活状况进行的深刻反思，是从思想意识上对资本主义制度发起总攻。批判意识源于无产阶级的生活世界，是其生活经历与斗争经验的思想结晶，是其为了争取自身利益与解放的思想动力。无产阶级在生产过程中受到经济上、肉体上和精神上的多重压迫。资本家一方面对无产阶级的劳动力进行无偿占有、对其创造的剩余价值进行剥削，仅以维持其生命及后代生命存活的低廉工资作为劳动补偿；另一方面竭力遏制无产阶级的批判意识滋生，在生产过程中为提高生产率、创造更多利润采取分工的劳动方式使其沦为生产的机器，在生活上仅提供他们维持基本生存和继续劳动的、极为有限的生活时间与空间，使其无法进行生活实践与文化学习从而提升自己的生活世界。然而，无产阶级并没有因其所处的恶劣环境和不利地位放弃对现实的斗争与反抗，他们在生产、生活中积极总结斗争经验，以马克思主义作为自己的思想武器，成长成为一支具有批判精神的先进队伍，成为一股改变自身、改变世界的革命力量，彻底打破了资产阶级希图将其作为永久压榨剥削对象的妄想。卢森堡认为，无产阶级生活世界的批判性是需要不断培养、教育才能够进一步由感性到理性、由自发到自觉、由盲目到有明确革命目标的无产阶级的阶级意识。她在就文艺作品应该具有对现实世界的批判性这一问题的论述中以托尔斯泰为例指出：“教会和国家、战争和军国主义、婚姻和教育、财富和闲散、工人在肉体上和精神上的蜕化、对人民群众的剥削和压迫、两性关系、当前形式的艺术和科学不仅是托尔斯泰作品所描写的内容，而且也是他进行无情的、毁灭性批判的对象，批判是使其从属于广大群众文化发展的总的利益和任务的。”^② 卢森堡曾对俄国文学进行了高度评价：“它在俄国社会中唤醒了这种崇高的公民感，摧毁了专制制度最深刻的心理根源。从它产生的时候起，从19世纪初起，它从没有放弃过社会责任，从没有忘记过痛心

① [美] 彼得·胡迪斯：《作为革命理论家的罗莎·卢森堡：在1905年俄国革命前后》，刘艳芳译，《马克思主义哲学研究》2015年第1期。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论文学》，王以铸译，人民文学出版社1983年版，第27页。

的、折磨人的社会批判精神。”^① 是这些具有批判精神的文艺作品使俄国民众的生活世界得以提升，打破了其长期的奴化思想，催生了民主主义思潮。

3. 无产阶级的生活世界具有革命性

卢森堡认为，无产阶级生活世界的超越性在于其革命性。革命性不仅是无产阶级生活世界从认识世界到改造世界的转折点，更体现出无产阶级作为历史的共同体的普遍性特征。无产阶级生活世界的革命性具有以下几个特点：首先，无产阶级生活世界的革命性体现于由认识到实践的转变。真实性是对客观事物的准确把握，是认识世界的基础；批判性是对客观事物的进一步反思，是认识的提高与升华；革命性则是由认识世界到改变世界的跨越，是认识到实践的转折点。其次，无产阶级生活世界的革命性是坚决和彻底的。无产阶级的政治经济地位决定了他们没有任何私有财产需要顾及，因而其革命性也是最坚决的；与以往任何时代的受压迫阶级不同，无产阶级肩负着解放全人类的历史使命，他们只有解放了全人类才能最终解放自己，其革命性因而也是最彻底的。最后，无产阶级生活世界的革命性是与全世界无产阶级相联系的。随着工业化和全球化的发展，资产阶级对无产阶级的剥削与压迫是在全世界范围内广泛存在的。全世界的无产阶级拥有相似的生活处境和推翻资本主义制度、解放全人类的共同目标，因而其生活世界的革命性与全世界无产阶级的命运相联系，这也为无产阶级的联合奠定了基础。

三、无产阶级的生活世界与革命

“卢森堡爱恋生机勃勃的大自然，欣赏欣欣向荣的花木，是她热爱充实的生活和奋斗的人生，讴歌正义和自由，追求真、善、美价值标准，憎

① 参见〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡：《柯罗连科：〈我的同时代的故事〉译序》，转引自〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡：《论文学》，王以铸译，人民文学出版社1983年版，第60页。

恶一切邪恶势力的表征。”^①她自身丰富的生活世界为其投身伟大的革命事业提供了认识与实践的双重武器。卢森堡的无产阶级生活世界思想对当代西方哲学家的生活世界理论的超越在于改变了传统从认识论的角度出发，将生活世界仅仅理解为既定的、认识世界的生活实践与文化观念背景，而是从马克思主义唯物辩证法的角度，充分肯定无产阶级的主观能动性和历史作用，认为无产阶级的生活世界不仅是其正确认识客观世界的知识背景，更是赋予其批判精神从而改变世界的动力来源，是认识与实践的统一。

卢森堡的无产阶级生活世界思想不仅是对生活世界理论哲学上的突破和推进，更旨在为广大无产阶级提供理论武器，为伟大的革命事业服务。她对无产阶级的生活世界与革命之间的关系问题的观点和态度是我们弄清她思想脉络不可回避的理论问题。

1. 卢森堡的自发性概念

要探究卢森堡的无产阶级生活世界思想与革命的关系问题，无法绕过她在历史上备受争议的自发性概念。“在列宁主义和斯大林主义视野之下，罗莎·卢森堡的自发性概念被定性为客观主义的宿命论而遭到清剿式的批判。”^②“所谓自发性概念的宿命论解释，就是把自发性理解为不受任何人为干预和影响、自然而然发生的必然性状态。”^③在以往的观点看来，其自发性概念“一是低估革命理论的作用；二是否定党的领导”^④。马克思主义者拉克劳与墨菲不顾意识形态与政治高压将卢森堡的自发性概念

① 程人乾：《罗莎·卢森堡——生平 and 思想》，人民出版社 1994 年版，第 167 页。

② 周凡：《后马克思主义视域中的自发性概念（上）——论拉克劳与墨菲对罗莎·卢森堡的解读》，《河北月刊》2006 年第 4 期。

③ 周凡：《后马克思主义视域中的自发性概念（上）——论拉克劳与墨菲对罗莎·卢森堡的解读》，《河北月刊》2006 年第 4 期。

④ 周凡：《后马克思主义视域中的自发性概念（上）——论拉克劳与墨菲对罗莎·卢森堡的解读》，《河北月刊》2006 年第 4 期。

“当作寻觅偶然性的‘黄金领地’”^①。然而拉克劳与墨菲对卢森堡自发性概念的“挽救”并非纯粹出于对卢森堡哲学思想和政治倾向的辩护，而是为他们本人构建领导权理论服务。因此，他们将卢森堡自发性概念锁定在《群众罢工、党和工会》这一篇文章中，并略去了其对革命概念的重要阐述，制造了所谓的“卢森堡所推崇的自发性（即偶然性），与她所一再强调的阶级的统一性之间存在着矛盾，后者不能为前者提供逻辑上的支撑”^②。我国学者在拉克劳、墨菲将卢森堡自发性概念理解成为偶然性的基础上进一步提出：卢森堡是分别从工人自发性的罢工和革命两个不同层面上“强调了偶然性和必然性，它们不是在同一个层面上相遇，因而也便无法构成所谓的‘卢森堡困境’”。有学者提出：“卢森堡理论中的两重逻辑并非是互不干涉的两条平行线……卢森堡在此试图对罢工也就是对偶然性、特殊性的强调，来修正必然性的、普遍主义的倾向……她用这样一种方式来冲淡西方马克思主义者对于马克思主义普遍主义的固执，以偶然性（群众罢工）来重新诠释了普遍性（革命），由此在不失去马克思主义理论所固有的普遍主义的同时，也不丧失对于现实的解释力度。”^③卢森堡的自发性概念究竟是其宿命论思想的表现还是“通过对特殊性（偶然性）的强调，来建构一种马克思主义意义上的普遍性的尝试”^④，以及是否存在“卢森堡困境”还得从她的无产阶级的生活世界思想出发进行辨析。

2. 无产阶级的生活世界与自发性

卢森堡认为，无产阶级的生活世界是偶然性与必然性的辩证统一。无产阶级在主动建构自己的生活世界时，一方面要认识事物的本来面目

① 周凡：《后马克思主义视域中的自发性概念（上）——论拉克劳与墨菲对罗莎·卢森堡的解读》，《河北月刊》2006年第4期。

② 夏莹：《“卢森堡困境”真的存在吗——论拉克劳、墨菲对卢森堡理论的批判及其误读》，《学术月刊》2006年第8期。

③ 夏莹：《“卢森堡困境”真的存在吗——论拉克劳、墨菲对卢森堡理论的批判及其误读》，《学术月刊》2006年第8期。

④ 夏莹：《“卢森堡困境”真的存在吗——论拉克劳、墨菲对卢森堡理论的批判及其误读》，《学术月刊》2006年第8期。

(真实性)并且对事物进行反思与批判(批判性),在认识世界的阶段是众多事物偶然性的集合。就无产阶级在其日常生活中所遇见的具体事件而言具有偶然性与不确定性。每一个无产者具体的生活经历、受教育程度、兴趣爱好的差异也造成了其对事物认识上的具体不同。这都构成了无产阶级生活世界的偶然性特征。另一方面,从历史的总体性角度出发,无产阶级作为一个广泛存在于世界各资本主义国家中并与资产阶级相对立的阶级,其生活世界所特有的革命性体现出无产阶级改造世界、改变自身的阶级超越性,更体现出历史发展的规律性、普遍性和必然性。卢森堡在《群众罢工、党和工会》中对自发性的阐述受到广泛争议,她指出:“群众罢工不是人为‘制造’的,不是凭空‘决定’的,不是‘宣传’出来的,它是在一定的时刻以历史的必然性从社会状况中产生出来的历史现象。因此,不是对群众罢工有无可能性和利弊进行抽象的冥想,而是通过对现阶段阶级斗争中造成群众罢工的那些因素和社会状况进行研究,换句话说,不是从意愿的立场出发对群众罢工主观的判断,而是从历史必然性的立场出发对群众罢工的根源进行客观考察,只有这样,才能理解和讨论这个问题。”^① 从她关于无产阶级生活世界的思想出发,这段话实质上是对无产阶级拥有并能够自行建构自己的生活世界的积极肯定,是对无产阶级生活世界与自发性的罢工行为之间关系的深刻洞见,而非对党领导的否定。卢森堡在其信件中也曾强调:“我不是在维护随遇而安的宿命论!完全相反!人们的意志一定要高度地激发起来,并且要有意识地用尽一切的力量作斗争。我是说:现在当一切看来绝望的时候,对群众有意识的作用的效果,是决定于那基本的、深深隐藏着的历史底动力,我从历史的经验知道,从我亲身在俄国的经验知道:正是在从外表看去一切无出路、悲惨的时候,一个完全的突变已经准备就绪,绝望得愈甚,突变也就来的愈猛烈。”^② 这些论述,都充分体现出卢森堡对无产阶级生活世界的高度评价和其哲学思想中偶然性与必然性的辩证统一,“卢森堡困

① [德]罗莎·卢森堡《卢森堡文选》下卷,人民出版社1990年版,第39—40页。

② [德]弗雷德·厄斯纳:《卢森堡评传》,孔固、李度译,生活·读书·新知三联书店1964年版,第144页。

境”的说法不攻自破。

3. 无产阶级的生活世界与革命

卢森堡认为，无产阶级生活世界的根本作用不仅仅在于认识世界，而在于对现实世界的不合理性进行反思与批判，最终改造世界。无产阶级之所以能成为历史的推动力量，不在于他们受到深重的剥削与压迫，而在于他们掌握着先进的科学技术和马克思主义的理论武器，并能将其运用于伟大的革命事业中。无产阶级的生活世界是革命的产生基础，也是革命动力的真正来源。

在对卢森堡自发性概念及“卢森堡困境”问题的争论中，自发的工人罢工和革命成为一对象征偶然性与必然性的矛盾：罢工对应偶然性，革命对应必然性。然而，在对卢森堡的无产阶级生活世界思想进行一番考查之后，这种人为划分的对应关系似乎显得太过简单、生硬，甚至是对卢森堡革命观的偏离。卢森堡指出：“革命的动力从最初时刻起就是城市无产阶级群众。”^①“与那种只从街头闹事和暴动的角度，即只从‘混乱’的角度去看待革命的警察式观点不同，科学社会主义的观点认为，革命首先是社会阶级关系中所发生的深刻的内部变化。”^②她提出自发性概念就是要将无产阶级自发性的罢工与“闹事”、“暴动”加以区别，自发性的罢工源于无产阶级生活世界对现实世界的批判性与革命性，罢工具体发生的时间、地点、导火索和参与者具有历史的偶然性，然而自发性罢工是具有明确对象和目的的阶级性的抗争，因而自发性的罢工本身就是偶然性与必然性的统一，是革命的具体形式之一。革命则是由自发性罢工等一切无产阶级为争取自身利益而改变世界的行为的历史总体性趋势。革命内在地蕴含了自发性罢工的偶然性与必然性关系，是一个个偶然性的具体历史事件积聚成的历史总体性指向，是无产阶级为达到解放全人类、解放自身的必然性要求。从卢森堡的无产阶级生活世界思想出发，不仅解释了其与革命

① [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《论俄国革命》，殷叙彝译，人民出版社1981年版，第64页。

② [德] 罗莎·卢森堡：《卢森堡文选》下卷，人民出版社1990年版，第69页。

的内在联系，还从哲学的角度廓清了卢森堡自发性概念和革命观中偶然性与必然性的关系问题。

(作者单位：中南财经政法大学)

罗莎·卢森堡

——意象杂陈

熊 敏

一、从策兰^①的两首诗谈起

策兰曾经写过一首晦涩难懂的诗歌《你躺在》：

你躺在巨大的耳廓中，
被灌木围绕，被雪。

去普韦尔，去哈韦尔河，
去看屠夫的钩子，
那红色的被打钉住的苹果
来自瑞典——

现在满载礼物的桌子拉近了，
它围绕着一个伊甸园——

那男人现在成了筛子，那女人

① 保罗·策兰，原名安切尔，1920年生于奥地利一个讲德语的犹太血统家庭，全家在纳粹统治时期被关进集中营，仅他自己脱难，并于战后定居巴黎。他以《死亡赋格》一诗成名，震动诗坛，1970年自杀。

母猪，不得不在水中挣扎，
为她自己，不为任何人，为每一个人——

护城河不会溅出任何声音。
没有什么
停下脚步。

这里要强调的是，最后两段实际上是对一段历史细节的真实再现：1919年1月15日，带有犹太血统的德国左翼政治家罗莎·卢森堡和卡尔·李卜克内西被极端民族主义分子杀害。在当年对凶手的所谓“审判”中，当法官问及李卜克内西是否已死了时，证人的回答是“李卜克内西已被子弹洞穿得像一道筛子”；当问及罗莎·卢森堡时，凶手之一、一个名叫荣格的士兵（正是他在“伊甸园”旅馆里开枪击中罗莎·卢森堡，并和同伙一起把她的尸体抛向护城河）这样回答：“这个老母猪已经在河里游了。”

诗人直接把刽子手的语言如“母猪”之类用在诗中，产生出一种强烈的冲击力。“读了这首诗，最刺伤我们的，也正是那在护城河中上下挣扎的‘母猪’这个意象。它永远留在我们读者的视野中了。”^①事实上，这首诗是对德国右翼一连串残忍谋杀行为和德国人对此保持沉默的悲观的评论。作为纳粹集中营的幸存者，策兰虽然没有亲身经历卢森堡、李卜克内西生前的那个时代，却深知类似时代的残酷和身处其间的苦楚，否则卢森堡的形象不会数次出现在他的哀歌中。他认定这两个相隔不远的时代必然存在着某种联系，为之深感无力和沉痛。而这种联系亦已为历史学家们一再确认：“所有历史都具有开放性，因为，以1918年的视角来看，1933—1945年降临到德国、欧洲和全世界头上的灾难是无法避免的。”^②“霍亨索伦王朝下的德意志帝国在她的被暗杀中庆祝了它的最后一次胜

① 王家新：《在你的戏脸前》，商务印书馆2013年版，第84—85页。

② [英]詹姆斯·雷塔拉克：《威廉二世时代的德国》，王莹、方长明译，北京大学出版社2013年版，第162页。

利，而对于纳粹德国而言，则是它的第一次胜利。”^①

与卢森堡相关联的还有一首更早的《凝结》：

还有你的
伤口，罗莎。
而你的罗马尼亚野牛的
犄角的光
替代了那颗星
在沙床上，在
滔滔不绝的，红色——
灰烬般强劲的
枪托中。

在这首诗中，触目的伤口、野蛮的枪托和她在书简中曾经提到的受难的动物凝结在一起，肉体的毁灭与精神的光芒交相映照。与前诗相比，除了具有同样的难言的悲愤，又似乎多了些对人性的期许和希望，这期许和希望恰恰是卢森堡的人格力量所带来的。

总体上，策兰的这两首诗为我们呈现出的意象是，罗莎·卢森堡作为革命的犹太知识分子和作为理想个人，既为现实世界所驱逐同时又为它带来人性的微光。

二、孤独的异邦人^②

策兰的两首诗都涉及罗莎·卢森堡的悲剧性死亡，但她的命运不是纯粹个体的，而是与她相类的同一犹太族群共同遭受的命运，无论是在

① 张亮、熊婴编：《伦理、文化与社会主义——英国新左派早期思想读本》，江苏人民出版社2013年版，第241页。

② 学者林贤治曾写作“嗜血的红色罗莎”，并收入到《孤独的异邦人》一书。我在此借用这一用语。

1919年还是在1933年。从十月革命爆发不久后当时欧美政治家们的评论中，我们可以看到他们义愤填膺地指证犹太民族与革命原罪的密切关联。例如，在1920年2月的《星期日先驱报》一篇题为“犹太复国主义对阵布尔什维克主义”的文章中，丘吉尔写道：“犹太人发起的运动早已屡见不鲜。从斯巴达克斯—魏斯豪普特到卡尔·马克思，再到（俄罗斯的）托洛茨基、（匈牙利的）库恩·贝拉、（德国的）罗莎·卢森堡和（美国的）艾玛·戈德曼……这一世界范围内的颠覆文明和社会复兴的阴谋，正在迅速地上升。他们一直阴谋在全世界推翻文明，以发展受阻、嫉妒的恶意和不可能实现的平等的基础上重建社会。”^①从此，犹太革命家与阴谋家的形象根深蒂固地印刻在人们的脑海里，同时演化为一个几乎无法打破的诅咒。而且即至今日，在许多欧洲人的脑海里仍然存有这样的印象。王昭阳在他的旅欧札记中“慢慢发现有些不便随意触碰的话题”，“某些久远的、隐忍的、深入骨髓的憎恨，开始冒出污黄色的气泡。不是完全针对解体了的苏联，或是消散了的红色意识形态，更多更主要的，是针对托洛茨基和罗莎共同的种族。”“不止一个人悄悄地告诉我，欧洲20世纪的战争与革命，千万人无辜死亡的大灾难，总归与‘他们’有关。不论是金融大亨，还是赤色激进分子，‘他们’总是要破坏和瓦解一个民族、一个国家。因为‘他们’最习惯的生存方式，是悄悄寄生于另一个国家。”^②

与刻骨而褊狭的族群仇恨形成鲜明对照的，是汉娜·阿伦特与伊萨克·多伊彻从正面对这一问题的回应。阿伦特在其关于卢森堡的书评中，十分赞赏内特尔提炼的波兰犹太人“同龄群体”概念，认为卢森堡在德国社会民主党内能够卓尔不群，恰恰是源于“同龄群体”对她的无条件支持，而卢森堡本人也对这个“同龄群体”有着强烈的归属感。^③在“作为思想家和革命者的游荡的犹太人”一文中，伊萨克·多伊彻将卢森堡等人界定为行走于边界，既在犹太人之中，又在犹太人之外的那类伟大的

① 部分译文参照陈林俊：《犹太未解之谜：荒漠之岩——反犹主义与阴谋论解析》，世界图书出版公司2010年版，第155页。

② 王昭阳：《与故土一拍两散》，中信出版社2013年版，第106—107页。

③ [美]汉娜·阿伦特：《黑暗时代的人们》，王凌云译，江苏教育出版社2006年版，第35页。

革命者，并这样阐释他们与革命之间的关联：“作为犹太人，他们仔细地研究不同的文化、宗教与民族文化的界限，在这一点上他们是先天优越的。他们在不同的时代的界限中出生和长大，他们的思想在最丰富的文化影响相互交织与哺育的地方成熟起来，他们生活在他们尊敬的民族的边缘或者每个角落。他们是社会中的每一个人，但是又不在社会中，他们是社会中的人，但又不是社会中的人。正是这一点使他们超出他们的社会、超出他们的国家、超出他们的时代与同代人而在思想上崛起，并从精神上开辟了广阔的新视野而且深深地影响到未来。”^① 伊萨克的这个分析相当精辟，也的确适用于罗莎·卢森堡本人。从个人经历来看，卢森堡从幼年起即身处波、俄、德三种文化的交互浸淫之中，却又始终与它们保持疏离。波兰是她名义上的祖国，却将她驱逐出境；她因参与1905年的俄国革命而被捕，1917年的俄国革命爆发时她正深陷牢狱，但富于远见地阐发了她对革命和社会主义民主遭到扭曲的担忧；她在德国社会民主党内身心俱疲，并以与之决裂告终。而正因如此，“所有这些伟大的革命家极易受到攻击。在某种意义上，他们作为犹太人是无根的；但是在某些方面，他们又是那么的唯一，因为他们在思想传统和他们时代的最高贵的志向上有着最深层的根源。然而，只要宗教的不宽容或民族主义情绪方兴未艾，只要教条主义的狭隘思想和狂热获胜时，他们就是第一批受害者”^②。

然而，阿伦特和伊萨克所描述的只是专属于某类犹太人的特质吗？或许从广义上来看，它同时也是大多数开创者和革命者的一般特质。

三、丰满的革命者

有些人的意义主要存在于他们给世界增添的作品之中，而不在于他们在世界中扮演的角色。罗莎·卢森堡则不同。历史于她而言绝不仅仅是必

① 张亮、熊婴编：《伦理、文化与社会主义——英国新左派早期思想读本》，江苏人民出版社2013年版，第236—237页。

② 张亮、熊婴编：《伦理、文化与社会主义——英国新左派早期思想读本》，江苏人民出版社2013年版，第241页。

不可少的背景；相反，它就像一道白光从卢森堡这面棱镜中穿越和折射，在随之而来的光谱中，我们能够获得一个完整的生命个体和世界。^①历史上曾经有过这样的时代，但凡言及卢森堡，必然会强调其犯有错误却又语焉不详，必然会将她置于以所谓的“正统马克思主义”为衡量标准的参照系对她加以贬抑。这时，卢森堡只能被呈现为一个扁平的纸人，人们完全看不到她内心的丰富；然而，“在任何时候人都应该活得丰满”^②，因此当她在狱中将青山雀的叫声当作一种甜蜜的慰藉时，当她为拯救了一只将死的大孔雀蝶而兴奋不已时，当她为罗马尼亚水牛受害而流泪时，她就不再是一个单面的符号，而成为我们心中一个亲近的人。诚如林贤治所言，仅仅阅读她的政论，哪怕是一度遭禁的《论俄国革命》，并不代表理解了她的全部；只有结合她的《狱中书简》，她作为革命者的形象才是大致完整的，因为她在《论俄国革命》中的立论“必与她对鸟儿，上蜂，蓬草的情感相关联”^③，因为只有这样的整体中，我们才能讶异于“一个一刻也离不开现实斗争的人是如此地喜欢古典，一个投身于政治运动的人是如此地喜欢安静，一个坚强如钢、宁折不变的人是如此地喜欢柔美，一个以激烈不妥协著称的人是如此地博爱、宽容！——这就是“嗜血的‘红色罗莎’”！^④而如此呈现出来的卢森堡，不但具有明确的政治信念和道德原则，而且富于同情心，人性和丰饶的诗意。

卢森堡呈现给我们的革命者形象显然是非典型甚至是“颠覆性”的，但也是最丰满和真实的。她最初只是要“做个好人，意味着必要时快乐地将自己的生命投入‘死亡的怀抱’，而与此同时，醉心于每一个明亮的日子，每一朵美丽的云彩”^⑤。

① 部分语出〔美〕汉娜·阿伦特：《黑暗时代的人们》，王凌云译，江苏教育出版社2006年版，第28—29页，但有改动。

② 〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡：《狱中书简》，傅惟慈等译，花城出版社2007年版，第86页。

③ 筱敏：《捕蜂者》，花城出版社2007年版，第83页。

④ 林贤治：《孤独的排那人》，江苏文艺出版社2011年版，第166—167页。

⑤ 〔德〕罗莎·卢森堡：《狱中书简》，傅惟慈等译，花城出版社2007年版，第70页。

四、永生者

“‘柏林秩序井然!’你们这些麻木不仁的刽子手!你们的‘秩序’是建立在沙滩上的、明天革命就将‘隆隆地再次冲天而起’,吹着军号,令你们胆战心惊地宣告:我过去这样,现在这样,将来依然这样!”^①这是卢森堡生前写下的最后文字,其后如她所希望的,死在了战斗岗位上。

然而,她真的死去了吗?如同她在文章中宣告的革命永续,卢森堡的思想和精神也在以不同的方式得以延续。

委内瑞拉已故前总统查韦斯曾引述卢森堡在《论俄国革命》中对社会主义民主的阐发,声称“批评能够保障社会主义在实现过程中所需要的流畅;如果批评被信条所取代,社会主义就将不可避免地停滞”。“因此,我们欢迎对我们的社会主义经验进行批评讨论的所有空间。”^②卢森堡在世时,她的资本积累理论即使在马克思主义的内部阵营中亦少有人认同,在半个世纪后却得到诺贝尔经济学奖得主萨缪尔森的赞誉,认为“在马克思之后的时代里,只有少数几个人能够改进和完善马克思的分析,罗莎·卢森堡便是其中之一”^③。她也活在周恩来与邓颖超的爱情誓言中:“希望我们两个人,将来也像他们两个人(指李卜克内西和卢森堡)那样,一同上断头台。”^④更为重要地,她活在越来越多如你我一般的普通人的心中,敦促人们对一切“固定的东西”进行反思。

阿伦特所期待的“对罗莎生平和事迹的姗姗来迟的承认”^⑤早已实

① [美] 汉娜·阿伦特:《黑暗时代的人们》,王凌云译,江苏教育出版社2006年版,第49页。

② [委] 乌戈·查韦斯:《从第一行开始:查韦斯随笔》,刘波、范蕾、王帅译,知识产权出版社2013年版,第94页。

③ [美] 萨缪尔森:《中间道路经济学》,何宝玉译,首都经济贸易大学出版社2000年版,第314页。

④ 董桥:《英华沉浮录》(六),海燕出版社2012年版,第167页。

⑤ [德] 罗莎·卢森堡:《卢森堡文选》(下卷),人民出版社1990年版,第578页。

现，但仅仅承认，还只是停留于与历史的“清结”^①。也许更好的方式是，让她成为我们脚下的“绊脚石”^②，成为我们永志不忘，哀伤而甜蜜的记忆！

（作者单位：中南财经政法大学马克思主义学院）

① 这一说法在第二次世界大战后由德国历史学家赫尔曼·海姆佩尔首先提出来，并广为接受，它意味着与过去达成协议，与历史做出了断，而不是真正彻底的清算。参见王家新：《在你的战险前》，商务印书馆2013年版，第83页。

② 德国艺术家冈特·威尼于1996年发起“绊脚石”项目。这些地砖作为小型纪念碑，铺在受害者（通常是犹太人）生前居所的门前，以纪念他们并警醒人们牢记这段历史。

泰狄士·科瓦利克对罗莎·卢森堡 思想研究的贡献

吴昕炜

2012年7月30日，波兰当代著名思想家泰狄士·科瓦利克（Tadeusz Kowalik）在他位于华沙的寓所中平静地走完了自己86年的人生旅程。这位波兰政治经济学元老辞世的消息甫一传出，就引发了欧洲左翼思想界的巨大震动。美国《每月评论》杂志也刊发专文，详细回顾了科瓦利克的生平及思想，以此表达对他的崇敬和缅怀之情。作为欧美学术同行眼中值得尊敬的学者，科瓦利克的一生充满了传奇色彩。他于1926年11月19日出生在波兰东部一个贫穷落后的村庄，虽出身寒门，但立志于学，取得博士学位后积极投身学术和政治活动，不仅对普遍流行的经济学凯恩斯革命的观点提出了理论质疑，而且对资本主义制度进行了激烈批判，赢得了学术同行的普遍尊敬与广泛赞誉。科瓦利克之所以能取得突出的学术成就，一个重要原因就在于开展了罗莎·卢森堡研究，其思想的核心观点即来自对罗莎·卢森堡在《资本积累论》中所作分析的理解。鉴于国内学术界对科瓦利克并不太熟悉，本文拟从他的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究入手阐述他的理论贡献。

一、继承罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的波兰传统

科瓦利克对罗莎·卢森堡思想研究产生兴趣主要是受奥斯卡·兰格（Oskar Lange）和米哈尔·卡莱茨基（Michal Kalecki）这两位波兰思想家

的影响和启发。其中，前者是科瓦利克的博士导师。他塑造了科瓦利克政治经济思想研究的风格，培养了科瓦利克对罗莎·卢森堡经济理论的兴趣；后者是科瓦利克的学术合作者。他赋予了科瓦利克政治经济思想的独创性，引导了科瓦利克走上罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的道路。

兰格是科瓦利克的博士导师。1951年，科瓦利克在华沙大学以优异成绩完成法学本科学位后即投师兰格门下攻读经济学博士学位。读博期间，科瓦利克因受到兰格的鼓励而充分阅读马克思的著作并广泛涉猎经济学各个门派的思想理论。由此，他继承了兰格亲近马克思主义的特性，而且与持不同见解的经济学家们打成一片。在兰格的影响下，科瓦利克形成了一种开放的、反教条的经济分析思路，主张利用包括新古典经济学在内的各种思想派别来为社会主义事业服务，这也使得他获得了所有派别经济学家的尊重。1958年，科瓦利克取得博士学位，经兰格提携和推荐，他在为党内积极分子开设的社会科学大学获得了一个政治经济学讲师的教职，并且由此开启了持续终生的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究。科瓦利克在回忆这段经历时曾明确指出，自己对罗莎·卢森堡思想的兴趣最初是在与兰格的谈话中产生的。当时，兰格向科瓦利克提起自己父亲对于罗莎·卢森堡思想的朴素理解。兰格的父亲是一位几乎没有接受过任何正规教育的纺织商人，但是，他以一个商人的直觉认定罗莎·卢森堡关于波兰和俄国之间经济联系的思想是正确的：因为如果缺少了俄国的市场，那么波兰的工业将难以为继。这一段谈话给科瓦利克留下了深刻印象，也触发了他从多个角度探究罗莎·卢森堡理论创造的灵感。他认为，罗莎·卢森堡作为出生和成长于波兰东部城市扎莫什奇的一位商人的女儿，极有可能从类似于兰格与其父亲之间的那种家庭对话中获得后来关于外部市场理论的最初启示。因为从罗莎·卢森堡在1897年完成的博士论文《论波兰工业的发展》中可以看到，她的确把东方市场视为波兰王国的经济养料来源地。而后来发生的历史事件恰好从反面证明了罗莎·卢森堡论点的正确性：由于第一次世界大战和俄国革命的爆发，波兰被迫中断了与东方市场的联系，从而进入了过度工业化的发展阶段。这些在与兰格谈话后所获得的灵感促使科瓦利克展开对罗莎·卢森堡的深入阅读，为科瓦利克后来的研究

打下了基础。

如果说兰格塑造了科瓦利克政治经济思想风格的话，那么卡莱茨基则赋予了科瓦利克政治经济思想的独创性。卡莱茨基是当代资本主义经济动态理论、社会主义经济增长理论和发展经济学的最早开拓者之一。科瓦利克与他的联系是通过二人的合作而达成的。20世纪60年代初，波兰学术界筹备在1964年为庆祝卡莱茨基65岁生日而出版一本纪念文集。科瓦利克受邀在这本文集中为卡莱茨基撰写一篇学术传记。为了完成这个任务，科瓦利克对卡莱茨基进行了多次访谈，详细记录了卡莱茨基的基本思想和主要著作，以及卡莱茨基与凯恩斯、罗宾逊等思想家之间的讨论。此外，科瓦利克还有一个重大的收获，那就是从访谈中了解到20世纪二三十年代波兰激进社会主义者之间曾发生过一场颇有影响的辩论。这场辩论以鲁道夫·希法亭、罗莎·卢森堡和米哈伊尔·杜冈—巴拉诺夫斯基为中心，围绕资本主义的不稳定性、大规模失业和经济衰退问题而展开。在这场辩论中，卡莱茨基扮演的只是一个辩论观察员的角色，并没有对这些马克思主义者发表自己的看法。然而，正是科瓦利克的访谈促使卡莱茨基反思他曾经身处其中的这场辩论并撰文阐述自己的观点。卡莱茨基认为，这场辩论突出了总需求的问题在资本主义经济中的重要性。因为需求在资本主义经济中的主要功能是为资本家实现利润服务，而利润实现的困难则是资本主义的核心问题，所以，罗莎·卢森堡和米哈伊尔·杜冈—巴拉诺夫斯基都致力于寻求克服利润实现的困难性的方法，他们的区别在于：罗莎·卢森堡是通过外部市场，而米哈伊尔·杜冈—巴拉诺夫斯基是通过资本密集型生产。卡莱茨基的这些论述启发科瓦利克从资本主义动力学理论的角度研究罗莎·卢森堡思想。他们二人也由此开展了合作，共同撰写理论文章。此后，科瓦利克继承了卡莱茨基的基本观点，并将其运用到自己的罗莎·卢森堡研究中。在科瓦利克看来，杜冈—巴拉诺夫斯基是研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的一个关键人物。当俄国国民粹派用19世纪末的俄国只能提供有限市场这一理由来解释资本主义为什么不能在俄国发展起来的原因时，杜冈—巴拉诺夫斯基已经发现资本主义可以通过生产更多生产资料来稳定自己，从而克服消费不足的局限。正是由于有此背景，当历史进入20世

纪后，经过罗莎·卢森堡与杜冈—巴拉诺夫斯基的论战，由马克思在《资本论》第二卷中开启的关于资本主义再生产计划的讨论重新获得巨大意义。马克思当年对萨伊定律的批判表明，资本主义的再生产不可能在一种平稳的状态下发生。这样一来，资本主义外部市场问题就为建立在“需求不足”和作为外部市场的国家基础上的凯恩斯主义政治经济学提供了发展空间。

二、扭转罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的凯恩斯主义倾向

由于重视“需求不足”并赋予政府调控经济的理论支持，凯恩斯主义政治经济学在很长一段时间里得到相当多西方学者的重视和接纳。受此影响，西方学界的罗莎·卢森堡思想研究也被凯恩斯主义的话语系统所主导。继承了兰格和卡莱茨基思想的科瓦利克对罗莎·卢森堡研究的这种凯恩斯主义倾向不以为然。他主张在资本主义全球化的宏大视野下，以不同于凯恩斯主义的方式理解罗莎·卢森堡的理论贡献。1971年，他出版了自己最为重要的研究专著《罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累和帝国主义理论》。这本著作把罗莎·卢森堡思想置于与民粹派和合法马克思主义者关于俄国资本主义未来前景的讨论之中，并把罗莎·卢森堡与杜冈—巴拉诺夫斯基的辩论作为一个重要的分析基础。科瓦利克通过解读《资本积累论》，在20世纪政治经济学发展的大背景下，梳理了罗莎·卢森堡的理论脉络，并将其思想根源追溯到马克思《资本论》第二卷中关于资本主义再生产计划的讨论，扭转了罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的凯恩斯主义倾向。

科瓦利克扭转罗莎·卢森堡思想研究中凯恩斯主义倾向的起点是对《资本积累论》的重新解读。众所周知，在写于1913年的《资本积累论》一书中，罗莎·卢森堡通过对马克思资本积累图式的批评，建立起自己的资本积累图式。罗莎·卢森堡认为，马克思的资本积累图式是存在局限性的，即它涉及的生产和消费两大部类的生产和交换比例关系，只能在资本主义生产方式内部来说明资本主义再生产问题，而资本主义再生产不仅包

括资本主义内部环境，还包括资本主义的外部环境。据此，罗莎·卢森堡提出，资本积累图式应该将资本主义生产方式和非资本主义生产方式作为一个整体加以考虑，而不是按照马克思所设想的那样只考察资本主义的内部环境。这样一来，罗莎·卢森堡的资本积累图式就和马克思的资本积累图式有了很大的不同，它也因此而受到了来自各个方面的批评与质疑。不少论者批评罗莎·卢森堡对马克思资本主义理论的修改，质疑资本积累图式的可能性。这些批评和质疑也迫使罗莎·卢森堡于第二年写作了《资本积累——一个反批判》来进行回应。当然，在众多评论者中，还有一些人对罗莎·卢森堡的理论创造持赞赏态度，认为它是对马克思主义的新发展。例如梅林就将《资本积累论》看作是继马克思《资本论》之后对资本主义理论论述得最为精湛的作品。此后，除梅林以外，欣赏《资本积累论》并赋予其新意义的当推新剑桥学派最著名的代表人物琼·罗宾逊。1951年，也就是在这部著作完成38年之后，西方最具权威的学术出版机构劳特利奇出版社将其翻译为英文出版。在这一版的前言中，新剑桥学派最著名的代表人物琼·罗宾逊记录了它的创作过程以及问世后所经历的上述争论。在琼·罗宾逊看来，罗莎·卢森堡通过对资本积累图式的修正，实际上提出了马克思未能解决的资本主义扩大再生产的可能性问题。她非常欣赏罗莎·卢森堡的理论勇气和独到眼光，并进一步把罗莎·卢森堡提出的这一问题与收支与分配的平衡、需求与货币的关系等现代凯恩斯主义所讨论的问题结合在一起。她认为，罗莎·卢森堡对资本积累图式的修正已经触及现代凯恩斯主义的核心。正因为如此，《资本积累论》可以从微观经济学的角度加以分析和阐释。琼·罗宾逊的这一观点影响了她所培养的剑桥大学的三代经济学人，并且主导了西方学界对罗莎·卢森堡及其《资本积累论》的研究趋向。

科瓦利克反对琼·罗宾逊采取凯恩斯主义的话语系统对罗莎·卢森堡思想进行微观经济学的解读。他指出，研究罗莎·卢森堡及其《资本积累论》应该超越微观经济学的局限，在资本主义全球化的宏大视野下发掘其重大历史意义。2003年劳特利奇出版社重新出版《资本积累论》英文第二版时，科瓦利克应邀为该书撰写了导言。他强调，《资本积累论》

探讨的问题是**全球社会资本的再生产问题**。这里涉及罗莎·卢森堡和马克思之间的关系问题。科瓦利克认为，罗莎·卢森堡对马克思进行了修正。在罗莎·卢森堡的理论视野中，马克思**资本积累理论的核心是生产与现实之间的矛盾**，而**资本积累图式则是最为重要的矛盾分析工具**。但是，这个工具在马克思那里只是分析的出发点，而不是已经完成了的理论概念。在《资本论》第三卷中，马克思曾提出过需求限制资本主义经济的观点：“进行直接剥削的条件和实现这种剥削的条件，不是一回事。二者不仅在时间和地点上是分开的，而且在概念上也是分开的。前者只受社会生产力的限制，后者受不同生产部门的比例关系和社会消费力的限制。但是社会消费力既不是取决于绝对的生产力，也不是取决于绝对的消费力，而是取决于以对抗性的分配关系为基础的消费力；这种分配关系，使社会上大多数人的消费缩小到只能在相当狭小的界限以内变动的最低限度。”^① 罗莎·卢森堡认为，有必要将马克思的这个观点进一步以理论的形式确定下来。正是基于这一考虑，罗莎·卢森堡从三个方面指出了马克思的不足：一是缺乏对资本的货币阶段的说明，二是缺乏对扩大生产的目的的说明，第三是缺乏对劳动生产率提高的预估。为了弥补这些不足，罗莎·卢森堡考察了作为资本积累领域的军国主义。她根据马克思对生产资料的生产和消费资料的生产所进行的区分，认为帝国主义国家可以通过军事定货的形式创造新的购买力而开拓出一个新的市场。这种分析重新激发了人们对资本家阶级和工人阶级之间多种社会经济联系的兴趣，也促进了西方应用经济学对罗莎·卢森堡理论的研究。除了对马克思的修正以外，科瓦利克认为，罗莎·卢森堡对政治经济学理论的最大贡献是发现了欠发达国家的问题并将其置于帝国主义理论的核心。正如罗莎·卢森堡所说：“资本积累的帝国主义阶段，换言之，资本的世界竞争阶段，包含着对迄今为止的资本落后国家——在那里资本原来实现它的剩余价值的——进行工业化及资本主义的解放。这一阶段的特点是外债铁道建设革命和战争。”^② 通过革

①：《马克思恩格斯文集》第7卷，人民出版社2009年版，第272页。

②：[德]罗莎·卢森堡：《资本积累论》，三联书店1959年版，第334页。

命和战争，商品经济代替自然经济，经济上落后的国家及殖民地因此达到了资本主义的自主。罗莎·卢森堡的这些论述预示了欠发达国家在 20 世纪下半叶所经历的经济和政治的发展。而在罗莎·卢森堡之后，科瓦利克认为，卡莱茨基关于资本主义发展受有效需求限制的主张，圆满解决了罗莎·卢森堡的理论不足。在卡莱茨基那里，马克思的再生产图式是分析的起点。他把马克思图式中消费产品的生产划分为资本家的消费和工人阶级的消费。资本家的消费与总投资之和就是总利润，而总投资、出口剩余、预算赤字这三者之和就构成了资本家的总储蓄。在资本主义国家中，只要资本家开始投资，他所需要的储蓄就会自动对其加以资助。资本家在某一时间段内取得的利润就是其投资和消费的直接结果。假如投资以一定数量增长，那么利润之外的储蓄也会随之相应提高。最终的结果就是，工人通过消费花掉自己所挣到的，而资本家则通过消费获得相应的回报。由于考虑了投资决策和实际投资之间、出口剩余和预算赤字之间有相应的时间差，卡莱茨基成功地论证了投资在商业循环和经济增长中的重要作用。而上述这些内容，正是科瓦利克通过研究和阐释找到的对罗莎·卢森堡理论的有效补充。

三、推动罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的世界发展

20 世纪 90 年代以来，罗莎·卢森堡思想随着学术界反思苏东剧变和思考当代世界体系问题而重新获得热烈讨论。科瓦利克也积极投身到罗莎·卢森堡思想的研究和传播之中，不仅撰写研究论著，还热心组织和参与相关学术活动。在这方面，科瓦利克的突出贡献就是支持国际罗莎·卢森堡学会及其活动，与各国学者加强联系，进一步推动了罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的世界发展。

国际罗莎·卢森堡学会是由日本学者伊藤诚彦（Ito Narihiko）倡议，于 1980 年 9 月在瑞士苏黎世成立的以罗莎·卢森堡思想研究为主题的开放性学术团体。该学会创立后，每隔两三年在世界不同地区和城市召开国际罗莎·卢森堡思想研讨会，迄今为止，已经在巴黎、柏林、东京、北

京、华沙、芝加哥、贝加莫、武汉和莫斯科等地召开了近 20 次会议。自学会成立以来，科瓦利克一直是其坚定的支持者，多次出席学会的会议并发表论文。这些论文虽内容不一，但都呈现出一个鲜明的特色，即在解读罗莎·卢森堡思想的同时，着重联系罗莎·卢森堡思想的波兰背景，强调波兰背景对罗莎·卢森堡思想形成和传播的重要性。长期以来，罗莎·卢森堡思想的波兰背景是人们很少涉足的。因为罗莎·卢森堡成名于德国，人们在研究其思想的时候，往往关注其德国背景居多，而仅在介绍其早年革命经历时对波兰背景略加提及。科瓦利克对罗莎·卢森堡研究中存在的只重视德国背景而忽视波兰背景的问题不以为然。他认为研究波兰背景很有必要，而且在这一问题上有着独到的见解，例如，2004 年在意大利贝加莫大学召开的研讨会上，提交的论文《罗莎·卢森堡与米哈尔·卡莱茨基的理论及其资本主义动力学视野》，就是采取了从卡莱茨基对罗莎·卢森堡思想的传承这一视角。2006 年，科瓦利克应何萍教授的邀请来到中国，参加了由武汉大学哲学学院、武汉大学马克思主义哲学研究所联合主办的“罗莎·卢森堡思想及其当代意义国际学术研讨会”。出席这次会议的、有国际罗莎·卢森堡学会、罗莎·卢森堡基金会的专家，还有来自德国、法国、意大利、荷兰、英国、西班牙、奥地利、波兰、美国、日本、巴西、南非和中国共 13 个国家的大学及科研机构的学者。作为波兰专家，科瓦利克为会议提交的论文也是讨论罗莎·卢森堡思想的波兰背景，受到了与会学者的广泛关注，同时引发了人们对罗莎·卢森堡思想的深层思考。

科瓦利克为武汉会议提交的论文是《罗莎·卢森堡理论的波兰之根》。在这篇论文中，他把罗莎·卢森堡思想的命运与波兰紧密结合，不仅探讨了《资本积累论》在波兰的传播，还讲述了《资本积累论》经由卡莱茨基的阐发而在波兰思想界引起的巨大争议。科瓦利克指出，在波兰思想界，围绕罗莎·卢森堡和卡莱茨基的理论，后继研究者之间的看法差异颇多。例如，阿图尔·本尼（Artur Benni）尊重马克思和罗莎·卢森堡对资本主义缺陷的揭示，但是他并不支持社会主义运动，而是希望通过全球资本循环来找到一条走出资本主义困境的道路。亨利克·格罗斯曼

(Henrk Grossman) 对罗莎·卢森堡提出尖锐批评,但是他对非资本主义环境的论述却深受《资本积累论》的影响。杰吉·赫令(Jerzy Heryng)在《论卢森堡主义的错误根源》中也对罗莎·卢森堡的资本主义崩溃理论提出批评,指责卢森堡理论是关于资本主义自动崩溃的机械观念,否定和忽视了工人阶级及其政党、殖民地反帝国主义解放运动的革命作用。路德维克·兰道(Ludwik Landau)支持卡莱茨基对罗莎·卢森堡的理论延展,认为这种延展有可能成为一种带有普遍性的经济理论的基础。安东尼·潘斯基(Antoni Panski)对卢森堡的资本积累理论和卡莱茨基的商业周期理论都进行了评论,认为《资本积累论》虽然可以称得上是最好的正统马克思主义经济理论著作,但罗莎·卢森堡并没有真正理解资本问题的实质,而卡莱茨基的商业周期理论则较好地解决了这个问题。在论述了这些思想家对罗莎·卢森堡理论的回应后,科瓦利克得出自己的结论:“总体而言,在波兰,罗莎·卢森堡和米哈尔·卡莱茨基的思想和观点在社会和经济构型方面并没有起到太大作用。”这就提出了一个发人深省的问题:作为一个带有波兰背景的理论家,罗莎·卢森堡的理论发端于波兰,但为什么不能融于波兰并对波兰社会起作用呢?这个问题是提给波兰思想界的问题,更是提给所有在今天反思苏联和东欧社会主义改革运动的理论工作者的问题。科瓦利克把问题留给了我们,可是他并没有直接给出解答,而是用自己一生的理论与实践对此进行回应。参加武汉会议后,科瓦利克因年龄原因减少了外出,武汉参会之旅也成为他最后一次的中国旅程。在这次旅程中,我有幸与他有过近距离的接触并留下了深刻印象。那是会议结束后,我受会议组织者何萍教授的委托派车送科瓦利克先生到武汉天河国际机场搭乘返回波兰的航班。一路上,望着车窗外生机勃勃的城市和田野,这位八旬长者兴致勃勃地向我谈起他研究罗莎·卢森堡思想的缘由及其经历。从他的讲述中,我才第一次真正了解这位慈祥平和、坚毅睿智的思想家对罗莎·卢森堡研究有着如此坚定的信仰和执着的追求。这也正是他坚持不懈进行罗莎·卢森堡思想研究的动力之源。

综上所述,科瓦利克的罗莎·卢森堡研究是具有启发性和样本价值

的。今天，以科瓦利克为代表的老一代罗莎·卢森堡思想研究者已经逐渐成为历史，而他们所留下的思想资源又将成为我们继续推进这一事业的重要文献。

（作者单位：武汉大学哲学学院）



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代 后 记

罗莎·卢森堡研究迎来新契机

吴昕炜

最近30年来，罗莎·卢森堡研究在国内外呈持续升温之势。当前，围绕“罗莎·卢森堡著作的整理、翻译和研究”问题，学术界展开了深入探讨。

一、著作的出版和传播

卢森堡著作的全集最早由德国柏林迪茨出版社以德文整理出版，分为5卷本的著作全集和5卷本的书信全集。据德国学者艾维琳·维希博士介绍，2014年，德国学界在已有的5卷本卢森堡全集基础上，新出版了收录卢森堡部分未发表作品的第6卷，目前正在编辑第7卷。新近发现的卢森堡波兰文著作《民族问题与自治》和《1905—1906年的工人革命》也已于2014年译为德文出版。波兰学者霍尔格·波利特博士指出，卢森堡的波兰文著作约有3000页，其主要议题是波兰问题和工人的社会民主运动发展等问题，由于它们大多数都是为当时欧洲的工人地下刊物而写，而且不少是匿名的，所以并不为人熟知。学者们甄别这些文献主要是靠卢森堡留下的书信，特别是与约吉希斯的通信提供线索。妥善保存这些珍贵的波兰文献并将其翻译成德语和英语流传后世，十分重要。

中国学者对卢森堡思想的研究与其著作的译介紧密相关。人民出版社邓仁娥编审认为，卢森堡著作最早的中文版可追溯到1927年3月中国新文社在上海出版的由陈寿僧译、胡汉民校订的《新经济学》。1958年，

1959年和1962年，三联书店分别出版了徐坚译《社会改良还是社会革命》，彭尘舜、吴纪先译《资本积累论》和彭尘舜译《国民经济学入门》。改革开放后，人民出版社于1984年和1990年分别出版了《卢森堡文选》上、下卷，并于2012年出版了新的《卢森堡文选》，形成了具有权威性和完整性的卢森堡著作中文版本。

二、历史地位逐渐清晰

卢森堡的思想遗产十分丰厚，经过近100年的沉淀，其在马克思主义发展历史中的地位也逐渐清晰。武汉大学哲学学院赵凯荣教授认为，卢森堡是马克思主义史上最为重要的人物之一，其作品可以作为艺术品收藏而极具价值。在马克思主义史上，这些重要人物大致可以分为三类：马克思和恩格斯是理论首创者；列宁和毛泽东是不发达国家的社会主义实践的首创者；卢森堡和葛兰西则是发达或较发达国家社会主义的推动者，其理论尚缺乏有力的实体国家支撑，但在不断走向发达的社会主义国家中已经得到了某些印证。

在对卢森堡思想进行历史定位的过程中，卢森堡的若干重要概念和理论得到深入讨论。美国学者彼得·胡迪斯认为，总体性并不是卢森堡思想的核心概念，而是卢卡奇在《历史与阶级意识》中的一种理论表达，因此在继承卢森堡思想遗产时，必须对卢森堡的概念和理论进行严肃甄别。北京师范大学哲学学院周凡教授认为，卢森堡的核心思想是自发性观念。他指出，学界以往对卢森堡自发性概念的理解充满了形而上学色彩，实际上，自发性既包含客观性内容，又有主体性向度；既有必然性特征，又有偶然性成分；既有“决定”的要素，又有“自主”与“自由”的空间，它涉及一系列复杂深刻的历史哲学问题，而且，在革命实践层面上，它也是卢森堡全部政治策略的理论支撑点。中南财经政法大学吴宁教授考察了卢森堡的无产阶级生活世界思想，认为这一思想引领当代西方生活世界理论由认识论转向唯物辩证法，因为它揭示出无产阶级的生活世界是无产阶级以自由为必要条件，以文艺为重要途径，依靠自身建构出来的，是

偶然性与必然性的辩证统一，这同时也是对马克思主义唯物史观的捍卫和推进。武汉大学哲学学院李佃来教授认为，卢森堡开创了一条适合西方发达资本主义国家的革命路线。作为一种政治哲学观，其思想被早期西方马克思主义者继承，最终形成了以民主为基础的革命理论传统。

三、全集中文版备受关注

其实，备受关注的卢森堡全集中文版编译工程目前已经正式启动。据国内主持这一工程的武汉大学哲学学院何萍教授介绍，编辑和出版卢森堡全集中文版，是为了满足当下中国研究卢森堡思想乃至20世纪马克思主义思想史的需要。根据中国学者的需要和研究的现状，中文版的编辑和出版工作分为两个部分：一是充分利用新发现的文献，系统地研究卢森堡的思想，整理卢森堡的文献，编写《罗莎·卢森堡年谱》；二是编辑、翻译和出版12卷本的中文版《罗莎·卢森堡全集》，展示出一个真实完整的卢森堡。这其中要重点处理好四个方面的难点：一是发掘卢森堡生平和革命活动的波兰背景和相关的波兰文献；二是卢森堡狱中文献的发掘和研究；三是卢森堡文献解密后出现的新文献的研究和整理；四是卢森堡与第二国际思想家之间的复杂关系以及如何注释的问题。

学术界非常关心这一工程，中国社会科学院哲学研究所李鹏程研究员指出，应该对已出版的全集德文版和英文版进行全面研究，充分吸收其中的优点，从马克思主义哲学家的地位和高度去理解卢森堡的全部著作和思想，把她的政治经济学、政治学、文学等方面的思想作为她哲学思想的内容，并从历史哲学的高度展现这些思想的深层内涵和当代意义。武汉大学哲学学院赵士发教授认为，卢森堡全集中文版的翻译是马克思主义中国化的进一步展开。早期的马克思主义中国化从文献翻译开始，开创了一套属于中国的话语体系。如今，时代已经发生巨变，在新的历史条件下翻译卢森堡全集，应该联系中国与世界的学术语境，创造出新的学术话语，让卢森堡全集走向当代和未来。

在国内卢森堡思想研究的过程中，不仅要在基础理论上有所突破，为

马克思主义哲学中国化提供理论资源，还要以卢森堡著作的整理、翻译和研究为契机，在理论与实践、历史与现实的激荡交织中展示卢森堡思想的当代魅力，推进马克思主义中国化、时代化和大众化，为马克思主义的发展乃至人类文明新道路的开辟作出贡献。



Contents(Englis Sections)



Introduction

The Meaning and Ideas of Editing and Publishing the Chinese Version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*[†]

He Ping

(Wuhan University, China)

Judging from the condition now, there are two versions of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in the world; one of them is the published *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in German, the other is the publishing published *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in English. Although the editing structures of the two versions are very different, their dominant ideas are the same, that is——they all treat Rosa Luxemburg as a Marxist political economist and a political strategist, not a philosopher. Guided by this dominant idea, Rosa Luxemburg's political economical works and political philosophical works are divided into two parts to edit, which makes it difficult for them to reflect her thinking overall. Instead, *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in China will position Rosa Luxemburg as a Marxist philosopher, and use this dominant idea to edit *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in Chinese under historical method. During the editing process, the Chinese version will absorb the merits of

†1. This article is the phrased objectives of the major project subject of National Social Science Fund "The Collection, Translation and Research of Rosa Luxemburg's Writings" as well as the research result of Independent Scientific research project (humanistic and social sciences) of Wuhan University, and is supported by "the Fundamental Research Funds for the Central Universities".

German and English versions totally, as well as evading defects of them. To achieve this goal, there are two main problems to be solved by Chinese version: The first is to collect and collate Rosa Luxemburg's works, notes and letters, including the collection and collation of Rosa Luxemburg's articles, works and letters in Polish. The second is to reevaluating her thinking according to the new discovered works, notes and letter.

In 2014, "The Collection, Translation and Research of Rosa Luxemburg's Writings" has been accepted as a major project subject of National Social Sciences Fund. This is a great event on the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts in China, which also reflects that we Chinese have attached great importance to the translation and publication of Rosa Luxemburg's works. As the leader of this project, I would like to refer to three questions: firstly, why we need to edit and publish the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, i.e. the meaning of editing and publishing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*; secondly, the general ideas of editing and publishing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*; thirdly, the difficulties in the process of editing and publishing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*.

I The meaning of editing and publishing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*

Broadly speaking, that editing and publishing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* is to meet the needs of Chinese studies on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts at present and the research on the history of Marxist Philosophy in the 20th century.

The research on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts has experienced a hard process in China, which we could divide the process into three stages:

The first stage is from 1919 to 1950s. This is the spreading stage of Rosa

Luxemburg's ideas in China. The main character of this stage is mainly to introduce Rosa Luxemburg herself and her thoughts. In 1919, when Rosa Luxemburg was miserably murdered, Chinese newspapers reported the sacrifice news of Luxemburg at that time. Li Da, the person who made preparations for the first Congress of Chinese Communist Party, joined the Communist Party of China as the earliest Marxist theorist, later appointed to the president of Wuhan University, wrote three articles to introduce Rosa Luxemburg in 1921—1922. The first article is entitled as *To Introduce Several Female Social Revolutionaries*, the second one is *The Biography of Liebknecht*, and the third is *The History of Feminist Movement*. In the first article, Li Da mainly introduced Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin. During the presentation on Rosa Luxemburg, Li Da put up Rosa Luxemburg's poetic temperament, personality, talent, and the wisdom as a theorist together, showing the elegance of a generation of German revolutionist. He also introduced the four works of Rosa Luxemburg: *The Concentration of Capital* (*The Accumulation of Capital*), *The Evolution of Polish Industry* (*The Industrial Development of Poland*), *Reform? Revolution?* (*Reform or Revolution*), and *The Crisis in the German Social-Democracy*. Since 1922, the activities in memory of Luxemburg have never been interrupted. In 1922, large-scale commemoration was held in Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, Wuhan and Changsha as well as other big cities; In 1939, the journal *Chinese Youth* was published by All-China Youth Federation, where contained the articles to commemorate Luxemburg and Liebknecht; In 1943, when Luxemburg and Liebknecht sacrificed for 24th anniversary, the magazine *The Masses* published a article entitled *Their name is German Revolution-in Memory of Luxemburg and Liebknecht sacrifice for 24 years*. These commemorative activities make Rosa Luxemburg as a revolutionary image engraved in the heart of Chinese people. By contrast, the translation works of Rosa Luxemburg's writings were very few. Recently, the editon of People's Publishing House Deng Rene found Rosa Luxemburg's *New Economics*, which was translated by Chen Shouseng and revised by Hu Hanmin. This book was

published in China's largest commercial center city, Shanghai in March, 1927 by the "China's New Club". This was the only complete works of Rosa Luxemburg at that time, but the influence on Chinese is very little. This suggests that it was her revolutionary deeds and the introduction to her works, not her works itself that made differences to Chinese at that time; and that the reason her thinking can have positive effects on Chinese revolution is Marxists' appraisal of her revolutionary practice and theoretical thought at that time. By contrast, the valuation of Rosa Luxemburg's life and think in the second stage is much lower than the first one.

The second stage is between 1950s and 1990s. The main character of this stage is that Rosa Luxemburg's major works were translated into Chinese, and then were published, but there is nearly no progress in academic study of Rosa Luxemburg's thinking. Although there are some introductive works, most of them criticized Rosa Luxemburg.

Start from 1950s, collating and translating Marxist philosophers' works systematically became an important aspect of the research of Marxist thinking. In this sphere, the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau not only collated, translated and published the Complete Works of Carl Marx and Frederick Engels, and Lenin, but also collated and translated many works of representative personage of the Second International and Western Marxism. However, affected by the criticism and disavowal to the Second International and Western Marxism in China is negative. Reflected in the publication of works, the form of publication is either published in interior, indicated "for critical use" on the first page of the public publication works, or added some critical evaluations in the preface. Rosa Luxemburg's works is no exception. During this period, Rosa Luxemburg's important political economic works *The Accumulation of Capital* (1959) and *Introduction to Political Economy* (1962) were translated and published as an important heritage of the Marxism of the Second International. But it's a pity that those two works hasn't aroused interests of academic, and

were forgotten as wrong and useless works. The attitude was clear in the Index of *The Accumulation of Capital*. The translation of this works gave negative evaluation of Rosa Luxemburg's revolutionary practice and theory in the Index; when it comes to the evaluation of her revolutionary practice, she criticized her for making "Semi-Menshevik Mistakes"^①; when it comes to her political economic theory, she criticized her logical structure of Theory of Capital Accumulation for being "The Theory of the Automatic crash of Capitalism", and that her analysis of the realization of surplus value, her understanding of Marx's Reproduction Theory of Capitalism, "in her own inference", her understanding of Capitalism are all incorrect^②. This criticism is not only by the translation, but shared by the people at that time. It is this attitude that hampered the translation of Rosa Luxemburg's works, bringing the translation and publication of her works to a standstill. Until 1980s, translation and publication of her works began to restart.

From 1980s, the translation and publication of Rosa Luxemburg's works is not only limited in her political economic works, but extended to her political works, among which the most outstanding works is Luxemburg's *Selected Works*. This work was collated and translated by the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, and was published by the People's Publishing House, the volume 1 was published in 1984, while volume 2 was published in 1990. The two volumes are all selected from *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* (1972) in German, covered her important works from 1903 to 1919, which including her famous works of criticizing Eduard Bernstein's revisionism—*Reform or Revolution*, and her works of criticizing German Social-Democracy and Russian Social-Democracy's problems on organization—*The Crisis in The German Social-Democracy, Organizational Questions of the Russian Social-De-*

① Peng Chensun, Wu Jixian, Index, quoted in Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, translated by Peng Chensun, Wu Jixian, Joint Publishing Press 1959, p.378.

② Peng Chensun, Wu Jixian, Index, quoted in Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, translated by Peng Chensun, Wu Jixian, Joint Publishing Press 1959, pp.381-382.

moeracy, and The Russian Revolution. And in addition to this, Rosa Luxemburg's un-translated works of political economy, letters and literature is starting to be collated, translated and published, among those there are some important works; *Arguments on Bernstein's Problems in Social Democratic Party of Germany* (containing Rosa Luxemburg's speeches from 1898 to 1903 in four Social Democratic Party of Germany convention) (1981), *The Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital* (1982), *Letters from Prison* (1981, 2007), *On the Literature* (1983), etc. The publication of these works can indeed help Chinese academia with a better understanding of Rosa Luxemburg's thinking, but the level of research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought did not exceed the former stage because of the evaluation tone at this time. On the other hand, the limitation of translated works of Rosa Luxemburg is the key factor that affects the research on Rosa Luxemburg. According to primary statistics, the number of these works only takes up about 20% in *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* and *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg's Letters* in German version. Due to the influence of the thoughts of the Soviet union, research is given priority to the introduction of ideas, and there are few specific research works. Even if there is a research work, it is mainly on criticism.

The third stage is from 1990s to the present. During this period, Chinese seriously entered into Rosa Luxemburg academic research. The formation of this phase is determined by three factors; the first was because of the liberation movement on Chinese thought began in the 1980s, and thus promoting the study on the history of Marxist ideology. Ideological liberation movement in the 1980s broke the influence of Soviet Marxist Philosophy, especially broke the influence of Stalin thought. And Chinese academia gradually changed the critical attitude to the Second International and Western Marxist, but turned to seriously study on them. In the research, Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts and its status was highlighted, which became a bright spot in the study on the history of Marxist Ideology; the second factor is influenced by international Rosa Luxemburg's ideas. Since the

1990s, there were two things to stimulate the international academia to study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts again; one thing was the Fall of the Eastern Bloc and Dissolution of the Soviet Union, and it prompted people to rethink the Rosa Luxemburg's socialist concept as well as her criticism of the Russian Revolution. Another thing was the United States re-established the world capitalist system on a global scale with the development of Internet. This action led people to rethink the Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital*. These two things were closely associated with the development of China, therefore, Chinese scholars were affected by the international research of Rosa Luxemburg and began to study Rosa Luxemburg's theory from the perspective of sure; the third factor is the Chinese youth generation scholars were interested in Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. Here, so-called the young generation of scholars referred the part who had grown up in the 1990s. The young scholars were faced with the problem of the relation between China and the world, the problem such as the negative effect of China's market economy and so on. It is in the study of these problems that they have become deep interested in Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts, then begin to devoted to the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. The main achievements of the study and research level is centrally reflected in the book entitled *Rosa Luxemburg Thought and its Contemporary Significance*. The editing of this anthology is based on the collected works which made from the conference named "Rosa Luxemburg and its Significance in Contemporary International Academic Seminar", held on March 20-22, 2006 at Wuhan University. During March 20-22, 2006, the conference was held by School of Philosophy, Wuhan University, and the Institute of Marxism Philosophy, Wuhan University. The scholars and experts to attend the meeting are from Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Britain, Spain, Austria, Poland, the United States, Japan, Brazil, South Africa, China etc. 13 countries. Most of them respectively work in universities, research institutions, Rosa Luxemburg foundation, and International Society for Rosa Luxemburg. For China, the scholars are also from the most important universities and research in-

stitutions such as Wuhan University, Beijing University, Nanjing University, Fudan University, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and so on.

Compared with the first two international conferences on Rosa Luxemburg held in China, this symposium has two characteristics; first, the composition of Chinese scholars participating in has changed. In the first two conferences, the scholars mainly study on politics and the history of International Communist Movement, therefore, their discussions focus on the opinions of socialist democracy of Rosa Luxemburg. While this time, the scholars in the meeting, major in philosophy, politics, economics, scientific socialism, the western Marxism, postmodernism, and so on. Thus, they could carry on the extensive discussions from their respective areas on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts; second, the core of this research has changed. The two previous academic meetings concentrate on discussions of the Rosa Luxemburg's politics and socialist thoughts, and the emphasis in this time lies to Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital*. This kind of papers accounts for about two-thirds. According to this two characteristics, as it is, this time is the first time for Chinese scholars taking an extensive and in-depth academic exchanges on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts with the scholars around the world in Chinese academic stage.

This conference collected works embodies the Chinese scholars' recognition and evaluation of Rosa Luxemburg's theory of from four aspects: (1) Combined the formation of today's international monopoly and the reality of financial capital globalization, they reappraise Rosa Luxemburg's controversy with Bernstein, and demonstrates the contemporary significance on research ideas of Rosa Luxemburg; (2) They reassess Rosa Luxemburg's writings and debate with Lenin from the perspective of the history of Marxist ideology, including affirmative evaluations on Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital*, her national autonomy thought, and her controversy with Lenin; (3) They discuss the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts and Western Marxism, making sure that Rosa Luxemburg is the pioneer of Western Marxism on thought. This has been never

doubt for western scholars, however, for Chinese scholars, it is really a big breakthrough. It means that the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts has begun to enter the mainstream of the Chinese academic areas; (4) To regard Rosa Luxemburg as a philosopher to be studied. This is a unique contribution of Chinese scholars to research on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts in the world.

Actually, since 2006, seen from the research progress of the studies on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts from the international academia, these achievements are not enough. For example, the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg's economic view and contemporary financial crisis, Rosa Luxemburg's ecology thought, Rosa Luxemburg's socialist revolution thought, these aspects above haven't gotten deep research. Especially, the Rosa Luxemburg's revolutionary ideas in her old age even have never been stepped into by Chinese scholars. The deficiency of the study is due to the very great degree limit to the Chinese version of Rosa Luxemburg's literature. That is to say, Chinese translating and publishing of Rosa Luxemburg's documents cannot be able to support the study on the problems above. As a result, the shortage of the Chinese version of Rosa Luxemburg's literature has limited the study on Rosa Luxemburg in China. It requires us to collate and publish the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, and a new generation of young scholars also especially want to see the publication of it. Last year, we jointly hosted the academic conference and summer school on "Rosa Luxemburg's Thoughts Lecture Series" with Rosa Luxemburg foundation, which has attracted many young scholars to participate. They are from more than 30 universities in China and other scientific research institutions. It reflects the influence of the Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts on the Chinese young generation of scholars from one aspect.

The development of the three stages above expresses that the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts in China has entered a new period. In this period, new research subjects has been developed and the requirement to translate and publish the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* has also been put

forward. In this sense, we can say, that National Social Sciences Fund brought "the collection, translation and research of Rosa Luxemburg's writings" as a major project subject dose indeed adapt to the need of the study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts in China.

II The general idea of editing and publishing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*

According to the needs of Chinese scholars and the status quo of study on Rosa Luxemburg in China, editing and publishing work is divided into two parts: one part is to make full use of the newly discovered literature of Rosa Luxemburg, to systematically study the thoughts of Rosa Luxemburg, and editing Rosa Luxemburg's documents, thus writing *the Chronology of Rosa Luxemburg*; another part is to edit, translate and publish 12 volumes of Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, showing a real Rosa Luxemburg in a complete view.

Under the general idea, we proposed three aspects of this work:

(1) To explore Rosa Luxemburg's life, works and ideas. We are going to develop the history of Rosa Luxemburg's revolutionary activities and thoughts, as well as the textual research of Rosa Luxemburg's works. This is the precondition to sort out and publish Rosa Luxemburg's works, also a constitute part of Rosa Luxemburg writings' publication. Generally speaking, to publish complete works, we need to make instructions to the thoughts of total volumes and each volume. While, the instructions made to Rosa Luxemburg's writings having been published in our country has a great distance with the literature newly discovered of Rosa Luxemburg's, both in life and work, as well as in the evaluation of her ideas. So, we have to write it again. And to write a note, it demands us to have a full understanding of contemporary research on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts both at home and abroad, and to fully study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts, including

the textual research on the published works of Rosa Luxemburg.

(2) To sort out the manuscript, notes and letters of Rosa Luxemburg. Seen from the published works of Rosa Luxemburg in China at the present, the existing Chinese literature of Rosa Luxemburg shows two shortcomings: first, the works of Rosa Luxemburg have been published in China nearly in the form of separate edition except *Selected Writings of Rosa Luxemburg* (I, II volume), which is difficult to present the full view of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. Second, a large amounts of the manuscripts, notes and letters of Rosa Luxemburg are not translated into Chinese. As to the newly discovered literature of Rosa Luxemburg, only the article entitled as *Principle: About the Status of the Russian Social Democratic Party*^[1] has been published, written by her in September or at the early of October 1911, while others haven't been translated into Chinese or issued. What's more, it also lacks systematical introductions, but this part of literature actually has a high research value. Therefore, our project subject should be focused on collating this part of documents. On this basis, to write "the Chronology of Rosa Luxemburg". This job is the premise to the editing of *The complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, having an important academic value.

(3) To study and research *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in the German and English version, being already published. And we shall fully absorb the advantages of them, to write a unique Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*.

Here, I want to talk about my view on the existing German and English version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*.

The German and English version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in present could be considered as the most representative achievements in international research and publishing working on Rosa Luxemburg's writings. Due to the different time to edit and publish, the structure of editing and dominant idea

[1] This article has been included into *Selected Writings of Rosa Luxemburg* in the edition of 2012.

of the two versions are different.

Firstly, the analysis on the differences of editing structure between the two.

The German version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* is composed of two parts; one part is *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg's Writing*; another part is *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg's letters*. *Rosa Luxemburg Complete works* of six volumes, was based on that of five volumes. And *Rosa Luxemburg Complete Works* of five volumes had been published in the 1970s. In this new *Rosa Luxemburg Complete works* of six volumes, its first volume consists of 1/1, 1/2 two volumes, including the treatises, speeches, reading notes, notes and manuscripts, review, etc. of Rosa Luxemburg from 1889 to 1905; the second to fourth volumes, collect the writings, speeches, reading notes, notes and manuscripts of Rosa Luxemburg in 1906—1919; the fifth volume focused on political economics, containing Rosa Luxemburg's three main political economics works: *The Accumulation of Capital*, *The Accumulation of Capital: An Anti-Critique* and *Introduction to Political Economy*; the sixth volume brings together the newly discovered documents of Rosa Luxemburg. Similarly, *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg's letters* collects a total of six volumes, and the first to fifth volumes are annalistic texts. While the sixth volume is an supplement one, which brings together later found letters of Rosa Luxemburg. From the two parts of contents of the German version, the complete collection of Rosa Luxemburg literature is basically achieved. However, it does not put the new literature into the whole literature, but takes the way of the supplement volume attached to the back. In addition, on the editing of content, the German version has carried on the simple classification, namely making the main works on political economy of Rosa Luxemburg into an exclusive volume. It highlights the status of her political economics in one hand, and also puts her political economics and politics apart.

Next, let's analyze *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in English. The English version consists of 14 volumes; the first and second volume are political economics, brings together the Rosa Luxemburg's early works, for instance, *The*

Industrial Development of Poland, the teaching notes and manuscripts at the German Social-Democratic Party's school, and her main political economics works; the third to ninth volumes for political science, of which, the first three volumes edit the Rosa Luxemburg's writings in political science from 1897 to 1919 in chronological order, and the rest of four volumes are respectively about Rosa Luxemburg's writings, notes, speeches, reading notes on dealing with problems of ethnic and imperialism; the tenth to fourteenth volumes concentrate on Luxemburg's letters. The structure vividly reflects its three characteristics of the English version; first, based on the literature of the new edition in German, it brings together the new literature and the previously published literature and edit them in one way. No longer to use the supplement volume, its editorial integrity in literature is superior to the German version; second, from the editing structure, the English version strengthens implicit taxonomy in German one, specifically divides the Rosa Luxemburg's writings into three categories; one is political economics works, one is political science books, one is cultural literature, In the German version, Rosa Luxemburg's early political economics books and notes had not been edited separately from her political science books. Only her later works of political economics are taken into independent part. While in English version, it takes to her political economics and political science book apart clearly and completely, then classify her political books in further details. They regard Rosa Luxemburg's articles about revolution as political books and consider others to be cultural literature. And based on this principle, all the political economics of Rosa Luxemburg's literature has been collected and mainly published in the first and second volume, and her articles about revolution has mainly published in the third volume to the fifth volume, and the sixth volume to the ninth volume contain the works around imperialism, colony, national autonomy as well as literature of Rosa Luxemburg. That is no doubt to strengthen the implied taxonomy in German; where all the political economics of Rosa Luxemburg's literature has been collected in the first and second volume, and the rest of the litera-

ture are classified to politics and codified in the third to ninth volume. That is to strengthen the implied taxonomy in German; third, to merge editing Rosa Luxemburg's works and letters, enhances the integral feeling of complete works of Rosa Luxemburg.

Comparing the editorial structure in English and in German, the English version combines with the old and new literature, as well as making the editing of books and letters in a whole, hence, we think the unity of the literature is indeed better than the German one. However, for English style is too pursue classification to reach an integral in the history, which is no better than that in German. In German, from the first volume to the fourth volume, it edit Rosa Luxemburg's literature according to the time sequence, and comparatively fully shows the Rosa Luxemburg's thought process. But the English version put Rosa Luxemburg's political economics literature and political science literature apart completely, leading to the fragmentation of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. On editing style, it seems a dissertation works, not the complete works. In order to make up for this shortage, the English version adds a lot of notes about the background, which provides a more broad vision. Actually, it deserves special attention.

Second, we can further analyze and evaluate the dominant idea of German and English in editing.

The editor of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in German and English version divides Rosa Luxemburg's political economics and political science works into two parts, whose ideological basis is that Rosa Luxemburg was a political economist and a political strategist, not a Marxist philosopher. This view is difficult to fully reflect the creative ideas of Rosa Luxemburg's activities. In fact, Rosa Luxemburg is not a scholar turning a blind eye and a deaf ear to society, but paid much attention to reality and practice, just like Marx and Lenin. She is a revolutionist and theorist being established in the problems of reality and practice, therefore, any of her books, speeches, notes are around the practice at that time, puts forward the major problems of specific period. She once majored in

philosophy during the University of Zurich, studied the ancient Greek philosophy, Kant and Hegel's philosophy, and she had systematically studied on works of Marx and Engels, either. This trained her theoretical thinking ability, so she is good at analyzing the problems faced and to solve, from the height of the philosophical world view, as well as from the aspects of political, economic and cultural overall. When she put this way of thinking through her writing, it is easy to explain why her every book, each notebook can both contain the content of philosophy, political economics and political science. In her articles, whether when she analyzed imperialist economic phenomena, such as *The Accumulation of Capital*, or her masterpieces to criticize Bernstein, such as *Reform or Revolution*, both of them are the works of political economics, and political science, but also the works of philosophy. For such a thinker, for ignoring her philosophy, and lowering her for a mere political economist and political scientist, even making her works in simple classification, we cannot realize the energetic things in her mind, and it's also hard to present her ideas in contemporary value. It is not in harmony with the level of contemporary study of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. What's more, it would inevitably encounter insurmountable difficulties in editing of Rosa Luxemburg's writings. We can take the English version as an example. In the part of political works of the English version, Rosa Luxemburg's works on the problems of ethnic and imperialism are alone edited, in order to separate them from that of Rosa Luxemburg's democratic revolution thought. However, which kinds are the works of ethnic problems and imperialism's actually belong to? Aren't they simply belong to the class of political science, or also can be characterized in political economics class? Obviously, it's a hard work to separate Rosa Luxemburg's political and economic thought from politics area clearly and completely, just like that it is unreasonable to simply consider Marx's "*Das Kapital*" as the ranks of political economics. Apparently, to overcome fragmentation of the editing of "*The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*", it is necessary to adopt the historical method, rather than a metaphysical classification. This requires us to re-

gard Rosa Luxemburg as a Marxist philosopher.

According to the comprehensive analysis, the German and English version provide us ample literature for the editing of Chinese version in one hand. But because of its irrationality in structure, it gives us the further development space to make the breakthrough in Chinese version.

This breakthrough is mainly on three points:

(1) Make a breakthrough of ideas on editing. Due to the Chinese version is later than the German and English version, therefore, we can fully absorb the research achievements of Rosa Luxemburg's thought in contemporary. Overall, the editing idea of Chinese version positions on two points: first, to treat Rosa Luxemburg as a Marxist philosopher, and to understand all her works and thoughts from such a perspective. Besides, we shall take her thoughts in political economics, political science, literature, etc. as the content of her philosophy, and to show the deep connotation of the thought and its contemporary significance from the height of the philosophy of history; second, through studying the global financial crisis, triggered by the American subprime mortgage crisis since 2008, as well as its following problems such as the imperialism, global justice and ecological problems, it will contribute to research on Rosa Luxemburg's works and thoughts. What we need to pay much attention is, to sort out and study Luxemburg's notes on the crisis of capitalism and pre-capitalist society, to study the association between these notes and her imperialism theory. In addition, on the issue of imperialism, we need to have a deep understanding of Rosa Luxemburg's arguments with contemporary thinkers, as well as the criticism and praise to her from the later thinkers. Try to clarify the contemporary significance of Rosa Luxemburg thoughts from it.

(2) In the editing of literature, the new literature should be organically dissolved into the published literature, forming the literature integrality. In editing structure, it would opt to the historical method, and the time sequence in the literature is given priority to, meanwhile taking classification method into account. It

mainly represents on dealing with details of the literature in a reasonable way, for example, to set Rosa Luxemburg's speeches about the problems of Bernstein in the Social Democratic Party and the article *Reform or Revolution* in the same part, or to put the Rosa Luxemburg's lectures, notes and manuscripts during the Social Democratic Party school as a faculty member and the famous work "*The Introduction to Political Economy*" into a group, etc. In the process of editing, it's necessary to strengthen notes, particularly that of Rosa Luxemburg's different versions, to make the Chinese version of "*The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*" could meet the needs of Chinese scholars' research, possessing its own characteristics. Finally, on the editing style, it has 12 volumes in total, including the first six volumes of work roll, and the other six volumes for the letter.

(3) In the editing of contents, it should highlight the connection between Rosa Luxemburg and the revolutionary tradition in Poland as well as the Marxism tradition in Germany. More specifically, in terms of practice, we shall study Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts in her life activities and works, by contacting the workers' movement in Poland and Germany, and the struggle of Social Democratic Party in the Second International; in literature, much attention should be paid to the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg's speech, debate, and her political background. In terms of theory, to explore the position of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts in the history of Marxist thoughts, by inheriting critique tradition of the German Marxism, and to attach importance to Rosa Luxemburg's literature on Kant's philosophy, Hegel's philosophy, Marx and Engels's philosophy, which as a theoretical background, it makes for researching the theory controversy between Rosa Luxemburg and Bernstein, and helps us to discover the dialectics of tradition behind the books, notes and manuscripts of her political economics and political science, thus revealing the connection and inherent logic among the literature.

III The difficulties of editing the Chinese version of “*The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*”

Based on the version of German and English literature of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, as well as the latest research achievements around Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts both in domestic and overseas, we own a good foundation on editing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*. However, it doesn't mean that all the problems of editing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* have been solved except the translation. According to the existing problems on the editorial structure and the dominant idea of German and English versions, there is much work to do in editing the Chinese version. Generally speaking, the work we are faced with could be divided into two categories: one is to collect and collate the literature such as the works, manuscript notes and letters of Rosa Luxemburg; one is to make a reappraisal of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts with the new research results. In these two kinds of work, we are confronted with many difficulties.

On the collecting and collating the literature such as the works, manuscript notes and letters of Rosa Luxemburg, there are two problems at least. One is to study the Poland background and literature of Rosa Luxemburg's life and her revolutionary activities. In China, all the literature—no matter the works, manuscript notes, lectures or letters—of Rosa Luxemburg, having been published, were written in German when she was under the German background. While little attention are paid to her articles written by Polish (during her promoting revolutionary activities in Poland), which becomes a great vacancy point from the aspect of literature research. According to the statistical data from Holger Polit, an expert on literature research of Rosa Luxemburg and working at the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS), Rosa Luxemburg wrote almost 6,000 pages in German and almost 3,000 pages in Polish. The data tells us, the production—including

works, manuscript notes, lectures and letters—written by Rosa Luxemburg in Polish accounted for a third of all her works. The one-third part recorded Rosa's revolutionary activities in early times. For example, it involved the first social-democratic periodical—"Sprawa Robotnicza" (The Worker's Cause) in the Russian empire, which was co-founded by Rosa Luxemburg and a Polish revolutionist Leo Jogiches—he was also her closest confidant. As one of the editors of that periodical, Rosa Luxemburg wrote articles for each issue, which recorded her revolution practice and the thought developing process from 1893 to 1896. Besides, there were other articles published on the social-democratic polish newspaper "Czerwony Sztandar" (The Red Banner) and "Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny" (Social-Democratic Overview), which included the important polish work by Rosa Luxemburg "The National Question and Autonomy" published in 1908/09 etc.¹ These works were related to the polish question, the Russia empire and national question, the labor movement in Poland and Russia as well as the development in the social-democratic workers' movement and so on, which reflected the ideas and standpoints of Rosa Luxemburg on the national questions, imperialism problems and polish labor movements. They are the precious materials to study Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. Another one is to research and collate the historical text files in German from Rosa Luxemburg. For Stalin suppressed the study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts since 1930s, most works of Rosa Luxemburg were sealed up. Those contained some works of political economy, while most of them were economic works. Until to East European upheaval and Soviet disorganization, those works would be unlocked. As to this part of unlocked works, in the German version, they were considered to attach to the existed *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* as separate volumes, i.e. the sixth volume we've seen and the forthcoming volume—the seventh volume. To the German version, these two volumes are not based on system-

¹ See Holger Polit; *Some aspects about the polish work of Rosa Luxemburg*, in this book.

atical textual research and not edited by chronological order of Rosa Luxemburg's works. They collected the new files found earlier in the sixth volume and the works later found would be edited in the seventh volume. Therefore, if the Chinese version would use those works, it's necessary to make more textual research and re-edit those works based on historical study to integrate them into the existed works, thus presenting an intact image of Rosa Luxemburg.

According to the new-found literature such as Rosa Luxemburg's works, manuscript notes and letters, the most difficulty we face is how to clarify the facts and eliminate those misunderstandings for her in the past. There's no doubt that Rosa Luxemburg is a most controversial figure in the history of Marxism. Historically, the reasons why varied disputes aimed at Rosa Luxemburg are nothing but two aspects; one is the academic factor. It is because many new theories and ideas put forward by Rosa Luxemburg couldn't be understood at that time. For instance, the criticism to Marx's capital accumulation formula and the criticism to the Bolshevistic organization form of extreme centralization from Rosa Luxemburg, were not only misunderstood by her contemporary Marxists, even couldn't be understood by a great group of Marxists after her sacrifice in quite a long time. It is those misunderstandings that incur countless critics to Rosa Luxemburg and lead to much controversies for long. Another reason is in political aspect, which mainly owes to Stalin's suppress to the research of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. For a long time, people owe the political reason why Rosa Luxemburg didn't own objective evaluation to Lenin's criticism to her, which is indeed a fallacy. It cannot be denied that Lenin's criticism to Rosa Luxemburg gave an excuse for Stalin's suppressing the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. However, for Lenin's intention, he criticized Rosa Luxemburg just for their disputes on cognition and theories. As to the political stand, Lenin had neither suppressed Rosa Luxemburg, nor denied all the Rosa's efforts on the working-class and on realizing socialist revolution. That is the reason why Lenin compared Rosa Luxemburg as an eagle with the *The Eagle and the Hens*, written by the Russian au-

thor Ivan Krylov (Иван Андреевич Крылов). He considered Rosa Luxemburg “she was—and remains for us—an eagle”, and condemned “the publication of which the German Communists are inordinately delaying”¹¹. Different from Lenin, Stalin politically put Rosa Luxemburg down and therefore, he imprisoned any research of her thoughts and sealed up her works, manuscript notes, letters and other documents, which resulted in incapable to publish her complete works. This condition began to ease up after the 20th of Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. However, the elimination of the political cause does not synchronize with the of the academic in the research of Rosa Luxemburg’s thoughts, although the political is the premise of the academic. The elimination of the academic cause can be true only after a objective and deep study of Rosa Luxemburg’s works and thought. This is the important reason of why the decryption of Rosa Luxemburg’s works, manuscript notes, letters and other documents as well as textual research of them become a hot point in the study of Rosa Luxemburg’s thoughts in 21st century. So far the study has got the achievements from two aspects, one is the start of edition and publishing a multilingual Rosa Luxemburg’s Complete Works, another one is to correct the misreading of Rosa Luxemburg’s view about political economy and political philosophy, to re-evaluate the debates between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin again and to position her thoughts historically according new discovery of her works, manuscript notes, letters and other documents. All this achievements highlight the value in contemporary of Rosa Luxemburg’s thoughts from various aspects, and change the old viewpoint of treating her thoughts gradually. Our editing and publishing of *Rosa Luxemburg’s Complete Works* in Chinese is a part of this work, and in this reason we can say that, it is not only a part of research of Rosa Luxemburg’s Thoughts in China, but also a part of it in the world. Since that, the textual research of Rosa Luxemburg’s works, manuscript notes, letters and other documents, the re-evalu-

¹¹ See Lenin: *Notes of a Publicist*.

ation of her thoughts about philosophy, political economy and socialist democracy according to them and elimination of all misreading of her thought, should be the a necessary work of our subject, which still unfolds in China. As a result, there would be many difficulties of concepts, resources and theories in our work, which requires an incorporation of arrangement, editing, publishing of documents and study of theories, promoting the arrangement and editing of documents with new study of theories, and then to compile a high level *Rosa Luxemburg's Complete Works* in Chinese on this base.

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Part I The World and China: Current
Situation and Prospects of
Publishing *The Complete
Works of Rosa Luxemburg*

Rosa Luxemburg's Work: National and International Discussions and the Importance of Translations of her Works

Evelin Wittich

(Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, German)

The Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS) has been working with Rosa Luxemburg's legacy since the day we chose the name of our Stiftung. The profound influence that this decision would have on the Stiftung's identity, profile and character was unclear at first. The main working-subject of the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung is public political education. But for this education, we have to work in research; about Rosa Luxemburg and other important subjects for socialist political education. We give scholarships—just in the moment approximate 1000 €—and we work together with foreign partners in 18 offices all over the world.

In the beginning of our foundations work, it was unclear that whether there is a lot of work in research about Rosa Luxemburg. Our engagement with Rosa Luxemburg's work, however, has proved to be an intense and dynamic process that has involved and continues to involve numerous actors. One of these actors is the International Rosa Luxemburg Society (IRLG). Since it was founded in 1980, the IRLG has focused on research into Rosa Luxemburg's work, providing important contributions to new debates. Since 2000, there has been a good deal of cooperation between the RLS and the IRLG, and Professor Ito Narihiko from Japan.

Prof. Ito planned an edition of Rosa Luxemburg's works in Japanese, but we don't have any information about the progress of it.

The Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung and its associates conduct research into political education and work related to the political problems affecting the Socialist Left in the context of Rosa Luxemburg's legacy. This research is undertaken at both the national and international level.

In cooperation with the IRLG, and in conjunction with the RLS's regional foundations and international offices, the Stiftung has organized conferences and seminars in places such as Moscow, Johannesburg, Paris, Tokyo and Guangzhou, as well as at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, in Erfurt and Buenos Aires and of course in Berlin. The discussions conducted in these locations focused on the heart of the problems facing today's Socialist Left. It is surprising how many aspects of Rosa Luxemburg's work are still relevant today, and these include her understanding of politics, democracy, and revolution; her relationship to nationalism and feminism; her understanding of political parties; the role that should be played by broad political actors—the masses—but also her work on economics and her views on militarism and war. Many people still express a strong affinity with Rosa Luxemburg, not just because of her political beliefs, but because she was a sensitive woman who loved life, art and nature, and it was this that led her to fight consistently for social justice. Many different people are drawn to and inspired by her work, and relate to different facets of her personality.

The Left has rarely been able to convincingly put Luxemburg's abstract ideas of justice and solidarity, freedom and emancipation into practice so as to act as a role model for less politically-minded people. However, Rosa Luxemburg provides a powerful example. Her honesty about her own actions, the integrity of her thinking, particularly in uncomfortable times, and her sincerity—even towards her opponents—are all exemplary. Ultimately, the Left will only be able to encourage a move towards emancipation and away from exploitation and oppression by aligning itself with these ideals.

There will always be emotionally charged discussions on the basic questions of the revisionism controversy that occurred more than a hundred years ago. In my opinion, the current debate on key issues of the revisionism controversy is conducted at a similar level to that of the past. Unfortunately, this means that it is very difficult to develop sustainable solutions that reflect Rosa Luxemburg's ideas.

During the original debate (1889—1903), the SPD was faced with a fundamental dilemma: the stronger the party became and the greater its support base (and remember, women had no right to vote at that time), the more often its leadership stressed its hatred of bourgeois society. Nevertheless, the SPD leadership continued to establish itself as part of day-to-day parliamentary affairs. The party was simply unable to combine revolutionary goals with the political praxis of a mass party. Although Eduard Bernstein did at least try to provide a theoretical solution to this dilemma, Rosa Luxemburg immediately realized his approach would only lead to a feeling of self-satisfaction among the party leadership and within some parts of the party. Luxemburg knew that this would eventually see the SPD distancing itself from the class struggle and the goal of a just society.

In the preface to *Reform or Revolution*, Rosa Luxemburg wrote: "At first view the title of this work may be found surprising. Can Social Democracy be against reforms? Can we contrapose the social revolution, the transformation of the existing order, our final goal, to social reforms? Certainly not. The daily struggle for reforms, for the amelioration of the condition of the workers within the framework of the existing social order, and for democratic institutions, offers to the Social-Democracy an indissoluble tie. The struggle for reforms is its means; the social revolution, its aim."¹

The position that people take and took in the revisionism controversy de-

¹ Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Band I/1, Dietz Verlag Berlin 1990, p. 369.

depends on their approach to politics. In the case of Rosa Luxemburg, it was her uncompromising humanism and sense of justice that provided the foundation for her political action and her work. Acquiring and maintaining a position of power were not her most important goals; at best they represented a means to an end. Although differences in political approaches may not always be clear, and they are rarely confronted or openly stated, contemporary discussions between leftists, socialists and communists are often strongly characterized by significant differences between their respective political understandings.

In the wake of the First World War, Rosa Luxemburg wrote that "Uncurbed revolutionary energy and wide human feeling-this is the real breath of socialism."¹ Her uncompromising idealism was aimed at continually reminding the labor movement that it needed to remain true to its original revolutionary, humanist principles. Rosa Luxemburg relentlessly criticized the SPD leadership for no longer being driven by revolutionary humanism or even drawn to its aims. This departure by the SPD resulted in routine; a belief in reforms as a substitute for revolutionary struggle, and the growing influence of a trade union bureaucracy and party machinery focused on elections. In short, the party was opportunistically adapting to capitalism.²

The most important actor for Rosa Luxemburg were the "mass", but she was without illusions about this mass. "There is nothing more changeable than human psychology. That's especially because the psyche of the masses, like Thalatta, the eternal sea, always hears within it every latent possibility; deathly stillness and raging storm, the basest cowardice and the wildest heroism. The masses are always what they must be according to the circumstances of the times, and they are always on the verge of becoming something totally different from what they seem to be. It would be a fine sea captain who would steer a course based only on

¹ Rosa Luxemburg, "Eine Ehrenpflicht", in: *GW*, Vol. 4, p. 406.

² See, *Rosa Luxemburg in internationalen Dokurs*, Dietz Berlin, p. 31.

the momentary appearance of the ocean's surface and did not understand how to draw conclusions from signs in the sky and in the ocean's depths..." Disappointment with the masses is always the most reprehensible quality to be found in a political leader. A leader with the quality of greatness applies tactics, not according to the momentary mood of masses, but according to higher laws of development, and sticks firmly to those tactics despite all disappointments and, for the rest, calmly allows history to bring its work to fruition." (Rosa Luxemburg, *an Mathilde Wurm*, 16. February 1917, in; GB, Bd. 5, S. 176)

But we see one important problem; in many cases the actors don't know the real works of Rosa Luxemburg and the historical conditions, which were fundamental for her thinking and her work.

Why this we have to continue our work in research and in translation in different languages.

I. Research

RLS Saxony, for example, has conducted research under the direction of Professor Klaus Kinner, and this has resulted in numerous publications, especially about history of German Communism. Of course in this work Rosa Luxemburg is an important person.

Professor Annelies Laschitzka published the 6th volume of unpublished works of Rosa Luxemburg in German in 2014. And she is working in the 7th volume.

Holger Politt published the polish writings "Question of nationality and autonomy" in German in 2013 and "The Workers Revolution 1905/06" in 2015. He found this polish writings and translated it into German. He will speak about it here.

Dr. Jörn Schüttrumpf and Professor Michael Brie have also made important contributions on our behalf. I cannot begin to list them all here, but we can al-

readily draw on an extensive corpus of work.

All this researches show us clearly, that Rosa Luxemburg's work and thinking is directly and really in tradition of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and she developed it partial.

II. Translations of Rosa Luxemburgs works

1. The most important work is the English Edition of *Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, the Main Editor is Peter Hudis, the publishing house is Verso books, London, New York, supported by Dietz Verlag Berlin. We spoke about the first idea in 2003 and started with conception in 2006. The first volume, "The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg" were published in 2011. The German Edition is the basis of the English Edition, but the English Edition is very different from the German. The Letters for instance base on the German Letters-Collection "Herzlichst, Ihre Rosa", Dietz Verlag 1989, but Annelies Laschitzka added 40 letters to the English Edition. The most important difference to the German Edition is, that the English Edition is focused on subjects with 2 Volumes economical writings, 3 volumes writings about revolution, and so on. At last all letters will be published. It is a great work and needs about 10 years. Peter Hudis can inform you more deeply.

2. The office in Sao Paulo published a 3 volume Edition of selected works in Portuguese for Brazil and Portugal.

3. In our foundation we prepare a Turkish Edition, but we are in the phase of conception. At first we translated the "Question of Nationality and Autonomy". Especially in Turkish Universities we had positive reactions and great interest.

4. Some works of Rosa Luxemburg are translated into Arabic and French for Arabic countries. For instance "The Russian Revolution".

This year we had an small international workshop about the research-work about Rosa Luxemburg in Berlin. The English painter Kate Evans from London took part and presented an Comic-book about Rosa Luxemburg with a great reso-

nance. This art is a good possibility to present Rosa Luxemburg, especially for young people, but not for them only.

If you schedule a Chinese Edition I can congratulate you!! It is an important and very interesting work. The Chinese readers can find out a lot about German, Polish and European History 100 years before;

- The history of social democrat Parties in Germany, Poland, Russia and other European social democrat parties.

- The dividing of social democrat party in to communist party and social democrat party.

- Alternative thinking to Stalinist thinking, Stalinist development and the collapse of "Real Socialism" in eastern Europe.

- The life of the important and impressing woman Rosa Luxemburg.

This Edition is important for historical and political research and perhaps for different people, who are interested in politics.

(Translator: Qin Caisixia

The Philosophy School of Wuhan University)

**Allowing Luxemburg to Speak for
Herself—The Project of Issuing *The
Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in English**

Peter Hudis
(Oakton Community College, USA)

It may seem, on the surface, that there is not much more to learn about the breadth and depth of Rosa Luxemburg's theoretical contributions. After all, some of her most important works—such as *Reform or Revolution* and *The Accumulation of Capital*—have been widely discussed and debated in the English-speaking world (as well as elsewhere) for many decades. Largely because of her fame as a Marxist who opposed exposed the shortcomings of both parliamentary reformism and “revolutionary” dictatorships imposed from above, her writings have been read and reread by generations of activists striving to find a pathway out of existing society. At the same time, her irrepressible and vibrant personality has awed and inspired thinkers and activists for many years. And as the foremost women theoretician produced by the Marxist movement, she has become a subject of discussion by many feminists in recent years, not only in the English-speaking world but internationally. Given the widespread attention given to her work, it may seem that we know all that needs to be known about her. But that is quite far from the truth.

Remarkably, as of this moment at least 75 percent of her articles, essays and speeches, written in German, Polish and Russian (with a few in Yiddish) have never appeared in English. Only in 2013 did the first full English translation of

her second most important book, *The Introduction to Political Economy* finally appear in English, in Volume I of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*.¹ This 220-page study is one of the best overviews to Marxist political economy and should be required reading for anyone trying to understand the historical origins of capitalism, its drive for global expansion, the relation between pre-capitalist and post-capitalist forms of social organization, and the nature of wage labor. Meanwhile, less than 20 percent of her correspondence has appeared so far in English—even with the publication of the 600-page *Letters of Rosa Luxemburg* in 2011, the most comprehensive collection of her letters to date, which sparked considerable discussion in the mainstream and radical press.²

At issue is not simply the amount of writings that have (or have not) been translated from the five-volume German-language *Gesammelte Werke*. Recent scholarship has turned up hundreds of previously unknown or unavailable articles, lectures and manuscripts. It is no secret that Luxemburg taught political economy, sociology, anthropology, economic history and Marx's *Capital* at the German Social-Democratic Party's school in Berlin from 1907—1914, but it was only relatively recently (in the late 1990s) that Prof. Narihiko Ito discovered the texts of these notes and talks. Eight of them are now available, for the first time in full, in Volume I of the *Complete Works*.³ It is also no secret that Luxemburg was not only an important theorist of revolution but also an active participant in the 1905 Russian Revolution (she went to Russian-occupied Poland at the end of 1905) and 1918—1919 German Revolution. Yet it is only recently that many of her writings on these revolutions have come to light. Thanks to the tireless efforts of Luxemburg scholar and biographer Annelies Laschitzka, Dietz Verlag last year

[1] See "Introduction to Political Economy", in *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, Vol. 1, *Economic Writings 1*, edited by Peter Hudis, London and New York: Verso Books, 2013, pp. 89–300.

[2] See *The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*, edited by Georg Adler, Peter Hudis and Annelies Laschitzka, London and New York: Verso Books, 2011.

[3] See *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, Vol. 1, *Economic Writings 1*, edited by Peter Hudis, London and New York: Verso Books, 2013, pp. 301–520.

published a supplementary Volume 6 of Luxemburg's *Gesammelte Werke*, containing previously unknown writings from 1893 to 1906 (many of these are unsigned articles that Laschitza determined, based on meticulous research, were written by Luxemburg). The volume consists of 900 pages.¹ Laschitza is currently working on a further (and equally large) volume of previously unknown political writings that will cover 1907 to 1918. Even this does not exhaust the new archival discoveries. Holger Polit (continuing the earlier work of Feliks Tyeh in Warsaw) has been working to compile Luxemburg's writings from the Polish Revolutionary Press, much of which has never been appeared in either German or English (and most almost none has ever been reprinted in Polish). This material alone amounts to another 3,000 pages.²

Clearly, there is much still to learn about Rosa Luxemburg! All of this material—indeed, everything she ever wrote—will appear in the *Complete Works*, in 14 volumes. Each volume will be published according to the highest scholarly standards, containing up-to-date editor's notes that refer the reader to contemporary writings on the subjects covered by Luxemburg as well as the background for many of her historical, literary, and biographical references. We will provide new translations of all the material, including those works that have appeared previously in English, and ensure that the translations are checked against the original to ensure that each work is presented in its entirety. Each volume will contain a detailed glossary on each of the individuals mentioned by in the text. And each volume will provide full bibliographical information concerning the publisher and date of publication of each work by other individuals that is cited or mentioned by Luxemburg. We are doing this to ensure that the edition can be widely accessible both to scholars as well as other readers who may not have much background on her work.

¹ Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, Band 6, edited by Annelies Laschitza and Eckhard Müller, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 2014.

² For a sample of these writing recently translated into German, see Rosa Luxemburg, *Arbeiterrevolution 1905/06: Politische Texte*, edited by Holger Polit, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 2015.

I should note that such scholarly considerations have not always characterized the publication of Luxemburg's work in English. To give but one example, in the original English translation of *The Accumulation of Capital* (in 1951) the references to Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value* is given to the German edition as edited by Karl Kautsky from 1905 to 1910. This was proper at the time, since no English translation of the work was available. However, subsequent editions of *The Accumulation of Capital* in English (one as recently as 2003) simply reproduced the references to *Theories of Surplus Value* as they appeared in 1951 edition—even though several English translations of Marx's work were available by then and the edition published by Kautsky is considered unreliable. We have corrected this in the new edition of *The Accumulation of Capital* (translated by Nicholas Gray and edited by myself and Paul Le Blanc), by providing English-language references to all of the quotes of Marx (as well as many others) found in the book.¹

The English-language *Complete Works* will be divided into three rubrics—the first containing her major economic writings, the second her political writings, and the third her complete correspondence. We have chosen to begin the series with her economic writings for two reasons. First, Luxemburg always considered *The Accumulation of Capital* and *Anti-Critique* to be her most important theoretical works that have an independent value of their own. Together with the *Introduction to Political Economy*—which spent close to a decade working on and which moved her to decide to write *The Accumulation of Capital* in the first place—she considered these three books to represent her specific *scientific* contribution to Marxist theory. Second, some of her most important work that remained unavailable in English until recently was her economic writings—such as the *Introduction to Political Economy* and the assorted lectures connected with it which she gave at the German Social-Democratic Party school from 1907—

[1] See "The Accumulation of Capital" in *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, Vol. 11, Economic Writings 2, edited by Peter Hudis and Paul Le Blanc, London and New York: Verso Books, 2015, pp. 3–344.

1914. Since these have long been unavailable in the English-speaking world, it made sense to begin the series with these writings.

Admittedly, separating her *oeuvres* into economic and political writings is somewhat artificial. As she indicates in her correspondence, her initial approach to economic theory was largely stimulated by a *political* problematic—the expansion of European imperialism into Asia and Africa. Her effort to comprehend the phenomena of imperialism and how it points to the dissolution or “the final crisis” of capitalism determined much of the content of her economic work. Meanwhile, many of her “political” writings—such as *Reform or Revolution*—contain brilliant analyses of the economic law of motion of capitalism and its proclivity for cyclical crises. Yet given the amount of time, care and attention that Luxemburg gave to developing her major economic works, we felt that it makes sense to begin the *Complete Works* with the works that contain her most detailed and analytically specific delineation of Marxian economics.

The first volume of Economic Writings, which was published in November 2013, contains the first-ever complete translation of the *Introduction to Political Economy*, seven manuscripts consisting of lectures and research at the Social-Democratic Party school that were found by Prof. Narihiko Ito, and a manuscript on the theory of the wages fund, which Luxemburg biographer and scholar Annelies Laschitzka has identified as being composed while at the University of Zurich, in 1897. We are confident that this volume will garner considerable interest, for several reasons. First, the *Introduction to Political Economy* represents a wonderful overview of the nature, origins, history, and internal contradictions of capitalism. We believe it will be of great assistance to the new generation of scholars who wish to gain greater insight in the complexities of modern capitalism. Second, the manuscripts and lectures from the party school show how intensely Luxemburg studied not only economic and political phenomena but also made important contributions to the then-emerging fields of anthropology and ethnology. The interest among many anti-capitalist activists in communal social

and property relations that pre-date capitalism is spoken to eloquently in Luxemburg's appreciation for "their extraordinary tenacity and stability...their elasticity and adaptability."¹ We believe her appreciation for such pre-capitalist social formations will speak to today's search for an alternative to capitalism, which is clearly one of the foremost theoretical and practical issues of the day. Third, the volume as a whole will help reclaim Luxemburg as one of the major economic historians of her time—especially because of the insights contained in her manuscripts on the Middle Ages and slavery in ancient Greece and Rome.

The second volume of *Economic Writings*, published in the spring of 2015, contains a new translation of *The Accumulation of Capital*, the *Anti-Critique*, and the chapters on Volumes Two and Three of *Capital* that she wrote for Franz Mehring's biography of Karl Marx (she is very rarely acknowledged as the author of the latter in the English-language literature on Luxemburg). While Agnes Schwarzschild's English-language translation of *The Accumulation of Capital*, first published in 1951, is adequate in some respects, it suffers from a number of shortcomings—not the least of them being that it left out the original sub-title, "A Contribution to an Explanation of Imperialism." It also left out Luxemburg's brief Foreword of December 1912, which specified that her materialist and "scientific" study is connected to "the practical, contemporary, imperialist politics." This is a most fitting moment to re-examine Luxemburg's effort to demonstrate the integrality of imperialism and capitalism, given the urgent necessity to combat capital's global drive to undermine the ecological as well social viability of human existence itself.

We are now in the process of issuing Luxemburg's Political Writings, in seven volumes. At first we planned on issuing these writings in chronological order—beginning with her earliest writings within the Polish Marxist movement and ending with her writings of 1918—1919 on the Russian and German Revolutions.

(1) "The Dissolution of Primitive Communism", in *The Rosa Luxemburg Reader*, edited by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson, New York: Monthly Review Books, 2004, p. 110.

However, in light of the discovery of many previously unknown or unpublished writings of Luxemburg and after extensive discussions with colleagues in the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and Dietz Verlag, it was decided that we should publish these writings in distinct thematic groups. The first theme of the Political Writings will be devoted to "On Revolution," and it will take up three full volumes (volumes 3, 4 and 5 of the *Complete Works*).¹ It will contain everything she wrote in connection with the 1905 and 1917 Russian Revolutions and 1918—1919 German revolutions. We believe that these volumes will truly bring forth a new perspective on Luxemburg's contribution, since revolution was, clearly, the central motif and organizing life of her life and thought. The opportunity to collect all of her analyses and responses to the ongoing revolutions of her time in three volumes will enable the contemporary reader to understand the full implications of her political contribution to Marxist theory. The Political Writings will be further rounded out by being organized around additional themes, such as volumes on her writings on the national question, on the debates over revisionism and opportunism in the Second International, and on imperialism. The English-language *Complete Works* will conclude with a five-volume collection of her correspondence, based on the *Gesammelte Briefe* that was edited by Annelies Laschitzka and Günter Radczun and published by Dietz Verlag.

Our central aim in undertaking such a momentous task as issuing her *Complete Works* is to enable Luxemburg to speak for herself. This has not always been easy or even possible—since numerous interpretations about Luxemburg have been put forward over the years by those who did not have access to her full body work of work. In fact, since her death in 1919, Luxemburg's ideas have often been attacked, and at other times defended, by thinkers and political tendencies far removed from her own theoretical concerns and commitments. This problem has

¹ The first volume of writings "On Revolution" (Volume 3 of the *Complete Works*) will contain her writings on this subject up to and including December 1905.

persisted ever since Stalin and his followers in the German Communist Party in the mid-and-late 1920s invented the term “Luxemburgism” as a pejorative in their effort to expunge her legacy from the Marxist movement. In response to such attacks, some on the left went to the other extreme by arguing that she was a Social Democrat who opposed virtually everything the Bolsheviks, including Lenin, had stood for. For example, in 1961 Bertram Wolfe, a professional anti-communist, published a book-length English edition of her 1918 pamphlet *The Russian Revolution* under the title *Leninism or Marxism*.¹ The fact that Luxemburg never wrote anything with such a title—and that the term “Leninism” was not even coined until after Lenin’s death²—did not seem to concern him.

In the 50 years since, many new works on Luxemburg have appeared in the English-speaking world (as well as elsewhere) that have done much to capture the originality and multidimensionality of her ideas.³ There remains a strong tendency, however, to appropriate her legacy for causes that are quite distant from her own. For instance, Hannah Arendt famously declared that Luxemburg’s insights are best appreciated if she is not read as a Marxist.⁴ Others, in contrast, insist on interpreting her as an orthodox Marxist along the lines of Lenin, despite her sharp critique of him at many points. And others consider her a seminal figure in “Western Marxism”, even though the term was not invented until many decades after her death⁵ and many Western Marxists (such as those associated

1. See *The Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism? By Rosa Luxemburg*, introduced by Bertram D. Wolfe, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961.

2. To my knowledge, one of the first uses of the term “Leninism” dates to February 1924, shortly after Lenin’s death, in a speech by Stalin. Lenin never called himself a “Leninist”.

3. See especially Norman Geras, *The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg*, New York and London: Verso Books, 2015; Raya Dunayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution*, Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1981; and Frigga Haug, *Rosa Luxemburg und die Kunst der Politik*, Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 2007.

4. See Hannah Arendt, “A Heroine of Revolution”, in *The New York Review of Books*, October 6, 1966.

5. Maurice Merleau-Ponty first coined the term “Western Marxism” in 1955, in his *Les Aventures de la dialectique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1955).

with the Frankfurt School) rejected her insistence on the self-activity of the proletariat and class-consciousness being the key to social revolution.¹⁴

There is nothing wrong, of course, with Luxemburg's ideas being subject to a vast array of interpretations from different and even opposed directions. A thinker is only as rich and profound as the diversity of views that can be elicited from her body of work. There is a problem, however, with appropriating a thinker's ideas without allowing her to speak in her own terms and on her own behalf. The first task facing anyone approaching Luxemburg's work is to obtain a firm understanding of its many dimensions as she articulated them. This does not of course foreclose a critical reading of Luxemburg. That she fell short on certain issues and came out on the wrong side of some debates goes without saying. History is a hard taskmaster of even the greatest theoreticians. My point is rather that a proper and objective understanding of Luxemburg's contribution is made more difficult when her ideas are appropriated for intellectual and political tendencies that are distant from her own commitments—be it liberalism, Leninism or Western Marxism. We first of all need to re-examine Luxemburg on her own terms.

For this reason we chose not to create a separate rubric of the *Complete Works* devoted to philosophy. This is *not* because we believe that Luxemburg's ideas lack critically important philosophical implications. Indeed, many of her ideas—from the theory of spontaneity to her conception of class-consciousness—have vital implications for contemporary philosophical debates. However, we must keep in mind that Luxemburg did not view herself as a philosopher but rather as

14. As Kevin Anderson has argued, insofar as "Western Marxism" is generally taken to refer to the effort to restore the Hegelian dimension of Marxist thought, its originator can be said to be Lenin, who penned the earliest and most important study of Hegel's work since Marx's death in his 1914–1915 "Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*". The term itself was not coined until many years later, by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, in the 1950s, in *Adventures of the Dialectic*. For more on this, see Kevin B. Anderson, *Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995. It goes without saying, of course, that such Western Marxists as Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse rejected (at least by the 1950s) Luxemburg's conception of the proletariat as revolutionary subject, as did Merleau-Ponty himself by 1950.

a political economist and theorist. She was a product of the Second International, which with a few exceptions (such as the work of Antonio Labriola) did not view philosophy as an indispensable part of Marxism. The orthodox Marxists of the time followed Engels's view that "philosophy as such" has come to an "end" with the advent of Marxism.¹ It was only with Lenin's "Abstract of Hegel's 'Science of Logic'" in 1914—which he never published and became known only after his and Luxemburg's death—and Lukács's *History and Class Consciousness* and Korsch's *Marxism and Philosophy* (both published in 1923), that a direct turn to and appropriation of philosophy was adopted by Western Marxists.

Although Luxemburg obtained a Ph.D from Zurich University, it was in economics—not philosophy.² There is no evidence that she took classes on philosophy during her stay at the university (she preferred natural science and mathematics). Nor is there evidence that she ever read Hegel—or thought it important for her to do so.³ She did not know, of course, of most of Marx's philosophical works—such as the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* and the *Grundrisse*—since they were not discovered until long after her death. Yet even when she did learn of some of Marx's early philosophical writings (such as his essays of 1842–43 on freedom of the press and Hegelian philosophy, which were published by Franz Mehring in 1901) she tended to dismiss their importance as (in her words) being "motley, disjointed fragments of Marx's intellectual activity" that were expressed "in a wild, half-understood tongue." The philosophical work

①. See Engels's *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*.

②. In the Western academic tradition, all Ph.D's are called "doctorates in philosophy"—even if the degree is in engineering or natural science. But this does not necessarily imply any study or knowledge of philosophy itself. The terminology derives from the scholastic tradition of the European Middle Ages, in which all branches of inquiry were treated under the rubric of philosophy.

③. There are only a handful of references to Hegel in Luxemburg's work, most of them critical—such as her famous complaint about Marx's use of "Hegelian renece" in chapter one of *Capital*. As for her knowledge of Kant, Luxemburg reported in a letter of July 12, 1898—several years after completing her studies in Zurich—that she had borrowed of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* from a local (Berlin) library. We have no direct evidence, however, that she ever read the book. See *The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*, p. 81.

of the young Marx, according to Luxemburg, disclosed "the painful inadequacy of [Marx's] idealistic world conception."¹ This did not, of course, stop her from speaking of dialectics. But virtually every post-Marx Marxist of the Second International paid lip service to "dialectics"—by which they meant dynamism and having a complete worldview or *weltanschauung*—without taking the trouble to study Hegel or philosophy directly.²

What the Czech Marxist-Humanist philosopher Karel Kosik wrote of one of Luxemburg's closest colleagues applies to more than that particular individual alone:

Franz Mehring espoused the opinion of his time, which reduced the history of philosophy to a mere reflection of class conflicts, and denied philosophy any cognitive value. The history of philosophy became the history of false consciousness, of historical petrifications, reflections of the age, whose objective validity persisted for only as long as the existence of the historical conditions which gave birth to them... Mehring's reductionist conception of the history of philosophy is merely a partial expression of a certain conception of Marxism and historical materialism, the main category of which is the economic conditionality of phenomena. Economic determinism presupposes that it can discover the intrinsic value and objective content of intellectual phenomena (philosophy, culture, literature) if it illustrates the extent to which they are economically conditioned, i.e. their dependency on the so-called economic factor.³

It is perfectly reasonable to *interpret* Luxemburg's political and economic writings in terms of their philosophical implications—for her time and ours. But

[1] See Rosa Luxemburg, "Aus dem Nachlass unserer Meister", in *Gesammelte Werke*, Band 1.2, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 2000, p. 137.

[2] The exception to this, of course, was the widespread popularity of Neo-Kantianism among many of the leading figures of the Second International. However, their attraction for this school of thought was in order to *separate* themselves from Hegel and Hegelian philosophy, on the grounds that they constituted little more than abstract metaphysics.

[3] Karel Kosik, "The History of Philosophy as Philosophy" [1958]. I wish to thank Ivan Landa of the Czech Academy of Social Sciences for making an English translation of this essay available to me.

that is a very different matter than claiming that she herself viewed herself as a philosopher and as part of a distinctive philosophical project. We can not read back into Rosa Luxemburg the concerns and points of emphasis that some later Marxists took to be of cardinal importance. It was only *after* the transformation of the Russian Revolution into a repressive, totalitarian society under Stalin that the philosophical implications of Marx's work *began* to be understood. But this was long after Rosa Luxemburg had left the scene.

We must, above all else, allow Luxemburg to speak for herself, in all of her multi-dimensionality, without falling prey to the temptation to use her work to buttress our own political or philosophical interests and preoccupations. It is largely in this spirit that we are devoting the time and energy to issue her *Complete Works* in English.

There are many questions that we will be in a position to better answer by issuing the *Complete Works*. These include: did she develop a distinctive view of revolutionary democracy that distinguished her from her contemporaries? Clearly, she took issue with Lenin over his excessive organizational centralism (in 1904 and 1911—1912) and his suppression of workers' democracy following the Bolshevik seizure of power. But did she *practice* a concept of revolutionary democracy in her own work as a leading figure in the Polish Marxist movement—or did she share some of the proclivities for centralized leadership that she criticized in others? It is not possible to fully answer such a question without having access to all of her Polish writings—which have remained largely unavailable to scholars up to now. Moreover, did Luxemburg have a unique concept of organization or did she remain confined in the organizational theories and practices that defined revolutionaries of her time? She surely had a lot to say about spontaneity and its importance in social transformation, but did she share in the basic understanding of the role of a "vanguard party" that predominated in the Second International—or did she go beyond it? Was she a dialectical thinker who anticipated later theoretical approaches in Western Marxism, or did her theoretical work re-

main largely confined within the parameters of the economic determinism and empiricism that defined the Marxism of the Second International? Most important of all, does her work, taken as a whole, directly address the single most important question facing the radical movement today—developing a viable concept of an alternative to all forms of capitalism, whether “free market” or so-called statist-socialist, which is responsible for so much economic, political, and environmental destruction over the past 100 years?¹

Clearly, it will not be possible to answer these and other related questions until her full corpus is available for exploration. But it is surely not hard to be struck by how much we have learned about Luxemburg over the course of this work that was virtually unknown only a few years ago. For instance, how many know of her anthropological work and the intensity with which she studied the positive contributions of pre-capitalist societies? How many know of how carefully she exposed the extermination of native peoples in Africa and Latin America and spoke out in defense of the victims of imperialist expansion? When her writings on this issue are read as a whole, as can now be done by obtaining Volume I of the *Complete Works*, we can see that she was not just addressing colonialism as a *historical* issue but was actually one of the most important critics of the racism that is endemic to capitalism. The rise of a new generation of anti-racist activists in the U.S. especially over the past year is very much raising issues that get to the heart of some of Luxemburg's own concerns. In this sense, an entire conference could be held on Luxemburg and the question of racism and anti-colonial resistance.

Last but not least is the importance of Luxemburg as an original character—something that comes out most strikingly from her correspondence. To help prepare an audience for the English-language *Complete Works*, Verso Books pub-

¹ For more on this, see Peter Hudis, *Marx's Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2013.

lished a companion to the series in 2011—a translation of Annelies Laschitzka and Georg Adler's *Herzlichst Ihrer Rosa*, issued as *The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*. This 600 – page collection represents the largest collection of letters ever published of Luxemburg in English, with a great many of the letters made available to the English-speaking public for the first time.

We wanted to introduce the *Complete Works* with this companion volume in order to help draw attention to the multi-faceted and multi-dimensional nature of Luxemburg's interests and contributions. The book was very widely reviewed, in academic journals, leftwing periodicals and websites and mass circulation journals and magazines. At no time in the last 50 years did Luxemburg receive as much public attention in the English-speaking world as in the reviews and commentaries that appeared on this volume. Reviews included those by Jacqueline Rose (*London Review of Books*); Sheila Rowbotham (*The Guardian*); Vivian Gornick (*The Nation*); Christopher Hitchens (*Atlantic Monthly*); Joel Schalit (*The Jewish Daily Forward*); Adam Kirsch (*The Jewish Review of Books*); George Fish (*New Politics*); Lesley Chamberlain (*New Statesman*), in addition to a dozen others. It is very rare that a Marxist thinker is discussed so publicly, especially in the U.S., and so we are very pleased with the reception of the volume.

It is worthwhile to ask, why was such an extraordinary amount of attention paid to the issuance of *The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*, and what does it say about ongoing efforts to publish Luxemburg's work elsewhere in the world today?

Surely, the reviews (almost all of them appreciative of Luxemburg's contribution) singled out different aspects of her legacy. Some commented on her unwavering commitment to participatory democracy and its inseparability from efforts to surmount capitalism. Others emphasized her prescient insights into the globalization of capital. And other reviews singled out her personality, which combined so many different facets. As the British feminist scholar and philosopher Jacqueline Rose put it in a review in *The London Review of Books*, for Luxemburg "The shifting sands of the revolution and of the psyche are more or

less the same thing. It is in this context that the correspondence is so critical; not as the sole repository of intimacy, but because it shows the ceaseless traffic between the personal and political.”¹ Rose, like many of the reviewers, sees Luxemburg as trying to break down the barriers between the external, engagement with the political world, and the internal, the knowledge of ourselves; as someone who breaks through conventional categories, enabling us to envision liberation in far more expansive terms than levels of economic output and political organization. “See to it that you stay human!”—this call, voiced in a letter of 1916 to Mathilde Wurm²—seems to capture what attracts many to a re-examination of the legacy of Rosa Luxemburg.

I hope in these remarks that I have conveyed that there is much for all of us still to learn about Rosa Luxemburg, no matter how much specialized knowledge of various aspects of work that we may possess. Given the fact that Paul Frolich was working to publish her *Complete Works* back in the 1920s, it's a shame it is taking this long for *all* of her work to finally get into print! But on another level it is just the right moment, now that capitalism does appear to be reaching its historical limit—and envisioning the alternative to capitalism has become more important than ever.

(Translator: Oiu Yanfang

The Philosophy School of Wuban University)

¹ See Jacqueline Rose, “What More Could We Want of Ourselves!”, in *London Review of Books*, June 16, 2011, p. 5.

² “Letter to Mathilde Wurm of December 28, 1916”, in *The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg*, edited by Georg Adler, Peter Hudis and Annelies Laschützka, London and New York: Verso Books, 2011, p. 363.

Some Aspects about the Polish Work of Rosa Luxemburg

Holger Politt

(Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, German)

Rosa Luxemburg wrote almost 6,000 pages in German and almost 3,000 pages in Polish. The German part is known—not only in Germany, also worldwide. The Polish part is largely unknown, definitely much less known as the German part—not only in the world, also in Poland. The reason for that is an important part of the history of the reception of the work from Rosa Luxemburg in the 20th century.

The most Polish articles were written by Rosa Luxemburg for an illegal newspaper that were printed in other countries—in France, Germany and Austria, which were then smuggled to the industrial centers in the Polish part of Russia—to the so-called Kingdom of Poland. The Kingdom of Poland was from 1815 to 1915 the western part of the Russian Empire with an area of 130,000 square kilometers and in 1900 with 10 million inhabitants. Warsaw and Łódź were important industrial and workers centers with a strong workers movement since 1890.

The first newspaper in which Rosa Luxemburg wrote was *Sprawa Robotnicza* (*The Worker's Cause*) in the time that she had been in Switzerland. *Sprawa Robotnicza* was the first social-democratic periodical in the Russian Empire. From 1893 to 1896 have been published 25 issues with a circulation of 1,000 copies. Rosa Luxemburg was one of four editors and wrote several articles in each issue.

The next legendary social-democratic polish newspaper was *Czerwony Sztandar* (*The Red Banner*) in the time from 1902 to 1913. In this time have been published 190 issues, among them more than 100 in the time of the Revolution 1905/06. In the time of revolution *Czerwony Sztandar* have had a circulation of 15,000 to 20,000 copies and otherwise of 1,000 to 2,000 copies. The main editor from *Czerwony Sztandar* was Leo Jogiches who was the closest confidant of Rosa Luxemburg in the political affairs in the polish social-democratic movement.

From 1902 to 1904 and from 1908 to 1910 were published 41 issues of *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny* (Social-Democratic Overview)—the most important theoretical periodical of the social-democratic movement in Poland and at that time one of the best theoretical papers in the European social-democratic movement at all. The editor was Leo Jogiches, the main author was Rosa Luxemburg. Here was published in 1908/09 the main polish work by Rosa Luxemburg *The National Question and Autonomy*.

In the most cases Rosa Luxemburg wrote her articles for the illicit polish papers anonymous. An important source to find out the authorship are the preserved letters of Rosa Luxemburg, especially to the editor Leo Jogiches which has found by the polish historian Feliks Tych in the archive in Moscow in the 50th years.

The main topics in the polish part of the work from Rosa Luxemburg are the polish question, the relationship between the democratization of the internal political conditions in the Russia empire and the social revolution which finally broke out in January 1905 in St. Petersburg, and last not least problems of the development in the social-democratic worker's movement.

The whole period 1893—1914 was in the polish labor movement by a debate between two political parties on the subject of national self-determination and the independent of Poland. The PPS (Polish Socialist Party) was founded 1892 in near Paris and favored the reconstruction of an independent Poland. Out-

standing person in the PPS in the national question was Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, an Marxist. The SDKPiL (Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania) was founded by Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches 1893 in Switzerland and who assumed, that the solution of the polish question must be found within Germany, Austria and Russia. Therefor was the respective connection with the labor-movement in these empires so important—with the social-democratic Parties in Germany, Austria and Russia.

An important fact in today's reception of Rosa Luxemburg is that in Poland since 20 years essentially no research on the subject of Rosa Luxemburg exists and in the public it is usually seen only negative. This is connected with the polish question in the understanding of Rosa Luxemburg, but also with the now ruling image of socialism in Poland. Why it is so important to save the polish work from Rosa Luxemburg but what today is possible indirectly via other languages, especially via the German and English language.

(Translator: Liu Yanfang

The Philosophy School of Wuhan University)

The Publication and Issue of Works and Research Literature of Rosa Luxemburg

Deng Ren'e

(People's Publishing House , China)

Distinguished delegates , scholars ,

Ladies and gentlemen ,

Please allow me to show my warm welcome to you!

I am Deng Ren'e , People's Publishing House , Beijing China .

First of all , I am appreciated for being invited by the host of this forum , and grateful for meeting with colleagues from all over the world , to communicate together about the topic .

As a publisher , I am a professional editor of Marxist classic works , foreign Marxist in Chinese version , as well as related works of Chinese academics . As a result , it's my duty to edit Rosa Luxemburg's works in Chinese version and focus on the research about them .

Today , I want to introduce the situation of the publication of Rosa Luxemburg's works and the research about them . It consists of three parts , which are the interpretation and publication of Rosa Luxemburg's works until now in China , their research about Rosa Luxemburg , and their Chinese works about Rosa Luxemburg in Chinese research institutions , universities and presses .

Firstly , the Publication of Rosa Luxemburg's works in China , Chinese Rosa Luxemburg's works could be earliest dated back to 88 years ago in March , 1927 ,

which was her *New Economics*, translated by Chen Shouseng and revised by Hu Hanmin, and published by Chinese New Literature Press in Shanghai, the greatest commerce center of China.

In 1958, six years later after the establishment of New China, *Reform or Revolution* written by Rosa Luxemburg, published by Joint Publishing, which was translated by Xu Jian. One year later, the Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital* translated by Peng Chenshun and Wu Jixian, was also published by Joint Publishing. In 1962, this publishing house contributed to the publication of Rosa Luxemburg's *Introduction to National Economy*, which was translated by Peng Chenshun, too.

Until the period of reform and opening-up, the publication of Rosa Luxemburg's works was paid much attention in following four years. For instance, in February 1981, a magazine supplement named "Rosa Luxemburg Album" was added to *the Study of the History of International Communist Movement*, and it's a kind of academic journal made by China's central compilation. In this special album, 6 pieces of Rosa Luxemburg's paper were published, and they were translated by 5 researchers in translation office.

What's more, the "Rosa Luxemburg Album" still published the introduction of manuscript named *Russian Revolution*, including its writings, publishing and the influence. This manuscript was from Zhou Maoyong. Besides, Rosa Luxemburg writings directory was also collected in the appendix of this album. In the same year, People's Literature Publishing House published *Rosa's Letters and Papers from Prison*, translated by Qiu Chongren and Fu Wei. In 1982, Heilongjiang People's Publishing House came out *The Imperialists and the Accumulation of Capital*, this was written by Rosa Luxemburg and Bukharin and translated by Chai Jinru etc. In 1983, Wang Yizhu translated Rosa Luxemburg's *On Literature* and published it by People's Literature Publishing House. In 1984, People's Publishing House came out *Selected Works of Rosa Luxemburg* (volume I). Six years later, ie. Till to the winter of 1990, People's Publishing House published *Selected*

Works of Rosa Luxemburg(volume II).

In the late 1980s, the publication of books was at the mercy of planned economy in China, so that the number of books should be ordered through Xinhua Bookstore. Then we could decide the quantity to press according to the collected information. At that time, the order quantity of *Selected Works of Rosa Luxemburg Writings*(volume II) was less than 500 before 1990. Generally speaking, it was really worthless to press in Chinese publishing industry. But, in order to provide Chinese readers with the related research text and put forward the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought, our publishing house was regardless of economic loss and pressed these 500 hundred books.

Compared with this situation, after the late 1990s, Chinese scholars and readers paid more attention to Rosa Luxemburg and the demand of Rosa's works was gradually increasing. Before and after 2010, some readers made phone to ask the specific publishing time of *Selected Works of Rosa Luxemburg* when they knew about it. It proves that Rosa Luxemburg works' publication was warm welcome in China academic world. While, the new version of *Selected Works of Rosa Luxemburg* was published by People's Publishing House in 2012.

The text of this new version was a further studying on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts and formed a more exactly understanding, based on the translation of the old version(Volume I, II). In the new version, "The theory of Russian Revolution" and some chapters were added. It should say the three kinds versions we referred to, are the most authoritative and integrated books of Rosa Luxemburg's works in Chinese version.

We should mention another two books of Rosa Luxemburg's works. They are *The Letters on The Theory of Russian Revolution* und *Letters in Prison*. The former one is translated by Yin Xuli and published by Guizhou People's Publishing House in 2001 and the latter one is translated by Fu Weici and published by Flower City Publishing House in 2007.

Secondly, the publication process of academic works and popular writings

on Rosa Luxemburg by Chinese scholars.

Early in 1921, 94 years ago, Li Da, the co-founder of Chinese Communist Party, published a paper titled *Introduce Several Female Social Revolutionaries*, one part of which introduced Rosa Luxemburg particularly, on the supplement *Woman Review of Min`guo Daily* in Shanghai. This is the first time that Chinese academic focused on Rosa Luxemburg. Li Da also wrote two paper "Wilhelm Liebknecht" and "History of Feminist Movement" in 1922, where he set a high value of Luxemburg's thought, talent and personal charisma. Both of these made Chinese academic know more about Rosa Luxemburg.

People's Publishing House had organized some experts and compiled a series of biographies of six Marxists in the Second International, which was named *Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Ferdinand Bebel, Paul Lafargue, Franz Erdmann Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht*, from the foundation of PRC to 1956. This book introduced Rosa Luxemburg for the first time after the foundation of PRC.

From then on, Chinese scholars have published the following 10 books to research and introduce Rosa Luxemburg:

1. *Rosa Luxemburg* by Cheng Renqian, The Commercial Press, 1972, which was reprinted by People's Publishing House in 1994;

2. *Rosa Luxemburg* by two Soviet scholars Robert Ja Evzerov and Inessa S Jaz borovskaja, People's Publishing House, 1983;

3. *Stories of Bebel, Luxemburg, Zetkin and Thälmann* by Yin Qingjun, The history of the Chinese Communist Party Press, 1997;

4. *Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches* by Maria Seidemann, translated by Cao Boyan, published by Chunfeng Wenyi Press in Shen Yang, 2000;

5. *The Positive and Negative of the Theory of World System; Rosa Luxemburg's The Accumulation of Capital and Its Contemporary Meaning* by Chen Qiren, Current Affairs Press, 2004;

6. *Research of Luxemburg's The Accumulation of Capital* by Chen Qiren, The

Orient Press, 2009;

7. *The Logical and History of the Globalization of Capital; On Rosa Luxemburg's Theory of the Accumulation of Capital* by Xiong Min, People's Publishing House, 2013;

8. *Rosa Luxemburg and Her Contemporary Meaning*, compiled by Prof. He Ping, People's Publishing House, 2013;

9. *Lenin, Luxemburg, Kautsky, and Bernsteinism* by Jia Shupin, People's Publishing House, 2013;

10. *Luxemburg* by Sun Lanzhi, Workers Press, 2014.

Thirdly, the academic paper on Rosa Luxemburg by Chinese scholars in the new historical period, from the ending of Cultural Revolution and the beginning of Reform and Open, namely from 1978 to today.

The academic journal began to publish the paper introducing Rosa Luxemburg in China in 1979. According to my rough statistic, there have been 224 pieces of paper on Chinese academic journals, including journals in universities, Academy of Social Sciences at different levels, and other academic institutions. All these papers researched and introduced Rosa Luxemburg's life, thoughts, writings and activities. The specific amount of paper in some different years is following: 20 pieces in 1981, 8 in 1982, 7 in 1983, 5 in 1991 and 1992, 6 in 2002, 10 in 2005, 34 in 2006, 7 in 2007, 9 in 2008, 17 in 2009, 10 in 2010, 14 in 2011, 16 in 2012, 9 in 2013, 10 in 2014. To these number we could conclude that the academic research of Rosa Luxemburg in China has been in a more steady boom from 2005 until now than that previous 20 years.

Ladies and gentlemen, we Chinese academic and publishing circles in Marxism always believed that the publication of the document and research writings of Rosa Luxemburg is a inner, indivisible and indispensable part of the publication cause of document and academic research in Marxist intellectual history. I have confidence that the publication of Rosa Luxemburg's writings in China would be better with the support from Chinese scholars. It would include the pub-

lication of the Chinese edition of the completed work of Rosa Luxemburg and lots of second literatures of Rosa Luxemburg, such as writings of Chinese scholars and Chinese edition of books of foreign writers.

Lastly, I wish Luxemburg Foundation could give more concern and support to the publication and research cause of Luxemburg's writings in China.

Thank you for your time!

(Translator: Liu Yanfang

The Philosophy School of Wuban University)

The Translation of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* and the Localization of Marxism in China

Zhao Shifa

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The translation and publication of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in Chinese is a great thing to the Chinese Marxist academic circles as well as the localization of Marxism in China. Before the advance of this project, we must at first define scientific location of the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, make sense of its significance in the localization of Marxism in China and pay attention to some important problems.

1. The Location of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in Chinese version

A scientific location of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in Chinese version is the premise of the whole project. The translation, study and publication of it is a systematic program and needs a explicit location. For example, whether it is for academic, for political study, or both, which defines the following publishing work. If it is for academic, the objectivity is the most important requirement, like some scholars thinking it should make the historical research and

edit *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in strict historical and chronological order. However, if it is for political study, we'd better to classify them in different subjects. And if this version contains these two elements above, we need to classify them in various subjects within the different historical period.

As the location of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in Chinese version, the more important point is to define it from the view of the history of Marxism, which is a great event for the localization of Marxism in China. Rosa Luxemburg's thought has reflected and represented a development of Marxism and it takes up an important place. Rosa Luxemburg's theories concentrating on the capital realization, democracy, the idea of socialist revolution and the idea of woman's liberation, all of which didn't get enough and deep study at Marx's time. Indeed, Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts could be considered as a development of Marxism in some extent. The Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* will give Chinese scholars an access to study on it, which presents the important development of Marxism in Germany and Poland in 19th and 20th century. In some degree, it is a further progress for the localization of Marxism in China and benefits us to study and put forward the theory and practice of Marxism in China. Chinese scholars should contribute to the localization of Marxism in China connecting with the needs of theories and practice in contemporary China, thus Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts will stand out nowadays as well as shine in China. What's more, it will step into future with the practice of modernization in China. Therefore, the translation of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* into Chinese should be regarded as an important part of the localization of Marxism in China, and all we scholars taking up the work should understand the weighty responsibility. This idea will make for the translation and further research of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*.

2. The Translation of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* and the Localization of Marxism in China

1) The Premise of the Translation of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* and the Localization of Marxism in China

There are great disputes about the localization of Marxism in China in academic circle. In a Chinese council of the history of Marxism, which held by Jiang-gangshan University in Jiangxi province the year before last and whose topic was localization of Marxism in China. While someone said it was a false statement, because there was a fault in its premise—that Marxism belongs to the western culture but Chinese civilization to the eastern, therefore they can not be unified. Obviously, this argument is questionable. Regarded Marxism a trend belonging to the western tradition is a kind of possibility condition at most. But Marxism logically and historically belongs to not only the western but also the world, which is also a possibility premise. For Marxism being the result of the conversion of the history to the history of the world, its object is the human society and the social human, namely human in the society and contracting universally with each other. At that time China has been already a part of the world, and Marx's theory of eastern society has analysis on it. Logically, the relation between Marxism and the real China is not a relation between the one particularity and the other, but universality and particularity, which are opposites but also unified. Actually, Tao Delin, the senior professor and the headmaster of Wuhan University, has demonstrated the necessity as well as the possibility of the localization of Marxism in China in his article *the Two Prerequisite Questions of the Localization of Marxism in China*. Actually, the localization of Marxism in China began with translation. The translation of *The Complete Works of Marx and Engels* into Chinese is a great event of the localization of Marxism in China, contributing much to the Marxism development of China. Now, the translation of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* into Chi-

nese will be another great advance. Excellent translation outcomes will again prove the possibility and necessity of the localization of Marxism in China.

2) Problems on the translation of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* from view of the localization of Marxism in China

There are double barriers for this program, which are the translation of different languages and the comprehension of different cultures.

In terms of the former aspect, the original works of Luxemburg are mainly in German, Polish and English, which require the translation into Chinese based on the original works directly from German and Polish, and take English version only as reference. For taking English version as a medium, German translation and Polish translation may add or release some of the author's meaning, resulting to the breakage of accuracy and objection. Although English as well as German belongs to western civilization, there are big differences between them because of different philosophical traditions, specially there is German Marxist tradition, and modes of thinking, which lead to mistakes in the translation of some key categories such as subject and subjective, object and objective, opposition and contradiction, same and unity, which are similar in English but different in German. When I interviewed the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (RLS), Evelin has ever said some mistakes in English version. In this academic conference at Wuhan University in China, she specially told me this problem again and suggested Chinese version be translated from German version directly. Probably, we still make mistakes in the process of translation directly from German, but it should be less. Hence, I'd like to enhance the ability of German and the following travel plan to Germany in June strengthens my confidence.

As to the latter aspect, the publication requires to contact with the exchange between Chinese and western culture, as well as the localization of Marxism in China. For *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* bears the national value and ideal of Germany as well as Poland, which also bears the Marxist value ideal so

that we need to translate and study them within the understanding of those values, it is difficult to make the translation actual and elegant. I think mistakes in the English version must be related to the different values, and we should grasp the reasons of these mistakes to prevent the same faults in the Chinese version. Specially at the present, we divide this project in 3 parts—translation, study and publication. There will be problems such as the translators without study of the works or the researchers can not read the original works, which owes to the language barriers and different people doing this work in separate stage. To solve these problems, the translators should reinforce the study, and the researchers should practice the German.

3. Problems noticed in the editing of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*

Firstly, we should treat the disputes between Luxemburg and Lenin, Bernstein correctly and add notes objectively on the base of study, which helps us to understand these debates and grasp the latest achievement of study. It promotes the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts, at the same time deepens our comprehension of Marxism.

Secondly, we should compare the German version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* with the English version, on one hand we should pay attention to the differences and relations between them for the perfecting of the Chinese version, on the other hand, we'd better to make the historical research of both versions, specially of the German one, for it is the origin of the translation. If the original text contains mistakes and problems, the Chinese version will become fallacy based on errors. Each works with pen name must be proved as Luxemburg's work before being accepted in *the Complete Works* in order to make sure a dependable version.

Lastly, we should renew the term system of Marxism during the translation.

As we all know, the early localization of Marxism in China began from the translation, which has created a distinctive discourse system. Today, the translation and publishing of Rosa Luxemburg's works in a different period and narrower space demands more for our renewal of Chinese Marxist discourse system, such as connection with the international academic terms such as ecology, woman's right, postmodernism and the universal values, then make *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* inspire the modern and future with Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

(Translator; Liu Haochao

The Philosophy School of Wuhan University)



Part II History and Reality: The Situation
and the Fate of Rosa Luxemburg's
Thought

The Research Abroad on Rosa Luxemburg's Thought and its Trend since the 21th Century

He Ping & Tang Qiliang
(Wuhan University, China)

Since the 21th century, the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought has become a highlight of contemporary Marxism study abroad. This highlight started in the 1990s. Prior to this, foreign scholars' study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought had never interrupted, but the keynote was always to negate Rosa Luxemburg's thought. Two reasons lead to the negative keynote: one was Lenin's criticism of Rosa Luxemburg's thought; the other was Stalin's prohibition of the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought in the 1930s. Starting from the 1990s, in the process of reflecting on the lessons from the events of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and in the process of pondering on the problem of contemporary world system, foreign scholars have reappraised Rosa Luxemburg's thought, gradually changed the tone in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought, and tried to explore contemporary significance of Rosa Luxemburg thought from the positive point of view. Through the accumulation of the 1990s, after entering the new century, the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought shows in front of people with a new look. Here, we will introduce three aspects of the progress of the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought since 21th century. These three aspects are as follows: First, the publication of Rosa Luxemburg's works in English and the re-evaluation of Rosa Luxemburg's thought; Second, main topics of the study on Rosa Luxemburg's

thought; Third, The International Rosa Luxemburg Society and its activities.

I . The Publication of Rosa Luxemburg's Works in English and the Re-evaluation of Rosa Luxemburg's Thought

The originals of Rosa Luxemburg's works were written in four languages; Polish, German, Russian and Yiddish. Starting from 1950s, foreign scholars have translated numerous Rosa Luxemburg's works into English and published, which greatly promotes the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought within the scope of the world. From the 1950s to the 1980s, Rosa Luxemburg's major works and letters have been translated into English. However, due to the influence of the tone in the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought, these translations are biased on the evaluation or on the selection of the works. In order to adapt to the need of a new round of research on Rosa Luxemburg thought. Since the 1990s, foreign scholars have begun to re-edited Rosa Luxemburg's works, have translated such books into English and published them. The following books have the greatest impact; *The Accumulation of Capital* published by the British Routledge Publishing House as Routledge Classics; *The Rosa Luxemburg Readers* published by the US Monthly Review Publishing House in 2004, *Rosa Luxemburg Selected Political and Literary Writings* published by the British Merlin Publishing House in 2009, *The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg; Letters from the Heroic German Revolutionary to her Comrades, Friends and Lovers* published by the British Verso Publishing House in 2010, *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* published by the British Verso Publishing House from 2011. In addition, some books are compilations of research papers on Rosa Luxemburg's thought and Rosa Luxemburg's own writings, these books show that contemporary scholars re-studied and reappraised Rosa Luxemburg's thought. *Rosa Luxembourg; Reflections and Writings*, which edited by Paul Le Blanc and published by Humanity Books Press in 1999, is such a book. The first part of this work is monographs on Rosa Luxemburg. The second

part is Rosa Luxemburg's original. In the appendix of this book there are listed main works of Rosa Luxemburg, the most important works researched on Rosa Luxemburg's thought and other works related. *The Essential Rosa Luxemburg; Reform or Revolution and The Mass Strike*, which edited by Helen Scott and published by Haymarket Books Press in 2010, is also such a book. "Social Reform or Revolution" and "The Mass Strike" are the most important works in Rosa Luxemburg's life. When Helen Scott published these two works in full-text, she wrote the introduction, explanatory notes, appendices and historic interpretation for both works.

Here, we will focus on some of the most important works, introduce specific contents and translators' evaluation of these books, and show explanation of the editors for the selection of Rosa Luxemburg's writings.

1. *The Accumulation of Capital*

The Accumulation of Capital is the masterpiece of Rosa Luxemburg on political economy. This work was written in 1913, the original is in German. In this book, Rosa Luxemburg criticizes Marx's schema of capital accumulation, and puts forward her own. Rosa Luxemburg points out that, Marx's scheme of capital accumulation is to illustrate the reproduction of capitalism from the ratio between production and exchange of two major categories—production and consumption—in the capitalist mode of production, which is impossible to achieve, because Capitalist reproduction is a historical process, this process is developed from the interdependence of capitalism and non-capitalism, therefore, the scheme of capital accumulation should be a whole constituted by the capitalist mode of production and non-capitalist mode of production. As soon as such viewpoint is proposed, it suffers criticism from various aspects; Economist are mainly around the feasibility of Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation, or are in favor of Rosa Luxemburg, or refute her; around the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Marx's theory of capitalism, some philosophers such as Lenin and Bukharin

blame Rosa Luxemburg for that her criticism of Marx's *Das Kapital* is completely wrong, other philosophers such as Mehring appreciate that Rosa Luxemburg develops Marx's theory of capitalism, and praise that this book is most exquisite valuable works since Marx discussed the theory of capitalism. The debate also appears in the form of introduction in English version of *The Accumulation of Capital*.

In 1951, the British Routledge Press published English version of Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital*, and invited Joan Robinson, the main representative of new Cambridge school of modern Keynesian, to write the introduction. In the introduction to this book, Joan Robinson places this work of Rosa Luxemburg in a modern Keynesian discourse system for evaluation; on the one hand, she appreciates that Rosa Luxemburg proposes and discusses the problems hidden in the Marx's *Das Kapital*—the problem that how capitalist expanded reproduction was possible. On the other hand, in order to probe Rosa Luxemburg's schema of capital accumulation and assess the rationality and shortcomings of this schema, Joan Robinson puts the schema into issues that are needed to be solved by modern Keynesian such as the balance between income and revenue, the relationship between effective demand and monetary etc. So Rosa Luxemburg's book of *The Accumulation of Capital* is interpreted into a study of microeconomics. This "Introduction" written by Joan Robinson has influenced the Western scholars for a long time on the direction of research on *The Accumulation of Capital*.

In 2003, the second edition of the English translation of Rosa Luxemburg's book *The Accumulation of Capital*, included in the Routledge Classics, was published by the Routledge Press, which invited Tadeusz Kowlik, a famous economist of the Polish Academy of Sciences and an expert on Rosa Luxemburg's thought, to write an introduction for the new version of the book. Since the 1950s, Tadeusz Kowlik has begun to follow Michel Kalecki, who is the Polish heir of Rosa Luxemburg and a famous economist, to study the thought of Rosa

Luxemburg. He was persecuted for this reason, and was fired by the Polish Academy of Sciences. Until the study on Rosa was lifted a ban, he can finally come back to the school to continue his study. Kalecki studies the thought of Rosa Luxemburg mainly from the perspective of the dynamics of capitalism. Kowlik inherits the train of his thought in research, and re-evaluate Rosa's ideas from the perspective of inherent motive power of the global capitalist system. In this "Introduction", he does not agree with Joan Robinson to evaluate Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital* in Keynesian discourse system, he claims that, from a broader field of vision—the vision of globalization of capitalism, we need to evaluate the theoretical contribution of this work. From this point of view, he stresses that *The Accumulation of Capital* is a pioneering work to explore the contemporary global capitalist reproduction. In this book, Rosa Luxemburg not only raised new question which was not raised by Marx, but also provided analysis tools to solve it. The new question is: what is the inner dynamics of the development of the global capitalism? What is the close link between such question and the nature of capitalist entrepreneurs? What is the relation between such question and the dependent conditions of the capitalist entrepreneurs? This new analysis tool is the schema of capital accumulation, which is proposed by Rosa Luxemburg and shows the interdependence between capitalism and non-capitalism. This schema contains many new viewpoints raised by Rosa Luxemburg when she solves the problem of capitalist global development. First, Rosa Luxemburg proposes that, the expansion of capitalist entrepreneurs to the backward areas is not only because of the pursuit of profit, nor just because of competition among the capitalist entrepreneurs, but also because of the access of global capital for their own class or their own country. Therefore, the exchange process between capitalism and non-capitalist countries as living environment of capitalism is the foundation for capitalism to survive. Rosa Luxemburg explains the causes of competition among imperialism for colonies, she also illustrates that the competition among imperialism includes the struggle for national liberation carried out by

colonies. Second, Rosa Luxemburg's theory of capital accumulation is the theoretical base of her criticism on Bernstein's reformism. The theoretical base of Bernstein's reformism is that, because of the concentration of production and the formation of monopoly groups, there are less and less capital crises, but more and more democratic factors. Under these conditions, the working class can gain their political and professional rights only through legal forms of struggle. In the famous pamphlet "Social Reform or Revolution", Rosa Luxemburg, from the perspective of political philosophy, criticizes Bernstein's revisionist views and analyzes the relation between social reform and revolution. In "The Accumulation of Capital", Rosa Luxemburg stresses that, the concentration of production and the formation of monopoly groups indeed create a monopoly economy, and accelerate economic development. However, the rapid development of this economy is based on the pre-requisite of the existence of non-capitalist environment. The developed economic systems achieve their rapid development by exploiting and infringing upon backward, pre-capitalist economic systems. All this constitutes the special environment in the era of imperialism. The exploitation and oppression, which backward economic systems suffer from the developed economic systems, is the new revolutionary situation in the era of imperialism. This demonstrates the necessity of the revolution from the perspective of political economics, and criticizes the reformism view of socialism. Rosa Luxemburg reveals the exploitation of backward economic systems carried out by the developed economic systems. Contemporary economists and historians recognize that, such exploitation is one of the most important factors which determine the special environment of revolution in the world in the last two hundred years. Third, In the last chapter of "The Accumulation of Capital", Rosa Luxemburg points out that, imperialism is militarism; Militarism is one of the most important means for the bourgeoisie to solve the problems which the developed economic systems encounter to rapidly sell products and expand capital to backward areas. Therefore, the global expansion of capital will lead to an arms race, and an arm race is another dynamic of the glob-

al development of capital. After Kowlik summarizes the above three basic views, he makes a summary for Rosa Luxemburg's "The Accumulation of Capital": "*The Accumulation of Capital* is a thorough study of connections and contradictions between developed economies and what today is called The Third World. For Rosa Luxemburg this was a fertile soil for wars, revolutions, or at least for a permanent instability of world economy. After almost one century of bitter experience there are not many political and economic analysts who would deny that these questions continue to utmost important."¹ Although Kowlik's re-evaluation of Rosa Luxemburg's thought on *The Accumulation of Capital* was related to Polish tradition of study on Rosa, this also generalized new ideas of study on Rosa since 1990s.

This can also be proved from one of Paul Zarembka passages. Paul Zarembka is a professor of State University of New York (Buffalo), and is also a representative of people who study Rosa Luxemburg. He wrote for the re-printed version of *The Accumulation of Capital*; *The Accumulation of Capital* is the most important developments of Marxist political economy, which today is already the undisputed. This book, written by a revolutionary leader of the working class, starts from a critical analysis of the second volume of the manuscript of Marx's *Das Kapital*, ends in narrating militarism. In this book, Luxemburg provides theoretical basis for description of the motive force of capitalist globalization and capitalist structural crisis. Although this book is strongly criticized by her contemporary thinker Lenin and Bukharin, it has stood the test of history, don't need us to take risks. "This brief review includes three most important topics in contemporary study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought: The first topic is to reassess the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Marx, and to affirm that Rosa Luxemburg's "The Accumulation of Capital" is the development of Marx' "Das

(1) Tadeusz Kowlik, "Introduction to the Routledge Classics Edition", from Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, Routledge Classics edition, 2003, p.xiv.

Kapital". The second topic is to put forward contemporary perspective in the research of Rosa Luxemburg's "The Accumulation of Capital", that perspective is to assess contemporary value of Rosa Luxemburg's theory of capital accumulation in terms of internal dynamics and crisis structure of the development of global capitalism. The third topic is to change the criteria in the evaluation of Rosa Luxemburg's theory of capital accumulation, that is not to regard Lenin' or Bukharin's criticism as the standard to deny Rosa Luxemburg's ideas of capital accumulation, but is to regard the historical development since the 20th century as the standard to fully affirm the theoretical value of this book.

If we compare Kowlik's introduction as well as Zarembka's brief comments with Joan Robinson's introduction, we can see clearly the cultural path in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's "The Accumulation of Capital": From the beginning of the 20th century to the 1960s, foreign scholars understood Rosa Luxemburg's schema of capital accumulation mainly from the perspective of microeconomics. They constantly dwelt on the details of economic issues involved in the schema. Since the 1990s, especially in the 21st century, foreign scholars, mainly from the perspective of macro political economics, elucidate problems proposed in Rosa Luxemburg's schema of capital accumulation and expound the way to solve these problems. They stress that, Rosa Luxemburg's "The Accumulation of Capital" provides important thought resources for people today to study the nature, inherent contradictions and future prospects of the capitalist world system. In fact, as early as in her book "The Accumulation of Capital—An Anti-Critique (How Marx' believers understand Marx's theory)", Rosa Luxemburg points out that, it is a completely misreading for her critics to put her schema of capital accumulation as a pure economic problem. The schema of capital accumulation is actually an example for her to solve the general theoretical problems involved in the capitalist global system and in the capitalist global crisis. Although Rosa Luxemburg repeatedly stresses this point, few people at that time can understand. Today, this view has been accepted and stood by most people. In this sense, it can

be said that, the research of Rosa Luxemburg's thought today is consistent with the thought elucidated by Rosa Luxemburg herself.

2. The Rosa Luxemburg Readers

The Rosa Luxemburg Reader⁽¹⁾ is an anthology of Rosa Luxemburg edited and translated by Peter Hudis and Kevin Anderson. The editors write in the introduction of the book; "As a whole, this Reader aims to provide a resource for those trying to rethink the problems of radical social transformation today." (*The Rosa Luxemburg Readers*, edited by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson, Monthly Review Press, New York, 2004, p. 8) For this purpose, the editors fully absorbed the outcome of research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought since the 1990s, chose most original writings of Rosa Luxemburg and classify them. Some of these writings, which were documents related to Rosa Luxemburg, were newly declassified by the Archives in the Soviet Union and other countries in Eastern Europe in the 1990s. The editors organized some scholars to translate these new-declassified documents into English, so that these documents were first published in the form of English.

In the *Introduction*, the editor made a detailed clarification of the structure of the literatures that were first translated and published in English.

Structurally, the book includes five parts. PART ONE; Political Economy, Imperialism, and Non-Western Societies; PART TWO; The Politics of Revolution; Critique of Reformism, Theory of the Mass Strike, Writings on Women Issues; PART THREE; Spontaneity, Organization, and Democracy in the Disputes with Lenin; PART FOUR; From Opposition to World War to the Revolution; PART FIVE; "Like a Clap of Thunder". This five parts reflect respectively the Rosa Luxemburg lifetime achievement in five areas; The first part reflects the achievement of political economics and imperialism research of

(1) Hereinafter referred to as *The Reader*.

Rosa Luxemburg; The second part reflects the achievements of Rosa Luxemburg in the fight against revisionism; The third part reflects the achievement of Rosa Luxemburg in thinking about the Russian revolution and socialist democracy-building; The fourth collects works of Rosa Luxemburg written during the First World War, these works are against the imperialist war and criticize opportunism trend in the Social Democratic Party, this part reflects her achievements of theory and practice in criticizing opportunism within the Social Democratic Party; The fifth part collects some letters. These were written by Rosa Luxemburg to Jogiches and Liebknecht etc. when she was in prison during 1899—1917. Such letters reflected the influence of some major historical events on her life and her basic opinion about these events.

The editors focus on three selected documents which are first published in the form of English.

The first document is *Slavery*. This document, which was written after 1907 for Rosa Luxemburg's courses at the Social Democratic Party School in Berlin, was locked away in the Russian regime's archives until the 1990s. In original language—German, the manuscript was published for the first time in the 2002 issue of "Jahrbuch für Historisch Kommunismusforschung" by Ito Naruhiko, who is a well-known expert on Rosa Luxemburg's thought and president of the International Rosa Luxemburg Society. The manuscript is for the first time translated into English and published in *The Reader*. This manuscript is one of the most important documents for people to develop the research on Rosa Luxemburg's theory of pre-capitalist society.

The second document is *Address to the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party*. This literature was Rosa Luxemburg's address speech on the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social-Democracy Labour Party. The Fifth Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party was held in London from May 13 to June 1, 1907. Rosa Luxemburg attended as a delegate from both the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPil.) and the

Central Committee of the SPD, and made an important speech at the seventh evening session of the conference on May 16. The session was chaired by Lenin. In this speech, she summed up the lessons of the 1905 Russian Revolution, especially the lessons learned in terms of organizing mass strike. She looked to the future of the international workers' movement, and evaluated the various political tendencies in Russia in light of both the experience of the revolution and Marx's theory of revolution. The speech caused great repercussions at the meeting. The manuscript, kept in the Moscow Institute of Marxism-Leninism, was first published as appendix to Dunayevskaya's book *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* in 1991. This speech, collected as a literature in *The Reader*, is published first in the form of the text. This speech is an important document, through which one can clarify prior misreading of Rosa Luxemburg's attitude to the Russian Revolution, for people today to re-examine the attitude of Rosa Luxemburg to the Russian Revolution.

The third document is *Credo: On the State of Russian Social Democracy*. This document was an article written in Polish between September and early October in 1911. Rosa Luxemburg never publishes it during her lifetime, but hands it over to Jogiches. This article does not have a clear title, and the title here is added by the editors. In this article, Rosa Luxemburg analyzes the crisis phenomenon in the Russian Social-Democracy Labor Party, criticizes various tendencies within Russian Marxism, and demonstrates the reunification of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. While Rosa Luxemburg makes clear her far greater affinity with Lenin and the Bolsheviks than the Mensheviks or Trotsky, she also criticizes Lenin's party strategy. In this sense, the article represents her third criticism of Lenin, alongside the one on organization in 1904 and the one on the Russian Revolution in 1918, both of which have long been known. The Polish scholar Feliks Tyeh published the article for the first time in 1991 in a German translation, after he discovered it in the archives of Luxemburg's Polish Party in Moscow. The article is very precious for people to further study the relationship between Rosa

Luxemburg and Lenin. The editors translated the article into English and collected it in *The Reader*.

From the structure and literature included, *The reader* highlights three most important issues in the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought since the 1990s.

The first issue: Rosa Luxemburg's study of pre-capitalist society. Previous researchers, only from the perspective of European capitalist expansion, studied Rosa Luxemburg's theory of imperialism and political economy. So they always selected chapters, which discussed the nature of imperialism and which were from "The Accumulation of Capital" and "The Accumulation of Capital-An Anti-Critique", as literature. "The Reader" changes the research perspective and focuses on selecting the documents in which Rosa Luxemburg discusses the pre-capitalist society. The first part of "The Reader" includes four sections: Section One, "The Historical Condition of Accumulation", selected from chapter 25-27 of "The Accumulation of Capital". These three chapters discuss not only the situation of non-capitalist society in the schema of capital accumulation, but also how non-capitalist society enters the capitalist global system. Section Two, "The Dissolution of Primitive Communism: From the Ancient Germans and the Incas to India, Russia, and Southern Africa". This section is selected from "Introduction to Political Economy". Section Three, "Slavery". Rosa Luxemburg finished teaching political economics course in the German Social Democratic Party School in 1911. Then she specialized in slavery and wrote the treatise. It is enough to show Rosa Luxemburg's emphasis on the pre-capitalist societies. Section Four: "Martinique." This article was written in May 1902. The short article, in which Rosa Luxemburg condemns the atrocities which are carried out by Europe and the American colonists in Latin America, reflects Rosa Luxemburg's intense interest in events outside of Europe and her fervent opposition to European colonialism. These four documents demonstrate a new Rosa Luxemburg, that is, a Rosa Luxemburg focuses on the problem of less developed countries. Thus contemporary significance of Rosa Luxemburg's thought stands out.

The second issue: the debate between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin. In the international communist movement, the debate between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin is such an event that it not only affected the socialist history of the 20th century, but also affected people's understanding of Rosa Luxemburg thought. Since the 1990s, in order to change the tone in the research of Rosa Luxemburg's thought, foreign scholars raise again the problem of the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin, and make the problem become the most important subject in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought. "The Reader" fully absorbs this outcome. Part Three contains a selection of treatises on issues related to Russia. At the same time, Part Two and Part Three include two newly declassified documents in which Rosa Luxemburg discusses the problem of Russia. These documents provide a new and reliable material basis for people to re-understand and re-evaluate not only Rosa Luxemburg's views on Russian question, but also the debate between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin.

The third issue: the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and feminists. "The Reader" includes, in the Chapter 9 of Part Two, treatises on the problem of women's liberation which were written by Rosa Luxemburg between 1902 and 1914. Rosa Luxemburg dislikes being called a feminist. She stresses that, although she advocates women's liberation, she is not a feminist, because her goal is the liberation of humanity, rather than the liberation of just women. Here, Rosa Luxemburg has a clear distinction between the position of the proletariat and the position of feminist on the issue of emancipation of women. In her views, the feminist stance is narrow. The position of the proletariat is the position on which she advocates women's liberation. Thus, for a long time, people do not put Rosa Luxemburg view on women's Liberation as a relatively independent part to study. Anthologies of Rosa Luxemburg published in the past do not include works in this area. "The Reader", which in large number includes treatises on this issue, is also affected by Raya Dunayevskaya. Dunayevskaya, in her book "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, University of

Illinois Press, 1991", regards Rosa Luxemburg as a feminist and specifically discusses her views on women's liberation. This makes Rosa Luxemburg's views on women's liberation become a problem which needs to be redefined and re-examined. "The reader", in large quantities includes the treatises in this area, aims to highlight this issue.

In addition to these three issues, other literatures collected in "The Reader" also include a number of new achievements in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought.

3. Rosa Luxemburg Selected Political and Literary Writings

This book, edited by Mike Jones, was published by the British Merlin Publishing House in 2009. It mainly includes Rosa Luxemburg's politics and literature works, some of them are previously not allowed to be published. These parts are mainly writings against secessionism in the workers' movement, especially those against separatism in German and Russian workers' movement. At the same time, this book also includes Rosa Luxemburg's writings on culture, nationalism and on women's rights. The editor adds annotations of every articles that was included in this book and also writes an introduction. This book can help people with a more overall study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

4. The Letters of Rosa Luxemburg

This book, co-edited by Annelies Laschitza, Georg Adler and Peter Hudis, was published by the British Verso Publishing House in 2011. This is a most comprehensive collection of Rosa Luxemburg's letters, includes 190 letters written by Rosa Luxemburg. This 190 letters are addressed to the European and international Workers' Party, leaders of the Socialist Movement, Jogiches, Karl Kautsky, Clara Zetkin, Karl Liebknecht. Many letters are for the first time translated into English for publication. These letters reflect the inner world of Rosa Luxemburg after she became an economist, social theorist and literary critic and po-

litical activist, and vividly demonstrate Rosa Luxemburg's unique character as a Marxist theorist and historical figure.

It is worth mentioning that, the letters from Rosa Luxemburg to Leo Jogiches during 1893 and 1914 are included in "Comrade and Lover: Rosa Luxemburg's Letters to Leo Jogiches, MIT, 1979", which is edited and translated by Elzbieta Ettinger. These letters, which vividly reflect Rosa Luxemburg's theoretical creation process and her attitude to life, have very important value for people to study Rosa Luxemburg's thought.

5. The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg

The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg includes 14 volumes totally. The general editor is Peter Hudis. It is funded by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, and published by Verso Publishing House. This series of books have been published from 2011 onwards. They are expected to be completed within three years, and are now in the process of publishing.

The Complete Works includes all books, pamphlets, papers, letters, and manuscripts written by Rosa Luxemburg. Among these documents, some have been published previously, but have not been translated into English or published in English, some are newly discovered recently. Other documents, which have been translated into English and published in English previously, are proof-read again and re-translated this time according to German, Polish, Russian and Yiddish. Each volume of the Complete Works has notes and an introduction.

The publication of the Complete Works will further promote the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought.

II. Main Topics of the Study of Rosa Luxemburg's Thought

Since the 21st century, the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought, on the whole, has been along the academic path of re-evaluating Rosa Luxemburg and

of developing thought resources of Rosa Luxemburg. To re-evaluate Rosa Luxemburg, foreign scholars have focused on the two aspects; firstly, making use of newly declassified documents related to Rosa Luxemburg to review previous conclusions of research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought; secondly, absorbing the new research results of contemporary economics, political science and philosophy to reinterpret Rosa Luxemburg's political economics and political philosophy. Both works have started from the existing thesis of research on Rosa Luxemburg, and has raised many new research topics. Here, according to their academic path, we will describe how foreign scholars have raised new research topics from the reappraisal of Rosa Luxemburg.

In 2008, Jörn Schütrumpf published his pamphlet *Rosa Luxemburg or: The Price of Liberty*. This booklet is funded by Rosa Luxemburg foundation, and published by Karl Dietz Press. In this booklet, Schütrumpf reappraises the Rosa Luxemburg's ideas of socialist democracy. On this basis he re-evaluates historical position of Rosa Luxemburg and her thought. Schütrumpf holds that, Rosa Luxemburg's credo is that social democracy is possible only on the basis of recognition of and respect for individualization of each person. It is this credo that decided the fate of Rosa Luxemburg. This credo inspires her creative enthusiasm, when she converts this credo into the method, she criticizes Bernstein's revisionism and Kautsky's dogmatic Marxism, and becomes the most-creative-spirited Marxist theoretician in the German Social Democratic Party; when she converts this credo into the principles of social democracy, she criticizes Lenin's principle of democratic centralism, and criticizes the organizational life of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. She pays a price for this. Her formula of capital accumulation, which was not understood by most theorists, is subjected to criticisms from many aspects after it is put forward. Her criticism of organization life of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party suffers Lenin's anti-criticism. Because of the conflict between her principle of socialist democracy and Stalin's concept of totalitarian state, she is regarded as the sworn enemy of Soviet socialism. All this

hinders the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought. In the eyes of people, Rosa Luxemburg is only a brave revolutionary, by no means an outstanding theorist. However, in today's perspective, Rosa Luxemburg's credo is the classic expression of the concept of democracy in the 20th century. This requires people to eliminate previous prejudices against Rosa Luxemburg, put her as the most outstanding theorist in the history of Marxist thought to be studied. Thus, Schüttrumpf conducts a re-evaluation of Rosa Luxemburg. Rosa Luxemburg, he argues, is a Marxist theorist and activist equally famous with Marx, Gramsci and Guevara. Rosa Luxemburg and Gramsci have something else in common: "They never had to exercise state power themselves, nor did they have to tarnish their names by participating in a dictatorial or totalitarian regime."¹ But their fates are very different: Gramsci's thought has been recognized by intellectuals for many years, as to Rosa Luxemburg, people are only familiar with her name and her final fate, but do not understand her thought and writings. This booklet is to arouse interest in the ideas and writings of Rosa Luxemburg, to show Rosa Luxemburg as a thinker who is in pursuit of freedom, equality and solidarity, a thinker who does not succumb to any authority. Although Schüttrumpf's booklet has no deep or systematic study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought, it announces the arrival of a new phase of research on Rosa Luxemburg. The feature of the new stage is to carry out research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought from the positive aspects and to find contemporary value of her thought. Paul Frorich's "Rosa Luxemburg; her Life and Work" (Haymarket Books, 2010) is also this kind of biographical works. Paul Frorich's was born in 1884, died in 1953. From 1902 to 1918 he had been a member of the German Social Democratic Party, and later, together with Rosa Luxemburg, he became the founder of the German Communist Party. In this biography, he, according to his own personal experience, gives an account of Rosa Luxemburg's work in the Ger-

(1) Jan Schüttrumpf, *Rosa Luxemburg or: The Price of Freedom*, Karl Dietz Verlag, Berlin GmbH, 2008, pp. 9-10.

man Social Democratic Party, describes how she grows from an ordinary little girl into one of the most important leaders of the German Social Democratic Party and an outstanding revolutionary and theorist of the international communist movement, and portrays distinctive personality traits and political character of Rosa Luxemburg. Elzbieta Ettinger's "Rosa Luxemburg: a Life" (Beacon Press, 1986) divides the whole life of the Rosa Luxemburg into three periods: in Poland, in Switzerland and in Germany, expounds the experiences and characteristics of Rosa Luxemburg in the three periods. Comparing with Schültrumpf's booklet, these two works discuss in more detail the growth path of Rosa Luxemburg, revolution experience and intellectual contribution of Rosa Luxemburg. Therefore, if people want to learn more about Rosa Luxemburg after they have read Schültrumpf's booklet, these two works are undoubtedly the best reference ones.

The personalized theoretical creation of Rosa Luxemburg is mainly manifested in her study of political economics and political philosophy. The misunderstanding of her thought and the criticism of her from later people concentrate also in these two areas. So, the rise of a new round of research on Rosa Luxemburg in the 1990s set the starting point of study at the reflection on the criticism of Rosa Luxemburg in these two areas.

The research on political economy provides a base for the creation of Rosa Luxemburg's thought. Her theory of imperialism is a direct result of her study of political economy; her criticism of Bernstein's revisionism and her criticism of Kautsky's opportunism are based on the achievements of her political economy; her criticism of the German Social Democratic Party and the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party is also built on the achievements of her political economics. So, her political economy suffers the most criticism. Since her achievements in political economy are embodied in her schema of capital accumulation, and previous denial of the achievements of her political economy also concentrates on the criticism of her scheme of capital accumulation, the study of Rosa Luxemburg

in the new stage set the reappraisal of the schema as a starting point, and from the reappraisal developed new topics in the study of Rosa Luxemburg thought. The masterpiece in this aspect is *Rosa Luxemburg and the Critique of Political Economy* edited by Riccardo Bellofiore. This book, edited on the base of the collection of papers of the International Rosa Luxemburg Conference held at the University of Bergamo in Italian in 2004, was published by the British Routledge Press in 2009. In 2010, when the *Historical Materialism* magazine held its annual session of historical materialism in London, it opened special discussion and recommended this book to academia. Overall, these two books, in both directions, raise new topics in the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought.

The first direction is to use the modern economics theory to expound Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation, revealing its modern significance. In this book, Riccardo Bellofiore advocates to explain Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation through making use of contemporary theory of monetary circulation. He points out that, In the past, people used Marx's theory of surplus value to explain Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation, they could simple not find the inherent problems. Because the theory of surplus value only deals with the question of the production of relative surplus value, which is mainly related to technical indicators such as profit margin, Labor productivity, realization of commodity etc., but does touch upon the expanded reproduction of capital. However, when Rosa Luxemburg proposes her scheme of capital accumulation, she has made clear that her scheme of capital accumulation is used to solve the problem of expanded reproduction of capital, which is to solve the core problems as following: What is the capital process of currency circulation, where money and demand come? Technical indicators to illustrate such issues should be effective demand of currency, currency circulation and expansion of capital market, and so on. Because previous researchers have not seen this, they deployed the theory of surplus value to explain Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation, and they calculated the ratio between two major categories in

Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation by using some technical indicators, which explain the surplus value, such as the decline in profit margins, market disorder caused by market imbalance, overproduction of commodity etc.. By means of this, the researchers illustrated the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg's and Marx's scheme. This research method is irrelevant to Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation. If we change the perspective, using the contemporary theories of monetary circulation to explain Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation, then, we'll see the three major contributions of Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation; first, it reveals the nature of macro currency in the process of capitalism, thus puts forward the most important financial problems in capital accumulation; Second, it proves that the dynamic equilibrium of expanded reproduction relies on the dynamic balance of investment, which in turn depends on the motivation of investment. Third, it shows that the crisis theory is based on the motive force of the production of value and surplus value, the emergence of the crisis is the inevitable result of the decline in relative wages caused by capitalist's extraction of relative surplus value. These three contributions indicate that Rosa Luxemburg is the pioneer of the theory of contemporary monetary circulation. Here, Bellofiore not only puts forward a new theoretical model to explain Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation, opens up a new way to solve the problem of Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation, but also converts the topics of Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation, shortens the distance between Rosa Luxemburg's scheme and modern economic theory. Both Jan Toporowski and Paul Mattick analyze Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation from the perspective of contemporary economics. They illustrate that Rosa Luxemburg's concept of foreign markets has great significance for people to understand the financial system of contemporary capitalist countries and the financial system of less developed ones. Through their interpretation, the questions in contemporary economics, such as currency and demand, currency circulation of capital, the development of finance

and banking, the relationship between the developed and less developed countries in the world's financial system, foreign markets etc., have entered the scope of the study of Rosa Luxemburg's political economy, and become new topics in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought.

The second direction is to interpret Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation from the perspective of non-capitalist society or pre-capitalist society, to develop new area in the research on Rosa Luxemburg's political economy. In his article on "Late Marx and Luxemburg: Opening a Development within Political Economy", Paul Zarembka points out that, although in "Das Kapital" Marx assumes an overall capitalist mode of production, it seems that the non-capitalist mode of production is included in the overall capitalist mode of production, but this is only a kind of tendency, doesn't really exist. Rosa Luxemburg clearly puts forward the concept of overall capitalist mode of production and incorporates non-capitalist mode of production in the capitalist mode of production as a whole. It is this that forms the core of the legacy of Rosa Luxemburg's political economy. In the third part of "The Accumulation of Capital" and "Introduction to Political Economy", Rosa Luxemburg analyzes the vitality of the Russian commune and its link with the European civilization. She emphasizes that the capitalist mode of production is the combination of capitalist society and non-capitalist society, the expansion of the capital is bound to incorporate people in primitive society and their means of production into the process of value production. By investigating the role of non-capitalist society in the capitalist value production, Rosa Luxemburg solves the difficult problem in the Marx's scheme of capital accumulation. Rosa Luxemburg's contemporaries such as Lenin, Kautsky, Bukharin, Grossman or numerous later critics do not see this, so they attack on Rosa Luxemburg's scheme of capital accumulation. Often the critiques are inconsistent, one with another, and each suffers from hasty, careless work. None of the critiques provide the serious confrontation with her work needed to sustain the charges. Here, Zarembka proposes many new topics for the

study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought; comparative study of pre-capitalist social theory of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Marx, Rosa Luxemburg and the study of the world system, Rosa Luxemburg and the study of less developed countries, Rosa Luxemburg's theory of imperialism and contemporary neo-imperialism and so on. Since 2007, these topics have entered biennial conference of International Rosa Luxemburg Society, and have been more and more important subjects.

In addition to the above topics, Polish scholars put forward a study of the impact of Rosa Luxemburg's thought in Poland. Kowalik, in his thesis "Luxemburg's and Kalecki's Theories and Vision of Capitalist Dynamics", compares the similarity and the difference between Rosa Luxemburg's and Kalecki's theory of capitalism. While talking about the difference between the two, he stresses that, Michal Kalecki is concerned about the decline of present capitalist economic, but Rosa Luxemburg tries to find the root which causes of future collapse of capitalism. He obtains that the contemporary significance of Rosa Luxemburg's theory of capitalism.

In the study of political philosophy, the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin is the most prominent topic in the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought. This topic highlights mainly from two reasons. Firstly, Russian question is an important area of Rosa Luxemburg's theoretical creation. Both her theory of internationalism and her theory of Socialist democracy are expressed by discussing Russian question. Rosa Luxemburg's attention to the Russian question is associated with her life experience. Rosa Luxemburg is Pole. She was born in the era of the Kingdom of Poland accelerating the development of capitalism. And during this period the Polish proletariat grew. It was also during this period, the Kingdom of Poland carried out Russification policy in the area of factories and enterprises, courts, administrative authorities and education etc., so that the autonomy and traditional culture of the Kingdom of Poland suffered serious violation, and all this sparked a stiff resistance from the working class and intellectuals. In this context, theorists of Proletariat—the first proletariat party in Poland—

launched a fierce debate about the issues such as the relationship between socialism and national liberation, the relationship between the struggle for democracy and the struggle for national autonomy etc., thus creating his own theory tradition. In summary, this tradition has two most prominent features; first, adhere to Marxism, targeting at the establishment of scientific socialism; second, sticking to internationalism, especially emphasizing the alliance with Russian revolution movement and the link with Russian revolutionary. After graduating from high school, Rosa Luxemburg participated in "Proletariat П," newly formed in 1888. She, was adhere to the tradition of Marxism and internationalism, studying the questions such as proletarian revolution, national autonomy and the Russian Revolution. These questions become her lifelong theoretical topics, as well as the main areas of her theoretic creation of Marxism. After she became the leader of the German Social Democratic Party, she had a broader field of vision in the study of Russian problem, and began to think about the Russian Revolution according to the world socialist movement and the future prospect. This makes the study of the Russian problem become the most important contents of Rosa Luxemburg's political philosophy, and become the thesis which cannot be bypassed in the research on Rosa Luxemburg's political philosophy. The second reason is Lenin's criticism of the Luxemburg and the effect of such criticism. Rosa Luxemburg has once crossed swords with Lenin on Russian question. Lenin insists his criticism of Rosa Luxemburg even after her death. Because of Lenin's criticism, before the 1990s, when people wanted to change the appraisal of Rosa Luxemburg's thought and to rediscover the value of her thought, they naturally treated the relationship between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg as a breakthrough in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought. It also makes the relationship between Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg the subject of a new round of research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought.

In the light of the above two reasons, the researchers take the two different ways of study. Given the first reason, the researchers, according to newly declassi-

fied documents, carry out textual research into Rosa Luxemburg's views on Russian question, and clarify the previous misunderstanding on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. Ottokar Luban is a German scholar and secretary general of the International Rosa Luxemburg Society. In his article on "Rosa Luxemburg's Criticism of Lenin's Ultra Centralistic Party Concept in a Socialist Movement", according to newly declassified documents, Luban conducts textual research on and verifies the data of Rosa Luxemburg's study from 1904 to 1918 of the problem of political parties. He points out that Rosa Luxemburg's criticism of the Russian revolution is consistent, not as legend would have it previously that there is a process of change. Because Rosa Luxemburg's criticism of Lenin's ultra party concept in 1904 and in 1908 is not an occasional polemic due to a special political situation but has its origin in the fundamental difference in the way to realize socialism. In the article on "Luxemburg and Lenin on Revolutionary Organization", which is collected in the book *Rosa Luxemburg: Reflection and Writing* edited by Paul Le Blanc himself, the editor carries out textual research on and analyzes the literatures from 1903 to 1914 related to Rosa Luxemburg, and points out that, the antithesis between Luxemburgism and Leninism is not the opposite between right and wrong in epistemology, but a historical phenomenon, namely, Rosa Luxemburg represents the thought of our times, and Lenin conforms to the historical condition at that time. Given the second reason, the researchers, by reflecting the reality of the international communist movement since 1980s, re-evaluate the pros and cons of the theory of Rosa Luxemburg and that of Lenin. This is the basic position of the International Rosa Luxemburg Society in the research on the Rosa Luxemburg's thought. Professor Narihiko Ito, in his recent award-winning paper on "Is the National Question an Aporia for Humanity? How to Read Rosa Luxemburg's 'The National Question and Autonomy'", proposes the basic position in the study of the theory of Rosa Luxemburg; associated with the historical facts of the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, the collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist system, and thereafter the separation and

independence of the many nationalities that constituted the Soviet socialist system, to reflect Rosa Luxemburg's theory of nation and autonomy. This position is itself positive evaluation of Rosa Luxemburg's thought. It is from this standpoint, Professor Narihiko Ito puts forward his new insights; for Rosa Luxemburg, the right of nations to self-determination is based on the right of people to self-determination. If the right of people to self-determination is realized, the right of nations to self-determination will be realized automatically. Therefore, only real democracy established on the basis of fully developed civil society can solve the question of national autonomy. The basic idea is consistent with her understanding of the nature of imperialism and with her understanding of socialist democracy. In contrast, Lenin utilized the state for the construction of the socialism as well as for the solution of national question. If what Lenin portrayed to us is Russian reality at that time, then, what Rosa Luxemburg described to us is the world after the abolition of the nation-state, therefore, Rosa Luxemburg's theory of nation and state does not belong to the past, but belongs to just now. This paper was written in the 1990s. It was not until 2010 translated into English by Paul Zarembka and published in *Research in Political Economy, Volume 26* (Emerald Group Publishing, UK).

The relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin is a wide-ranging topic. The papers on this topic, issued since new century, were compiled by the Rosa Luxemburg foundation Russia office in the book *Germany and Russia: Events, Shaping, People, Volume 7*, published by Science Press in 2009. The subtitle of this volume is *Compilation of Russian-German Academic Writings*. From the views of the papers collected, this topic has become the study of the relationship between German Marxism and Russian Marxism, including the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and Bukharin, between Rosa Luxemburg and the Bolsheviks, between Rosa Luxemburg and contemporary Russia, between Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht, between Rosa Luxemburg and Bernstein's etc. These subjects have deepened the study of Rosa Luxemburg's political philosophy from

different aspects.

In the present case, Rosa Luxemburg's political economy and political philosophy are the main area of the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought. In addition, there are also papers on Rosa Luxemburg's dialectics or on Rosa Luxemburg's theory of women's liberation. However, the papers from this aspect is much less in number than the ones from the first two aspects. To comprehend the achievements in this area, there are two books worth reading, one is Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, the other is *Rosa Luxemburg; Reflections and Writings* edited by Paul Le Blanc.

III. International Rosa Luxemburg Society and its Activities

International Rosa Luxemburg Society, an international academic community engaged in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought, is an open academic organization. The Society was founded in September 1980. Its incumbent president is Ito Narihiko, an honorary professor of the Central University in Japan. Secretary-General of the Society is the German scholar Ottokar Luban. The Society, funded by Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, convenes one international conference on Rosa Luxemburg in one of the regions and countries in the world every two or three years. The collection of excellent papers will be sponsored and published by Rosa Luxemburg Foundation after each conference, at the same time, the papers of each conference and the latest achievements of the research on Rosa Luxemburg will be published on the society's website.

In 2007, Professor Ito Narihiko published his book *Guidance to Rosa Luxemburg Thought* (*Wegweiser zum Gedanken Rosa Luxemburgs*, Jungetsusha, 2007), which is a collection of his papers on Rosa Luxemburg's thought. This book is constituted of two parts; the first part includes not only his speeches on each international academic conference he attended from 1991 to 2006, but also

the papers he submitted to such conferences; the second part consists of the papers he submitted to the conferences which were related to Rosa Luxemburg and in which he participated. In the preface of the book, he describes arduous process of the establishment and academic development of International Rosa Luxemburg Society, and there is a passage impresses people especially; "Each conference is open not only to members of International Rosa Luxemburg Society, but also to all researchers. So I have to give an account of the background of the conference at each opening ceremony. As a result, you will find much repetition in my opening statement. However, on the other hand, you will find that every speech reflects each city's unique atmosphere and the ideological environment of research on Rosa Luxemburg."¹ From this speech, one can understand the value of this book, which not only reflects the personal academic of Professor Ito Narihiko, but more importantly, records the expansion and change in time and space in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought since the 1990s. Here, we take this book as a blueprint, describing the history and current status of International Rosa Luxemburg Society.

In September 1980, the inaugural meeting of International Rosa Luxemburg Society was held in Zurich, Switzerland. The purpose of the society's establishment is, under the background that the Soviet invaded Afghanistan at the end of 1979 and that the reputation of socialism suffered losses, to make socialism new life on earth by advancing the study of Rosa Luxemburg. At the meeting, it was proposed to convene an international conference on Rosa Luxemburg in different regions and cities every two or three years. Since then, International Rosa Luxemburg Society have held international conferences successively in Western Europe; Linz (1981), Paris (1983), Hamburg (1985) and West Berlin (1989). After the disintegration of socialism of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, International Rosa Luxemburg Society had difficulty in convening

¹ Ito Narihiko; *Wegrouser zum Gedanken Rosa Luxemburgs*, Jungeitsusha, 2007, p. 5.

conferences in Western Europe, so the conferences were held in Tokyo (1991. 11), Beijing(1994. 11), Warsaw(1996. 9), Chicago(1998. 5). Not until 1999 the conference was convened in Western Europe again, it was held in Berlin in January, 1999. In September 2000, a meeting was held in Zurich to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the foundation of International Rosa Luxemburg Society. In September 2002, an academic meeting was arranged in Bochum, Germany. In November 2004 and in April 2007, two conferences were held successively in Guangzhou, China and in Tokyo. In January 2009, the 90th anniversary of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg, a commemoration was held in Berlin by International Rosa Luxemburg Society, which, after the commemorative meeting, specially organized the participants to visit the ruins in the city where Rosa Luxemburg once struggled and the site where she was killed. In October 2011, a conference was held in Moscow.

So far, International Rosa Luxemburg Society has convened 17 academic conferences around the world, promoting the research on Rosa Luxemburg within the scope of the world. And in this process, China's consistent support for International Rosa Luxemburg Society has made important contributions to the development of the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought. In 1994 and in 2004, Central Compilation and Translation Bureau twice hosted the conferences of International Rosa Luxemburg Society. At the international conference on Rosa Luxemburg held in Guangzhou in November 2004, Professor Ito stressed that, the international conference on Rosa Luxemburg convened in Beijing in 1994, after Eastern European emergency in 1989, has the significance of life and death for International Rosa Luxemburg Society.¹ Except for hosting respectively in 1994 and in 2009 academic conference of International Rosa Luxemburg Society, "International Conference on Rosa Luxemburg's thought and Its Contemporary Value", hosted by Wuhan University on March 20-23, 2006, also made a significant

¹ See Ito Naritiko: *Wegweiser zum Gedanken Rosa Luxemburgs*, Jungtousha, 2007, p. 124.

contribution.⁽¹⁾ At the closing ceremony, Professor Ito highly praised the academic meeting: "This international conference on Rosa Luxemburg achieved a comprehensive study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought. It is not only a new starting point in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought in China, but also an important turning point in the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought in the world." Since this meeting, the researches on *the Accumulation of Capital* and on Rosa Luxemburg's theory of world system have become new topics of international conferences organized by International Rosa Luxemburg Society. As Professor Ito says in the preface of his book, "In the process of preparation for the 15th International Conference on Rosa Luxemburg held in 2007, I strongly felt that, a new field in the study of Rosa Luxemburg came into being. It also means that we should through the study of Rosa Luxemburg win the final victory over global capitalism and imperialism."⁽²⁾ Since 2006, at three consecutive academic meetings held from 2007 to 2011, namely the 15th, 16th and 17th International Conference on Rosa Luxemburg, *the Accumulation of Capital* and Rosa Luxemburg's theory of world system have become major topics. The papers of the 15th and 16th conference have been collected in one book; *Rosa Luxembourg. Economic and Historical-Political Aspects of Their Work; International Rosa-Luxemburg-Society Tokyo, April 2007, and Berlin, January 2009* (*Rosa Luxemburg. Okonomische und historisch-politisch Aspekte ihre Werkes; International Rosa-Luxemburg-Gesellschaft in tokyo, April 2007, und Berlin, Januar 2009*), which was published by Berlin Karl Dietz Published House in 2010. Therefore, here we only introduce the 17th International Conference on Rosa Luxemburg.

The 17th International Conference on Rosa Luxemburg was co-hosted by the Moscow RLS Office and the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History

(1) Report on this conference, see: "International Conference on Rosa Luxemburg's Thought and Its Contemporary Value" in *Yearly Report on Study of Marxian Abroad(2007)*, edited by Philosophy School of Fudan University, People's Publishing House, 2007.

(2) Ito Naruhiko; *Wegweiser zum Gedanken Rosa Luxemburgs*, Jungeitsusha, 2007, p. 6.

(RGASPI) in Moscow on 5–6 October, 2011. The theme of the conference was: “Rosa Luxemburg: Theory, Context, Actuality—On 140th Birthday”, which consisted of two issues: First, Rosa Luxemburg and “World Politics”—the World Economy and Imperialism; Second, Rosa Luxemburg and Russia. The scholars attending the meeting were from Argentina, Brazil, China, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Russia and the United States.

At the first meeting in the morning on October 5, the French scholar Prof. Michael Lowy made a keynote address on “Western Imperialism against Primitive Communism: A New Reading of Rosa Luxemburg’s Economic Writings”. He pointed out that, in the past, the discussion on Rosa Luxemburg’s theories of imperialism had mainly focused on the economic argument—the schemes of reproduction, the process of circulation, etc. But this is just one dimension of Rosa Luxemburg’s theory of imperialism. Rosa Luxemburg’s theory of imperialism had another dimension: the struggle of imperialism against pre-capitalist economies, the ruthless destruction of “natural” and peasant economies, many of which were forms of primitive communism. Luxemburg’s study of this dimension was mainly reflected in her *Introduction to Political Economy* and in the last chapter of *The Accumulation of Capital*. The purposes of her study of primitive communes, On the one hand, was that she wanted, through analyzing the significance of the existence of primitive communism society for the world capitalist system, to shake up and even destroy “the old notion of the eternal nature of private property”. Because bourgeois economists could not even conceive of communal property and cannot comprehend anything that did not resemble capitalist civilization, they stubbornly refuse to recognize the historical phenomenon of communities. On the other hand, Luxemburg regarded primitive communism as a precious historical reference point to criticize capitalism, to unveil its irrational, reified, anarchic character, and to reveal the radical opposition between use value and exchange value. These two aspects showed that Rosa Luxemburg’s study of the pre-capitalist economic system had greater significance. As the echo of this report, Is-

abel Loureiro, a professor at the University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, made a speech on "The Actuality of *the Accumulation of Capital* in Latin America". Professor Loureiro believed that, the plunder of colonial countries by European capitalism was indispensable for the enlarged reproduction of capital, not only in the so-called "primitive accumulation" stage, but the same is true today. One of the main features of the political and economic process in Latin America was the loss of sovereignty over its natural resources (hydrocarbons, minerals, water, biodiversity). The multinational corporations imposed on Latin American countries a model, which was focused on the export of raw materials and was based on an indiscriminate exploitation of these resources. Capital accumulation couldn't go on forever, of course, not because the whole world would be capitalized, so that one would find its logical and historical border as Luxembourg, but because of the natural limits of our planet. The current model "accumulation through deprivation" met the problem of unsustainable agricultural production. Professor Heping of Wuhan University made a speech on "The East and West in the World System—On the Difference between Rosa Luxemburg's and Lenin's Theory of Imperialism". By analyzing the difference between Rosa Luxemburg's and Lenin's Theory of Imperialism, Professor Heping emphasized that Rosa Luxemburg's and Lenin's idea were not opposite, but mutually complementary. They respectively from the value direction and technical direction revealed the internal relations of the contemporary world system. It should be the main aspect and the main method in current study of world system to analyze, from complementarity of the two directions, the contemporary world system, particularly the status quo of the less developed countries.

About the first issue of the conference, the delegates also discussed from different angles.

Professor Riccardo Bellofiore (University of Bergamo, Italy) , in his speech on "Rosa Luxemburg on Capitalist Dynamics, Distribution, and Effective Demand Crises" , respectively analyzed the nature of Rosa Luxemburg's the theory respec-

tively from the two aspects of political economy and political science. He believed that, In terms of political economy, Rosa Luxemburg is not an "underconsumptionist", because traditional "underconsumptionists" didn't give enough attention to the aspect of investment as an integral part of the effective demand, but, Rosa Luxemburg analyzed the root of demand crisis from the uncertainty of investment. In terms of politics, Rosa Luxemburg was neither a "spontanist", nor a "determinist", Rosa Luxemburg had never opposed organization, what she had opposed was to make the organization become the political activities of a minority. She advocated looking for legitimacy of the organization in the real movement. She held that democratic society should be established on the base of the workers' autonomy and avoid regarding the economic goals as the primary objective. Similarly, Luxemburg did not regard communism as inevitable. She stressed that communism is the realistic possibility without ultimate guarantee. These views challenged previous qualitative conclusion from Rosa Luxemburg's theory.

Professor Alexander Busgalin of Moscow State University in Russia, in his speech on "Rosa Luxemburg, Vladimir Ulyanov and the Theory of Capitalism: Meeting the Challenges of the 21st Century", analyzed the achievements of Lenin's theory of imperialism and Rosa Luxemburg's theory of capital accumulation in the case of the changing nature of contemporary capitalism. Professor Alexander Busgalin pointed out that, the development of late capitalism presented a "path" of negation of negation, partial withdrawal of the contradictions of capitalism in the period of social improvement had become a sort of incomplete "denial" of hard contradictions of imperialism in the era of Lenin-Luxemburg. In turn, during the neoliberal era (ten years after the collapse of the Soviet Union), the "negation of negation" trajectory developed to the next level of their "negative", some of the changes occurring in capitalist society at this stage proved actuality of the ideas of Lenin and Luxemburg. For example, the current rule of multinational corporations, the "unipolar world" at the turn of the century, the world financial crisis, and so on, proved from different aspects Lenin's and

Luxemburg's views on "the development of monopoly", "government regulation of the imperial type", "the limits of capital accumulation and the worsening dilemma", etc. Russian scholars, around the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and Russia, discussed Rosa Luxemburg's theory of world system. Pavel Kudjukin made a lecture on "The nature of the world capitalism and analysis of the world system in the views of Russian populists and Rosa Luxemburg".

Scholars from Berlin contributed to the conference textual literatures which were related to Rosa Luxemburg's research on political economy. Eckhard Muller, in his speech on "Rosa Luxemburg's Public Lecture Series on *Political Economy* in the Autumn of 1907: Six Unknown Reports of the Berlin Political Police", gave an account of some documents which were related to Rosa Luxemburg and were newly discovered by himself. He found some archives of the Berlin police, which recorded a series of public lectures on political economy. These lectures, which were made by Rosa Luxemburg for the members of Social Democratic Party in Berlin in the autumn of 1907, were the preparatory stage and the basis of her book *Introduction to Political Economy*. This work was incompletely handed down as passages. It comprehensively elaborated Rosa Luxemburg's understanding of political economy. The manuscript of the book was written on the base of Rosa Luxemburg's preparation for the public lecture series for the members of Social Democratic Party in Berlin in the fall of 1907, and on the base of the lectures on the economics in the party school from 1907 to 1914, these lectures were enlarged on when Rosa Luxemburg was in prison during the first world war. These lectures showed how Rosa Luxemburg, according to political cases in history and the experience she as a member of the Social Democratic Party gained in the economic work, revealed the origin and operation mechanism of the capitalist economy. In the paper on "Nikolai Bukharin's study on Rosa Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital* (1914/1925)", Wladislaw Hedeler analyzed the historical condition of the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thought in the Soviet Union. He pointed out that, among the archives saved in

Russia, there were many unpublished important materials related to Lenin, including Lenin's extracts, notes and commentary on Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital*. These extracts, notes and commentary were not published so far completely. Although revised and improved by Bukharin from 1924 to 1925, these extracts, notes and commentary were not complete. In 1933, 1975 and 1985, then served as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Stalin, Brezhnev and Gorbachev still authorized to publish parts of Lenin's extracts, notes and commentary, in order to meet respectively the need of their own economic and political root. The main leaders of the CPSU, with these materials more or less selected, did not eventually formulate policies which were universally accepted. Those policies which had been worked out were only just accepted by "leaders". These textual materials were precious for the research on the formation of Rosa Luxemburg's theory of political economy and for the study of the influence of such theory on the Soviet Union.

On the second topic of the conference, speeches of Russian scholars were the most noteworthy. Because of Lenin's criticism of Rosa Luxemburg's thought and Stalin's prohibition of the research on Rosa Luxemburg's ideas, the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought carried out very few in the Soviet Union. At this meeting, Russian scholars reappraised Rosa Luxemburg's thought of political philosophy from the perspective of the history of Russian thought. Professor Alexei Gusev of Moscow State University made a speech on " 'Rule of the Clique' or 'Unlimited Democracy' ? Rosa Luxemburg on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat ". He studied Rosa Luxemburg's discussion about the nature of "dictatorship of the proletariat", and compared Rosa Luxemburg's discussion with that of Marx, Engels, Kautsky and Lenin. All this highlighted Luxemburg's attitude to the dictatorship of the proletariat and reconstructed Rosa Luxemburg's point of view on the essential feature of "state of the proletariat". He pointed out that, Rosa Luxemburg's criticism of the Bolshevik's policy after October Revolution (mainly in the manuscript *On the Russian Revolution* in 1918), was not because

of the difference between Luxemburg and Lenin in strategy, but because of the difference in theory. Professor Sergey Kretinin, in his paper on "Rosa Luxemburg and Otto Farmer on the Russian Revolution 1917", pointed out that Otto Bauer in his book *The World Revolution* sharply criticized the Bolsheviks. Unlike Bauer, Luxemburg claimed that the Bolsheviks had chance of success. Later, Bauer tried to take a middle course between Bolshevik and the socialist reformists, in order to attain the ultimate goal of democratization of the Soviet Union. Professor Andrej Kolganow, in his speech on "Rosa Luxemburg and the Issue of Timeliness of the Socialist Revolution in Russia: Contemporary Reflection", reappraised Rosa Luxemburg's ideas on the Russian revolution. He pointed out that, in the criticism of the Russian revolution, Rosa Luxemburg's view was that there were differences between the strategy, which the Bolshevik took in Russia Revolution, and the principal way of socialist revolution. The core of the differences is the question of proletarian democracy. Rosa Luxemburg didn't question the necessity to retreat from the democratic rights and the freedom, under the conditions when the proletariat composed minority, in order to maintain the proletarian regime. But she believed that it anyway "betrayed the needs of virtue". Other scholars also discussed on this issue; Professor Yakov Drabkin spoke on the topic "Peers of the Paris Commune, Rosa Luxemburg, Vladimir Lenin and other"; Professor Inesa Jashborovskaja on "Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin on Commune Principle and Ideological Roots"; Professor Robert Jevzerov on "A legacy of Rosa Luxemburg Anti-authoritarian; Russian Experience"; Professor Alexander Vatlin on "Testimony of Marcusson; New Documents Concerning the Arrestment of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in 1919"; Professor Kostantin Morozov on "She Wanted to Burn This Book; A Trial of Rosa Luxemburg's book *On Russian Revolution* in the Process of the Socialist-Revolutionaries in 1922"; Professor Wladimir Schewtschenko on "Rosa Luxemburg and Russia; the World's Reformation and Revolutionary Dialectics". In addition, Dr. Marlen Korallow's speech on "Rosa Luxemburg's Understanding of Art" and Dr. Alexander Nikolin's speech on "Rosa

Luxemburg and Russian Revolutionary Literature” appraised respectively Rosa Luxemburg’s thought on literature. The remarks of Russian scholars indicate a change in the appraisal of Rosa Luxemburg’s thought in Russia, these remarks also suggest that Russia’s ideological circle has entered the stage of a reflection of the revolution. The core of such reflection is the question of the relationship between revolution and democracy, which is not only the main subject Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin debated about, but also the most important topic in contemporary socialist reformation.

Germany is the main place of Rosa Luxemburg’s revolutionary activities. Germans appreciate Rosa Luxemburg’s thought more than Lenin’s. The tendency in appraisal had a strong performance at the conference. German scholars attending the meeting spoke highly of relevant ideas of Rosa Luxemburg through comparing these ideas with Lenin’s theory of Russian revolution and state capitalism. Dr. Holger Pollit, in his paper on “The Image of Russia in Rosa Luxemburg’s Polish Writings (1893—1912)”, discussed Rosa Luxemburg’s internationalism on the Poland-Russia question. According to the changes in the international situation since the mid-1890s, Rosa Luxemburg argued that, the “Polish question” under the background of social development in Russian empire, especially in Poland itself, was no longer a part of the political agenda, nor was it crucial question of political struggle of Polish proletariat, but the question of the international proletarian revolution. Therefore, it should be established the Polish Social Democratic Party within the scope of the Russian Empire, so as to promote the common struggle of the proletariat of Poland and Russia. Only the proletariat in this huge empire fought together, they had the hope of overthrowing the czar rules.

Klaus Gietinger, in his speech on “The Organization of Production in Socialism: Luxemburg, Lenin, Ossinski and Kollontai”, pointed out that, the four socialist theorists had different opinions on the organization of production in socialism. Lenin was in favor of personal dictatorship, claiming for state capitalism in

Russia in order to do material preparation for socialism. Rosa Luxemburg clearly opposed this form of state capitalism, she was of the opinion that "Taylor System" was not suitable to socialism, and that dictatorship was not the leadership of the minority in the name of the class, namely, dictatorship must generate from the direct participation of the masses step by step, must be under control of the whole society. The gap between Lenin and Luxemburg was that, they had different opinion on the relationship between bureaucracy and democracy in public life, between party dictatorship (a faction or individual) and a wide range of democracy, between tyranny and education. Ossinski attacked on Lenin's centralism which oriented towards German "state capitalism", and he advocated "three-thirds system" in enterprise management (one third was workers singled out, one third was the members of regional economic councils and trade unions, one third was technical personnel). Kollontai also attacked on "Taylor System", advocated that economy was managed by the trade union. She wanted the trade union to become the manager of socialism. Andreas Diers, in the paper on "The Influence of Rosa Luxemburg on Wolfgang Abendroth's Conceptions of World Politics and Imperialism (1918—1933)", analyzed Wolfgang Abendroth's political work and his articles in the 1920s and 1930s, and pointed out the influence of Rosa Luxemburg on Abendroth's political conceptions. In the 1920s, Wolfgang Abendroth was in the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg's standing, believing that the parliamentary democratic system must necessarily be replaced by a system of councils. On assessing the character of the First World War, Wolfgang Abendroth agreed with Rosa Luxemburg, but he was inconsistent with Luxemburg on the right of nations to self-determination. Wolfgang Abendroth himself mentioned in the article "A Life in the Labor Movement", that in the 1920s he had been influenced more by the political conception of Rosa Luxemburg than by the conception of Lenin. Professor Jorg Wollenberg made a lecture on "Rosa Luxembourg and the Bremen Left: Their Position on the Russian and the German Revolution, Differences and Similarities." He pointed out that, the Bremer Group cooperated with the Spartacus

group, but differed from it in several points, for example, on the question of separation from the USPD, on the unit organization, on cooperation with the Syndicates in mass actions, etc. The Bremen Left with Rosa Luxemburg criticized the centralist organizational model of the Bolshevik. Although Luxemburg restraint from contact with the Bremen left, she subscribed to *Bremen's Labor Policies* when she was in prison in October 1916. Just on the base of the articles in Bremen newspapers, Rosa Luxemburg began to draft the unfinished manuscript on the Russian revolution in September 1918. German scholars' studies represented the Western European scholars' understanding of Rosa Luxemburg's idea of democracy. The textual materials provided by German scholars made up the shortage in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's idea of democracy.

In addition to Russian and German scholars, who studied Rosa Luxemburg's views on the question of Russia and attained rich achievement, scholars from other countries also in light of the experience of their own countries and their own research subjects, discussed Rosa Luxemburg's views on the question of Russia. Professor Narihiko Ito made a lecture on "Rosa Luxemburg and Pjotr Aljeksjev Kropotkin". He pointed out that, as contemporaries, Rosa Luxemburg and Kropotkin had never met face-to-face, they were also different in education, but they were the same in pursuit of socialism. As a revolutionary theorist, Luxemburg claimed that her political premise was socialism, she repeatedly pointed out the necessity to establish socialist democracy, at this point, she criticized Lenin, but she noted that her criticism was not aimed at socialist content itself. Kropotkin was not a Marxist, but she was always in pursuit of socialism, was against capitalism and the government.

Professor Pablo Slavin from Argentina made a lecture on "The Russian Revolution Experience and the Validity of the Marxist Thought; Luxemburg and Kautsky's Ideas". He hold that, the failure the Soviet model is not the failure of historical materialism, but clearly demonstrated the reality of historical materialism, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Kautsky predicted this failure by making use of

the method of historical materialism. Both Luxemburg and Kautsky were aware that the material conditions to realize socialism existed in some other European countries rather than in Russia, so Russia could not "jump" into socialism, only international socialist revolution could make Russia be closer to the construction of the socialist system. Based on the understanding of the Russian realistic material conditions, Kautsky longed for bourgeois revolution. Rosa Luxemburg believed that Bolshevik's experience was not enough to realize socialism without the support of international revolution, but such experience could lay the foundation for the construction of more advanced democratic, at the same time it could play a similar function of school education to serve the upcoming revolution in the future. Question raised by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Kautsky was not against the revolution itself, but against the form of the revolution under the control of the Bolshevik. Both of them refused to acknowledge that dictatorship (dictatorship in the sense of the bourgeois) was the only solution to build socialism.

American scholar professor Jack Jacobs made a speech on "Rosa Luxemburg, Israel, Palestine, and the Viability of Two State Solutions". He pointed out that, Rosa Luxemburg, in all her life, believed that Poland and Russia were intertwined and the establishment of an independent Polish state was neither feasible nor desirable, she opposed to solve the Polish question through "Two State Solution". Luxemburg was against Zionism on the ideological level, despised other contemporary nationalist movements. The independence of Poland, Czech and Ukraine proved that Luxemburg's prediction was wrong. Jacobs believed that "Two State Solution" was the best way to achieve peace in the Middle East at present.

Professor Wang Xinyan of Wuhan University made a speech on "Rosa Luxemburg's Thought of Democracy and the Construction of Democracy in Present China", expounding the connotation of Rosa Luxemburg's thought of democracy and its significance for the construction of democracy in present China. He pointed out that, Rosa Luxemburg's thought of democracy mainly included

two aspects. The first one was her thought of democracy about the organizing principle of the Proletarian Party, namely, the thought about inner-party democracy. Rosa Luxemburg didn't definitely oppose the centralism. However, she strongly opposed the principle of centralism which is advanced by Lenin, for she thought the centralism advocated by Lenin endowed the leading body of the Party with plenary power of making arbitrary decisions and taking peremptory actions to artificially strengthen its conservatism to a parlous condition. Another aspect of Rosa Luxemburg's thought of democracy was about the socialist country system, namely, the thought about socialist democracy. Rosa Luxemburg's thought of democracy was very enlightening to the construction of democracy in present China in many aspects. Firstly, Rosa Luxemburg's thought of democracy about the organizing principle of the Proletarian Party is beneficial to the construction of the inner democracy in the Communist Party of China, especially to the perfection of democratic centralism as the organizing principle of the Party, and could provide us a very important train of thought to prevent from and get rid of the Personal arbitrary phenomenon in the Party. Secondly, Rosa Luxemburg's thought of democracy about the socialist country system is conducive for us to correctly settle the relation between democracy and dictatorship, and thus could contribute to the construction of the socialist democracy in present China. Thirdly, the differences of thoughts and debates about democracy between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin greatly inspired us that we should try to find out Chinese way of the construction of socialist democracy and carry forward the construction of socialist democracy according to Chinese national conditions in present China.

It should be said that the international conference on Rosa Luxemburg held in Moscow had the very vital significance. Through the topics and scholars' discussion, the conference showed to us not only the current ideological trends of Russian academia and ideological atmosphere in Russia, but also the new materials, new questions and new viewpoints in contemporary research on Rosa Luxemburg's thought. Now, the International Rosa Luxemburg Society has decided

that the next international conference on Rosa Luxemburg would be held in Paris. We believe that the next international conference on Rosa Luxemburg would present to us the ideological aura in contemporary France.

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The Historical Position of Rosa Luxemburg

Zhao Kairong

I. Historical value; An absolute criterion for art work collection

We have never find any other evaluate criterion to evaluate history so far except collection. If we want to know whether a thing is valuable and how it is, the only thing we need to do is put it into the work auction market.

Art auction standard is primarily a historical perspective, a lot might be very expensive at the time, to continue to increase in the future, but there are such cases where a work of art expensive at the time, but is rarely of interest in the future. I've noticed a phenomenon in today's world that the prices of modern and contemporary art are far higher than that of ancient time even ancient classical period. So does China. Zeng Fanzhi, a more than forty-year-old painter, Wuhan province of China, one of whose paintings were sold approximately to two hundred million yuan at a recent auction. This price even higher than that of a distinguished master of Chinese painting, Huang Zhou, who has a certain historical title. However, does it means that this young painter has laid his historical foundation with such an outstanding achievement? Of course not, it's too early. The reason of this phenomenon may be the overflow of passion and impulse, too much commercial speculation and deliberate advertising fantasy and self-deception.

Eventually, everything will be quiet and down to the bottom of the time river and those have true value will float up in the history. Generalized laws of art work collection are all like this, those can be written into annals of history were things be considered still valuable even after a long time, but not things were valuable at the time, whatever it is politic, law, religion, poem, painting, music, literature even human's major historical event and practice. Now some Chinese scholars recognized this point, they agree that an important criterion for a literature is that after one hundred years later is there some people still read it and discuss about it.

As we all know, it's been nearly a hundred years since Rosa Luxemburg's death, but people are still reading and talking about her works. This, coupled with the publishing of the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in the very time, is an affirmation of her historical value and also her historical position according to the criterion of the art work collection.

Therefore, no matter how different this complete works is, from the German and English versions, and what arrangement principle it will take, the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* is an art above all, for art is the highest form of cultural heritage, which Marx had already noticed long time ago. He pointed it out at several places when talking about his *Capital*, no matter what drawbacks this book has, the biggest advantage of it is being an art in a whole. For this purpose, Marx said proudly, in a letter to Engels, that he read Hegel's *Logic* again recently, which was helpful for material consolidation. That is true, no matter how people criticize *Capital*, they have to admit that *Capital* is a work of art with perfect construction, at least to myself. Therefore, *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* is firstly an art, no matter what differences are there among the Chinese, Germany and British versions.

That also means that we must look on *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* from the perspective of art, for a real work of art must be common heritage of humanity, which will send forth charming rays to most aesthetic people. Be-

sides, seldom will people think about which class or enemy it belongs to when faced with a real work of art. I've noticed a statement of Evelin, she told us how adorable Luxemburg was, and how artistic her works were, which was the most chain of artistic integrity. However, Luxemburg has been demonized for a long period of time. Marx would never been the common heritage or art pieces of humanity if the working class like him alone. Just the same, Luxemburg would never been the common heritage or art pieces of humanity if socialism especially the Left like her alone.

Undoubtedly, *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* should be the cultural heritage of human beings just as Marx's, and it occupies a high position in the history of Marxism while Marx's works were the initiative of Marxism. And this is where the difficulties lie.

II. The difficulties of positioning Rosa Luxemburg in Marxist history

There was once a position of Luxemburg which most based on Lenin's evaluation. There's a familiar saying that the eagle can fly as low as a chicken, but the chicken will never become an eagle, which is still widely cited and talked about even until today. Lenin's famous metaphor implies that we should distinguish Rosa Luxemburg from Lenin while distinguish her from Bernstein and Kautsky. That means, Luxemburg can be critiqued.

We have to say that, this judgment is very unfair.

Worse is the fact that Rosa Luxemburg is the one who argues and critiques Lenin the most. Thus, the fact is that Rosa Luxemburg is wrong as long as she argues with Lenin, not to mention her critiques. As a result, it is very difficult to publish articles about the argument between Rose Luxemburg and Lenin in our country, let alone talking about Luxemburg's criticism of Lenin. But these arguments should have been important to the Marxism and socialism reality

movement. At least, it reflects the potential problems that might exist in reality of Marxism and socialism, makes us nip an evil in the bud and plan ahead; at least, to our veterinarian, plan ahead; at least, it might prevent the Soviet Union and Eastern European socialism from disintegration and collapse.

Under this circumstance, it will be quite hard to publish the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*. We have never published any Complete Works of a tainted Marxist. You can even go further than that; Rosa Luxemburg's historical position is even lower than Plehanov's in our country.

III. How to cogitate Rosa Luxemburg's historical position

In the rank of the characters of Marxism, there is no doubt that Marx is the least controversial one. That's not primarily because of his founder status. The reason why Marx ranks first is that his thoughts is original and initiative. This original thoughts is so abundant that we can find new exposition continuously until today. Engels mostly appeared as Marx's Conjoined twins, just as Deng Xiaoping said that Mao Zedong's thought also has the wisdom of other leader of the Communist Party of China.

In addition to Marx, the next character is of course Lenin.

There is a tendency to excessively unscramble Rosa Luxemburg's criticism of Lenin so as to shake the position of Lenin. This is also wrong. To some extent, Lenin is a more important Conjoined twins than Engels.

Even though Marx criticized the "Identical Philosophy" of "rational metaphysics", Marx's philosophy is still a kind of "Identical Philosophy" in some sense, and just like most "Identical Philosophy", it will sure to regards to the two aspects of theory and practice.

"Rational metaphysics" aims to show that there already existed a ration in the world, whose thisness will emerges as time goes by, so as to constitute the main content of the so-called ontology or the ontological dialectics. There used to

be a misunderstanding that only Marx found practice in philosophy and brought it into philosophy. In fact, Practice already exists in the "rational metaphysics", but it's merely a tool for ratiou to gain self-actualization. Plato, for example pointed out in the *Phaedo* that the table has already existed as a nation before the craftsman made it, and what the craftsman did is just "present" it. The enlightenment was justly based on this kind of foundation. The power of self-realization of the logical self-consistent.

Marx's criticism of the "rational metaphysics" mainly concentrated on two aspects: on one hand, it is impossible for ratiou to be pre-existent, anything regular can only be formed in the reality of the practice; on the other hand, no ratiou, thinking or consciousness can exist independently, they must coexistent with people's practice and the production of the practice. In the context of human practice, both the existence of the material without influenced by human consciousness and the existence of consciousness dependent from material are one-sided. At this point, people are apt to confuse Plato's saying that when the table was created, it has already exist in the craftsman's mind with Marx's words. Marx said that the worst engineers are better than bees, because engineers have made good in mind before they are built. But there's a point undoubted to Marx that The existence of reason is not complete, even is just fantasy without realization in reality. This reminds us of Hegel's criticism of Kant's famous example that "there is" or "no" one hundred yuan. Kant thought that it is the same whether "there is" or "no" one hundred yuan, because "there is one hundred yuan" doesn't has more prescription than "there is on one hundred yuan", vice verse. This is right. But just as Hegel said, "there is truly one hundred yuan" is completely different from "there is one hundred yuan in illusion". Therefore, after Heidegger, this has been criticized as "presence".

Thus, we can get a deep perception of Lenin's historical position. Without Lenin, Marxism is just a existence of consciousness, concept, ideal. He completed Marxism, and unified and identified theory and practice. If Engels's logical rea-

soning and popular interpretation of Marx's theory is an integral part of the Marxism, then, without Lenin, Marxism is just a kind of rational existence which is incomplete and has no reality. Lenin, just as Marx completed the first theory, completed the first practice. Of course, accompany the first practice, there are differences in the theoretical details.

Similar to Lenin, Mao Zedong and the Communist Party of China also made the ideal of Marxism reified and realistic in another type. Of course, this isn't strictly new contrast to Lenin, for this reality model had been founded by Lenin and his party before, which is full of initiative. If "possible" and "impossible" is still controversial in the previous, then, it is a realistic existence now. However, Mao Zedong and the Communist Party of China did studied from Russia, but as a different type of socialism, their creativity was self-explanatory.

It is a pity, by contrast, that Luxemburg didn't put forward a successful model, because her idea is completely different from the type of Lenin and Mao Zedong, and is the closest one to Marx's original thoughts. According to this model, Socialism will be built firstly in the developed countries, such as Britain, France, Germany and the U.S., but not in underdeveloped countries like China and Russia. In this sense, Rosa Luxemburg is somewhat similar to Antonio Gramsci. They both put forward a rough idea of establish socialism in the developed or advanced countries for future generations to specify.

Now, after hundreds years of accumulation, it's clear who the most important characters of Marxism are that can be collected as a valuable work of art. They can be divided into three categories; the theoretical founder Marx (and Engels); the socialist practitioner in developing countries, Lenin and Mao Zedong; the socialist promoter in developed countries, Luxemburg and Gramsci. Though this theory still lack the powerful support of solid countries, it has received some powerful confirmation from developing socialism countries (such as China) or from the process of democratization of some developed countries.

IV. Major Marxist issues exposed in the argument

Rosa Luxemburg also admitted that after Marx, the development of Marxism stopped at the level before Marx's death. Lenin had similar views, but more radical. He thinks that it's not only stagnation, but regression. He also thinks that no Marxism (including Lenin himself, Rosa Luxemburg and Plekhanov) knew Marx for real since the twentieth Century, and their levels were not only short of, but far below Marx. Lenin and Luxemburg are very close to this point, which mainly aims at the historical dialectics.

Now, I can only talk mainly about some of the issues in the debate.

The debate of Luxemburg and Bernstein showed that Bernstein did find the problem; A capitalism in constant changing and a speech of death Marx. But capitalism is changing every day while Marx was dead and can not speak any more, so he was trying to oppose the saying that Marx is science. According to Bernstein's understanding, science is the thing sure to achieved, whether people agree or not. But Marxism will not be achieved without human struggle, then, is this science? Is this objective necessity?

This is a typical view of rational metaphysics. As the example of Plato's table above, practice was devalued for the means and tools of self-realization. But for Marx, on the one hand, there is no rationality of the event exist before the event happens; on the other hand, the regulars about the events formulated in the process of event may be realistic only through people's practice. Table's rationality (Plato), or sketch of an engineer (Marx) can't present without people's practice. As for the assertion that Marxism is out of dated deduced from the saying that capitalism is constantly changing while Marx was dead, Luxemburg thought it's a statement of ignoring historical dialectics totally. And she thought the problem depended on two important aspects; first, were the changes of capitalism beyond the provisions of capitalism? Is capitalism still capitalism? Second, is

Marx's theory a kind of dialectical theory that can transcend the limitation of its own? On the one hand, is it just a kind of dialectical method? On the other hand, can it self-deny according to historical changes? For example, can we change our theory and practice when reality changes according to Marx's dialectical method?

The scientific of Marxism and the economic crisis are the most two issues involved in the argument with Bernstein, especially the economic crisis, for it's the cornerstone of Marx's revolutionary theory.

According to Marx's, capitalism will certainly lead to the economic crisis because of its own economic reasons, which leads to the social revolution. This can be said to be the cornerstone of Marx's Theory. But Bernstein tried to shake it. He thought that; on the one hand, capitalism was able to avoid or overcome this crisis through the credit system; on the other hand, the crisis is just a certain obstacle to capitalism. It was at this point that Luxemburg embodied her outstanding talent, and made a great innovation to the theory of Marxism.

Luxemburg also thought that there were many misunderstandings about Marx's crisis theory. On the one hand, credit system couldn't avoid the crisis, but increased the risk and possibility of the crisis; on the other hand, more importantly, the crisis was not a barrier but the only way to solve the self-contradiction of capitalism. No one noticed this point before, including Marx. In the letters Marx and Engels wrote to each other, they most talked about how the crisis came about and how capitalism would collapse, they didn't or rarely said that the crisis is also the solution of capitalism itself. Therefore, a crisis may bring new life in the mean time when it brings harm to capitalism. Luxemburg even asserted that capitalism couldn't live at all without the crisis, which was shattering to Marxism, and is the most profound development of Marxism.

On this basis, Luxemburg put forward a different view with Marx. She thought that the crisis didn't occur in the debilitating period of capitalism, on the contrary, it would only happen in the period of scale expansion, and it must hap-

pen according to 10-year cycles with swiftness. So, Luxemburg not only agreed with Bernstein's saying that there hadn't been any crises in more than two decades in Europe, but there were misunderstands of Marx's theory about crises circle, she also thought that Marx's expectations for the European crisis and revolution were too early. In this respect, there hasn't been any big advance except Luxemburg.

Her criticism of Lenin and controversy with Lenin were mainly focus on the problem that how to build the party and how the party should lead the revolution.

Unlike Bernstein, as to how to use the crisis and revolution, Lenin and Luxemburg were consistent on a higher level, they were all for the purpose of regime, but there were also differences between them in detail.

Modern politics is mainly party politics, movements can't have any effect without their own parties. But in Luxemburg's opinion, Lenin's party was too authoritarian. The Central Committee not only decided everything, even unified manage the personnel appointments, work arrangements, activities of primary party organization, which completely deprived of the enthusiasm and the Democratic spirit of the primary-level organization and personnel. Luxemburg was right, but given that Russia is mainly a backward, slack agricultural country, it impossible to carry out work effectively. As with Russia's lax, she must have seen, because she criticized it in many writings. I don't know why she neglected here.

It's important to point out that the Communist Party of China still follow this mode, and it is still an effective operation mode. Of course, this model can't be true democracy.

Lenin was so dictatorship that Luxemburg doubted whether he could get along with other factions. Unfortunately, she was right. But when Lenin's party did divided, although Luxemburg criticized every factions, she still stood firmly on the position of the Bolshevik Party.

As to how to lead the revolution, Luxemburg's Criticism of Lenin might be

completely misunderstanding, because Lenin himself also thought that the revolution can not be expected, planned, and carried out in an orderly manner. In Luxemburg's opinion, whether the Russian Revolution in 1905 or the October Revolution were caused by some unexpected reasons (accusing Luxemburg of being a spontaneous movement according to this is wrong, indeed there were very few certainty of Marx the crisis accompanied by revolutions like Marx said). But the party should actively use and seize the opportunity to seize power. Here, Luxemburg expressed her disgust towards the antipathy and centralized of the central committee again. She required that the party cannot put forward his instructions and commands first, and then forced the primary level to carry out, and to obtained a consensus on the basis of broad consensus, to fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the party members and the masses on this basis. This is still very correct today. But apparently, Luxemburg doubted why Lenin plotted, propaganda actively, planned carefully, and did layers of mechanical activity for a revolution. But after the victory of the October Revolution, she spoke highly of Lenin's courage and boldness.

In fact, Luxemburg opened a problem that in the East, though Lenin's approach was risky, it may be feasible. This problem Gramsci developed deeply later. That was because the country is everything. So, a revolution is possible (of course Luxemburg thought there may be more). On the contrary, in the developed countries, it is difficult to found a party this way and to difficult to operate in such an authoritarian way. According to Gramsci, there was a strong foundation of civil society in the west, and this civil society rooted in the basis of personal and personality so as to make it very difficult to unify the autocracy and centralization of power. But it is easy to form a great unity in a common will because of their strong self-consciousness. (It seems to be a good illustration of Hitler's phenomenon.) Just as what Gramsci said, to form a unified great power in such a country, what is important is not a tough fight, but mobile warfare, to win in culture and ideology first.

The problem of the strike and parliamentary politics are the most typical in the debate with Kautsky. And this is why Luxemburg emphasized the meaning of the strikes more than parliamentary democracy. Just the same, it is false to accuse Luxemburg of having the Trade Unionism tendency and of deploring violence. What's more, Luxemburg also agreed with the way that solve the problem fundamentally through a general strike. It was Kautsky who took Strive for the seats more important than the regime itself. But Luxemburg neither fought against legitimate parliament, nor against the strikes and valued strike, this kind of legal means to fight, of course, she also didn't give up violent revolution in extreme conditions, just like her supports to the The October Revolution. We cannot say what's her fault in the debate (contrary to Stalin), on the contrary, she puts forward that the developed countries can't realize socialism in the way developing countries do. If there's any regret, it's that Marx's views on the proletarians of the world unite didn't pass the test both in national and ethnic struggles. Proletarians around the world didn't band together and fight for their country, but fought with each other for their own countries. Although Luxemburg considered profoundly about what the German Social Democratic Party did during World War I, she didn't really solve this problem in theory.

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Ninety years of ups and downs : Review and Reflection of Research on Rosa Luxemburg in China

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Rosa Luxemburg, the name has gradually become louder in Chinese academia in recent years, a number of influential academic journals even opened up a research column, once again pay tribute to the revolutionary more than 90 years ago. This should be regarded as a second revival of the research on her in China. In fact, compared with the other characters in the history of the international communist movement, whether worldwide or just in China, "Rediscover Luxemburg" is a unique phenomenon. In other people there, there has not been such a big ups and downs, the situation reverted again and again. So, what is the cause of this phenomenon? And is this phenomenon itself also has some significance? To understand and reflect on this special ups and downs, may help us make a more in-depth and comprehensive grasp on the development trajectory of Luxemburg, and the whole history of Marxism in terms of the history of ideas.

I. The State of Research on Rosa Luxemburg in China

Luxemburg had already been known as a martyr and heroine in China in the early 1920s. In the national revolutionary movement in Guangzhou, the parade

had held aloft her portrait. However, due to the former Soviet Union taking a derogatory attitude on her, she was never been understood as an original Marxist theorist in China for a long time. Until after the late 1950s, with the death of Stalin, the review of Luxemburg began to reverse, and part of her works and letters started to be gradually translated and published, such as *The Accumulation of Capital*, *Social Reform or Revolution?* *Letters from Prison* and so on. However, in most of the textbooks on Marxist History, Rosa Luxemburg still was seldom mentioned, or even mentioned, she was referred as a revolutionary drawing close to Lenin. During the upsurge period of international research on Luxemburg between 1960s and 1970s, China was suffering the Cultural Revolution, the related presentation and translation of Luxemburg was to a halt, let alone on her studies.

The research on Luxemburg in China really began after the end of the decade-long calamity. The theoretical research was active again. After the upsurge of research on Luxemburg abroad had reached its peak, Rosa Luxemburg, who had made a profound exposition of socialist democracy, was undoubtedly popular to the Chinese scholars, for they just experienced a catastrophe because of fanatical cult of personality. Therefore, as a lag response to the foreign research boom, Chinese scholars started to focus on the presentation and research of Luxemburg's ideas in the 1980s, for example, the journal *International Communist Movement History Research Data* designed an issue of "Luxemburg album" for a more detailed presentation of relevant research overseas. In 1984, *Selected Works of Luxemburg* volume one was published. (However, the *Selected Works of Luxemburg* volume two was published after a lapse of seven years, with extremely limited number of copies. The lags of document construction progress clearly affected the domestic research on Luxemburg). But relatively speaking, the research on Luxemburg during this period remained in the unilateral introduction and presentation phase. And until 1994, Chen Renqian, a professor in Shanxi University, gave a first comprehensive and objective introduction to the life and thought of Luxemburg in his book *Rosa Luxemburg—The Life and Thought*.

Entering the new century, with the acceleration of capitalist globalization, China's socialist construction was faced with severe challenges. The domestic scholars focused their attention on Luxemburg once again, because the capital accumulation theory she had made nearly a century before now helped people to truly recognize the driving force of capital behind globalization, while her thoughts on socialist democracy appeared even more valuable for enhancing the vitality of socialism today. The research in this round has expanded in the breadth and developed in the depth. Someone focused on a specific aspect of her views, someone emphasized that she had achieved the theoretical paradigm shift, someone stressed the importance of an overall grasp of her theory from a methodological height, and someone try to explore the value of her thought in terms of theories closely connected with hers. In addition, the progress in the research on Luxemburg during this period also reflected in further enrichment of the literature, such as the translation and publication of different versions of her Letters, which enabled researchers to a more comprehensive understanding of Luxemburg's thought and a stronger feeling of her charisma; and in increasingly frequent international communications which laid the foundation for further deepening exchanges.

II. Reflection on "Rediscover Luxemburg" Phenomenon

As the outline above reflects, in the more than ninety years after her death, people sometimes belittle her, and sometimes praise her, she was passed over again and again, and again and again to re-think. In this connection, the research on Luxemburg itself appears as a legend. Well, maybe we can do some interpretations on this legend.

First, the ups and downs in the research is due to the constant conversion of judging criteria of Rosa Luxemburg. Overall speaking, what exhibited in Luxemburg is an individualized, creative Marxism reflected with fights and frictions, and

her economic theory, political theory and her own understanding of Marxism all stressed on the openness. As a marxist with strong spirit of criticism, she dared to question the contradiction in Marx's *Das Kapital*, and launched decades of debate on the organization, ethnic and other problems with Lenin, and angrily rebuked Kautsky and Bernstein for their treachery. Therefore, the choice of judging criteria to measure and grasp this open and critical thinkers, is bound to affect the position of Luxemburg and her intellectual values, thereby affecting the rise and fall of the fate of Luxemburg research.

So, what different criteria did the researchers use? Generally speaking, they can roughly be divided into two categories. One is to measure her from a rigid, conservative dogmatism. In terms of this criterion, Luxemburg performed typically deviant and anachronistic, and constituted a threat to the authority of Marx and Lenin, and her failure in the real political struggle just proved that she aimed too high. Fortunately, there is another standard which Lukacs called "the real orthodox Marxism", and which can be deduced from Luxemburg herself. It always put things in historical and comprehensive perspective. In terms of this criterion, Luxemburg is precisely the staunchest defenders of the spirit of Marxism and the most faithful executor of Marxist method, and really developed Marxism both in content and substance. Therefore to the "Western Marxism" represented by Lukacs and others, Luxemburg meant a return to the original, not distorted Marxism, and this return is not to get back to the specific conclusions and opinions of the founders of Marxism, but to return to their methods and the spirit embodied in them, and use them to explore the issues of her own time. For the researchers who intend to place Luxemburg and Marx in the same system to compare with, exploring the contemporary value of the differences between them is more important than just looking for evidence of their identity.

Secondly, the ups and downs of Luxemburg research was also related to the high sensitivity of her topics. From the present view, Luxemburg is regarded not only a radical leftist Marxist, but also a prophet foreseeing the picture of the con-

temporary world through a logical inference of capital accumulation and an intelligent pioneer giving loud warning of the grave consequences for the lack of socialist democracy. However, it is just on these two basic topics in Luxemburg that caused huge controversies, and determined the fluctuations of Luxemburg ideas in specific eras.

Finally, from the perspective of the whole of historical development, we seem to be able to find an answer of "rediscover Luxemburg". Raya Dunayevskaya once pointed out that "the significance of Luxemburg always shows up in the historical juncture". Nowadays, when we reflect on the historical process of research on Luxemburg, we find that it is indeed a fact. And what caused this fact? A major reason is that in her era, Luxemburg made some problems in the edge of vision of the founders of Marxism emerged, and concerned about these so-called "marginal issues" and expanded the field of view of Marxism on these issues by restoring the way of thinking of real Marxism. On one hand, this feature made her thought have a deep historical insight that the ordinary people at that time can not match; on the other hand, it also indicated that thought with such a feature is doomed to face a fluctuating fate in the long history river. When a thought ahead of the times is originally proposed, it faces most people's indifference, misunderstanding or even strangling; but when the predictions come true, it might become the burning issues between ordinary mortal and the focus of academic excavations. In fact, history seems always to go on this way: When the river of history is slowly flowing along the bed with inertia, beneath its placid surface, those precious theories with edges is gradually buried by the sands of time; when the river of history takes a sharp turn and flows fast, the billowing waves will raising up the sands, highlighting the thoughts.

Therefore, the reversions of Luxemburg for several times are partly due to the inherent value of her thought, and partly due to the profound social and historical backgrounds, which means that the reversions reflect the development of contemporary capitalism and the post-war evolution of the international

communist movement ,and also the conversion of the perspective and the way of thinking of the researchers.In short ,the research on Luxemburg is just the same as her bumpy life ,and the ups and downs of the research and evaluation on her imply the unique charm of her theoretical heritage and the rich possibilities in the development ,and in a certain sense ,a reflection of twists and turns during the development of Marxism.It is just in the rediscovering and reinterpreting process on the Marxist Rosa Luxemburg ,“to grasp the essence of Marxism” ,is no longer a blurred slogan ,but truly experienced and hardly practiced.Here and now ,the last utterance of Luxemburg seems so resounding :“I existed in the past ,at present ,and in the future!”

(Translator: Xiong Min

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Review on Academic Perspective and Theoretical Interest of Luxemburg's Theories by Chinese Scholars

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Li Da, the person who joined the Communist Party of China as the earliest Marxist theorist, wrote some articles such as *To Introduce Several Female Social Revolutionaries* and *The History of Feminist Movement* to introduce to Chinese Rosa Luxemburg herself and her selfless sacrifice spirit as a brilliant revolutionary and Marxist thinker among the international worker's movements on *Review on Women* which was the supplement of *Shanghai Republic Daily* in 1921—1922. Hence Rosa Luxemburg came into view. In general, the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts by Chinese scholars has experienced three main stages. The first stage that from 1919 to 1950s is the introducing and spreading stage of Rosa Luxemburg's ideas in China. At the second stage that between 1950s and 1990s, Rosa Luxemburg's main works were sorted out and translated to Chinese, and then published. And the third stage is a period of Rosa Luxemburg's academic research that from 1990s to the present. During the late period, there are not only many academic papers and books on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts published^①, but also three international seminars which were respectively held in Beijing, Guangzhou and Wuhan powerfully

① According to incomplete statistics, from 1990s to the present, there are more than 170 papers about the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts published on academic periodicals and 6 monographs published in China.

promoted the studies on Rosa Luxemburg's theories early or late. The purpose of this paper is to review on the change of theoretical interest and expansion of academic perspective, to looking forward to the future research through analyzing and commenting these three international seminars.

From the late of 1980s to the beginning of 1990s, the Soviet Union disintegrated and Eastern Bloc fell. These events highlight the values of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts such as her criticizing the Russian Revolution and the ideas of Socialist Democratic. While the year is the seventy-five anniversary for Rosa Luxemburg was killed, in Beijing an international seminar was held on November 1-3, 1994 by International Society for Rosa Luxemburg and Institute of International Development and Cooperation, Central Compilation & Translation Bureau. This is the first fairly large conference. There were more than thirty foreign scholars that from Germany, Russian, the United States, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Netherlands, Poland, Korea and Japan etc. countries, and more than ten Chinese experts that from Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, Jinan and Taiyuan etc. cities to attend the meeting. They had heartily carried on discussions on six themes. They are Rosa Luxemburg among the revolution movements, Rosa Luxemburg and Socialist Democratic, the methods and ideas of Rosa Luxemburg, the legacy of Rosa Luxemburg, the letters of Rosa Luxemburg and Rosa Luxemburg and National Question.⁽¹⁾ Among them, Chinese scholars had discovered the values of Rosa Luxemburg's socialist democratic thoughts when they had confirmed her critical analysis of Russian revolution through extensive and intensive study of *The Russian Revolution*. They had pointed out: first, Rosa Luxemburg thought that proletarian dictatorship and socialist democracy are two sides of one, the most extensive people's democracy is a necessary condition and guarantee for proletarian dictatorship. If without taking a share in management of

(1) See Wang Xuedong, "The International Seminar of Rosa Luxemburg's Thoughts Held in Beijing", publish on *Foreign Theoretical Trends*, 1995(3).

state affairs and social affairs and overseeing by the widest people, Soviet life will become to paralyze and bureaucratism will be very popular. Second, Rosa Luxemburg gave prominence to the creativity of the masses on the relationship between political parties and their leaders and the masses. She always insisted that the masses are the promoter of the history. Chinese scholars refuted the "theory of spontaneous" which indicate that Rosa Luxemburg paid more attention to the masses but didn't see the effect of the parties and their leaders. Third, from the perspective of philosophy to understand the dictum of Rosa Luxemburg—freedom is a right that always permitted everyone to think differently, Chinese scholars thought that freedom does not mean that people do anything at his own will, but give a warning for arbitrary and dictatorship that possibly arising from the grim struggles between Russian proletariat and the enemies at home and abroad. She hoped to defend the revolution and implement socialist democracy in Soviet Union. Forth, they pointed out Rosa Luxemburg's contribution on models of socialism from methodology. In Luxemburg's opinion, there are diverse models to achieve socialism and they are products of the given historical conditions. Those policies and measures that the Bolshevik adopted to expert in socialist revolutions should not be the uniqueness model that other socialist parties must to imitate. In contrast, other socialist parties should seek for their own models of socialist revolution according to their own national circumstances. Moreover, since the models of socialism differ from the socialism that be regarded as ideology or social system, Dissolution of the Soviet Union does not mean the failure of socialism. As long as liberation of mankind is still a goal to endeavor, socialism as ideology or movement is always there.^[1] In addition, Chinese scholars had discussed

[1] They respectively commended their ideas, for example, entitled "The Realistic Meaning of Rosa Luxemburg's 'The Russian Revolution'" by Yin Xuyi, "Freedom Permitted Everyone to Think Differently" by Zhou Muoyang, "Regarding People as The Historical Master Is Rosa Luxemburg's consistent thought" by Xu Funing, "Rosa Luxemburg and Model of Socialism" by Hu Wenjian. See Zhou muoyang, "The Summary of Rosa Luxemburg's International Seminar", publish on *Contemporary World And Socialism*, 1995(1).

the Luxemburg's national ideas and other issues too. This conference had plenty of subjects, showed the progress in present international study of Rosa Luxemburg. Chinese scholars undoubtedly concerned with Dissolution of the Soviet Union and discovered her critical thinkings such as the model of Russian revolutions and concrete strategies for socialist construction which based on extensive study of *The Russian Revolution*, then introspected the model of the Soviet Union, reflected on Dissolution of the Soviet Union and objectively evaluated the differences between Luxemburg and Lenin.

Ten years later, along with thorough development of reform and opening-up in China, an international seminar convened again on November 21-22, 2004 in Guangzhou. The host were Institute of World Socialism, Central Compilation & Translation Bureau, International Society for Rosa Luxemburg and Rosa Luxemburg foundation. Meanwhile, South China Agricultural University and South China Normal University co-organized the conference. The scholars and experts that more than fifty to attend the meeting are from Germany, the United States, Russian, France, Japan, India, Austria, Norway, Switzerland and China etc. countries. They had fervently and widely discussed over such topics such as the democratic ideas of Rosa Luxemburg, Rosa Luxemburg's national viewpoints, the socialist thoughts of Rosa Luxemburg, the theory about pre-capitalist structure by Rosa Luxemburg and so on. Democracy becomes a hotspot again. Chinese scholars and foreign experts had respectively specially discussed on the institution of democracy, democracy of grass-roots units, social democracy, inner-party democracy, etc. questions. Among these discussions Chinese scholars paid plenty of attention to inner-party democracy of Rosa Luxemburg and considered that first, it's different from Lenin's democratic centralism, Luxemburg's thought of inner-party democracy is an "ego-centralism" which meant that on one hand, it indicates "the rule of majority" within the party which is determined by the nature of the proletarian party; on the other hand, it showed as a "convincing integration" that has the binding force to the party members and junior party organizations, and it dif-

ferred from "absolute freedom" that anarchism and the bourgeoisie have advocated. Second, Rosa Luxemburg fought against "ultra democracy" and had faith in the creative spirit of the masses. She believed the parties and their leaders should be more power and higher prestige when they are always to become the spokesperson and operator of the conscious masses. Third, a vital problem for party is to ensure freedom of thinking and criticizing within the party, that is to say, to ensure democracy within the party, it should allow the party members to freely discuss and raise critical suggestions on major issues.¹ Compare with the first international conference on Rosa Luxemburg held in China, this seminar had more multiplex subjects—the theory about pre-capitalist structure by Rosa Luxemburg would to be a new growing point to study—and gave prominent to a topic that focusing on democracy. These reflect Chinese scholars exerted Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts to think of problems in China through basing on China's construction of socialist modernization and promoting the reform of political system.

On March 20th to March 22nd, 2006, "Rosa Luxemburg and its Significance in Contemporary International Academic Seminar" was held by School of Philosophy, Wuhan University, and the Institute of Marxism Philosophy, Wuhan University. There are more than sixty scholars and experts to attend this meeting. They came from twelve countries. They profoundly discussed about some topics such as the relations between Rosa Luxemburg and Marx and Lenin, the relationship between Rosa Luxemburg and Western Marxism, contemporary research on *The Accumulation of Capital* of Rosa Luxemburg, political philosophy of Rosa Luxemburg, and so on. Compare with the first two international conference on Rosa Luxemburg held in China, in this meeting Chinese scholars still concerned about the political thoughts and socialist theories of Rosa Luxemburg on one hand, on the

(1) See Zhuang Junju, *The Summary of Rosa Luxemburg's International Seminar*, public on Contemporary World And Socialism, 2005(1).

other hand they opened up some new spheres. For example, they taken over the relation between Rosa Luxemburg and Western Marxism from the philosophical perspective such as the method of totality, revolutionary dialectics basing on democracy, confirmed that Rosa Luxemburg is a pioneer of Western Marxism and she put forward a new theory to understand Marxism that differs from Leninism. They made much account of the contemporary value of *The Accumulation of Capital*—her most important work of political economics,^① discussed these questions—Rosa Luxemburg's grasp of the schemata of Marx's expanded reproduction, similarities and differences between Rosa Luxemburg and Marx on how capital bring into effect, and circulation of monetary capital in the book named *The Accumulation of Capital: An Anti-Critique* by Rosa Luxemburg—and accepted Rosa Luxemburg's idea that existence of noncapitalistic production pattern is a prerequisite to accumulate for capitalism. They paid attention to economic origins and economic functions of imperialism and insisted on comprehending the new growing stage of capitalism with the principle of united economics with politics.^② These new perspectives present research progresses on Rosa Luxemburg in China.

From 1990s to the present, in the three international conferences of Rosa Luxemburg were held in China, there are different subjects but they always have interested in Rosa Luxemburg's socialist theories and political thoughts and adhere to the value of considering many questions in China through study of Rosa Luxemburg. Therefore, Chinese scholars' studies close to the realities of the society all along, their concerns are from socialist democracy to inner-party democracy to studying on *The Accumulation of Capital*, from socialist theories and

① These papers which studying on *The Accumulation of Capital* about account for two-thirds of all the submitted papers to this conference. This indicates the theoretical value of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts of political economics to know and understand the new stage of capitalist during era of globalization.

② See He Ping edited, *Rosa Luxemburg Thought and its Contemporary Significance*, Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2013.

political thoughts to political economics and philosophy. They promote Luxemburg's research from all aspects. However, there are still a large of space to study on Rosa Luxemburg. For example, the problems of the accumulation of capital. We can research into the relations among the theory of Marx's reproduction and thinking the development trend of economic globalization and financial crisis from economics. We can study further on thinking through the relationship between developed countries and developing countries, the issues of modernization in China, and so on from politics. As another example, how to see the relationship between her personal life and her mind? How to understand Rosa Luxemburg had the role in women's liberation movement?... On these issues further discussion will be supported forcefully as soon as the project—it is editing and publishing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* that led by He Ping who is the professor of School of Philosophy, Wuhan University—pushes on.

(Translator; Zhang Xiaohong
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Part III Theory and Practice ; The Tension
and Influence of Rosa Luxemburg's
Thought

Rediscovering the Totality of Rosa Luxemburg's Contribution

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This paper argues that while the work of Rosa Luxemburg has been interpreted, debated, and appropriated by a wide variety of political and philosophical tendencies in recent decades—ranging from social democracy to Marxist-Leninism and from feminist to Western Marxism—it is vital to evaluate Luxemburg's writings as a totality in order to properly evaluate both her historical and contemporary significance. The forthcoming publication of her *Complete Works* in both Chinese and English offers a special opportunity for meeting this goal. This paper seeks to explore how the publication of her complete writings can contribute to a deeper understanding of Luxemburg's contributions on two particularly important issues: the relation of spontaneity and organization, and the relevance of the concept of "totality" in Marxist thought.

Since her death in 1919, Rosa Luxemburg's ideas have often been attacked, and at other times defended, by thinkers and political tendencies far removed from her own theoretical concerns and commitments. This problem has persisted ever since Stalin and his followers in the German Communist Party in the mid- and late 1920s invented the term "Luxemburgism" as a pejorative in their effort to expunge her legacy from the Marxist movement. In response to such attacks, some on the left went to the other extreme by arguing that she was a Social Dem-

ocrat who opposed virtually everything the Bolsheviks, including Lenin, had stood for. For example, in 1961 Bertram Wolfe, a professional anti-communist, published a book-length English edition of her 1918 pamphlet *The Russian Revolution* under the title *Leninism or Marxism*.¹ The fact that Luxemburg never wrote anything with such a title—and that the term “Leninism” was not even coined until after Lenin’s death²—did not seem to concern him. In the 50 years since, many new works on Luxemburg have appeared in the English-speaking world (as well as elsewhere) that have done much to accurately capture the originality and multidimensionality of her ideas.³ There remains a strong tendency, however, to appropriate her legacy for causes that are quite distant from her own. For instance, Hannah Arendt famously declared that Luxemburg’s insights are best appreciated if she is not read as a Marxist.⁴ They, in contrast, insist on interpreting her as an orthodox Marxist along the lines of Lenin, despite her sharp critique of Lenin at many points throughout her life. And others consider her a seminal figure in “Western Marxism,” even though the term was not invented until many decades after her death.⁵ There is nothing wrong, of course, with Luxemburg’s ideas being subject to a vast array of interpretations from different and even opposed directions. A thinker is only as rich and profound as the diversity of views that can be

① See *Rosa Luxemburg, Leninism or Marxism? The Russian Revolution*, edited by Bertram D. Wolfe, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961.

② To my knowledge, the first use of the term “Leninism” dates to February 1924, shortly after Lenin’s death, in a speech by Stalin.

③ See especially Norman Geras, *The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg*, New York and London: Verso Books, 2015; Ruya Danayevskaya, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation, and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution*, Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1981; and Frigga Haug, *Rosa Luxemburg and the Kunst der Politik*, Hamburg: Argument Verlag, 2007.

④ See Hannah Arendt, “A Herine of Revolution,” in *The New York Review of Books*, October 6, 1966.

⑤ As Kevin Anderson has argued, insofar as “Western Marxism” is generally taken to refer to the effort to restore the Hegelian dimension of Marxist thought, its originator can be said to be Lenin, who penned the earliest and most important study of Hegel’s work since Marx’s death in his 1914–1915 “Abstract of Hegel’s *Science of Logic*.” The term itself was not coined until many years later by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, in the 1950s. For more on this, see Kevin B. Anderson, *Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

elicited from her body of work. There is a problem, however, with appropriating a thinker's ideas without allowing her to speak for herself. The first task facing anyone approaching Luxemburg's ideas is to obtain a firm understanding of its various dimensions *as she herself articulated them*. This does not of course foreclose a critical reading of Luxemburg. That she fell short on certain issues and came out on the wrong side of some debates goes without saying. History is a hard taskmaster of even the greatest theoreticians. My point is rather that a proper and objective understanding of Luxemburg's contribution is made more difficult when her ideas are appropriated for intellectual and political tendencies that are distant from her own commitments—be it liberalism, Leninism, or Western Marxism. We first of all need to re-examine Luxemburg *on her own terms*.

It is largely for this reason that we are involved in the project of publishing *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in English. We intend to publish everything she ever wrote—books, pamphlets, articles, essays, manuscripts, and letters—in a 14-volume edition. Two volumes, containing her economic writings, have appeared so far. We are now working on the first of three volumes devoted to Luxemburg's writings "On Revolution", that will be part of a total of seven volumes of political writings. Five volumes of her complete correspondence will round out the collection.

What we have learned in the course of this work is that there is much that we still do not know about Rosa Luxemburg, since at least 80 percent of her writings have never appeared in English. These include dozens of articles, essays and speeches that appeared in the five-volume German *Gesammelte Werke* that have yet to be translated into English. Moreover, even with the issuance of the 600 - page *Letters of Rosa Luxemburg* in 2011—the most comprehensive collection of her correspondence in English—less than 20 percent of the letters in her six-volume *Gesammelte Briefe* have so far been translated. Yet even this does not exhaust the amount of material by her that has yet to be absorbed. It was only in 2013 that the first full English translation of one of her most important

books, *The Introduction to Political Economy* finally appeared, in Volume I of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*. This 220-page study is one of the best overviews of Marxist political economy and should be required reading for anyone trying to understand the historical origins of capitalism, its drive for global expansion, and the nature of wage labor. It was composed as part of her work as a teacher at the German Social-Democratic Party's school in Berlin, from 1907 to 1914. Although it was known for many years that she taught at the school, it was only in the 1990s that her lectures and notes composed at the school in connection with the *Introduction to Political Economy* were discovered. Seven of these—dealing with slavery in the ancient Greek and Roman world, the Middle Ages, and the proclivity of capitalism towards economic crises—are also available for the first time in full in Volume I of *The Complete Works*. They show that Luxemburg kept up with the latest developments in anthropology, ethnology, and sociology in the course of exploring the *positive* contributions of pre-capitalist societies.

And yet...there is a lot more material that has recently come to light. In his 1966 biography of Rosa Luxemburg—the most extensive one available to this day in English—J. P. Nettl listed the titles and descriptions of no less than 708 writings by Luxemburg, in German, Polish and Russian, that she composed between 1891 and 1919. Many were essays and articles that were unsigned or published under a pseudonym and not included in the *Gesammelte Werke*. Nor did the *Gesammelte Werke* include the bulk of her Polish writings (Nettl listed dozens of them). Annelies Laschütz has done pathbreaking work to compile these unpublished German-language writings, which total 2,000 pages. She issued a 950-page volume of writings from 1893 to 1906 last year. A volume of equal length that will include previously unavailable writings from 1907 to 1919 will be published as well. This material includes studies of the English Revolution of the 17th century, notes on South African history, writings on the 1917 Russian revolution, etc. It also includes transcripts of Luxemburg's speeches made by police officials. Moreover, 2,000 pages of writings from the Polish that never made it into

either German or English have been collected, thanks to the work of Holger Politt in Warsaw. These will all eventually appear in English *Complete Works*.

II.

There are many questions that we will be in a position to better answer by issuing Luxemburg's *Complete Works*. These include: did she develop a distinctive view of revolutionary democracy that distinguished her from her contemporaries? Did she have a unique concept of organization, or did she remain confined in the organizational theories and practices that defined revolutionaries of her time? Did she have an understanding of what needs to occur after a revolution that speaks to our task of developing a viable alternative to the failures of what has called itself "socialism" over the past 100 years? Obviously, exploring many of these questions will have to wait for another occasion. What I would like to do here is explore how Luxemburg's response to the 1905 Russian Revolution speaks to her effort to grasp the relation of spontaneity and organization.

Luxemburg drew from the 1905 Revolution the concept of revolution as a creative act—that is, as not a singular event but a process of continuous contestation of class domination that points to the total transformation of existing society. In direct contrast to many Marxists and anarchists, she insisted that political parties and radical activists do not "make" revolutions. They instead arise *spontaneously*, in response to specific historical and material conditions. The task of revolutionaries is to grasp, comprehend, and *generalize* such acts and give them *direction* for uprooting class society—not to pretend that they can be created or prevented by an act of revolutionary will. As she stated in an article entitled "The Revolution in Russia"—one of dozens of pieces written by her with that title in 1905—06—in *Die Neue Zeit* on January 28, 1905.

True, the first mass uprising of the St. Petersburg working class was also, undoubtedly, a surprise for Russian Social Democracy itself, and the outward leader-

ship of the grandiose political revolt apparently does not lie in the hands of Social Democracy—for revolutions that are called forth, organized and brought to a successful conclusion according to a plan—in short, “made” revolutions—exist only in the florid fantasies of smug police spirits or of Prussian and Russian state attorneys.¹

Luxemburg drew five insights from the 1905 Revolution. First, she argued that the Russian Revolution was “totally special and new unto itself” and not a replay of earlier revolutions in West Europe, since it exhibited “the most pronounced proletarian class character of all revolutions to date.” Although the masses fought for bourgeois-democratic rights against absolutism, they also put forth “purely proletarian” demands on an unprecedented scale. Second, she held that since the alignment of class forces was radically different in Russia than in West Europe, the Russian proletariat had greater revolutionary potential. The petty-bourgeoisie was virtually non-existent while the bourgeoisie was a bearer not of liberal values but of conservatism. It therefore fell to the *working class* to provide the leading role in the process of revolutionary transformation. Third, this meant that while the revolution took the *form* of a struggle for bourgeois-democratic demands, its *content* was proletarian. Fourth, she held that the Russian and Polish proletariat would not rest content with posing bourgeois-democratic demands but would seek to continue the revolution “in permanence”. Luxemburg was one of the first to refer to the 1905 Revolution in these terms, writings in *Die Neue Zeit* on February 4, 1905: “And only now does the real task of Social Democracy begin in order to maintain the revolutionary situation in permanence.”² In the next two years, many Marxists would speak of “permanent revolution” — from Trotsky to Mehring and Kautsky and even rightwing Mensheviks like Marty-

1. See “Die Revolution in Rußland”, in *Gesammelte Werke*, Band 1, No. 2, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 2000, pp. 481–482. For an English translation, see “The Revolution in Russia”, in *Witness to Permanent Revolution: The Documentary Record*, edited by Richard B. Day and Daniel Gaido, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011, p. 361.

2. Luxemburg, “After the First Act”, in *Witness to Permanent Revolution*, p. 370.

nov, but Luxemburg was one of the first to use the term. Fifth, she drew from 1905 the importance of the mass strike—not only for Russia but also for the socialist movement as a whole. She was well aware that many German trade union and party leaders resisted the mass strike because of their reliance on traditional models of organization and parliamentary maneuvering. In her view, they failed to grasp that 1905 showed that the Russian and Polish masses were far more advanced in militancy and class consciousness than their German brethren—despite the latter's organized trade unions, developed socialist culture, and massive party apparatus.

Clearly, although Luxemburg had been living for close to a decade in Germany by 1905–06, her political perspective was not over-determined by the social, political, and cultural attitudes of German society. One reason why she was such a relentless critic of many of the policies and leaders of the Second International—not only Bernstein, but Bebel and Kautsky as well—is that she tended to approach revolutionary politics from a perspective informed by the Russian and Polish revolutionary traditions.

We cannot, however, avoid noting a glaring omission in her writings on the 1905 Revolution; in neither the *Mass Strike* pamphlet nor in her other articles and essays does she single out the new form of workers' self-organization that emerged from 1905—the *soviets*. Why does she not do so? She surely knew of the role played by the soviets. Yet she did not make a *category* of them (matters would be very different when the soviet form of organization re-emerged during the 1917 Russian Revolution). The first soviets arose in the middle of May 1905 in Ivanovo-Voznesensk, a center of the Russian textile industry.¹ She discussed the role of the workers' strikes there in a series of articles but did not mention the soviets. Nor did she do so at the end of 1905, when the PPS-Proletariat

(1) See Oskar Anweiler, *The Soviets: The Russian Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Councils, 1905–21*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1974, p. 40.

offered to form workers' councils with the SDKPiL; she rebuffed the offer on the grounds that the left parties taking part in the venture were "opportunists".¹ Her lack of discussion of the soviets is surprising, given her attentiveness to the spontaneous actions of the masses. Yet what greater sign of mass spontaneity can there be than the soviets?

The question becomes even more pointed when we compare her to Lenin on this—who is so often portrayed as solely interested in party forms of organization. In 1905 Lenin wrote an article entitled "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies" which was sent to the journal *Noraya Zhizn*, though it never arrived.² Lenin wrote,

I think it inadvisable to demand that the Soviet of Workers Deputies should accept the Social-Democratic program and join the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. It seems to me that to lead the political struggle, both the soviets (re-organized in the direction described below) and the Party are, to an equal degree, absolutely necessary... I may be wrong, but I believe that politically the Soviet of Workers' Deputies should be regarded as the embryo of a provisional revolutionary government. I think the Soviet should proclaim itself the provisional revolutionary government of the whole of Russia as early as possible, or should set up a provisional revolutionary government (which would amount to the same thing, only in another form).³

As far as I am aware, no such formulation concerning the need for revolutionaries to call upon the soviets to form a provisional government is contained in Luxemburg's writings of 1905—06. Why is this? One explanation may be her effort to apply the lessons learned in the 1905 Russian Revolution to Germany. Unlike in

¹ I wish to thank Eric Blane for bringing this point to my attention in personal correspondence.

² For a detailed discussion of this article and the circumstances in which it was finally published, see Solomon M. Schwarz, *The Workers' Movement and the Formation of Bolshevism and Menshevism*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, pp. 189–191.

³ "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies", in *Lenin Collected Works* Vol. 10, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965, p. 19.

Russia, where the trade union movement and socialist parties were weak, in Germany they were highly organized and strong. However, while the German movement was better organized than the Russian, it was far less revolutionary. Luxemburg wanted to bring the revolutionary energy and initiative emanating from Russia to the West—but, given the highly-developed organizational forms already in existence in Germany, she saw little need for the movement to invent new ones *sui generis*. She hoped that she could convince the SPD and the trade unions to adopt the mass strike on the basis of their existing organizational apparatus. If this interpretation is correct, her tendency to emphasize the tactic of the mass strike instead of the organizational form of the soviet is somewhat understandable. It is also not hard to see why she would view the matter differently by 1917–18, when the cooptation of the German trade unions and the SPD into the state apparatus during World War I led her to adopt the Bolshevik slogan of “All power to soviets!”

This is of not, however, the only possible explanation. She may have been reluctant to place a high priority upon a form of organization that was largely independent of the Social Democratic movement. Luxemburg never questioned the central organizational motif that dominated the Second International—the need for a single, *unified* party to lead the masses. Although she had a deep sensitivity to spontaneous mass struggles and argued against those (such as Lenin) who tended to fetishize organizational centralism and hierarchical forms of organization, she did not differ from him (or the other leading Marxists of the time) when it came to upholding the need for a vanguard party to lead. Does Luxemburg's concept of organization exhibit a tension or ambivalence between the twin perspectives of spontaneity and party that helps explain her relative silence about the central role displayed by the soviets in 1905?

III.

This question was addressed by George Lukács in his *History and Class*

Consciousness, when he stated that while “Luxemburg had grasped the spontaneous nature of revolutionary mass actions earlier and more clearly than many others”, she also believed that “the form taken by the class consciousness of the proletariat is the *Party*.”¹ He argued that Luxemburg’s embrace of both spontaneous forms of organization *and* the party showed that she proceeded from the concept of *totality*. Luxemburg was the first thinker since Marx, he held, to employ the dialectical concept of totality. Totality, according to Lukács, refers to “the supremacy of the whole over the parts”; it grasps “the subordination of every part to the whole of history and thought”.²

Lukács was surely right that Marx’s notion of totality—which posits the “identification of thought and existence, the belief in their unity as the unity and totality of a process”—comes directly from Hegel. And he was surely right that the vulgar materialists who dominated the Second International lost sight of this concept because they treated Hegel as a “dead dog”. The most enduring contribution of Lukács remains his effort to re-establish the philosophic and Hegelian foundations of Marx’s thought that had been neglected by the post-Marx Marxists of the Second International. However, Luxemburg herself never studied Hegel and rarely referred to him in her work; indeed, her few references to Hegel are highly critical. *Moreover, she never mentions the concept of totality.* So did the concept of totality really define Luxemburg’s work—or did Lukács wrongly read *his* understanding of this concept *into* Luxemburg?

It is true, as Lukács states in his essay “The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg,” that in *The Accumulation of Capital* Luxemburg stresses that Volume 2 of Marx’s *Capital* examines capitalism not from the standpoint of the individual capitalist but rather from the capitalist class in the *aggregate*—that is, as a *totality*. But this

1: Georg Lukács, “The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg”, in *History and Class Consciousness*, London: Merlin Press, 1971, p. 41.

2: Georg Lukács, “The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg”, in *History and Class Consciousness* (London: Merlin Press, 1971), pp. 27–28.

hardly means that Luxemburg subscribed to the Hegelian-Marxist notion of totality. After all, virtually all readers of *Capital* acknowledged this economic truism—including those who lacked the slightest interest in Hegel or such dialectical concepts as totality. Moreover, though Luxemburg was a great expositor of Marx's *Capital*, she never discussed such central concepts as alienation, reification, and the fetishism of commodities. Yet how could one claim to proceed from the concept of totality while never so much as mentioning them? So once again, was Luxemburg really the first Marxist after Marx, as Lukács claimed, to make use of the concept of totality, or was Lukács reading *his* concept of totality into Luxemburg? This is no academic question, given how influential his attribution of the concept of totality to Luxemburg has proven to be for many people.

The most important aspect of Lukács's discussion of totality in *History and Class Consciousness* is his statement, "Reality can only be understood and penetrated as a totality, and only a subject that is itself a totality is capable of this penetration."¹⁷ The atomized, individual subject of bourgeois society cannot grasp the social totality. Bourgeois thought, which begins from the isolated individual, can know aspects of the whole but never the whole itself. The totality of reality can only be grasped, and transformed, by a collective, totalized subject—the working class. Hence, according to Lukács, the class-consciousness of the proletariat *alone* makes it possible to grasp reality as a totality. On these grounds he argued that the proletariat constitutes *the identity of subject and object* that Hegel posits at the core of his totalizing philosophical system.

However, Lukács's notion of the proletariat as representing the Hegelian identity of subject and object led him into a thorny contradiction. If the proletariat alone grasps the social totality, how does one explain the huge difference between the everyday consciousness of the workers and the idea of a truly socialist socie-

(1) Georg Lukács, "The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg", in *History and Class Consciousness*, London: Merlin Press, 1971, p. 39.

ty—given that workers, according to the orthodox Marxist view that Lukács adhered to, is capable of attaining only trade union consciousness by their own endeavor? Moreover, if the class-consciousness of the proletariat is as totalizing as Lukács claims, how does one explain the Great Betrayal of 1914, when millions of workers followed their Social-Democratic leaders in supporting World War I? To answer these questions, Lukács introduced his famous theory of *imputed* class-consciousness. The “true” form taken by the class-consciousness of the proletariat, he held, is the *party*: “The Party is assigned the sublime role of bearer of the class consciousness of the proletariat and the conscience of its historical mission.”¹ The proletariat turns out not to be the “totalized” subject after all; instead, the totalized subject that can grasp the social totality turns out to be the *party*.

Lukács thought that his theory of imputed class-consciousness resolved the contradiction between the proletariat as the identical subject-object and the limits of its consciousness that often leads it toward opportunism, but in fact it only shifted it onto a higher level. He later stated (in 1967) that in *History and Class Consciousness* “I meant the same thing as Lenin in *What is to be Done?* when he maintained that socialist class consciousness would differ from the spontaneously emerging trade-union consciousness in that it would be implanted in the workers ‘from outside’.”² However, the notion that workers can only attain trade union consciousness by their own endeavor is just another way of saying that the standpoint of the proletariat *cannot* grasp the social totality. Lukács has clearly fallen into a logical contradiction of his own making. In opposition to the atomized individualism of bourgeois thought he posits the proletariat as the identical subject-object that can serve as the totalizing subject needed to grasp (and transform) reality. However, this subject cannot bear the conceptual weight he

1. Georg Lukács, “The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg”, in *History and Class Consciousness*, London: Merlin Press, 1971, p. 42.

2. See the “Preface to the Second Edition” in *History and Class Consciousness*, p. xviii.

places upon it, given the difference between its present-day consciousness and the idea of a truly socialist society. He therefore responds by bringing in an additional subjective component to resolve the contradiction—the *party*. But if the “true” class-consciousness of the proletariat resides in the party, it is the party, and *not* the proletariat, that is the totalized subject capable of grasping the social totality. “The Party” now looms over the proletariat, which serves not as the subject of history but as the object of the all-knowing party.¹ He logical conclusion is that the proletariat becomes treated as an inert mass.

In sum, Lukács's position led him to *fetishize* the role of the “party to lead” by investing it with “a consciousness and historical mission” that even Lenin never claimed for it.² Let alone Luxemburg!

In his later self-critical re-evaluation of *History and Class Consciousness* (written in 1967), Lukács acknowledged that his identification of the proletariat as the unified subject-object represented a slippage into Hegelian idealism.³ As

1. It can of course be argued that there is no reason to presume that “the party” will assume such a position over the masses so long as it embodies the most progressive and revolutionary layers of the proletariat as well as the consciousness that accompanies it. This overlooks the fact, however, that Lassalle, Kautsky, and Lenin all explicitly affirmed that since the workers can only attain trade consciousness, the “vehicle of science” that leads the party is the *bourgeois* intellectual. Lukács himself never challenged this view. The very concept of the vanguard party is premised on the leading role of the revolutionary intellectual *vis à vis* the proletariat.

2. It bears noting that in contrast to his many followers, Lenin did not seek to make a universal out of the theory of organization articulated in *What is to be Done?* He did not permit translations to be made of it in other languages prior to 1920, since he viewed his organizational theory as *an adaptation to Russian conditions* of the prevailing organizational theories of the Second International. The notion that Lenin created an “original” organizational theory that is applicable on a universal level has done great damage, and hardly does justice to Lenin himself.

3. I concur with this aspect of his later self-criticism. As Raya Dunayevskaya put it, “Lukács himself so overstressed ‘consciousness’ of the proletariat that it overwhelmed its praxis which was both material force and reason so that it left room, at one and the same time, for a slip back into the Hegelian idealism of ‘the identical subject-object,’ and into substituting the Party that ‘knows’ for the proletariat.” See *The Power of Negativity: Selected Writings on the Dialectic in Hegel and Marx*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, edited by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002), p. 219.

he put it, he had engaged in a misguided attempt to “out-Hegel Hegel.”¹ It is just as accurate, however, to argue that this very defect also led him to out-Lenin Lenin. Lukács was compelled to fetishize the role of the party in order to provide an external unifier of opposites that could resolve the contradiction inherent in his theoretical position. And for this reason, he found it necessary to take issue with Luxemburg’s 1918 critique of the Bolsheviks for suppressing democracy and freedom after the Russian Revolution, in his essay “Critical Observations on Rosa Luxemburg’s Critique of the Russian Revolution.”

Curiously, nowhere in this essay does he mention that she utilized the concept of totality. Although some of his criticisms of Luxemburg’s *The Russian Revolution* are cogent—such as her opposition to the Bolshevik’s granting the peasants possession of their own land and the granting of national self-determination to subject nations of the former Tsarist Empire—Lukács claims that she wrongly “overestimated” the role of spontaneity as well as the natural or “organic” evolution from capitalism to socialism. He notes that whereas capitalism gradually arose from with feudal social relations, socialism cannot organically arise from the bosom of capitalism; it must instead be *forced* into existence by the power of the *state*, which plays a much great role in socialist transformation than in earlier historical periods.² Luxemburg’s criticism of the “undemocratic” excesses of Lenin’s rule, he argues, reflects a failure on her part to comprehend the nature of the measures that the state needs to take to create socialism.

①. *History and Class Consciousness*, p. xxiii.

②. In making this claim Lukács adopted a position at variance with that of Marx in *Civil War in France*, which was written under the impact of the Paris Commune of 1871. Marx argued that whereas bourgeois revolutions were “forced to develop...the centralization and organization of state power”, the Paris Commune “was a revolution against the state itself...this new Commune...breaks the modern state power” in that it aspires for “the reabsorption of the state power by society.” See Marx’s *Civil War in France*, in *Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 24 (New York: International Publishers, 1989), pp. 486–487. For a further discussion of this in relation to modern-day revolutions, see Peter Hudis, *Marx’s Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism* (London and Boston: Brill, 2012).

Most important of all, he asserts that she opposed the Bolshevik dispersal of the Constituent Assembly because "she emphatically disapproved [of] the setting up of the system of soviets." This is emphatically false, however, since Luxemburg clearly embraced the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" in 1917—18—in contrast to her silence on the soviets in 1905—06. Luxemburg criticized the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, not because she disproved of the system of soviets, but because she feared that it highlighted a disregard for democracy on the part of the Bolsheviks that could prove detrimental to all organs of popular power, *the soviets included*.

According to Lukács, "Luxemburg erred in constantly oppos[ing] to the exigencies of the moment the principles of the future stages of the revolution."¹ Yet it can be argued that this was precisely her strength. She understood that there is an integral connection between means and ends, and not every means can be employed when the goal is creating a socialist society based on the broadest participation of the masses. Yet Lukács was unmoved by her defense of freedom of expression, arguing that the revolution "must not allow itself to be pinned down on the whole complex issue of freedom." He even writes, "Freedom cannot represent a value in itself... Freedom must serve the rule of the proletariat, not the other way around."² It appears that any action of the party is permissible so long as it maintains its hegemonic position—even if it means stifling the freedom of the working class that it is presumably called upon to represent.³ The Hegelian-Marxist has suddenly sunk to the level of the crudest pragmatic utilitarian.

1. Lukács, "Critical Observations on Rosa Luxemburg's Critique of the Russian Revolution", in *History and Class Consciousness*, pp. 277–278.

2. Lukács, "Critical Observations on Rosa Luxemburg's Critique of the Russian Revolution", in *History and Class Consciousness*, p. 292.

3. In the last years of his life (in 1968), after he had broken from Stalinism, Lukács changed his position on these questions, adopting as much more supportive attitude to the concerns that Luxemburg voiced in 1918 regarding the relation of democracy and socialism. See his *The Process of Democratization*, translated by Susanne Berhardt and Norman Levine (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991).

Despite the fact that Luxemburg—like Lenin and Lukács—adhered to the concept of a vanguard party, she never went so far as to elevate the party above the freedom of the masses. Lukács's effort to appropriate Luxemburg for his concept of totality fails to do justice to the distinctiveness of her actual position on revolutionary transformation.

I have delved into this issue for two reasons: 1) To illustrate the dangers inherent in trying to appropriate Luxemburg's legacy for ideas and concerns that she may not have herself shared or developed; and 2) To delve deeper into her actual corpus of work so as to better understand the contributions as well as limitations of her concepts of organization, revolution, and the nature of a post-capitalist society. This is needed not for the sake of an historical or academic exercise but in order to answer the burning questions of our day—something that will be greatly enhanced by the effort to produce both a Chinese and an English-language edition of her *Complete Works*.

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Rosa Luxembour­g's Spontaneity Theory and its Political Significance

Zhou Fan

Over a long period of time, Rosa Luxembour­g's spontaneity theory has suffered critique severely from the official Soviet Marxists. Therefore, this does not show that the spontaneity theory is false. The unfair accusation to the Spontaneity theory stems from the conception of metaphysical understanding in spontaneity. Actually, spontaneity contains not only objective contents, inevitable characteristics and the elements of "decision", but also subjective dimension, contingency and independent-free space. It will be surely to get a profound and dialectical conception of spontaneity. If we use a kind of tension to keep up different aspects to be together, rather than make one-side aspect lopsided or extreme. Spontaneity theory is the core ideology in Rosa Luxembour­g's whole theory which involves a series of complex and profound philosophy of history questions of history. And, in the aspect of revolutionary practice, it is the standing point of Rosa Luxembour­g's whole political strategy.

Rosa Luxembour­g is the Second International Marxist's leftist leader. Because of the fiercely attacked to Bernstein's revisionism, she become a revolutionary model of Marxism protector. Famous Marxist scholar David Melelan who is the most famous Marxist regard Rosa Luxembour­g as a prominent radicals in the German Social Democratic Party. She shows her devout belief in Marxism,

strongly revolutionary passion and steadfast will to fight. The spirit which devoted her whole life to fight make her worthy of the designation of great proletarian revolutionist, also the "revolution of the Eagle". However, bitterly disappointed is that Rosa Luxemburg not only was brutally slayed by right, but also suffered from the left's most ruthless criticism. 1920s, Ruth Fischer who is the German Communist Party radical make the "Luxembourgism" as a "syphilis germs". In 1931, Stalin in order to completely eliminate the remnant of Trotsky theory, claimed that Rosa Luxemburg have to be responsible for "permanent revolution". That's to say, it's mercy to avoid to talk about the mistakes of Rosa Luxemburg. How could say that her theory is original! Like Cora Chomsky has been said, "Rosa Luxemburg's political and theoretical excellent point have not been paid attention, it is like a piece of paper, people celebrate her verbally and remember her, just because she is a martyr who dedicated to revolution."

However, something must be pointed out is that the reason why Rosa Luxemburg occupied a prominent position in the development of Marxism? The most important is depend on her great contribution she has made in theory is indelible. The main founders of Western Marxist who named Lucas greatly affected by Rosa Luxemburg. He make Rosa Luxemburg's work as the blueprint of his conceptions of elucidation and class consciousness. 1960s, "West of the New Left in the search for alternative models of official Soviet orthodox. Growing a great interest in Rosa Luxemburg's point of Marxism"; The Rosa Luxemburg's treatises of Socialist Democracy have been interested by the recent Western Leftist scholars. They thought that Rosa Luxemburg not only created the conception of "socialist democracy", but also creatively developed the Marxist theory of democracy. Even more surprising is that the British representative Marxism Lakelao and Moufei also adopted the theory of Rosa Luxemburg. The work which made them be famous named "Hegemony and Socialist Strategy" was start by the interpretation of Luxemburg. And, for a long time, China's academia's study of Rosa Luxemburg have been still restricted by the mode of Soviet official evalua-

tion, also confined the sight of the Leninist-Stalinist. These were the main reason why we have no any breakthroughs in the discussion of Rosa Luxembour.

The reasons why Rosa Luxembour suffered from critic by the Soviet authorities were because the inconsistency in a series of questions between she and Lenin also she was disagreed with Lenin in some important and sensitive issues. The most crucial question is about the debate of organization. As Lucas said, "In the pure theory, the various views and thoughts can live in peace, they only take the form of the opposition discussed, the discussion could be carried out in the same organization, without having to blow up this organization. But as long as these problems are given the same organizational form, they will immediately become sharp opposition, or even completely incompatible with each other". It is true! Due to the difference of organization between Rosa Luxembour and Lenin, it's obviously that they will inevitably "sharply divided" and even "totally incompatible". But, the issue about the "opposition" of organization can not be confined to the level of the organization to be thinking. Organizational issues are neither abstract nor isolated, also not a minor or purely technical issues. It related to the most important substantive issues of the revolution, "the problem of how to organize a revolutionary party can only develop organically from the revolutionary theory itself." Therefore, to get the reasonable explanation on the question of organization rational debate between Rosa Luxembour and Lenin would go back to their own revolutionary theory and the theory's uniqueness to look for.

Talking about Rosa Luxembour's unique dimensions of revolutionary theory. It will be inevitably involves the conception of her spontaneity. British Marxist Norman Jielasi said, "Rosa Luxembour great emphasis on the spontaneity of the masses, in almost all of her little people know this probably is the least understood". Cora Chomsky assert that "the problem with the party contrast spontaneity is Rosa Luxembour and the Bolsheviks most intense conflict occurred crux, Rosa Luxembour found the same risk exists in all countries of the Democratic Party branch in her view, Lenin, Kautsky, Jaurès and Turati all

wrong to underestimate the people's spontaneity and want to 'leadership' doctrine to suppress it, for that matter, the whole social democratic movement, she the only people who hold this view". David Melelan even believe that "the core conception of Rosa Luxemburg's revolution is 'Spontaneity' concept. This conception gradually be misused in orthodox communists". Regardless the conception of spontaneity whether constituted the axis of the whole theory or not, only use a conservatively way to conclude an indisputable basic fact; the concept of spontaneity is indeed a very important thought of Luxemburg thought's unique aspect. If we intentionally to cover this aspect or make it be fade out also deny the differences in thought between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin. It will not be a real scientific attitude also will be helpless in comprehensive perspective of Rosa Luxemburg's spontaneous thought on the overall picture.

One

Rosa Luxemburg expounded the spontaneity theory in her important works repeatedly which can not be denied. In 1893, at the age of 22, she was a student in the University of Zurich and also a Marxist theorist in Poland who have already got a high reputation. In August, in order to attend the Second International Congress of Zurich she drafted a report which named "workers cause" in the name of the editorial department. Unfortunately, because of the report was unequivocally opposed to the Polish Socialist Party's revolutionary strategy, Rosa Luxemburg was disqualified to the congress. In that report, Rosa Luxemburg criticized the Polish Socialist Party and its practical actions shows fantasy and Blanquism tendency. She pointed out that although the party firmly convinced that as long as there is a group of wary and targeted conspirators, We will be able to carry out the revolution, but it "has had to repeatedly support the masses spontaneously arise, for economic or political turmoil goals, although these are the nature of its entire activities contradict". Although Rosa Luxemburg have not

spread out the dissertation of the spontaneity of the masses only talked incidentally. As the first early stage literature which referred to the spontaneous of the masses by Rosa Luxembour, it contains two important points which deserved to be mentioned; First, the conception of spontaneous was initially to be proposed to resisted Blanquism also rooted in a belief which Rosa Luxembour supported is that the proletarian revolution could not be successful by following a specific character or a small number of people's plot. It can only be accomplished by the public authority—proletariat, which was created by the development of capitalism; Second, in this report, Rosa Luxembour did not put spontaneity in the "opposite" position with the establishment of Party organizations. On the contrary, she emphasized that the Social-Democrats have to stand in the forefront of the struggle also struggled to "formulate a unified plan provide an organization and endeavor to make this struggle with a clear target". In order to struggled smoothly and achieved positive results, "the Social Democrats have created the appropriate organization".

Ten years later, Rosa Luxembour critique Lenin's principle of "extreme centralize" which he mentioned in the work which named "Further, two steps back" in the "organizational problems of the Russian Social Democratic Party" (July 1904) and expounded a spontaneous conception of "prior acts". That's to say, "Generally speaking, the main aspect of Social Democratic Party's Struggle strategy is experimentally also spontaneously and continuously rather than 'inventively'. In this circumstance, the situation here is unconsciousness people prior the consciousness people also the logic of the objective historical process precedes the reflector's subjective logic". Fred Esina concluded that Rosa Luxembour has made her spontaneity theory been "clearly demonstrated." in this article. This article due to the directly and sharply criticized Lenin's centralism is "to mechanically moved the Blanqui conspiracy group's organizing principle into the Social Democratic Party" While suffered from the most severe criticism of Lenin and Stalin. Lenin refuted that, Rosa Luxembour not only distorted his

meaning, but also really distorted Marx's dialectic. Undoubtedly she has made "the Marxism to be vulgarization and despicable". But the most intensively condemn made by Stalin is that he recognized that Rosa Luxemburg has made "philistine foul slander" of Bolshevik. This article showed the differences between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin ideological at the first time. In the meanwhile, it also led to unanimous critique of spontaneous between official Soviet Marxism theorist.

In 1906, Rosa Luxemburg showed her the most centralized, all-rounded and through dissertation of spontaneous conception in "mass strike, the party and the trade unions." Although Fred E Sina made a severe condemnation of spontaneous, he had to admitted that, Rosa Luxemburg had use "a very painstaking skill to describe the spontaneous nature of the strike movement" in this booklet. "It can directly get to know that this little booklet has carried a grand aspiration through the preface in Russian." General strike problem have gradually became the central of Germany Social Democratic Party's whole life and interests...this issue has been gathered all of the controversial problems about German workers' movement. Spontaneity problem is the most controversial issue in that time. In this book, Rosa Luxemburg has expounded the spontaneity of the masses revolutionary movement's multilayer relationship (such as the relationship between the objective laws of history, the relationship between the masses revolutionary consciousness, the relationship between the unions and so on) systematic. That's to say "mass strike, the party and the trade unions" is the classical work which written by Rosa Luxemburg contents theoretical connotation and characteristics of spontaneity.

Interestingly, in the work which focuses on the conception of spontaneous, Rosa Luxemburg did not criticize Lenin, neither did Lenin. Not only that, Lenin regarded this book as an excellent work which combined the development of Western Europe motivation's features and the interpretation of the masses strike in German together also gave it very high rating. According to this, Norman Jie

Lasi got a inference and said that Lenin have never explicitly criticized Rosa Luxembour's spontaneity concept. He also testified that Lenin had cited a series of errors of Luxembour in the work which wrote in 1992, those are "mistakes which Rosa Luxembour in the independence of Poland, on the evaluation of Menshevism in 1903, committed errors in capital accumulation theoretically and in July 1914 with Plekhanov, Vandervelde, Kautsky and other advocates support mistakes which made in the process of combined the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks together also the works which was written in prison in the year of 1918 committed an error." But, Lenin have not mentioned Luxembour have made any "systematic error" on the aspect of spontaneous theory in 1906.

It can be regarded as an effort which Norman Jie Lasi wanted to protect Rosa Luxembour in a goodwill. But to made people be convinced that Lenin had been absolutely agreed with Rosa Luxembour. It is not enough to say Lenin critic the concept of spontaneous directly, he also need to hold the facts that Lenin had supported the theory of spontaneity which expounded by Rosa Luxembour. This, Norman Jie Lasi will be powerless. More difficult question is, how to explain the article which Lenin use the most powerful words to critic Rosa Luxembour? If he argue that Lenin's criticism only confined the organizational problem and have no any relations with the conception of spontaneous, then he must proved that there were not any relationships between the explanation of spontaneity theory and the organizations of Social Democratic Party. But, he failed.

Two

Equivalently defended Rosa Luxembour, Paul Fleury active completely different with Norman Geras. He had not seek to erase the discrepancy between Rosa Luxembour and Lenin, but directly denied Rosa Luxembour had put forward the Spontaneous theory. He angrily pointed out that the argument "claimed Rosa Luxembour created the Spontaneous theory and made her turned into

victim of Mysticism, even Spontaneous methodology" knowingly twisted Rosa Luxemburg's thought, Paul stated with proper vetting, the communist international commission's first chairmen, Zinoviev, who made the statement firstly, aimed to improve the reputation of CPSU among the Third international. The others repeated his argument again and again, so far as it unexpectedly become the principle of politic and history. Nevertheless, it is interesting that in one of Rosa Luxemburg's short passage Paul Fleury quoted to prove Rosa didn't raise the Spontaneous theory, yet the word [spontaneous] appeared 2 times. In spite Paul Fleury asserted that Spontaneous theory is "a myth faked by a handful of despicable people in order to approve a particular political agenda". However, he had to admit that Rosa Luxemburg did discuss the Spontaneous concept! "The spontaneous of motion don't reject consciously guidance, according to Rosa Luxemburg's definition, on the contrary, it needs guidance. In Rosa Luxemburg's point of view, the spontaneous attributed to herself by her critics and firmly believed as fatalism didn't come out from nowhere", said Paul himself. Yet why Paul Fleury admitted Rosa Luxemburg had [defined] and elaborated Spontaneous concept then flatly denied she presented the Spontaneous theory? Was it because spontaneous was just an insignificant auxiliary of Rosa's whole ideological system? Or was it because Rosa's statement about spontaneous just too flat, the level of conceptualization didn't reach a particular width and depth yet? Neither.

In order to explain Rosa didn't propose the Spontaneous theory, in one of his review, Paul Flury expressly quoted a famous fragment in the letter which Rosa wrote to Kautsky at 1900/7/13—in the amazing fragment, Rosa depicted the extremely strong feelings when she witnessed the spectacle of the sea and the Rhine Falls. She said, to face the eternal ocean, the most soul-stirring feeling is that you've already disappeared. And when she was watching the Rhine Falls at Switzerland, she just had the same feeling. The eternal roar that lasts for several centuries gave her a sensation of fear that as if it would destroy her both mentally

and physically.

Even now, every time I pass by there, every time I saw the horrible sight from the window, that scattered drops and the rolled white curtain, whenever I hear the deafening roar, My heart is like being suffocated. My heart would send a voice; that is the enemy. You surprised it? That certainly is the enemy-human vanity, it is this vanity to imagine the man himself is unusual, but all of a sudden, it crumble and become nothing it is. Incidentally, philosophy has a similar effect. For everything in the world happens, Ben E Baqi said, "this eternal alike carry on", "boat to cross the bridge." and so, under this concept, human capabilities, will and knowledge seems superfluous... That's why I do not like this kind of philosophy, and adhere to rather jump from the Rhine Falls, as the crowd like nuts, they were reluctant to see the waterfall posturing flowing down the reason. Waterfall rushes, since our ancient ancestors began, will continue after we die.

Paul Fleury considered that Rosa Luxembour would rather jump into the Rhine Falls than give up the will to influence the history of all human race, which exactly proves the female revolutionist would never agree with the philosophical theory that history has its own nature course, and will not influenced by human activity. It just proves Rosa Luxembour cannot have put forward so-called Spontaneous theory. From this demonstrate progress of Paul Fleury, we could learn that what he said Spontaneous theory is nothing but fatalism that denied any will to involve but only admit the objective history progress. The reason why Spontaneous could become a theory, not only because it based on an objective historical philosophy, but also noticed to have extremely abundant political implication. "deny or at least weakened the lead that party due to the class struggle, the blind worship to people's non-critique, over estimate the impersonal and objective development factors, not admit or underestimate the importance of consciously organized activity". Since in Paul Fleury's mind, Rosa Luxembour is a radical political activism, a genius revolutionist in theory, obviously he would not

allow people to put such rigid fatalistic objectivism in the name of Rosa Luxemburg, let alone force Rosa to take such severe political accusation. So we may discover that the root cause Paul denied Rosa Luxemburg's Spontaneous theory is that in his personal view, such perishing [theory] is nothing but a viciously attack of her Spontaneous theory by someone else. However, this simply thought of him was just lack of consideration. He only thought that Rosa would never put such terrible Spontaneous theory forward, but what he neglect was, Rosa's theory wasn't that bad! In this respect, the plead Paul Fleury made on Rosa Luxemburg was still negative. Superficially, he seemed to take a antithesis way with Norman Geras, one tried to establish Spontaneous theory, another excluded it; but when you look deeper, you can see that they do have some potential commonalities. The criticize to Rosa Luxemburg's Spontaneous theory made by the Soviet Union official still have potential influence to them more or less, so that one of them did not dare to admit the discrepancy between Rosa and Lenin, the other lost the ability to compose Rosa's Spontaneous theory.

However, when you are told that Paul's Academic works published in the 1930s, we should not ask him for too much. In that period, almost everyone considered that Spontaneous theory could only be described this way after all. This phenomenon comes out not only because the difference of ideology, some of the theorists connected Rosa's Spontaneous theory with [theory of automatically crash], which stated in her primary financial work, bonded the Spontaneity concepts with her stress and belief to the objective rules of history progress, so they could strengthen the objective characteristic, a normal contain of Spontaneous, into an extreme position. The defect how "objectivism" solves problem is that it simply equaled Spontaneous with inevitability, and they defined inevitability as a hard necessity that have no relation with human's subjective initiative, that is, they filtrated all the historical subject's conscious activity from objective process of historical development, and got a shriveled transcendental rigorism concept of necessity, and then sealed Rosa Luxemburg's Spontaneous theory with this

home-made "dehydrated" monster.

You cannot deny that when Rosa elaborated her Spontaneous theory, she mentioned about Concept of necessity several times and did connect spontaneity with objective process of historical development. In "The Russian social Democratic Party organization", she put spontaneity theory to resist the Subjectivism organizing principle of [thought that the strategy of the social democratic party could be predefined once and for ever], and to prevent the "noble ones" of revolution leaders from "crazy jump" in history process, she pointed out, "object presents it is stronger, but the whip soon win the game, because it is the legitimate represent at this phase of the history". In essay *Mass Strikes, the Party and the Trade Unions*, Rosa emphasized again, now that large-scale strike is a history phenomenon generate from social condition at a particular time node, then you cannot judge this from the standpoint of will, but "investigate objectively" to the root of massively strike from "the position of history inevitability". So we can't deny the inevitable parts content in the Spontaneity concepts (or objective view) as well just because we reject the [objective fatalism] interpret to Rosa's Spontaneous theory. We should neither explain the inevitability too much nor not a bit. If we comprehend Rosa's Spontaneous theory as a [Subjective arbitrary] that not controlled by any of the historical objective factors, isn't it just the same as the "Objectivist fatalism"? Because these two "doctrines" are totally different from the notion of "organization", the only difference is, one of them don't need an organization, the other just don't want it. From this point of view, the "political accusation" of Spontaneous theory still inescapable.

When handle the relationship between Spontaneous and inevitability, Norman Geras showed his kindly heart once more. In the book "The legacy of Rosa Luxemburg" which praised by David McClellan as "the best comment to Rosa Luxemburg's view", Norman Geras tried to excuse Rosa Luxemburg from the accusation of Strict Determination through blurring the concept of inevitability. He considered that Rosa use inevitability concept frequently though,

but just the phenomenon floated on the surface, actually, the effect of inevitability might not that great, concrete and strict. It is because, firstly, the term inevitability is a common word used by Marxist (from Kautsky to Lenin) at the Second International, but it can not exclude their substantial differences toward political revolution studies; secondly, there were no doubt some psychological meaning in the expression "the law of historical development (the final winning of socialism)", "what it reflects might be Rosa's confident to the proletariat's ability of purchase victory, her revolutionary optimism and belief to the winning of socialism", this psychological character is certainly important to every one of the truly revolutionist, yet "it doesn't equivalent to theoretical concept of inevitability—according to the concept, socialist revolution as a result of the unstoppable economic rules, and beyond the human strength". Under the absolve of Norman Ceras, the origin of Rosa's inevitability theory almost faded away, it seems that Rosa used inevitability theory just for the decoration of ideology and the need of her psychological self-excited. That way, he proved the non-determinism character of Rosa Luxembourg's inevitable theory indirectly. In spite Norman's will was good, and his valid purpose, however, he almost described inevitability as an empty shell, which might not be Rosa's original attention. When digest the weight of inevitability, the "float" of it also makes us feel agravity.

Three

The meaning of inevitability which Norman jevons understand is the same as a hard necessity which isolated with person's subjective initiative, so he "weaken" the function of inevitability. That's to say, Rosa Luxembourg's spontaneity conception will not be expounded positively if we use this method to make the conception of historical necessity be framed. If historical necessity contains awareness action which intervene the progress of history, how could this necessity "shows" its spontaneity be opposed with itself? If they are no opposite relation-

ship, how could we afraid this kind of necessity? So, the key point of the problem is not to "weaken" the necessity, is to "soften" the necessity. The key of "soften" is to understand the necessity, not the metaphysics of the historical area. This understanding is to recognized that historical necessity both have objective trait and subjective dimension. It is the dialectical united of objective and subjective. The kernal is that, we should not only recognized that the necessity in historical area can not be separated from the awareness action of subjective, but also admitted that the awareness action contributed the proceed of history. As Rosa Luxembour had been said, "we can not create history freely, but, we can create our own history. Whether the proletariat do the deed or not, it depends on the current social development of its mature degree. But, society can not be proceeded by itself without proletariat. Cause the proletariat is the motivation and reason to the development of society also its outcomes. Moreover, the actions of proletariat itself is one of the part to be the decision of history. For the awareness action of history is one of the parts of the process pf objective history and this kind of "objective" for history would be surely contains the dimension of subjectivity. The objective of history can not be mechanically understand as materiality also the pure natural existence. As emphasis the spontaneity conception's objective characteristic which can not be regarded as an absolute "objectivism".

However, do not admit the objective dimension of spontaneity conception is not be suit with the fact, The work named "mass strike, the party and the trade unions" is to critique the strike theory which contains subjectivism methodology by anarchism, which is abstract and non-history. This method regards "the masses' strike is on the level of technology which can be freely 'decision' or 'forbid' it. It is a knife, you can preserve it in your pocket also can depend on different circumstances to use it." In the view of Rosa Luxembour, whatever the person who want to regulate a exact data to the masses' strike or the person who forbid to propaganda something to burn the masses' strike fire. Also no matter the person who realize the fact that the weaken of the proletariat and the

strengthen of the capitalism to fight against the masses' strike or those "revolutionary romanticist" who ignore the cruel reality to do come hazardous things. These people's methodology which grounded the same thinking method and abstract logic of anarchism is not "the historical materialism of Marx". Course the polices who is capitalism have got a similar conclusion: The current labor movement is trigger from a part of violated person who do these things freely.

Large-scale the masses' strike can not be erupted by a little use of propaganda, also can not be stopped by some secrete treaty. This strike limited by so many objective factors. As Rosa Luxemburg gave the conclusion in "Juventus's booklet" (1916) (Also "the crisis of social democratic party"), a large-scale motivation "depend on many factors, such as political, economical and mental, also depend on current classic, people's awareness and the mature degree of the combat emotion. Those are all iniscrutable, also can not be created by any party. This is the difference between the peaceful time which controlled by a self-disciplined party and to proceed a small-scale demonstrate motivation. The historical moment also need relevant. Forms of motion also create a whole new regulation to trim and enrich the armory." For the strike which exploded in the revolutionary period have not depend on the factors of the leader's will and the plan of organization, then the spontaneous conception also contains the appeals which effected by so many objective condition, this spontaneous description is the results which depends on the reasons or some sources which trigger the natural "tendency" effectively.

However, there are so many questions to regulate as this way. Because we have to know what is the real objective condition? Is the propaganda, organization and the determination of leaders before the strike and all people's awareness are not objective condition? Are these factors can not become the real reasons of the masses' strike? We see, Rosa Luxemburg have never denied those factors which are artificial may have its own functions or value, also never excluded those artificial factors which be regarded as "pure subjectivism". She

fully recognized that the artificial plans are "pure political, planned and purposeful" can motivate the masses' strike also can end it. Moreover, this kind of strike "shows their most high degree of the sense of discipline, the awareness leadership and the theory of politics". It is obviously that in a sense, the awareness and the mental strength of leaders also can be turned into material force. But, that is not equally to regard that this kind of strike production related to its cause also its "spontaneity". If make the provision of spontaneous "objectivism" due to some reasons to make it happened, then, every activity can be entitled as spontaneous activity. If we do so, spontaneity itself will be meaningless.

In this key point, Rosa Luxembour give an important distinction: demonstrate strike and combat strike—the former always have a theory which have been already existed and unfold its demonstrative well-organized. That is to say, the masses' motivation have been affected by another thing, which have been there, and in this case, the masses have been regarded as "object" or in other words, there is a "noble subject" behind the motivation. The later is formed in a debate which can be referred as "relevant form of people motivation" or be regarded as create a "new form", because of this, "the development of history can mount the rostrum as a more legal child", it become a "real subject" in debate. Although Rosa Luxembour have not excluded some factors as spontaneity in those demonstrate strike, she put the main point on regard the combat strike as a model style of spontaneity. So, in combat strike, has Rosa Luxembour excluded the artificial activity intentionally? Has she denied the leading function of the party? Absolutely not! To analyzed the strike which was happened in 1986, Rosa Luxembour has written: "This motivation appeared the function of the promotion, from the social democratic party. In the whole process, the party stood forefront and leaded this motivation also utilized this motivation to form a more leaded lively revolutionary promotion". The question point is not to intervene those things consciously, is to regard this kind of solution whether can "adapt the situation and make a closely relationship with the local residents emotion or

not". Also is not regard the function of lead, but what kind of character and form is the leader can execute. In a famous work, Rosa Luxemburg expounded the party's leading function in spontaneity strike "Do not use too much endeavor on the aspects of the masses' strike, also their technical level and inner regulation. Put most power in giving the political leads during the period of revolution. Make a slogan for combat, also the orientation. When arrange the strategies of political combat, use the whole power of the proletariat in every stage also every time. Make the footstep or the social democratic party always ahead. Those is the most important assignment to 'lead' in that period". Those full expression that, not only the production of spontaneity can be the "result" of propaganda, but also the true leading road can be the most important power in develop the spontaneity. From this, Rosa Luxemburg is not totally repudiate the function of intervene intentionally, is to exclude the artificial plans which were exterior the masses' practical revolution also grave, unrealized and abstracted.

Rosa Luxemburg's objectivity is not a mechanical-pure nature objection (an absolute objectivism), it excluded all artificial factors by the main revolutionary subject. We know that, as a leader of the left who growing on the struggle of anti-Bernstein revisionism. She always emphasized the production of revolutionary awareness's problem which decide the revolution's success or failure. She also is a elocutionist and theorist who is famous with arouse the masses' revolutionary awareness. As a revolutionist in the Second International, she had been arrested for 7 times also had been put in prison for 6 times. Because of that, there is no one can have a more profound experience of having a firm willing, fiery passion, clinging pursuit also revolutionary optimism and the spirit of self-sacrifice, which is so valuable for a revolutionist. At last, she devoted her life to the revolutionary cause. There is no one would know more about how a true theory can make a huge influence to lead the Marxism than her. To have those cognitions, just because she devoted herself whole-heartedly in the revolution. Rosa Luxemburg's spontaneous conception which contains objective dimension, its in-

nate significance is to limit the pure subjectivism also prevent the proletariat's class consciousness to be alienation. Just as Lucas have said: "Proletarian class consciousness as the 'body' of the process of truth itself, far from being stable and unchanging, nor by mechanical 'laws' forward movement. It is a dialectical process of consciousness itself; it also is a dialectical concept. Because only when the historical process of the urgent need for proletarian class consciousness play a role, a serious economic crisis makes this class consciousness rose to action, this class consciousness of practice, positive aspects, its true nature in order to show its true form." But, in the view of Rosa Luxembour, spontaneity is the true appearance which the proletariat shows us. This appearance is inevitable to the process of development of history. It will be reasonable understand if we put the Spontaneity's objective connotation in the masses' class consciousness also put it into the proletariat's awareness which arouse from the potential to a actual level. Only in this understanding, we can avoid to make Rosa Luxembour's theory which strength the function of objective factors to be a theory which exclude all the artificial influence in the revolution. If we do that, it have no difference to make the inactivism equals the waitism. It is the opinion which Rosa Luxembour absolutely fight against.

Four

It is a very important step to know the objective dimension in the necessary of history to make us to get clear to the conception of spontaneity. But, it is not enough to do this, we have to "weaken" this spontaneous conception. This "weaken" demand us to make the subjectivity to be the foundation and open the space for the accidental bravely. It will contains contingency if we do not make the spontaneity equals the "hard necessity". Firstly, originally speaking, the spontaneity have not been framed by the conception of "the other" which regulated the connotation on advance. In other words, if the spontaneity equals the necessity di-

rectly. In a restrict aspect, that is not the "spontaneity", It can only be regarded as "being".

According to the description of the masses; spontaneous motivation by Rosa Luxemburg, we can catch there have three kinds of "contingency" in her spontaneous conception. The first contingency is caused by the motivation of spontaneity Rosa Luxemburg pointed that, the main character of the masses' strike which is spontaneity is "there are totally different between there cause factors", but they always "some tiny things". Because of these tiny things, a huge-scale revolutionary motivation be initiated. How to predict which situation can lead the strike, it is difficult to refer. Although in the period of revolution, "To predict what reasons or factors can lead a explosion, it's really difficult for every leader in the proletariat." The second contingency is the unpredictable of the procession of spontaneous motivation. In the whole spontaneous masses' strike, how a partial combat can develop to a common combat, how the combat of economy and policy to transfer also how the new organization on born from the combat, those are difficult to control or to predict. Just as Rosa Luxemburg described in an article named "mass strike, the party and the trade unions", every action which in the combat, always have something unpredictable, such as economic, politic, social, universal and partial, material and mental are have a con-effect. None of a action can be solved like a math. Although revolution lead by social democratic party, it is a real combat which the social foundation is continuously cracking, crushing and changing, not a rehearsal".

The third contingency is the develop tendency of spontaneous motivation and its ending is contingency. The masses' spontaneous strike sometimes shows an appearance which "have not shown before", sometimes "disappeared have no results" and also the whole motivation "develop from the economic combat to the politic combat", sometimes be opposite. It has its own non-determinacy.

On the explanation of spontaneous conception, spontaneity have a very frequently and closely relation which contingency. The connovations are also obvi-

ously. But, in the long term, people have no attention to this relationship and lead to make the necessity factor which is in the Rosa Luxemburg's spontaneous conception to be a "pure necessity" also have no relation with necessity. To avoid the contingency which is in the spontaneity is undoubtedly a metaphysical distortion of Rosa Luxemburg. Marx have said, if "contingency" have no function, the world will be a mysterious world. That's to say, due to someone can not realized the significance of contingency, then they turn the spontaneity into a mysterious monster. To sure the connotation of the spontaneity's contingency, it is worth to say the current England theorists whose name are Lakerol and Mofei. In their work named "the strategy of hegemony and socialism", they support a "contingency model" to explain the conception of spontaneity. In their views, the basic connotation of Rosa Luxemburg's spontaneity is a kind of contingency. This contingency's core significance is to make every factors to be unified in politics, not the diversity of the causes or forms of the combat. That meanings, the agreement of politics is contributed in the procession of the combat, not be decided by other things. Lakerol and Mofei regarded that, in Rosa Luxemburg's view, contingency has show its actual function in making the identity of the politics, just because that in every situation of revolution, we can not determined every single part's original meaning at last. "Each fight has significance beyond the single, which not only has the meaning surface, and also contains a symbolic dimension. More importantly, its significance in itself is not fixed because it depends unsettled engage in, from Rosa Luxemburg spontaneous. On the horizon, such a variable engagement resist any a priori decision". In other words, contingency can be a "mechanism" which bring up the identify of politics. It is due to the "Floatation of signifier". If it proceed a meaningless overloaded or "surplus" and the meaning is unchanged, the procession of the combat will be impossible to have an activity space to constitute.

Face to and recognize the contingency also believe that the contingency can complete the duty of unite and separate the subjective standpoint by itself. It is

the most special point of Lakerol and Mofei to explain the spontaneous conception of Rosa Luxemburg. They used post-structuralism and postmodernism to analyze the meaning of contingency which be contained in spontaneous conception. This method exaggerate randomness of the contingency. But, at the same time, it separate the relationship of contingency and inevitability. They know clearly that, the contingency have "meet" the inevitable logic. But, they regarded that, the need is not happened inside of the spontaneous conception, they are an outside also a abstract one. "Logic and inevitability of spontaneous logic and not as two have their own unique and mutually beneficial principles of active and joined up specification of the historical scenario, on the contrary, they are as two opposing logic, by limiting each other's role and play respective roles." Based on this, they concluded that the whole theory by Rosa Luxemburg exist dualism. "This dualism is through recognition of a non-decision, as uncertainties reality and set up, these uncertainties exist as an independent determine the structure escaped, but he was understanding of these independent existence negative reversal (the negative reverse) for the structural determinants of." In the view of Lakerol and Mofei, Rosa Luxemburg have assured the existence of contingency, but she just make the necessity of "indecisive" be opposite to "decisive". In this part, the endeavor of contains the contingency have not caused any positive results. Because "If we observe carefully, you will see that this disposition does not completely break with the structural determinants, it involves only the inevitability of a decisive role limitations (ie, the absence of necessity)". That's to say, although Rosa Luxemburg have admitted that "a huge area of social life have been broken away from the economic decision". But, she insisted that "In the economic determinism comes into play, this role must be understood by a model in the form of determinism".

Obviously, Lakerol and Mofei dislike Norman Jelas regarded Rosa Luxemburg's necessity conception is just a "nominal" conception. To Lakerol and Mofei, the necessity lead a very important function. Just because Rosa

Luxembourg always make the necessity to be "protagonist" and the contingency is just a alternative. It can be regarded that necessity and contingency are unequal also at "different level", so Lakerol and Mofei referred the dualism is "false". If don't have the function of necessity, Rosa Luxembour's class subject of political unity will lost its reason. Fairly speaking, on this point, it seems reasonable for what Lakerol and Mofei have made the critique to Norman Jesla. But they proof the function of necessity is not order to affirm this. On the contrary, they want impede the logic operation of contingency thoroughly. In their opinion, class subject's political unity is contributed by the logical of contingency actually. But, Rosa Luxembour made it belongs to the "decision" of necessary logic, also made the contingency have not got a reasonable limitation or nominate. That means, although occasional logic have been appeared in Rosa Luxembour's theory, it also suffered from the limitation and veil of necessity. So, they need to make the contingency to lead a free state. It shows adequately that Lakerol and Mofei have found the function of necessity, but they use this function in an indirect way. They have not put the necessity into an inner state of spontaneity also have not correctly weigh the positive significance which the necessity impact the contingency on a dialectical level.

Lakerol and Mofei have discerned that in Rosa Luxembour's spontaneous conception there contained the contingency and also make a utmost extent to show its principle of the constructive ability by itself. But, the standpoint which they had hold as post-Marxism decide the impossibility that they couldn't understand the contingency of Rosa Luxembour. Recognized Rosa Luxembour's spontaneous conception contains the contingency is not equals the spontaneous conception is totally equal the contingency also don't means the spontaneity separate the "pure contingency" of necessity. In the discussion of spontaneous conception, Lakerol and Mofei have discussed the relationship between the contingency and the necessity. But, they only understand this relation on a negative significance. That because they separate the dialectical relationship between the contingency

and the necessity, just make the necessity to be an unnecessary exterior limitation and simple negative of the contingency. For this, they sank into the assertion of "dualism", so, the conclusion which made by themselves is more suitable for theirs not for Rosa Luxemburg.

Five

Rosa Luxemburg's spontaneous conception is a dialectical conception which involves a series of profound history-philosophy problems also contains many unique political thoughts. This conception both have objective contents, necessity character, the "decide" factor and subjective dimension, occasional part, free space. If we put these different aspects in a measurable tension to be connected together, will get a abundant dialectical spontaneous conception. Actually, Lucas have admitted Rosa Luxemburg's spontaneous conception's essence of totality and dialectic in the article which named "Be a Marxism—Rosa Luxemburg". He noticed that "Rosa Luxemburg was earlier also clear than any other people to handle the spontaneity of the masses' motivation. It also as same as Rosa Luxemburg have "emphasized the former proposition's another aspect: These motivations were the certain event in the procession of economy. Spontaneity not only possess the aspect of revolutionary subject's autognosis, but also have the necessity of the procession of history. Spontaneity is those two aspects' organic integration and dialectical unity. In other words, the real revolutionary subject's self-awareness also is general control to objective history procession. Then, to be a spontaneous motivation which erupted by the class consciousness of the revolutionary subject. It shows the specific unite of historical subject and object.

But, regretful to see that, the same person (Lucas) in the article named "the critic of Rosa Luxemburg's 'Russian revolution'" have a totally different standpoint like before. Criticized abnormally that Rosa Luxemburg has been "exagger-

ate the organic nature of economic procession" also "lost in the self-contradiction" In this passage, we discovered that Lucas have the same standpoint with Leninism to critic Rosa Luxembour, regard that Rosa Luxembour has overestimated spontaneous power of revolution. Because of this "lead to the crucial point in her uncorrected conceptions; she has underestimated the function of the party in the revolution also underestimated the awareness political motivation which is opposed to the spontaneous power's economic develop necessity". The reason why Lucas in such a way to criticize Rosa Luxembour, because he has perceived the difference between Rosa Luxembour and Lenin's thought and also realized the deep gap between their two person. Lucas pointed out that Lenin and Rosa Luxembour's opposition is how to solve the discrimination of the party. The solution is to solve the thought debate in the party or to resolve those in the organization. Lenin chose the later, but Rosa Luxembour chose the former. The reason why Rosa Luxembour choose the former one is based on the conception like this; the organization problem can not be regarded as the guaranter of the revolutionary spirit, because the organization itself is a developing thing. "The real revolutionary spirit can only be found in the natural spontaneity of the masses." This indicated that the issue of spontaneity is the theoretical root of Lenin and Rosa Luxembour's opposition.

More scrutiny to compare the article of "Be a Marxism—Rosa Luxembour" and "The critic of Rosa Luxembour's 'Russian revolution'" will perceive strongly the contradiction of the valuation which Lucas have critique the spontaneous conception of Rosa Luxembour. Lead to this change's object reason is that Bauer Levy has published the manuscript of Rosa Luxembour which was been written in the Brisro prison on 1917 in order to talked about the Russian revolution in 1922. Due to the pungent critic which Rosa Luxembour have mentioned in her manuscripts were to critique the politics of Lenin, then arouse the critical tide to Rosa Luxembour which from the Soviet Union. Under this special political background and strongly affection of the Soviet Union ideology, Lucas

stood the same side with Lenin forwardly, and try to "critique" the mistakes of Rosa Luxemburg. To discuss in the subject aspect, when Lucas in the period of Hungary revolution's high-tide period and its exile period, his theories were not steadily. Japanese scholar ChuJianji through the elaborate comparison of the original manuscript "What is the orthodox Marxism" and "The change of historical materialism's function" with the modified manuscript "History and Class Consciousness" pointed out the changeable of Lucas theories from 1919 to 1922. That shows the "adaptive process of orthodox Marxism" which is represented by Russian Marxism. That means "he wants to make a more 'orthodox' thinking pattern to lead in his own ideology. If ChuJianji's thesis is established, we can also support a more outspread conclusion that from the work "Be a Marxism—Rosa Luxemburg" to "the critic of Rosa Luxemburg's 'Russian revolution'", Lucas has be suit to the Leninism more consciously and obviously. Just because of this "suit" procession, leaded Lucas abandon to explain the conception of spontaneity gradually, turned to make a political critic of spontaneity. ChuJianji referred that. When Lucas has written "materialization and the proletariat consciousness" he has been "absolutely despair of the spontaneity of the proletariat". So, he "begin to think 'the avant-party's' function, which is to use a superior consciousness to discuss the proletariat's class awareness, make the hypocritical consciousness in reality turn to the class awareness which has "objective possibility" But, Lucas have not alerted that the avant-party "is not a social organization which always pursue to change, is a social power which stand in the superior state to grasp the absolute force... Lucas' thinking logic has its own far-fetched aspect and also lead to amount of malpractice."

Despite Lukacs's on the same page with Lenin about the political criticize to Spontaneous theory, yet he must admit Spontaneous theory is not useless on political. In *The criticize to Rosa Luxemburg's The Russian Revolution*, Lukacs said that Rosa Luxemburg "recognized the traditional organization concept was wrong about the relationship with people... her own conclusion made her opposed to the

excessive emphasize to the organization on the one hand, but let her stipulated the party's task on the other hand", and Rosa's stipulation to the party's political leadership was "a big step on comprehending the organization problem". But we must know that when Lukacs made this evaluation, he also had a very important restrictive clause: "traditional organization" can only be "West Europe form". It is because west Europe (particularly Germany) organization form "is weak in front of people's spontaneous activity", "this organization always lamely fall behind people's practical action, not accelerate but hinder the activity, not to talk about the leadership". From Lukacs's point of view, Lenin's Bolshevik conquered the limitation of west Europe organization form, so if Rosa Luxemburg's conclusion that based on the west European experience aimed to the west Europe social democratic party, then it was no doubt a right conclusion, but if it pointed at the Bolshevik, then it would be absolutely wrong.

As a matter of fact, this is a common approach for all the scholars who share the point of view that they need to be critical on Rosa for the sake of Soviet's government as well as carefully acknowledge the positive value of Spontaneous theory. When two of the Soviet scholar evaluated Rosa's *The organization problem of Russian social democratic party* in their written book *The Biography of Rosa Luxemburg*, also used Lukacs's strategy. They thought that Rosa Luxemburg's criticize to Lenin's organization principle was not based on the analyse of Russian social democratic party's current situation, but on the labour movement's experience of Germany and Poland: "What she saw was the activity of German social democratic executive committee, it ignored the development tendency and the grass-roots' initiative, only put eyes on the victory of parliament struggle, and turned the party into a conservative, a thing that block the people activity. Via this party's example, she saw the increasingly dangerous of party leadership isolated from the masses. Equally, she knew the practice of Poland social party well. The party's right-winger leaders took a route that violated the opinion and goal of the common party member and politicians. Because of this, she emphasized the

meaning of 'party and the masses' problem, aimed to prevent the party from 'extreme concentration' and the consequences may caused by this; restrain the imply of revolution activity's scale, or restrain the increase of the masses' revolutionary passion and political initiative".

It is not hard to discover that this kind of criticize content the implication more or less: just for Rosa Luxemburg's criticize to extremist organization principle, it had some rationality, if we use this to criticize Germany or Poland, it is right; but if we use it to criticize the Russian Bolshevik, it is wrong. That is to say, Rosa's mistake was not in the content, but the object. She chose the wrong object! We may imply if Rosa criticized Menshevik with the same words, not merely wrong but also could have won a particular praise.

However, Rosa Luxemburg did criticized Lenin, and she put forward the Spontaneous theory to mainly counter Lenin. At 1904, when Lenin did not take absolute control of Russian Social democratic party, and Rosa gave poignant remarks to Lenin's organizing principle; later when Bolshevik gained the victory of the October Revolution under the leadership of Lenin, yet Rosa still criticized the princ leader of Bolshevik who had gained the greatest power of the country, Lenin, what was deeply unfashionable. Lukacs knew the creed of Stalin well—victors shall not be criticized, yet Rosa Luxemburg did it without scruple. She had the courage and spirit because of the thoroughness of her theory, the genuine revolutionary stand she held, and what she knew earlier and clearer than everyone else was that if the party don't represent people's interests, separate itself from the people, use the authority people gives it to rule the people, if they do not expand the party's mass base but transform into a privilege group that ruled by a minority of dictators, then it will finally result in the bureaucratization of political life, the shrink of public political spaces, the lose of people's political liberty, and the ruin of socialist democracy's root.

Rosa Luxemburg firstly put forward the concept "Socialist democracy", in the book *The Russian Revolution*, she made a penetrating theory to Socialist

democracy's contents and nature second to none so far. She thought that once the proletariat took power, Socialist democracy should be created to replace Capitalist democracy then, and Socialist democracy is no more than dictatorship of the proletariat. But dictatorship of the proletariat "is not the dictatorship of a party or a clique", "is not the minority leaders' career in the name of class", "it must be totally participated by the people and they must influence every part of it, under the supervise of the people crowd, comes out from the increasingly developed political education of the masses", it is "the most public, most positively and untapped participated by the people, unlimited democratic class dictatorship". The theoretical source of Rosa's political democratic idea is her Spontaneous theory. On these grounds we could surely say that Rosa's *The Russian Revolution* haven't talked about Spontaneous theory directly, otherwise it is the best text to explain the political conception of Spontaneous theory.

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Study on Rosa Luxemburg's Proletarian Life-World Thought

Xu hui & Wu Ning

Luxemburg was born to a Jewish family in Zamość on 5 March 1871, in Russian-controlled Congress Poland. She was an excellent Marxist theorist, revolutionary socialist, a member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). In 1795 Poland was partitioned by Czarist Russia, Prussia and Austria and the people in that struggled tenaciously for the national liberation. In the 19th century 80s the Polish proletariat had raised their awareness and began to strike and oppose violence. The young Rosa Luxemburg often saw the workers hold the red flag, sing the revolutionary song demonstration and fight bravely against the military police of Czarist Russia. Because of her brave in fighting against capitalism, revisionism and imperialism, she was praised by Lenin as "Eagle of Revolution". She was a revolutionary leader with unique position, whose hobby is widespread and who masters 6 speaks, dabble in literature, painting, music, mathematics, biology, botany and geology, specially in literature and art, and is a lady.

The widespread interest, conversation and revolutionary experience has made up her personal abundant life-world, and resulted in her philosophical

1. Cheng Renqian; *Luxemburg*, Beijing: Commercial Press, 1972, p.3.

thinking of the building, Characters of proletarian life-world and its relation with revolution, which disperses in her texts and works and is meaningful for research in a colonized by instrumental rationality today, thought she has not a intact theory of it.

1. Building of the Proletarian Life-World

The concept of Life-World came from "The European Scientific Crisis and the Transcendental Phenomenology", the work of German philosopher Husserl, who is the founder of the School of Phenomenology in 20th Century, and means "the world which is the only real thing, given really by sensibility and is and can be always experienced, the Life-World." He proposed this concept in order to overcome crisis in science and philosophy, surpass the irrational thinking and separation of subject and object in western philosophy. Husserl thinks that the science is in close relation with life-world, which is the place the science was born and the motivation of it; science acquires intuitive from life-world and is performance of it. After Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, Schütz and Habermas study and develop the theory of life-world. I think that the contemporary western philosophers effected by Husserl only understand the life-world as a specific environment from epistemology, in which their differences are understand it as "a priori reduction" (Husserl) or "Being" (Heidegger), representative of "modern" (Husserl) or containing "past" (Gadamer), "basis of science" (Husserl) or "cultural world" (Schütz). Although Habermas has pointed out that the understanding of life-world is lack of critic of tradition, his "storage of belief" returns finally to old patterns of limit, passive and stable epistemology.

Different from other Philosophers, who interpreted this Husserl's concept etymologically, Rosa Luxemburg, the defender of Marxism, explains the concept with materialist dialectic, and gave it character of class in order to reflect the Proletarian Life-World. Her Life-World is full of strong class character, service

for proletariat and specially means to Proletarian Life-World.

1) Proletariat must develop its own Life-World

Life-World on the one hand is the accumulation of proletarian daily life experience, on the other side is their cultural background and spiritual motive. Different from the contemporary western philosophers, who thought Life-World as a priori, established by history even the from human world different world, Rosa Luxemburg believes that, the Proletarian Life-World is not natural and eternal, and not vulgarer than bourgeoisie. Proletariat is the most advanced, struggled and revolutionary class, and the leading actor of the time, his Life-World should conformed and developed by the continuous practice and cultural civilization.

2) Freedom is the precondition of Proletarian Life-World

Sent to jail 9 times, Rosa Luxemburg has special understanding about freedom, and emphasis on it many times, which is a breakthrough of the contemporary philosophers' theory of Life-World. To Rosa Luxemburg, the freedom is a necessary conditions for the building of Proletarian Life-World and has three dimensions, firstly is the dimension in space-time, which guarantees the proletariat to practice and learn from it. The Proletarian Life-World spreads itself in "free" space-time outside the productive working. Enough space-time is the chiefly condition for its building and guarantee for their practice and learning. Secondly is the political dimension, after the labor movement in Europe proletariat as independent political power appears in history Political freedom is the presupposition for the proletarian interesting and play a key role in the building of a abundant, lively Proletarian Life-World. Thirdly is the dimension of different opinions. The right for free expression, equal exchange of proletariat ensures the building of Proletarian Life-World.

3) Literature and art are important for the Proletarian Life-World

Rosa Luxemburg has high literary and artistic accomplishment, unique opinion of literature and art, and she is rare in the history of international communist movement. Although the reality of life practice and experience is the main way to construct the life world, Luxemburg apparently more emphasis on the construction of literature and art to the Life-World of the proletariat, which is closely connected with her own experience and interests. She believed, literature and art are the expression of real Life-World, closely related to the Life-World, is the literal Life-World of or art of the it. The Life-World connotation of literary authors, artists, is the source of his works, as well as the artistic quality of important judgment basis. The emphases on literature and art beside practice comes from her hobby and experience. She believes, that the literature and art are expression of the real world, which has close relation with life, and are the Life-World in literature and art. The excellent literature and art which reflect the Proletarian Life-World are important because of its promotion and inspiration of the proletariat.

2. The Characters of Proletarian Life-World

The Proletarian Life-World has three characters, which are:

1) Reality

Luxemburg excepts full of study enthusiasm not only in literature and art, but also in biology, botany, geology and other natural discipline. When she was jailed, she had repeatedly asked a friend to send her professional books about natural science. We can find a lot of letters from her in prison under the hard condition about her meticulous description of nature. Rosa Luxemburg believes that, the Proletarian Life-World should be based on the real life and felling of proletariat, which helps the proletariat to keep its pragmatcal character and inspire its revolutionary will and optimism, but not defeat its ideal or make it infat-

uate in misleading illusion. Therefore the literature and art should well reflect the normal daily life of proletariat. The Life-World with reality is the precondition for proletarian understanding and activity of changing the society.

2) Critical

Rosa Luxemburg believes that the proletarian class-consciousness is critical consciousness and is profound reflection of the situation of the real life, launched assault on ideology of the capitalist system. Critical consciousness originates from Proletarian Life-World, the life experience and struggle of mind, is the power to fight for their own interests and liberation of thought. The proletariat in the process of production is under economically, physically and mentally multiple oppression. Capitalists on the one hand free possesses the labor force of the proletariat, exploits the creation of surplus value and maintains its life and offspring survive only low wages as the labor compensation; on the other hand they try to block the critical awareness of the proletariat, in order to improve productivity in the process of production, create more profits by using the way of the division of labor machine, on the life only provides the basic survive and continue to maintain labor, limited time and space of life, make it impossible to life practice and culture learning and improve their life world. Proletariat did not, however, because of the bad environment and disadvantage, give up the struggle and resistance to the real, they actively fight experience in the production and living, with Marxism as their own ideological weapon, grow up to become a advanced team with critical spirit and a revolutionary force to change themselves, the world completely to break the bourgeois' intention to exploit themselves. Luxemburg thought that the critical character of Proletarian Life-World need to be trained and educated to further from perceptual to rational, from spontaneous to conscious, from blind to the revolution had a clear goal of the class consciousness of the proletariat. It is these literary works with their critical spirit improve the life of Russia's world, broke the enslaving thought, and gave rise to the democratic

trend.

3) Revolutionary

Rosa Luxemburg thought that the transcendence of Proletarian Life-World comes from its revolutionary, which not only is the turning point of Proletarian Life-World from knowing the world to changing it, but also reflects the universal character of the unity of proletariat and history. The revolutionary of Proletarian Life-World has several characters. Firstly, the revolutionary gives an expression to the conversion from understanding to changing the world. Authenticity is to accurately grasp the objective things, and to know the world; critical is further reflection on the objective things, increasing and sublimation of understanding; revolutionary is span by knowing to changing the world and turning point in the practice. Secondly, the revolutionary of Proletarian Life-World is thorough as well as determined for proletarian historical mission, which is emancipation of the human before itself. The political and economic status of the proletariat decided they didn't have any need for private property, thus they are revolutionary and the most determined; unlike ever oppressed class, the proletariat shoulder the historical mission of liberation of humanity, they can only be finally liberated humanity liberation. Thirdly, the revolutionary of Proletarian Life-World is combined with the international proletariat. With the development of industrialization and globalization, the exploitation of bourgeoisie and oppression of the proletariat is widespread throughout the world. The proletariat are similar life situation all over the world and the overthrow of capitalism, the common goal of mankind liberation, thus the life world is associated with the fate of the world proletarian revolutionary, it also laid the groundwork for the joint of the proletariat.

3. Proletarian Life-World and Revolution

"Luxemburg loves vibrant nature, enjoys flourishing plants, that is her love

for fulfilling life and struggle of life, eulogize justice and freedom, pursues truth, goodness, beauty value standard, all wickedness is an abomination to the forces of representation". Her own world for its rich life in the great revolution provides the understanding and practice of double arms. Luxemburg's thought about Proletarian Life-World overcome the thought of contemporary western philosopher, changes the tradition from the perspective of epistemology, understanding the life world only as a given, to know the world life practice and culture background, but from the perspective of Marxist materialist dialectics, fully affirmed the subjective initiative of the proletariat and historical role, thinks that the life world of the proletariat is not only the knowledge background of correct understanding of the objective world, but given its critical spirit and the source of power to change the world, is the unity of knowledge and practice.

Luxemburg's thought of the Proletarian Life-World is not only a breakthrough and propulsion of philosophy of Life-World theory, serves not only as breakthrough and advancement in philosophy, but also as ideological weapon of proletariat for the revolution. Her Proletarian Life-World and the relationship between the revolutionary point of view and attitude is inevitable theory problem for us to find out the context of her thought.

1) The Concept of "Spontaneity" of Rosa Luxemburg

Rosa Luxemburg's concept of "Spontaneity" is important for the relation between Proletarian Life-World and Revolution. In order to establish their own theory about "hegemony", Laclau and Mouffe see Luxemburg's concept of "Spontaneity" as territory of contingency and "save" it from the historical necessity in Rosa Luxemburg's thought, even raise so called "Luxemburg's Dilemma", which means the contradiction between contingency and necessity in Rosa Luxemburg's thought. To recognize these statements, we should begin from her thought about Proletarian Life-World.

1. The spontaneity of Luxemburg

To explore the Luxemburg's Proletarian Life-World ideology and the problem of the relationship between the revolution and cannot bypass her controversial concept of spontaneity in history. "In the vision of Leninism and stalinism, Rosa Luxemburg spontaneity concept was qualitative for objective fatalism and was criticized drastically", "the so-called fatalistic explanation of the concept of spontaneity was a necessary state which was spontaneous as without any human intervention and influence, naturally occurring." That the concept of spontaneity was considered that "it is to underestimate the role of the revolutionary theory; but also deny the leadership of the party." Post-Marxists Laclau and Murphy were regardless of the ideological and political pressure and took the spontaneity concept of Luxemburg "as a 'golden territory' for contingency". However, Laclau and Murphy fought for Luxemburg spontaneity concept was not a purely defense of Luxemburg's philosophy thought and political tendency, but serviced to build leadership theory the for themselves. They would have, therefore, locked the Luxemburg's spontaneity concept in the article *The Mass Strike, the Political Party and the Trade Unions*, and omitted the important concept of revolution, thus making in the so-called "the Luxemburg's dilemma", which was known as that "there is contradiction between the recommended the spontaneity of Luxemburg (contingency) and the unity of the class, with whom she has repeatedly stressed, while the latter element couldn't provide logical support to the former one". According to the idea that spontaneity should be understood as contingency from Laclau and Murphy, Chinese scholars further put forward: Luxemburg stressed the workers and the revolutionary respectively in two different level "to emphasize the contingency and necessity, they are not met on the same level, and therefore cannot constitute a so-called 'Luxemburg's dilemma.'" There are some other scholars thinking that: "the theory of Luxemburg's

two-fold logic is not non-interference in each other of two parallel lines...Luxemburg here attempted to emphasize strike, i.e. contingency in order to modify the tendency of necessity....." Whether Luxemburg's spontaneity concept reflected her determinism thought or "an attempt to build the universality of Marxism through the emphasis on contingency", even is there real "Luxemburg's Dilemma", we need to analyze these questions from her idea of proletarian life-world.

2. Proletarian Life-World and Spontaneity

Rosa Luxemburg believes, the Proletarian Life-World is unity of contingency and necessity. When proletarian set up their life-world, they should recognize the things themselves (authenticity) on one hand, and make criticism and rethinking to them (criticism), and the world itself is in the assembly of contingency of different things. As to the specific things which proletarian met in daily life, they have contingency and uncertainty. The real life experiences, the level of being educated and the distinguish on hobbies and interests of each proletariat cause their different views on things. On the other hand, from the point of view of the historical totality, as a international widely class against the bourgeois, the revolutionary element of proletarian life-world reflects the transcendence of their changing themselves and changing the world, as well as to reflect the discipline, universality and necessity of the historical development. In the article *The Mass Strike, the Political Party and the Trade Unions*, Rosa Luxemburg's idea on spontaneity was in heated discussion. From the aspect of proletarian life-world, Rosa Luxemburg actually fully affirmed their establishment of it, made a deep comment on the relation between spontaneity mass strike and its own life-world and not deny the leadership of the party. In letters, Rosa didn't support the determinism and insisted to spare no efforts to fight. All these express that Rosa Luxemburg gave a positive confirm to the proletarian life-world. Therefore, "Luxemburg's Dilemma" is a false statement.

3. Proletarian Life-World and Revolution

Rosa Luxemburg believed, the essential function of Proletarian Life-World was not to recognize the world, but to reflect and criticize the nonsense of the reality and change it. The reason why the proletariat could be the power to push history, was not only because they were suffered heavy exploitation, but they grasped the advanced science technology and theory weapon—Marxism, and they applied them into the great career. The proletarian life-world is the basis and source of the revolution.

In the argument about the spontaneity concept and “Luxemburg’s Dilemma”, spontaneous strike and revolution symbolize a contradiction between contingency and necessity; spontaneous strike symbolizes contingency and revolution refers necessity. However, after research Rosa Luxemburg’s idea of proletarian life-world, we find the congruent relationship artificially divided is too simple and stiff, even these misrepresented Rosa Luxemburg’s real view. Rosa Luxemburg put forward the concept of spontaneity aiming to distinguish proletarian spontaneous mass strike from “disturbance” and “rebellion”. The proletarian spontaneous mass strike was rooted in the proletarian criticism and revolutionary character to real world, while its time, place, cause and partner were accidental and it was the class struggle with clear object and target, therefore the spontaneous strike itself was the unity of contingency and necessity and concrete form of revolution; revolution was a whole historical trend of proletarian action aimed at changing the world at the basic of their own interest. Revolution, which contains inherently the relation between contingency and necessity of spontaneous strike, is the total historical tendency of every activities of proletarian fighting for its own interesting, accidental concrete events including spontaneous strike, and the necessary demand of emancipation of human and itself. Rosa Luxemburg’s thought of proletarian life-world explained not only its relation with revolution,

but also the philosophical relation between contingency and necessity of its spontaneity concept and revolution.

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Rosa Luxemburg: Mixed Images

Xiong Min

I. Begin with Paul Celan's^① two poems

Celan has written an obscure poem *You lie*;
You are lying in a huge auricle ,
Surrounded by shrubs ,by snow.
To Pwiel ,to the Havel river ,
To see a butcher's hooks ,
The pinned red apple ,
From Sweden...
Now the table with a load of gifts has been shortened ,
It is revolving The Garden of Eden...
Now the man has become a sieve ,the woman ,
The sow ,has to struggle in the water ,
For her own ,not for anyone ,for everyone...
The moat without spilling any sound ,
There is nothing ,

① Paul Celan, his original name is Ancher. He was born in 1920, a German Jewish family in Austria. During the period of the Nazi rule, his family was locked into a concentration camp, only he escaped, he settled in Paris after the war. He is famous for *Death Fugue*. He committed suicide in 1970.

Stop the footstep.

What needs to be emphasized here is that the last two paragraphs is a real representation of a historical detail: On Jan 15th, 1919, the German left-wing politician, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who are Jewish, were killed by extremist nationalism. During the so-called "trial" that year, when the judge asked the murderer whether Liebknecht was dead, the answer was "Liebknecht has been riddled by bullets like a sieve"; When asked about Rosa Luxemburg, one of the murderers, a soldier named Jung (who shot Rosa Luxemburg in the "garden of Eden" Hotel, and threw her body into the moat with his partner) replied: "The old sow is swimming in the river."

The poet uses the executioner's language such as "sow" directly in his poem, to produce strong impacts. "After reading this poem, what stabs us most is the image of a 'sow' struggling in the moat. It will be kept in readers' horizon forever."¹ In fact, this poem is a pessimistic comment to the brutal murder of the German right-wing and the silence of the Germans. As a survivor of a Nazi Concentration Camp, although Celan had never personally experienced the era that Luxemburg and Liebknecht she had lived, he knew the cruelty of a similar age and the pain of being in it, otherwise, Luxembourg's image could not appear several times in his elegy. He believes that there must be some connection between these two times, but he felt weak and painful for this. And this connection has been confirmed by historians again and again: "All history is open, because, in the perspective of 1918, the disaster that falls on Germany, Europe and even the world is unavoidable."² The German Empire under the Hohenzollern Dynasty celebrated their last victory in her assassination, but for Nazi Germany, that was

¹ Wang Juxin, *In Front of your Late Face*, Commercial Press, 2013, pp.84-85.

² James Meteluck, *Germany in the Age of Kaiser Wilhelm II*, translated by Wang Ying, Fung Chungming, Beijing University Press, 2013, p.162.

its first victory.”^①

There is another poem associated with Luxemburg earlier—Condensation:
And yours,
Wound, Rosa,
And your Romanian bison's,
Horn light,
Replaced the star,
On the sand bed, in
Torrential, red……
As strong as ashes,
Butt.

In this poem, striking wounds, savage butts and suffering animals that she mentioned in her letters are coagulated together, and the spiritual light alternates with the physical destruction. Compared with the former poem, expect for the same unspeakable grief, there seems to be more expectations and hopes for humanity, which is precisely brought by the power of Rosa Luxemburg's personality.

As a whole, the image that Celan presented in his two poems is: As a revolutionary Jewish and as an ideal individual, Rosa Luxemburg was expelled by the real world on one hand, but on the other hand, she also brings lights of humanity to us.

II. Lonely gentile^②

Both poems of Celan refer to the tragic death of Rosa Luxemburg, the fate

① Zhang Liang, Xiong Ying: *Ethics, Culture and Socialism—A Reader about the Early Thoughts of the British new Leftist*, Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 2013, p.241.

② Lin Xiaohu has written *Bloodthirsty red Rosa*, and included in the book *Lonely gentiles*. I quote this term here.

was not merely individual to her, but to the whole Jewish, either in 1919 or in 1933. From the comments of European and American politicians shortly after the outbreak of the October Revolution, we can see their indignant charge of the close connection between Jewish people and the original sin of the revolution. For example, in the article "Jewish Zionist against Bolshevism" which was published in February, 1920 in *Sunday Herald*, it says "The movement launched by Jews is common occurrence. From Spartacus Weishaupt to Karl Marx, to Trotsky (Russia), Bela Kun (Hungary), Rosa Luxemburg (Germany) and Emma Goldmar (American)……This worldwide conspiracy that topples the civilization and revives the society, is rocketed. They have been plotting to overthrow the world's civilization, and to rebuild a society which is based on the hindered development, jealousy of malice and an impossible equality."¹ From then on, the image of Jewish revolutionist and image of schemer have been deeply rooted in people's minds, which evolved into a curse that can nearly not be broke at the same time. And even to this day, such impression still exists in many European's mind. Wang Zhaoyang wrote in his Travel notes in Europe: "I tardily found that some topics are inconvenient to talk about." "Some hoary, enduring, bone-deep hatred begins to break out dirty yellow bubble. Not completely aimed at the disintegrated Soviet Union, or at the dissipated red ideology, they attaches more importance to the racial which Trotsky and Rosa shares." "More than one person told me stealthily that the wars and revolutions in Europe during twentieth Century, and the great disaster which killed thousands of innocent people, is more or less related to 'they'. Either financial elite, or red radicals, 'they' are always planning to destroy or collapse a nation or a country. The reason is that what

¹ Cite from *The other side of Churchill: Once he wanted to embrace Islam and appreciate Hitler aggression*, translated by Hu Wei, published on <http://www.cankaoxiaoxi.com/nil/20150128/643194.shtml>. Part of translation refer to Chen Linjun *Jewish Mysteries: desert mark—analysis of anti-Semitism and conspiracy*, World Book Inc, 2010, p.155.

‘they’ get used to most is the life style parasitizing in another country quietly.”^①

What contrast sharply to the boon-deep and one-track ethnic hatred is the positive answer of Hannah Arendt and Isaacs Deutscher to this question. In Hannah Arendt’s book review about Luxemburg, she appreciated the concept of Poland Jews—Peer Group refined by Nettle, she believed that the reason why Luxemburg was distinguished in the German Social Democratic Party is that the “Peer Group” gave her unconditional support, and Luxemburg herself also had a strong sense of belonging to this “Peer Group”.^② In the article “As Thinkers and Revolutionaries Wandering Jew,” Isaac Deutscher defined Rosa Luxemburg and other people as border walkers, which means that a kind of great revolutionary who not only among the Jews, but also out of the Jews. And he also explained the relationship between them and the revolutions in this way: “As Jews, they studied the boundaries of different cultures, religions and ethnic cultures, and they have congenital superiority at this point. They had been born and grown up in different boundaries of different times, their thoughts are gradually becoming mature in the place where the most abundant cultural intercross and feeding with each other. They live on the edge of their revered nation or every corner of the world. They are every one in the society, but they are not in the society, they are the people in the society, but they are not the people in the society. Because of this, they transcended their society, their countries, their eras and their contemporaries, they rose up from their thoughts, they opened up a broad new perspective from their spirits, and it will have far-reaching effect in the future.”^③ Isaacs’s analysis is quite brilliant, and it also applies to Rosa Luxemburg herself. Speaking from personal experience, since her childhood, Luxemburg has been

① Wang Zhuoyang, *Break up with my Hometown*, CITIC press, 2013, pp.106-107.

② Hannah Arendt, *Men in Dark Times*, translated by Wang Lingyun, Jiangsu Education Press, 2006, p.35.

③ Zhang Liang, Xiong Ying, *Ethics, Culture and Socialist—A Reader about the Early Thoughts of the British new leftist*, Jiangsu People’s Publishing House, 2013, pp.236-237.

growing in the environment mixed with three cultures of Poland, Russia and Germany, but she always kept her away from them. Nominally, Poland is Luxemburg's motherland, but her homeland expelled her; In 1905, she was arrested for being involved in the Russian Revolution, when the Russian Revolution broke out in 1917, she was stuck in prison, but she elucidated her far-sighted concern about the distortion of the revolution and the socialist democracy; German Social Democratic Party let her exhausted, she finally broke up with them. And because of this, "All these great revolutionaries are vulnerable to be attacked. In a sense, they have no roots to be Jews; but in some ways, they are the only one, because they have the deepest roots in the tradition of thought and the most noble aspiration of their time. However, as long as the religious intolerance or nationalist sentiment are in the ascendant, when the narrow minded and fanaticism of dogmatism win, they will be the first batch of victims."¹

However, is what Ahrendt and Isaacs described just the characteristics of a certain class of Jews? Perhaps from the broad sense, it is also the most common characteristics of pioneers and revolutionaries.

III. Plump revolutionaries

The significance of some people is mainly in the works that they gave to the world, not the role they played in the world. But Rosa Luxemburg is different. To her, history is not just an essential background; but instead, it's just like a white light which is passing through the prism of Luxemburg and refracting, in the accompanying spectrum, we are able to obtain a completely individual life and the whole world.² There have been such an era, whenever they talk about Luxem-

¹ Zhang Liang, Xiong Ying: *Ethics, Culture and Socialist—A Reader about the Early Thoughts of the British new leftist*, Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 2013, p.241.

² Part of the terms are from Hamdi Arault, *Men in Dark Times*, translated by Wang Lingyun, Jiangsu Education Press, 2006, p.35.

burg, they always emphasize her mistakes but not speak in detail, they also tend to place her in the reference system which regards the so-called "orthodox Marx" as their measurement standard and depreciating her. At that time, Luxemburg only can be presented as a flat paperman, people can't see the abundance of her heart; However, "At any time, we must live a plump life"^①, however, when she considered the blue cap's sound as a sweet comfort in the prison, when she excited for saving a big dying peacock butterfly, when she wept for abused buffalo in Romania, she was no longer a single symbol, but become a familiar person in our hearts. In the same way as Lin Xianzhi said, we can't understand all her thoughts just by reading her political commentaries, even once banned the *Russian Revolution*; only combined with her *Letters and Papers from Prison*, can we roughly see her complete image as a revolutionary, because what she argued in the *Russian Revolution* "must be related to her feelings for birds, wasps and grass"^②; and it is also because that only when we are in such an entirety, can we be surprised by "a person who can't be separated from struggling for reality enjoyed classical a lot, a person who devote herself to politic conflict is so fond of quiet, a person who is as strong as steel, never bow to setbacks is crazy about morbidezza, a person who is famous for her intransigence is so philanthropic and lenient! —this is 'bloodthirsty red Rosa'!"^③ The "Luxembourg" presented in this way, not only has clear political beliefs and moral principles, but also has compassion, humanity and abundant poetry.

What Luxemburg wanted to show us is that the revolutionary image is clearly atypical and even "subversive", but it's also the fullest and the truest. She is mean initially "To be a good person, which means you must put yourself into

① Rosa Luxemburg, *Letters and Papers from Prison*, translated by Fu Weici et al., Hua Cheng publishing house press, 2007, p.86.

② Xiao Min, *Butterfly Catcher*, Hua Cheng publishing house press, 2007, p.83.

③ Lin Xianzhi, *The Lonely Gentiles*, Jiangsu Literature and Art Publishing House press, 2011, pp.166-167.

'the embrace of death' when it is necessary, and at the same time, get lost in every bright day, every beautiful cloud."^①

IV. The Internal

" 'Berlin is well-regulated!' What insensitive executioners you are! Your 'order' is built on sand. Tomorrow the revolution will 'erupt with big boomed again', blowing bugles, make you tremble with fear and declared: I was, I am, and I will still be like this!"^②This is the last word written by Rosa Luxemburg, and as what she hoped, she died in the battle later.

However, did she really die? As she declared in her article that the revolution is age-long, and her thought and spirit are also continued in different ways.

Chavez who is the ex-president of Venezuela, has cited Rosa Luxemburg's analysis of the socialist democracy in *The Russian Revolution*, and has claimed that "criticism can guarantee the smooth realization of socialism; if criticism is replaced by creed, socialism will be stagnated inevitably." "Therefore, we are willing to accept all the space to criticize our socialist experience."^③While Luxemburg was alive, people hardly agree with her capital accumulation theory even in the interior of the Marx doctrine, but half a century later, this theory was praised by Samuelson who is the winner of the Nobel prize of Economics. He said, "After Marx's era, only a few people can improve and perfect the Marx's analysis, and Rosa Luxemburg is the one of them."^④She also lives in Zhou Enlai

① Rosa Luxemburg, *Letters and Papers from Prison*, translated by Fu Weici et al., Hua Cheng publishing house press, 2007, p.70.

② Hannah Arendt, *Men in Dark Times*, translated by Wang Lingyun, Jiangsu Education Press, 2006, p.49.

③ Hugo Chavez, *From the First Line: Chavez's Jottings*, translated by Liu Bo, Fan Lei and Wang Shuai, Intellectual property press, 2013, p.94.

④ Samuelson, *Middle Road Economics*, translated by He Baoyu, Capital University of Economics and Business press, 2000, p.314.

and Deng Yingchao's love oath: "I hope that we can go to the guillotine together like them (Liebknecht and Luxemburg)."① More importantly, she lives in the hearts of more and more people like you and me, and urges people to reflect on what is "fixed things". The overdue recognition of the life and deeds of Rosa"② as Ahrendt expected has achieved, and only to admit it, but also just stay in the "love knot"③ with history. Maybe letting her become a "stumbling block"④ under our feet or a sad and sweet memory which we will never forget is a better way!

(Translator: Yue Ying
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① Dong Qiao, *The Rise and Fall of China and England*, sixth volumes, dolphin press, 2012, p.167.

② *Luxemburg Anthology*, second volume, People's Publishing House press, 1990, p.578.

③ This statement is put forward by the German historian Hermann Hempel after the Second World War, and it is widely accepted, it means to reach an agreement with the past, and break up with history, and it's not a really completed clearing. According to Wang Jiaxin, *In front of your Late Face*, Commercial Press, 2013, p.83.

④ German artist Gunter Demnig launched the "stumbling block" item in 1996. As small monuments, these floor tiles are laid on the ground in front of the victims' home (they are Jews usually). In order to commemorate them and remind people to remember this history.

Tadeusz Kowalik and His Contribution to Rosa Luxemburg Study

Wu Xinwei

On July 30th 2012, Tadeusz Kowalik, a famous contemporary thinker of Poland, passed away peacefully at his apartment in Warsaw and finished his life journey at his 86 years old. As soon as the information that this senior political economist passed away, it results to a great shock in the European left-wing realm of thought. The American magazine *Monthly Review* published articles about the retrospect of Kowalik's whole life and thoughts in memory of him. Regarded as a respectable scholar in European and American academic circles, Kowalik had a legendary life. Tadeusz Kowalik was born at a poor village in the eastern Poland, even though he devoted himself to study. He focused on academic and political activities after he got a degree of doctor. What's more, he not only theoretically pointed the prevailing views of the Keynesian revolution in economics, but also fiercely criticized the capitalism, achieved high respect and wide praise in academic circle. One of reasons that Kowalik could get outstanding achievement was that he studied on Rosa Luxemburg thoughts, whose main idea came from his analysis and understanding on *The Accumulation of Capital* of Rosa Luxemburg. For Kowalik being unknown in domestic academic circle, the author tries to elaborate his contribution based on his study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

1. Carrying on the Polish Tradition in the Study of Rosa Luxemburg's Thoughts

Kowalik's interest on Rosa Luxemburg came from Oskar Lange and Michal Kalecki, both of them were famous Polish thinkers. The former one was Kowalik's doctoral supervisor, who affected Kowalik's study style on political economy and cultivated his interest on Rosa Luxemburg's economics theory. The latter one Michal Kalecki was an academic partner of Kowalik, who gave assistance to Kowalik to build his intellectual originality and led him to the study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

Lang was Kowalik's doctoral supervisor. Kowalik graduated with excellent performance and got the degree of Bachelor of Laws at Warsaw University in 1951. Then he went on study economics being the student of Lang, specializing in the degree of Doctor of Economic. In that period, Lang encouraged Kowalik to widely study Marx's and other schools' works about economy. Therefore, he formed the feature to apt at Marx's economic theory in mind, and he exchanged ideas with different schools' theories. With the influence of Lang, Kowalik preferred an open and anti-dogmatic mode of thinking in economics. He suggested various schools of thoughts service for the socialism career, included the classical political economy, thus making him respected by all economists in different currents. In 1958, with the recommend of Lang, Kowalik achieved his Doctor of Economic and he got a job as a teacher of political economics at Social sciences University, which was set up for activists in party. Besides, Kowalik started the study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts in his whole life time. When recalled the experience at that time, Kowalik clearly expressed that his interest on Rosa Luxemburg was arisen in the discourse with Lang. Lang mentioned his father's simple understanding on Rosa Luxemburg, who was a businessman without formal education and said with his trade instinct that Rosa Luxemburg's thought about the

economic relation between Russia and Poland was right, while the industry in Poland can not exist without the market in Russia. This discourse strongly influenced Kowalik and inspired him to study Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts from different aspects. He believed that, Rosa Luxemburg, as a girl of a businessman in Zamość—a city in eastern Poland, may get inspiration from her dialogues with her father in the family. In her doctoral dissertation *On the Development of Polish Industry* Rosa Luxemburg saw indeed the east market as source of the economy in Poland. The following historical events, that Poland had to break off the communication with east market because of the World War I and went into a period of over development of industry, have exactly proved the correction of Rosa Luxemburg's thought. All those inspiration from dialogues with Lang urged Kowalik to further read Rosa Luxemburg's works, which also laid the foundation of his study on Rosa Luxemburg.

If Lang was considered to build Kowalik's academic style, Kalecki assisted him to create the political economic originality. Kalecki is one of the earliest pioneer of theory of modern capitalist economy dynamic and socialist economy development. Kowalik connected with Kalecki through their academic cooperation. In 1964, polish academic circle prepared to publish a collected works in ceremony of Kalecki's 65 years old. Kowalik was asked to write an academic biography for Kalecki. To put forward this work, Kowalik visited Kalecki many times and noted the main ideas and works of him, as well as the discussions among Keynes, Robinson and Kalecki. Moreover, Kowalik gained comprehension about a famous debate between polish socialists in 1920s-1930s from an interview with Kalecki. That famous debate mainly carried by Rudolf Hiferding, Rosa Luxemburg and Tugan-Baranovsky, and it were discussed on the instability of capitalism, mass unemployment and economic recession. In the debate, Kalecki just acted as an observer and didn't express any his ideas for those Marxists. Exactly it was this interview that prompted Kalecki to rethink this debate and published articles to expound his own ideas. He thought this debate had highlighted

the importance of aggregate demand in the capitalist economy development. For the main function of demand in capitalist economy mostly serviced for the realization of capitalist profit, which was the core problem of capitalism. Therefore, Rudolf Hiferding, Rosa Luxemburg and Tugan-Baranovsky tried to find the ways to overcome this problem, but their differences were that, Rosa Luxemburg kept her eyes on the external market while Tugan-Baranovsky tried to solve this problem via capital intensive production. The think of Kalecki inspired Kowalik to study Rosa Luxemburg from the prospect of theory of capitalist dynamic. Kowalik and Kalecki began to cooperate and write theoretical articles together. Then, Kowalik followed Kalecki's basic views and put them into the study on Rosa Luxemburg. Kowalik thought Tugan-Baranovsky was a key figure for the study on Rosa Luxemburg. In the Russian populists' eyes, the reason why capitalist couldn't be developed in Russia owed to limited market being allowed at the end of 19th century, however, Tugan-Baranovsky had realized the capitalist could produce much more means of production to keep itself stable, thus overcoming the limited consumption. In the 20th century, through the debate between Rosa Luxemburg and Tugan-Baranovsky, the discussion about the plan of capitalist reproduction arose from the second volume of Marx's *Das Kapital* gained great significance again. Marx's critic to Says law of markets suggested that capitalist reproduction couldn't occur at a steady state. As a result, capitalist external market provided a developmental space for Keynesian political economy, which was founded at the base of insufficient demand and the nation.

2. Cancellation of the Keynesian Tendency in the Study of Rosa Luxemburg's Thoughts

Keynesian was paid attention by western experts and represented a strong voice in the study of Rosa Luxemburg because of its emphasis on "insufficient demand". The study on Rosa Luxemburg was controlled by western discourse sys-

tem under the influence. But Kowalik denied this tendency. He insisted to understand Rosa Luxemburg's theoretical contributions in the way differed to the Keynesian tendency. In 1971 he published his most important work *Rosa Luxemburg's Theory on the Accumulation of Capital and Imperialism*, which put Rosa Luxemburg's thought in the debate between Populism and Legal Marxism about the future of Russian capitalism, and regarded her debate with Tugan-Baranovsky as the important base of his study. In the background of the development of political economy in the 20th century, Kowalik read Rosa Luxemburg's famous work *The Accumulation of Capital*, made it clear of Rosa Luxemburg's theory and traced the origin to the discussion about capitalist reproduction in the second volume of Marx' "*Das Kapital*", canceled the Keynesian tendency in the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

The starting point for Kowalik's cancellation the Keynesian tendency was his rereading of *The Accumulation of Capital*. It was well-known that Rosa Luxemburg set up her own theoretical system though criticizing to Marx's formula on capital accumulation in her famous work *The Accumulation of Capital*, written in 1913. Rosa Luxemburg said, Marx's formula on capital accumulation existed limitation, that is to say, the relation between production and consumption could only explain the capitalist reproduction in the internal market, but the capitalist reproduction was not only related to the internal status as well as the external part. As a result, Rosa Luxemburg pointed out that we shall research capitalism as a whole of capitalist and non-capitalist modes of producing, but not as Marx's way, which only in the internal situation of capitalism, thus differences between Rosa's idea and Marx's and Rosa was questioned from various voices. Some scholars criticized Rosa modified Marx's form and some questioned the possibility of Rosa's idea, which forced her to write another article *The Accumulation of Capital—An anti-criticism* to answer those suspects in next year. Except for the criticism, some people praised Rosa Luxemburg's new theory and took it as a contribution on Marxism development. For example, Mehring thought it be the most ex-

cellent work on capitalism theory after Marx's *Das Kapital*. Joan Robinson, exponent of Neo-Cambridge school, appreciated Luxemburg's thought very much and attached much new significance to Rosa Luxemburg's work. In 1951, the 38 years later after *The Accumulation of Capital* finished, the most authorized academic publication institution Routledge Press published it in English version. In the preface of English version, Joan Robinson described its process of creation and the controversy suffered with. In Joan's view, she pointed Rosa Luxemburg put forward to the possibility of capitalist reproduction through modifying Marx's formula, and she actually solved the problem which was left by Marx. Joan appreciated Rosa's courage and special view, furthermore she combined Rosa's theories on the balance between payments and resist, distribution, the relation between demands and currency with Keynesian. Joan said that Luxemburg's modification on the accumulation of capital had contact with the key problems of Keynesian, and we can explain Luxemburg's thought from the view of microeconomics. The idea of Joan Robinson influenced three generations economists in Cambridge University, which also led the trend of study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

Kowalik opposed Joan Robinson's idea of analyzing Rosa's thoughts in the view of microeconomics within the Keynesian discourse system, and he pointed out that we should surpass the vision of microeconomics and discover the meaning of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts in the context of capitalist globalization. Kowalik was asked to write the introduction for the second English version of *The Accumulation of Capital* when published by Routledge Press in 2003. Kowalik stressed that *The Accumulation of Capital* focused on the capitalist reproduction in the world, where involved the relation between Marx and Rosa Luxemburg. He thought Rosa Luxemburg modified Marx's theory. In Rosa Luxemburg's theory, the core of Marx' theory about the accumulation of capital was the contradiction between production and reality, and Marx's formula was the most important means to analyze this kind of contradiction. The schema of this theory was only a method and stating point to analyze this widespread, but not the consummation of it. In

the volume III of Marx's *Das Kapital*, Marx had ever referred the view "demand limit the capitalist economy". Rosa Luxemburg believed it should be confirmed as a theory form. Therefore she pointed out three defects of Marx's theory, which were lacks of the explanation of the capital in the phase of currency, the object of the spread of production, and the estimation of the improvement of the labor productivity. In order to overcome these defects, she researched the militarism as a phase of the accumulation of capital and held that, the imperialism can create new purchasing power and discover new market, according to Marx's distinguishing the production of consumer goods from the of means of production. This idea of Rosa appealed people's attention to the various economical relations between bourgeois and working-class, even it promoted the research of western practical economics to Rosa Luxemburg's theory. In addition, Kowalik believed that the most important contribution of Rosa Luxemburg to the political economy was her attention on the lagging countries and war, the lagging countries and colonies can replace the natural economy with commodity economy, and obtain the capitalist autonomy. All these statement of Rosa Luxemburg predicted what the less developed countries were suffered in their development of politics and economics in later 20th century. Kowalik thought that, Kalecki's idea about the capitalist limit of effective demand has solved Luxemburg's defect. In the Kalecki's theory, the formula of capitalist reproduction of Marx was the starting point to analyze. He distinguished the consumer of capitalist from the working class in Marx's schema about production of consumer goods, which with their whole investment became their whole profit. The whole investment with the availability of export and the budget deficit at the same time becomes capitalist whole deposit, which supports them automatically when they invest in capitalist countries. Thence, their profit was the direct result of the investment and consumer. The deposit behind profit rise with the increase of investment. Finally, the working class consume what they earn, and the capitalist profit because of corresponding consumer. Kowalik succeeded in reasoning of the importance of investment in trading and economics

development because of consideration of the distinctions of time between investment decisions, actually investment, availability of export and budget deficit. All the idea above, was considered as the effective supplement from Rosa Luxemburg, which was found by Kowalik.

3. Pushing the Worldwide Development of the Study of Rosa Luxemburg's Thoughts

Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts are explosive discussed since 1990s in rethinking the the Fall of Communism and the modern global system. Kowalik took actively part in the study and propagation of Lusemburg's thoughts by publishing articles, participation of related activities and supporting international conferences about Rosa Luxemburg. In this part, the special contribution of Kowalik was to support the The International Association of Rosa Luxemburg and its activities, to enhance the connection of scholars from different countries so that put forward the worldwide development of the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

The International Association of Rosa Luxemburg was advocated by ItoNarihiko and set up at Zurich, Switzerland in September 1980, which is an open academic institution aimed at studying the Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. Since it was set up, academic conferences of Rosa Luxemburg would be held in different areas and various cities every two or three years. Up to now, they have held nearly 20 times conferences at different cities such as Paris, Berlin, Tokyo, Beijing, Warsaw, Chicago, Bergamo, Wuhan, Moscow etc. Since the association was set up, Kowalik was a firmly supporter and he took part in conferences many times and presented academic articles. Although those articles referring different context, they all reflected a common feature; it was that Kowalik paid attention to the polish background of Rosa Luxemburg especially when he studied Rosa's thoughts and stressed the importance of the polish background to the formation

and propagation of Rosa Luxemburg's ideas. In a long time, people rarely concentrate on the Polish background of Rosa Luxemburg. For Rosa Luxemburg became famous in Germany, people always focus on her German background when study her thoughts and only refer to her Polish background when introduce Rosa Luxemburg's early revolution experience. As to this point, Kowalik stood on the opposite. He thought it necessary to study Rosa Luxemburg's Polish background and he had his own idea on this aspect. For instance, in the 2004 conference in Bergamo Italy, Kowalik submitted his article "*Rosa Luxemburg and Kalecki's theory and the horizon of capitalist dynamic*", which studied from view that Kalecki inherited Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. In the 2006 conference in Wuhan University, Kowalik was invited to participate the conference, which was entitled "Rosa Luxemburg's Thoughts and Its Contemporary Significance International Conference" and was jointly held by School of Philosophy, Wuhan University and Institute of Marxism, Wuhan University. The experts participated this conference were from The International Association of Rosa Luxemburg and Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, and there were many scholars from more than 13 countries such as Germany, France, Italy, Holland, England, Spain, Austria, Poland, America, Japan, Brazil, South Africa, China etc. As the Polish expert, Kowalik's article was about the Polish background of Rosa Luxemburg, which attracted people's attention widely and made for their deep thinking of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

Kowalik submitted his article "*Rosa Luxemburg's Theory and its Polish Root*" to the conference at Wuhan, which combined closely the destiny of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts and Poland, explained the propagation of *The Accumulation of Capital* in Poland and its controversy raised by Kalecki. Kowalik said, in Polish academic circle, there were great differences among following scholars' ideas on Rosa Luxemburg's theory and Kalecki's. For example, Artur Benni respected the analysis on defects of capitalism from Marx and Rosa Luxemburg, but he didn't agree with socialist movement and he hoped to find a way to overcome the capitalist problem through global capital circulation. Henrk

Grossman sharply criticized Rosa Luxemburg but his statement of non-capitalist circumstance was deeply influenced by Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital*. Jerzy Heryny criticized Rosa Luxemburg's theory of the collapse of capitalism in his article *On the false root of Luxemburgist* and pointed that Rosa Luxemburg's theory was mechanical concepts, which denied the working-class and its party as well as their revolutionary function on anti-imperialism activities in colonies. Ludwik Landau agreed Kalecki's expand of Rosa Luxemburg's theory and thought it might be a common economic basis. Antoni Panski gave the comments on Rosa Luxemburg's theory of capital accumulation and Kalecki's theory of business cycle, he thought even Rosa's *The Accumulation of Capital* could be regarded a best economic work of Marxism but Rosa didn't understand the nature of capital actually, while Kalecki solved this problem. After review those comments from other scholars to Rosa Luxemburg's theory, Kowalik made his own conclusion: as a whole, Rosa Luxemburg's and Kalecki's thoughts had no great influence to the society and economy structure in Poland. This conclusion was ingenious and pithy, why did her thought come from Poland but can not have influence on Poland? And this question is not only for polish thinking circles but also for all the scholars who rethink the Fall of Communism. Kowalik rose the question for us without direct answer, but he used his whole to explore it. After Wuhan conference, Kowalik reduced the chances to go out and the conference in Wuhan became his final journey to China. In this journey, it's my pleasure to have the chance to closely talking with Kowalik, which impressed me strongly. Appointed by Professor He Ping, I sent Mr. Kowalik to Tian He airport for his flight back to Poland. On the way, this eighty old person talked to me his experience and the reason to study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts, where lively city and plant outside the car window. From his words, I find Kowalik's deep enthusiasm and firm belief on the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. It was also the dynamic source of the study of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

Above all, Kowalik's study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts is heuristic and

valuable. Nowadays, the old generation of scholars such as Kowalik have gradually been the history, but their thought resources left will be the important literature for our further study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts.

(Translator: Lin Haochao
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Postscript

The Study on Rosa Luxemburg will Usher in a New Opportunity

Wu Xinwei

In recent 30 years, the study on Rosa Luxemburg has been in a continuous and heated trend at home and broad. At present, the academia starts an in-depth discussion around “the collation, translation and research on Rosa Luxemburg’s works”.

The Publication and Spread of Rosa Luxemburg’s Works

The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg had been earliest published in German version by Dietz Verlag Berlin, including *Rosa Luxemburg Complete Works* in 5 volumes and *Rosa Luxemburg Gesammelte Briefe* in 5 volumes. According to the introduction from Professor Evelin Wittich, German academia has published the sixth volume based the former 5 volumes of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, and the seventh volume is being editing, either. The Polish articles *The National Question and Autonomy* and *The Workers Revolution in 1905—1906* has been translated into German in 2014. Holger Politt, an Polish scholar points that, the Rosa Luxemburg wrote almost 3000 pages in Polish, whose main topic are the Polish question and the development of social democratic movement. For most of them were written for illegal newspaper in Europe anonymously, most of these ar-

ticles are largely unknown. An important source to find out the authorship are the preserved letters of Rosa Luxemburg, especially to Leo Jogiches. It's very important to properly keep these precious Polish works and translate them into German and English, thus can be handed down to the generations.

Chinese scholars are closely related to the introduction and translation of Rosa Luxemburg's works, as well as her thoughts. The chief-editor of People's Publishing House—Deng Ren'c thinks, Chinese study on Rosa Luxemburg's works could be dated back to *New Economics* in March, 1927, which was translated by Chen Shouseng, revised by Hu Hannin and published by Chinese New Literature in Shanghai. The Joint Publishing Press published *Reform or Revolution* in 1958, translated by Xu Jian; published *The Accumulation of Capital* in 1959, translated by Peng Chenshun and Wu Jixian; in 1962, they published Rosa Luxemburg's *Introduction to National Economy*, translated by Peng Chenshun, too. Until the period of reform and open, People's Publishing House came out *Selected Works of Rosa Luxemburg* (Volume I). Till to 1990, People's Publishing House published *Selected Works of Rosa Luxemburg* (Volume II). Besides, the new version of *Selected Works of Rosa Luxemburg* was published by People's Publishing House in 2012.

Historical Position of Rosa Luxemburg's Thoughts Be Gradually Clear

The legacy of Rosa Luxemburg's thought is very rich, so is her historical position gradually clear in the development of Marxism. After all, it has experienced nearly 100 years of precipitation. Zhao Kairong, a famous professor of School of Philosophy, Wuhan University, thinks Rosa is one of the most important figure in history of Marxism and her works could be regarded as artwork for its great value. In the history of Marxism, these important pioneers can be roughly divided into three categories; Marx and Engels are the creators of theory; Lenin and Chair

Mao are the creators of Social practice in developing countries; While, Rosa Luxemburg and Gramsci are the socialists in developed countries, thus their theories were lack of the support of powerful country entities, but they were proved in some degree in the process gradually going to the more developed countries.

During the process on how to definite the historical position of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts, there are many important concepts and theories of Rosa Luxemburg being in deep discussion. Peter Hudis, and American scholar holds that the totality is not the core concept of Rosa, but is a kind of expression on theory in *History and Class Consciousness* from Lukacs. Therefore, we have to make strictly distinction when inherit the legacy of Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts. Professor Zhou Fan is from School of Philosophy, Beijing Normal University. He thinks Rosa Luxemburg's core idea is about spontaneity. In his view, the understanding on Rosa Luxemburg's spontaneity concept in academia before is fully filled with metaphysics, however, this concept includes objective content, as well as the degree of subjectivity; it has not only the necessity, but also owns contingency; it has the "decisive" factor in one hand, and takes the space of "independence" and "freedom" in the other hand, which involves a series of complex historical philosophy problems. What's more, in revolutionary practice, it's the very key point for the total political strategic theory. Wu Ning, a professor in Zhongnan University of Economics and Law, studies the Rosa Luxemburg's idea on the proletariat's life world, and thinks this idea leads the theory of contemporary western life from epistemology to materialistic dialectics, because it reveals that proletariat's life world takes freedom as essential condition, regards literature and art as important approach, and is constructed by itself, which is the dialectical unification of contingency and necessity and also a method to defend and promote Marxist Historical Materialism. Professor Li Dianlai from School of Philosophy, Wuhan University, thinks Rosa Luxemburg created a revolutionary line fitted for western developed capitalist countries. As the idea of political philosophy, her thoughts were inherited by early Western Marxists, finally building the

revolution theory tradition based on democracy.

Much Attention on Chinese *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*

In fact, the project about editing and translating on the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* has officially started. According to the introduction from Pro. He Ping, who takes charge of this project in China, we are informed that the editing and publishing the Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* is to meet the needs of Chinese study on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts at present and the research on the history of Marxist Philosophy in the 20th century. In accordance with Chinese scholars's requirement and the status quo on research, the editing and publishing of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in Chinese version could be divided into two parts: one part is to make full use of the newly discovered literature of Rosa Luxemburg, to systematically study the thoughts of Rosa Luxemburg, and editing Rosa Luxemburg's documents, thus writing "the Chronology of Rosa Luxemburg"; another part is to edit, translate and publish 12 volumes of Chinese version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, showing a real Rosa Luxemburg in a complete view. Here, we need to deal with the difficulties in four aspects: (1) The literature and background of Poland is of great importance to Rosa Luxemburg's life and her revolutionary activities. (2) To sort out Rosa Luxemburg's literature in prison. (3) To collect and study the new literature of Rosa Luxemburg after decryption. (4) To make sense the complex relationships between Rosa Luxemburg and the Second International thinkers, and how to make the notes.

The academia pay much attention on this project. Li Pengcheng, the experienced researcher from the Institute of Philosophy of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, points that we shall make the comprehensive study on the German and English version of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, fully absorb their ad-

vantages, to grasp the core thought of Rosa Luxemburg's works we shall treat her as a philosopher from the height and position of Marxism. And we shall catch her philosophy thoughts from the perspectives of political economy, politics and literature. In addition to, it's necessary to present the depth connotation and contemporary significance of Rosa Luxemburg's ideas upon history philosophy. Pro. Zhao Shifa from School of Philosophy, Wuhai University, thinks the translation of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* in Chinese can be said a further development on localization of Marxism in China. The early period on localization of Marxism in China began with the translation of literature, which created a set of Chinese discourse system. Nowadays, times have changed. To translate Rosa Luxemburg's complete works, we should connect the academic context between China and world, thus making new academic utterance to pursue Rosa's idea to the contemporary and future.

In the process of the research on Rosa Luxemburg's thoughts under the connections between practice and theory, as well as between history and reality, which needs to hold the chance of collation, translation and research on Rosa Luxemburg's works. What's more, we'll make full use of the advanced research results to pursue the chinization, modernization and massification of Marxism so that we can make new contributions for the development of Marxism and the new path for human civilization.

(Translator: Liu Yanfang

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