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AVTORSKI IZVLEČKI  
★  
AUTHORS' ABSTRACTS



ELLEN MEIKSINS WOOD

## LOČITEV EKONOMSKEGA OD POLITIČNEGA V KAPITALIZMU

Avtorica v članku konstruktivno kritizira razvpite različice marksizma, kot sta Cohenova in Clarkova, in predstavi alternativni pristop, ki ga imenuje politični marksizem. Prek problematiziranja metafore o bazi in nadzidavi ter govora o družbenih sferah prikaže temeljne poudarke Marxove družbene teorije, ki v nasprotju z bolj klasičnimi različicami marksizma in Webrovo sociologijo organsko povezujejo ekonomijo s politiko. Skupaj s tem prikaže zgodovinsko specifičnost kapitalizma, formalno ločitev ekonomije od politike, česar ni bilo v nobeni prejšnji družbeni ureditvi. Poudarja, da se to ne zgodi tako, da bi obe razsežnosti, politična in ekonomska, postali povsem ločeni, marveč da je ravno obratno: obe postaneta še bolj prepleteni, razmerje med njima ni pretrgano.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *marksizem, Gerald Cohen, Simon Clarke, politični marksizem, kapitalizem.*

ELLEN MEIKSINS WOOD

## THE SEPARATION OF THE ECONOMIC AND THE POLITICAL IN CAPITALISM

In the article the author constructively critiques infamous versions of Marxism, for example Cohen's and Clarke's, and present an alternative approach which she terms Political Marxism. By means of problematizing the metaphor of base and superstructure and the notion of separate social spheres she teases out the fundamental claims of Marx's social theory which, in contrast with the more classical Marxist approaches and Weber's sociology, organically relates the economic with the political. In conjunction with this the author presents how historically specific capitalism is: in distinction with all societies that came before it, capitalism formally separates the economic and the political yet, as is persuasively argued, this only further intertwines both dimensions and does not sever the relation between them.

KEYWORDS: *Marxism, Gerald Cohen, Simon Clarke, Political Marxism, Capitalism.*

ŽIGA HORVAT

## TAKO IMENOVANE BURŽOAZNE REVOLUCIJE

Buržoazne revolucije so imele (in še imajo) pomembno vlogo pri klasični marksistični teoriji zgodovine. Zanja naj bi bilo značilno pojmovanje zgodovine kot determinističnega in mehanicističnega razvoja produkcijskih sil, kjer pridejo stari (zastareli) produkcijski odnosi v konflikt z novimi, naprednejšimi produkcijskimi silami. Pomembne so tudi v novejših teorijah (konsekencializem), kjer pa se pojem buržoaznih revolucij popolnoma razvedeni. Edini pomembni dejavnik pri oznaki buržoaznih revolucij je tako le novi produkcijski način, tj. kapitalizem (tudi če ta nastane šele več desetletij ali morda stoletje po revoluciji). V članku bomo pokazali na neustreznost in nepomembnost buržoaznih revolucij pri izvoru kapitalizma in pri samem teoretiziranju prehoda iz fevdalizma v kapitalizem, ki je bil nenamerni rezultat dinamik in mehanizmov boja za nadaljnjo reprodukcijo tlačanov in zemljiških gospodov v krizi fevdalizma v Angliji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *buržoazne revolucije, politični marksizem, Robert Brenner, tranzicija, družbeni lastninski odnosi, Ellen Meiksins Wood.*

ŽIGA HORVAT

## THE SO-CALLED BOURGEOIS REVOLUTIONS

Bourgeois revolutions have always had an important role in the classical Marxist theory of history which conceptualizes history as the determinist and mechanistic development of forces of production, where the old relations of production come into conflict with the newly developed forces of production. The concept of bourgeois revolutions also plays a prominent role in the more up-to-date theories (i.e. consequentialism) which nonetheless completely dissolve it. These theories claim that the bourgeois revolution had occurred indeed because its political event resulted in the introduction of a new mode of production, i.e. capitalism (even if the coming of capitalism had been delayed by decades or centuries). In the article we will show the inappropriateness and non-relevance of this concept in the theoretical analysis of the emergence of capitalism. We will show how capitalism was, instead, the unintended consequence of class struggles waged by serfs and landlords in the midst of a general crisis of feudalism in England for the sake of reproducing themselves as they were.

KEYWORDS: *bourgeois revolutions, political Marxism, Robert Brenner, transition, social-property relations, Ellen Meiksins Wood.*

ANKICA ČAKARDIĆ

## LOCKE IN AGRARNI KAPITALIZEM: PRISPEVEK K SOCIALNOZGODOVINSKI ANALIZI

Naloga tega prispevka je vsaj dvojna. Prva je metodološke narave in vsebuje kratek prikaz temeljev socialne zgodovine politične teorije: v zadnjih štiridesetih letih so se interpretacijski pristopi k Lockovi teoriji razvijali v treh smereh – straussovski, cambriški in marksistični. Socialna zgodovina, ki pripada tretji smeri, se je od osemdesetih let razvijala predvsem v okviru šole »političnega marksizma«, katere dela, še zlasti Ellen Meiksins Wood, služijo kot izhodišče za materialistično kritiko Lockove socialne filozofije. Druga naloga sledi iz prve: zajema socialnozgodovinski prikaz prispevkov k analizi Lockove teorije lastnine oziroma posesti in njegove delovne teorije vrednosti. Sklepni del prispevka pa sistematizira ključne teme in teze ter še enkrat poudari metodološki pomen socialnozgodovinskega pristopa k Lockovi filozofiji, ki je nastajala ob razvoju angleškega agrarnega kapitalizma.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *lastnina, načelo izboljšanja, agrarni kapitalizem, socialna zgodovina, Ellen Meiksins Wood.*

ANKICA ČAKARDIĆ

## LOCKE AND AGRARIAN CAPITALISM: A CONTRIBUTION TO A SOCIAL-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

The task of the article is at least twofold. Firstly, we review the foundations of the social history of political theory. In the last forty years there have been three interpretative approaches to Locke's theory: the Straussian, Cambridge and Marxist approach. Social history which corresponds to the third approach has been developing since the 1980s mainly in the field of 'Political Marxism' which is the starting point of a materialist critique of Locke's social philosophy. Especially important here is the work of Ellen Meiksins Wood. Secondly, we articulate a social history of contributions to the analysis of Locke's theory of property or possession and his 'labour theory of value'. In the conclusion we systematize the key themes and theses which have been presented, and we once more underline the methodological importance of a social-historical approach to Locke's philosophy – philosophy which was developed in the early days of English agrarian capitalism.

KEYWORDS: *property, 'improvement', agrarian capitalism, social history, Ellen Meiksins Wood.*

ELLEN MEIKSINS WOOD

## MODERNOST, POSTMODERNOST ALI KAPITALIZEM?

Članek izpodbija modno periodizacijo zgodovine od 18. stoletja dalje v dve veliki fazi, modernost in postmodernost. Ko izprašuje pojmovanje modernosti, poudarja specifičnost kapitalizma v odnosu do drugih vidikov modernosti, s katerimi se ga običajno povezuje, in trdi, da če smo že priča epohalnemu premiku, ta ni prehod od modernosti k postmodernosti, temveč zorenje in univerzalizacija kapitalizma. Ta univerzalizacija je potem razločena od globalizacije, pojma, ki zakriva več, kot odkriva.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *kapitalizem, modernost, postmodernost, globalizacija, razsvetljenje, periodizacija.*

ELLEN MEIKSINS WOOD

## MODERNITY, POSTMODERNITY OR CAPITALISM?

This article challenges the fashionable periodization of history since the eighteenth century into two major phases, 'modernity' and 'postmodernity'. Questioning the conception of 'modernity' itself, the author emphasizes the specificity of capitalism in opposition to other aspects of modernity with which it is conventionally associated, and argues that if we are really witnessing an epochal shift, it is not a transition from 'modernity' to 'postmodernity' but the maturation and universalization of capitalism. The 'universalization' of capitalism is then distinguished from 'globalization', a concept which obscures more than it reveals.

KEYWORDS: *capitalism, modernity, postmodernity, globalization, Enlightenment, periodization.*

ELLEN MEIKSINS WOOD

## NESKONČNA VOJNA

V članku avtorica razpravlja o naravi in vzrokih ameriške doktrine boja proti terorizmu. Posebej se posveča primerjavi te sodobne doktrine svetovne politike s predkapitalistično in kapitalistično politiko imperializma, ki sta imeli (in sta zahtevali) različne teoretsko-apologetske utemeljitve. Avtorica predstavi in komentira Grotiusovo in Lockovo upravičevanje imperializma iz njunih časov. Članek zaključuje s pregledom stanja mednarodne politike v času globalizacije in domnevnega zatona nacionalne države.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *boj proti terorizmu, imperializem, Grotius, Locke, globalizacija.*

ELLEN MEIKSINS WOOD

## INFINITE WAR

In the article the author discusses the nature and causes of the post-9/11 American doctrine of the war on terrorism. She focuses her attention on the comparison of this contemporary doctrine of world politics with the pre-capitalist and capitalist imperialist policy which demanded, and were grounded in, differing theoretico-apologist rationalizations. The author presents, and comments on, Grotius's and Locke's grounding of the imperialism of their times. She concludes the article with a discussion on the state of international politics in the age of globalization when the nation-state is ostensibly losing its power.

KEYWORDS: *the war on terrorism, imperialism, Grotius, Locke, globalization.*

LEV CENTRIH

## ELLEN MEIKSINS WOOD IN ZGODOVINA TRANZICIJE NA SLOVENSKEM

Polje, v okviru katerega je Ellen Meiksins Wood analizirala zahodno politično misel, je historični materializem, kar pomeni, da je bilo njeno osnovno metodološko vodilo kontekstualizacija. Za produktivno branje njenega dela to pomeni dvoje: prvič, politični pojmi so najprej proizvod svojega časa, ker so nastali kot odgovor na probleme točno določene epohe; če si neki pojem »lastijo« različne epohe, je treba proučevati spremembe v pomenu; drugič, kanon zahodne politične misli ni brezčasni nabor besedil in njihovih avtorjev; gre za tradicijo, ki je podvržena spremembam, reinterpretacijam in izzivom alternativ. V prispevku bomo najprej obravnavali družbeni in politični kontekst teoretskega opusa Ellen Meiksins Wood, kjer bomo izpostavili pomen njenih analiz za zgodovino propada samoupravnega socializma v Jugoslaviji. Nadaljevali bomo s pomenom njenih del za aktualni cikel družbenih bojev. Sklenili pa bomo z razmišljanjem o alternativnem kanonu zahodne politične misli.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: *historični materializem, samoupravni socializem, Jugoslavija, tranzicija, civilna družba, Ellen Meiksins Wood.*

LEV CENTRIH

## ELLEN MEIKSINS WOOD AND THE HISTORY OF TRANSITION IN SLOVENIA

The field in which Ellen Meiksins Wood had been analysing the western political thought is called 'historical materialism'. This means that her basic methodological orientation was contextualization. For a productive reading of her works this implies two things: 1. the political concepts are primarily a product of their own times, they are a response on the problems of a particular period; therefore, every single appropriation of a certain concept should take in consideration all its transformations of meaning and perception. 2. The canon of the western political thought is not a timeless cluster of texts and their authors, but rather a tradition being subject to change, reinterpretation and challenging new alternatives. In this article, we will explore the social and political contexts of the theoretical works of Ellen Meiksins Wood, whereby the meaning of her analyses for the history of the fall of the socialist self-management in Yugoslavia will be brought into focus. Finally, we will reflect upon an alternative canon of the western political thought.

KEYWORDS: *historical materialism, the socialist self-management, Yugoslavia, transition, civil society, Ellen Meiksins Wood.*





