

# **An Insoluble Problem**

## **Globalisation and Nationalism**

一个无解之题： 全球化与民族主义

# Marx's Optimism

## 马克思的乐观主义

“...mankind always sets itself only such problems as it can solve, since, on reflection it will be seen, that the problem itself only arises when the material conditions for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation” (1859 Preface)

“.....人类始终只提出自己能够解决的任务，因为只要仔细考察就可以发现，任务本身，只有在解决它的物质条件已经存在或者至少是在生成过程中的时候，才会产生。”（1859年《政治经济学批判》序言，译文自《马克思恩格斯选集》第2卷，1995年版，人民出版社）

● **But Note: “can solve” not “will solve”**

**但是请注意：“能够解决”不等于“将会解决”**

**Our Problem:**

**A Globalised Economics and a Still National Politics**

**我们的问题**

已然全球化的经济和仍然以国家为基础的政治

# Critical Dimensions of this Problem

## 该问题的关键维度

1. Inability of states to tax global enterprises effectively.

国家不能有效地对全球企业征税

2. Inability of states to control global capital movements and their domestic effects.

国家不能控制全球资本的流动以及它们对本国产生的影响

3. Surpluses and deficits seen nationalistically rather than as issues in global demand management. Which means

盈亏以国家为单位来衡量，而不是作为全球需求来管理，这意味着：

4. Surpluses cannot be adequately re-cycled both to maintain global demand, and to assist the policy-capacity of weak states.

盈余不能充分地再次投入经济循环，满足全球需求、提高弱国的执政能力。

# Some Matters NOT Strictly Part of this Problem

## 并不只属于该问题的一些事宜

1. The environmental costs of economic growth

经济增长的环境代价

2. The environmental costs of global travel and tourism

全球旅行和旅游的环境代价

3. The health and welfare implications of global population movements.

全球人口流动带来的健康和福利问题

(In principle these problems could be dealt with on a 'state by state' basis, or by looser forms of regional and global cooperation. Their solution may does not *necessarily* require new global institutions. ) (原则上, 这些问题可以“各国依次”解决, 或借助松散的区域与全球合作, 而不必建立新的全球机构。)

## But These Matters are Linked: Because

### 但是，这些问题相互关联：因为

No state or group of states can act effectively on the environment, or on problems of tourism, migration and refugees, unless *they have adequate resources* to do so, and that is importantly affected by their place in the global economy.

除非有充足的资源，否则没有哪个国家或国家集团能够有效地应对环境、旅游、移民、难民等问题。而是否有充足的资源，取决于各国在全球经济中的位置。

## In Short

### 简言之

The world now has a globalized *economic* mechanism for **producing** massive wealth (capitalism) but it has no effective *political* mechanism for **distributing and redistributing** that wealth so that its worst environmental and social side-effects can be effectively addressed. And by 'effectively addressed', I mean by *states* primarily.

这个世界已经有了能够**生产**庞大财富的全球化的**经济机制**（资本主义），但却没有有效的**政治机制**去**分配和再分配**这些财富，去有效解决财富生产过程中糟糕至极的环境问题和社会负效应。我所说的“有效解决”，是指主要由**国家**来有效解决。



# Today's Discussion 今天的讨论

- I would like today's discussion to focus on the issue outlined in the previous slide. 我想今天的讨论主要聚焦于前一张幻灯片描述的问题。
- The problem of the contemporary 'mis-match' between our globalized economics and our still national politics has many other dimensions. 已然全球化的经济与仍然以国家为基础的政治之间“不匹配”这一当代问题有很多其他维度。
- The paper I circulated for the seminar focused on the *historical dimension* of how that mis-match was produced. 为讲座分发给大家的文章关注的是这种不匹配何以产生的历史维度。
- My book *Capitalism and Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* focuses on the implications of the mis-match for *democracy* in the western world. 我的《21世纪的资本主义与民主》一书关注的是这种不匹配对西方国家的民主所造成的影响
- I am happy to discuss all these matters, BUT 我当然很乐意与大家探讨这些问题，但是
- I feel that the most important and pressing issue concerns current global economic, health and environmental problems being caused or worsened by the mis-match, and I hope our discussion today can focus on that and what might be done about it. BECAUSE, 我认为最重要、最急迫的问题在于这种不匹配所造成的或使之恶化的当代全球经济、健康和环境问题。我希望我们今天 的讨论能够聚焦于此，聚焦于这些问题的对策，因为，



## ‘Can’ and ‘Will’? or ‘Can’ versus ‘Will’?

### “能够”而且“将会”？或者“能够”之于“将会”？

The optimism in that Marx quotation lies in the idea that human beings only *understand* or *define* something as a problem when they have *the material means* to solve it. But its pessimistic concomitant is that *possessing* those means solves nothing if ‘mankind’ does not have the political will or ability to *use* them effectively.

马克思论述中的乐观主义源于这种观点：人类只有在具备解决某个问题的物质条件时才会将其理解为或界定为问题。但与之伴生的悲观主义认为：如果“人类”不具备有效运用这些物质条件的政治意愿或能力，那具有这些条件本身并不能解决任何问题。