

Current Researches on Communist Thoughts by the European left after the Cold War

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Abstract:

Communism, once the guiding ideology of proletarian revolution and socialism construction in the 20th century, has been under attack after the Cold War by various forces, including liberalism, conservatism, and social democracy.

Communism, once the guiding ideology of proletarian revolution and socialist construction in the 20th century, has been under attack after the Cold War by various forces, including liberalism, conservatism, and social democracy. liberalism, conservatism, social democracy and other forces, facing an unprecedented discourse/ideological crisis.

The Communist Party and Workers' Party of Europe and some left-wing scholars, on the other hand, resolutely took up the banner of "communism", defended the real image of communism, and made efforts to revive the discourse of communism, thus forming a new wave of communist thinking. The Communist Party and Workers' Party of Europe and some left-wing scholars, on the other hand, resolutely took up the banner of "communism", defended the real image of communism, and made efforts to revive the discourse of communism, thus forming a new wave of communist thinking. They have introduced, researched and discussed this issue and produced some research results, which have further expanded the influence of this wave of communist thinking. They have introduced, researched and discussed this issue and produced some research results, which have further expanded the influence of this wave of

thinking. Therefore, below we attempt to categorize and introduce these research results from four cross-cutting dimensions, namely, domestic and foreign, political parties and scholars, with a view to drawing wider attention of domestic scholars to this. Therefore below we attempt to categorize and introduce these research results from four cross-cutting dimensions, namely, domestic and foreign, political parties and scholars, with a view to drawing wider attention of domestic scholars to this cutting-edge issue.

From the founding of scientific socialism in the mid-19th century, communism has gradually become a hot topic of academic research and political discussion,...
And wave after wave of communist thinking developed.

This has led to a thriving research on these currents of thought.
In contrast, relatively few studies have researched post-Cold War communist ideology. There are three main reasons for this: firstly, it has only been 25 years since the end of the Cold War, and communism, which has emerged from the pains of history, has only just gained the momentum of inheritance and revitalization, and still needs time to develop and grow, and the study of this new wave of thinking as an object is even more so the study is only just getting started.

Secondly, the historical mystery of the dramatic changes in the Soviet Union has been a source of fascination for many scholars, and even today there are still many scholars who are willing to focus their efforts in studying communism on the history of the Soviet Union and the eventual collapse of the Soviet model, or to track the economic and social development of the countries in the former Soviet Union in the so-called post-communist era.
The turn to this academic interest will also take some time.

Thirdly, the major setback of the Soviet Union's dramatic change made communism, once the ideology of socialist countries, subject to controversy, criticism and even denigration and discredit, and communism became synonymous with authoritarianism and dictatorship and encountered an unprecedented discourse (ideology) crisis, so that the space for the survival of the communist ideology drastically narrowed, and the phenomenon of the fear of talking about communism or even the shame of talking about communism appeared in the international community, which is still unending to the present day.

However, there are still some communist parties and left-wing scholars in Europe after the Cold War who are convinced that communism has not failed, and who have resolutely taken up the theoretical banner of communist thought and broken through the shackles of the capitalist liberal democratic discourse in order to understand and fully commit themselves to communism, and to once again act with complete loyalty to the communist concept. [1]

In the face of Fukuyama's questioning of the end of history and Hobsbawm's query that socialism had failed, that capitalism was now bankrupt, and what is next, their answer was: communism!

To this end, they have put forward a number of new understandings and concepts of the theoretical meaning and realization of communism, trying to show that communism exists in the contemporary necessities and possibilities, vowing to realize the revival of communism, thus creating a new wave of new communist thinking.

Accordingly, a number of scholars in China and abroad have been actively pursuing research on their ideas.

The following paper describes the current state of research on the communist ideology of the post-Cold War European left in four intersecting dimensions: domestic and foreign, political parties and scholars.

Chapter 1

Current status of domestic Chinese research on communist ideology in post-Cold War European communist parties

Domestic academics have been paying close attention to the history and current situation of the development of communist political parties in Europe, especially the post-cold-war efforts of various political parties.

In response to the major historical setback of the Soviet Union's dramatic changes in the 21st century, and in response to the dramatic changes in the international and domestic situation, it has made significant changes in its guiding ideology and program of communism.

Important changes in leadership policy and practice campaigns have attracted much attention in the national academic community.

First of all, Chinese academics have produced quite a lot of research on the French Communist Party's theory of neo-communism, and most of them have developed their own understanding of the Perspectives and evaluations of its neo-communism theory.

For example, Cao Songhao from the Foreign Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China visited France several times after the Cold War, inspecting and participating in the 29th and 32nd congresses of the French Communist Party and the activities of the Festival of the Humanist Newspaper, and was one of the earlier people in China to pay attention to the theoretical and policy of the French Communist Party's new communism.

Cao Songhao argues that the theoretical claims of the new communism were first made in the book *Communisme: la mutation* (Communism: change), written by Robert Hue, general secretary of the French Communist Party, and published in November 1995.¹

Cao Songhao also argues that the new communism is the most important part of the new communism.

The formalization of this theory as the guiding ideology of the French Communist Party began with the 29th Congress of the French Communist Party in December 1996, which replaced the nearly two-decade-old French-colored reference to socialism with neo-communism, marking a step forward in the exploration of the theory of change of communism in the French Communist Party.

An important step was taken. [2]

Cao Songhao systematically elaborated the theoretical propositions of the new communism in ten aspects: ideal society, party construction, Soviet history, goal of struggle, capitalism, new globalization, left-wing alliance, strategy of participation in politics, citizens' participation, and fight for democracy, and pointed out that its purpose was to respond to the domestic and international situation and the needs of the struggle, to improve the party's image, to get rid of the party's predicament, and to promote the party's revitalization and development.

Fei Xinlu of the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau, who likewise followed up on this issue earlier, summarized the French Communist Party's neo-communism in three ways

Transcendence and the two revolutions, i.e., transcendence of tradition, Marx and capitalism, emphasizing the revolution of the information age and the revolution of the personal age.

At the same time, he considered the communist program for the 21st century to be so new and relevant to France that France needed communism as much as it needed fresh air. [3]

In his book *The Theory and Practice of the French Communist Party in Exploration*, Li Zhou takes the new communism theory of the French Communist Party as the theme and discusses it in detail from seven main aspects: first, the emergence of the theory, including the historical conditions of its emergence and the various stages of its formation process.

The second is the source of the theory, including its Marxist theoretical foundations, its logical connection with Eurocommunism, and the Western social democratic main
The onslaught of righteous thinking.

The third is the essence of the theory, i.e., going beyond Marx so as to treat Marxism correctly.

The fourth is the expansion of theory, i.e., a new plan for the program and policy reform of the FCP for the 21st century.

The fifth is a theoretical reflection, focusing on the judgment of the 32nd Congress of the French Communist Party on the situation and challenges at home and abroad, a summary of the lessons learned from the electoral defeat, and a change in the theoretical view of communism.

Sixth, the transformation of doctrine, focusing on how the French Communist Party, through its Thirty-third Congress, its 2007 Extraordinary Session, and its Thirty-fourth Congress, adjusted its strategy to achieve a self-rejection of communist doctrine.

The seventh is an evaluation of the theory, focusing on the main features of the theory and practice of communist change in the French Communist Party, its significance for the international communist movement and the current challenges it faces.

She argues that this theory plays an important role in adhering to and developing Marxism, restoring the guiding position of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and promoting the revival of the socialist movement in Europe and the United States, as well as having a positive significance for the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the innovative development of the Communist Party of China. [4].

Second, by tracking the intercontinental and international conferences organized and participated in by European communist parties, domestic researchers have

unearthed the consensus and divergence of these parties on the issue of communism.

International Communist Seminar, (ICS) is an annual world conference of communist political parties organized by the Belgian Workers' Party since 1992. But Belgian Workers' Party gave up this mission in the middle of 2010s.

Ding Junping and Qi Shenglin found that the final resolution of the 15th Conference raised the opposition to imperialism in the current circumstances and situation of the times,

Gave Practical proposals for the struggle for communism, namely, that in preparation for the communist revolution, the communists of the exploited and oppressed countries must develop and strengthen their union with each other and form a committee to unite against the present war of aggression waged by U.S. imperialism [5].

Some scholars have similarly mined a number of international communist seminars in recent years to identify the historical missions and common strategies of contemporary communist parties and communists, including criticizing capitalism and its systemic crises, opposing imperialism and its war conflicts, propagating communism and its theoretical propositions, promoting the flourishing of the world workers' movement, and advancing the development and growth of communist parties, among others.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties (IMCWP) has been organized by the European Union since 1998.

An annual worldwide conference of communist parties led by the communist parties of the continent.

Some scholars who have studied the sessions as a whole have argued that adherence to the communist ideals and beliefs, and putting the communist society in its most

The ultimate replacement of capitalist society as an inexorable law of world development, with emphasis on the development of modern communication, media and networking tools through the

The propaganda and education of communist ideology was an important feature and theoretical proposition of the conference. [6].

For his part, Nie Yunlin noted the early disagreement at the conference over whether to adhere to the communist nature of the conference: some political parties argued that the membership of the conference should be enriched by diluting the communist ideological coloration and shifting in the direction of a conference of left-wing political parties.

The majority of the political parties, on the other hand, argued that the communist character of the Conference should be maintained, and were only divided on the question of whether or not to set up a powerful leading organ. The practice of the final conference completely ruled out the possibility of moving in the direction of a general left-wing party and maintained its communist character. [7]

The European Communist Meeting (ECM) is an annual meeting of communist political parties of an intercontinental nature in Europe, held since 2011 at the initiative and organization of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE).

Liu Chunyuan followed this conference, and from her synthesis of the previous conferences we can easily derive the European Communism

The three points of consensus reached by the doctrinaire political parties on the question of communism:

First, it is a firm rejection of the anti-communist tactics of European bourgeois governments that equate communism with fascism and Nazism, and that attack the ideological history of communism with the intention of leading the population to hatred of communism.

Secondly, in the process of organizing the workers' movement the Communists undertook the task of propagating communism to the working masses, telling them that the Communist

The proletarian program is a workable reality rather than a dream.

Thirdly, communists should put the strategic goal of communism on the agenda and work for a communist future society where no one exploits anyone.

Will fight for it. [8].

Fourthly, domestic academic case and overall studies of European communist parties provide us with an exhaustive picture of these parties' communist View.

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) researcher Liu Shuchun's book *Studies in European Socialism* elaborates extensively on Russia, New Eastern Europe, and Central Asia,

The theoretical views of Communists and Leftists on Communism in Central Eastern and Western Europe, such as the Communist Workers' Party of Russia (CWP), articulated an understanding of the relationship between socialism and communism within the perspective of the scientific view of communism and emphasized that socialism and communism in the 21st century must necessarily become a material force for transforming the face of the contemporary world on the basis of sanity and humanity and in the interest of the workers. [9] 83.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria discusses the contradictory and struggling relationship between capitalism and communism, as well as the forward and tortuous nature of the communist path, and emphasizes the unity of adherence to the basic principles of communism with the continuous development of communist theory and practice.

For the first time, the Czech and Moravian Communist Party presented a concrete vision of communism in the twenty-first century, based on the realities of Czech.

For their part, communist parties in Western Europe generally emphasized communist ideals and goals in their party programs and practices, and defended the party's communist identity in response to the changing international political situation and the proliferating social-democratic ideology.

The Research Group on the Theory and Practice of Communist Parties in Contemporary Capitalist Countries conducts case studies on the Communist Parties of the 16 major capitalist countries in the world today, on the basis of which it analyzes and synthesizes to draw holistic conclusions about the theory and practice of Communist Parties in capitalist countries.

From these holistic conclusions several features of the way European communist parties viewed the question of communism can be detected as follows:

First, they advocate entering socialist and communist societies through peaceful and democratic paths, and no longer advocates violent revolution and proletarian Dictatorship.

Secondly, the realization of the ultimate goal of communism is a long and tortuous process that needs to be carried out in stages and steps.

Thirdly, the working class remains the leading force of the communist movement, and the unity of the middle social classes is of key importance for the victory of the communist revolution.

Fourth, when discussing the connotations of socialism and communism, democracy is often cited as its essential feature, in contrast to Marx's and Engels's views about in connection with the idea of the association of free men. PROBLEM

Fifth, the parties disagreed on the two-stage theory of communist society or on the question of whether or not moving to communism must have to go through a socialist transitional stage [10].

From these European communist parties' visions of future social forms and systems, the author finds that while most of them are more inclined to Toward the use of the term socialism, but they actually describes the conditions of a communist society.

In terms of case studies, the panelists described the Communist Party of Greece's understanding of the relationship between socialism and communism and the inevitability of communism.

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The Portuguese Communist Party's general definition of socialism and communism and the CPLP's vision of what communism will look like when it is realized in Portuguese society.

Italy's reconstruction Communist Party's reconstructive qualities on the issue of communism includes reconceptualizing the history of communism, re-establishing the image of communism, re-interpreting the theories and principles of communism, and redefining the identity of communism, among other things.

Chapter 2

Current state of foreign research on communist ideology in post-Cold War European communist parties

After the Cold War, the study of European communist parties in foreign academia, especially in English-speaking academia, hit an overall low point but did not disappear.

In general, these studies are more keen to focus on and analyze these parties in developing their membership, joining coalitions, and gaining voters, performance and its influencing factors in such areas as competition for meclis seats, while the unique nature of the communist party itself and its special theories,

Less policy attention has been paid to it, and even less research has been done on its communist ideology.

But we can still mine the foreign research literature for their insights into the communist views of these parties.

First, foreign academics tend to synthesize and compare European communist parties as an important force of the European radical left, from which they can get a glimpse of the communist outlook of these parties.

Kate Hudson focuses on the process of political renewal that's already happening on the left of the left. [11]

Her book *European Communism Since 1989: Toward a New European Left?* focuses on selected communist parties in eight post-Cold War countries in Western and Central and Eastern Europe as a study that forcefully refutes the popular view that communism as a serious political force has ended.

She argues that these parties, which continue to adhere to the ideals of communism, along with other parties standing to the left of the Social Democrats, have constructed the basis for the rise of a New European Left, whose communism rejects both social democracy and also rejects authoritarian socialism, and instead embraces feminism, green politics, and anti-racism, and adopts a more democratic and pluralistic political strategy, thus constituting, along with other radical forces, the New Left that criticizes European capitalism and neoliberalism. [12]

Anna M. Getzimara-Bass's book, "Saving the Communist Past: The Reconstruction of the Communist Parties in Central and Eastern Europe (Redeeming)

In the course of the reconstruction of communist successor parties in the former Soviet East, which included both social democratic parties and communist. The majority of these parties, most of which unexpectedly excelled in democratic elections and even came to power a few years after the dramatic changes in the Soviet Union, are still in power.

For Gezimara Bas, this phenomenon can be attributed to the positive impact that the historical communist legacy has had on the transformation of these parties.

These legacies include the political elite's capacity for policy innovation, social negotiation, and efficient organizational strategies, which are not just tools of

discourse and mobilization, but determine the resources available and the strategies for party reconstruction. [13] 20.

Not only is it a logical prerequisite for the transformation of political parties, but it has had a significant impact on the manner, speed, and content of party transformation and the relative success of party strategies in the transition to democracy. [13] 66-68.

In his book *Radical Left Parties in Europe*, Luke March examines the large number of European communist parties that survived the Cold War and includes them in the vision of radical left parties in Europe, bringing together when the former larger European communist parties are divided into two camps, conservative and reformist, and broadly summarize the differences between the two in their treatment of the communist tradition and the historical legacy of the Soviet Union.

Gezimara Bas argues that the conservative Communist Party still adheres to orthodox communism, as evidenced by not abandoning its Marxist beliefs, while claiming to be a Marxist-Leninist party and viewing the world through the Cold War prism of imperialism.

Without abandoning the name and symbols of the Communist Party, it still remembers the historical movements of the radicals and tries to maintain the revolutionary traditions of the Soviet Union, including a relatively uncritical stance towards the Soviet legacy and the organizes their own parties through democratic centralism.

In contrast, the reformed Communist Party deviated from communism towards eclecticism, as evidenced by the abandonment of the Soviet model's elements of Leninism, democratic centralism, and the rejection of the market economy, and the acceptance, at least rhetorically, of New Left agendas such as feminism, environmental protection, and grassroots democracy, among others. [14].

Secondly, case studies of European communist parties in foreign scholarship also contain interpretations of these parties' views of communism and their perceptions.

The most prolific research has been done on the French Communist Party and its neo-communist program, but most researchers are not favorable to the Neo-Communist program.

Philip Taylor, after studying the congresses of the French Communist Party, concluded that the points of reference for the program the new communism included:

Full employment.

Political parity.

The Removal of Presidential Power in France and the Use of Proportional Representation in All Elections.

The new constitution of the modern French Republic.

An enlarged European Community based on human rights, democracy, social development and culture rather than profit, but he also pointed out that the renewed communist program, which the French Communist Party had tried to relaunch and hoped to symbolize as soon as possible, appeared to be hopelessly bogged down in ideological uncertainty, financial difficulties and alleged corruption. [15]

Frank L. Wilson also argued that the French Communist Party's Communist New Deal, which followed a change of leadership in 1994, was nothing more than an old bottle of New wines, even de-ideological, as Robert Hue's policy goals are broad and unrevolutionary, and he seldom invokes biography. Unified Marxist-Leninist Ideology and the Rhetoric of Class Struggle. [16].

David S. Bell, on the other hand, was totally pessimistic about the French Communist Party, which sought reforms within the framework of communism.

On the one hand, communism had been a philosophical system that had been honed to attract new members seeking a philosophy that Moreover, communism has a foe (the bourgeoisie) and a program: the abolition of property and the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange for the operation of a planned economy, a deep-rooted impression that has made communism infamous. 17].

On the other hand, French communism, which had close ties to various left wings, pulled between the need to maintain its orthodox identity and the obligation to innovate.

In the 1990s, however, the history of communism was discarded as garbage along with failed attempts to revolutionize itself, confirming the old adage that communism can be broken but not yielded. [17]

Bell argues that the French Communist Party's separation of neo-Communist program from the practices of Eastern countries with a view to rebranding communism is a sign of adherence to communism without capitulation.

But this is tantamount to remaining imprisoned in a reviled ideology, which only makes it difficult to develop a convincing strategy, and from trapping the into a reform dilemma, with the result that the transformation of the French radical left may call for the destruction of the French Communist Party. [17].

In his study of the current state of development of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, Magee found that communism, which was essential for uniting the RCP as an organizing ideology, [exists in a peculiar dilemma, namely, the maintenance of communism as a Soviet tradition. But communism as a tradition is itself anti-traditional and revolutionary.18

This dilemma reinforced the use of communist ideology in the post-Brezhnev era, whereby communism was gradually justified for its symbolic significance, its institutional construction, and as a national tradition, rather than initially for its theoretical justification or teleological goals. [18]

Today, however, the UCPR, which has lost its position in power and still holds a conservative communist position, has to face this dilemma once again. and face the electoral defeat crisis.

Finally, foreign researchers have found that European communist political parties tend to be influenced by the ideology of communism and the realities of European integration.

There is a wavering among them and a difference in the degree of adherence to communism within them.

Giacomo Benedetto and Lucia Quaglia in the book “The Skepticism of Communist Europe in France, Italy, and Spain”, compares the tortuous process of adapting communist parties in the three Western European countries to European integration and the important factors that have influenced the attitudinal shifts of the three parties in this process.

The article argues that the past approach of studying communist parties as undifferentiated wholes grouped together as a community on the premise of a high degree of ideological commonality is open to question, and points out that: if one thinks about the communist family in Western Europe, the diversity of

communist responses to the European integration process can bring ideological interpretations into question in terms of empiricism.

They have been simultaneously adapted to change in time between countries and, over time, within the same political party.

This is puzzling, because if ideology is the main independent variable affecting party positioning on European issues, then we should be able to expect a tendency towards uniformity within the same party family, as well as slight variations in national parties. [19]

But the fact is that the Communist Party in Spain has never been Euroskeptical, while the Communist Parties in France and Italy are not interested in European integration.

Their Opposition to EU integration has also shifted from hard-line to soft, and has even begun to be supportive.

Accordingly, the article argues that the ideology of communism has been gradually shaken and diluted within European communist parties by a series of realities both at home and abroad, not least in the pursuit of elections and coalitions.

Gyulkas Charalambauth's book, "European Integration and the Communist Dilemma: The Communist Responses to Europe in Greece, Cyprus, and Italy", also takes as its starting point the attitudes and responses of three European communist parties to European integration, and demonstrates the complex process by which the Communist Party of Greece, the Party of the Progressive Working People (PAP) of Cyprus, and the Communist Party of Reconstruction (PPR) of Italy (CPR) made vastly different choices between the ideology of communism and the pragmatic realities of the interests of the parties. The complex process of choosing between the ideology of communism and the practical interests of pragmatism is shown to be very different.

In his view, each such party, in its own unique context and characteristics, deserves to be analyzed and evaluated]. [20].

For even within communist parties, there are differences in the understanding of communist ideology and in the degree of adherence to it, i.e., adherence to the guiding ideology of communism or moderate moderation of one's radical stance in the light of the realities of the situation.

Such divergences and differences are often reflected in their attitudes and choices in the face of real problems.

As Daphne Halicoppelau summarizes this work, the conceptual lens at the center of the book is the so-called communist dilemma, the choice between ideological consistency and détente.

Or, in other words, the classic dilemma faced by most fringe parties: keep their radical ideology but risk being electorally marginalized, or take moderate attitude but risk losing their ideological identity. [21] _

Chapter 3

The current state of domestic research on communist thinking among left-wing scholars in post-Cold War Europe

Currently, domestic academics are still in the stage of paying attention to, introducing, and presenting the communist thinking of left-wing scholars in Europe after the Cold War, and the methodology is mainly based on literature research and interviews.

There are more translations and translations resulting from the direct translation of the academic achievements of these scholars, while there are fewer monographs and dissertations devoted to the study of the communist ideology of these scholars, thus forming their own systematic understanding, judgment, and evaluation of this issue.

From the content of the domestic academic research results, there are several commonalities in these aspects.

First, it is generally recognized in the domestic academic community that left-wing scholars in post-Cold War Europe are working to revive the communist discourse, return to the concept of communism, and lead a new wave of communist thinking.

Prof. Wang Xingfu of Fudan University has stated two points of view about the beginning of this revival of communist discourse:

One view dates back to the mid-1980s and is represented by Pierre-Félix Gattali and Tony Negri's 1985 book *Les nouveaux espaces de liberté*.

libere), and Jean-Luc Nancy's 1986 book, *The Non-Efficacious Community*.

[22]

(La communauté des *ouvrees*).

Another point of view dates back to 2006 and is represented by Antonio Negri's book published in the same year. Farewell Mr. Socialism. (Goodbye Mr. Socialism) [23] ①.

Since then explorations of communism have continued to appear in the writings of left-wing European scholars, building up energy for the revival of communism.

It is widely recognized in the national academic community that the landmark event in the return of communism to the European left-wing scholarly community was the The London Congress of Communist Ideas, chaired by Slavoj Žižek, was held in 2007.

Prof. Wang Xingfu considered the conference to be landmark, not only as a collective appearance of radical left thinkers but It was also an important ritual for the return of the idea of communism. [24].

He identifies two reasons why communist discourse has been able to revitalize in the community of left-wing scholars in Europe:

First, it is necessary to purge the misconception that the Soviet model is communism and to make it clear that Soviet-style communism is not true communism.

The second is that the radical left, in order to distinguish itself from liberal democrats, needs independent and clear political labels.

He further argues that although the current communist discourse of the radical left has not yet become normative, systematic, and realistic due to its inherent divisions

theory, but it is indisputable that the new communism has become the iconic symbol of radical politics. [18]

Fan Chunyan of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, on the other hand, makes it clear that the series of four seminars on the concept of communism held between 2009 and 2014 and their subsequent discussions signaled a new wave of communist thinking that is emerging in left-wing European academia. [25]

She argues that European left-wing scholars have revived the term communism with the intention of reversing the post-Cold War dilemma of a declining and confused European left by proposing a radical, radical, revolutionary alternative to capitalism and reconfiguring politics based on distance from the state.

Wu Cha also argues that the current reactivation of the term communism by left-wing scholars in Europe has a theoretical and legitimate basis. It is a demand for a truly pain-creating change in capitalism based on a holistic sense. [26].

Secondly, the results of domestic research on this wave of communist thinking from the European left-wing academy show a picture of what is happening under the banner of unity.

The picture underneath is one of both some consensus and an implicit meeting of minds.

The consensus of the European left is reflected in the theoretical significance or necessity of reviving communism: on the one hand, the radical terms that were once actively used in the history of the left, such as fairness, equality, justice, democracy, rights, and even socialism, have been swallowed up by the dominant discourse of capitalism and have become political tools for the improvement and reform of the capitalist society and the preservation of the capitalist order, and have lost the radicality and revolutionary character of the radical and revolutionary nature of the radical subversion of capitalism from the outside. radical and revolutionary, while only the name communism retains a ghostly power due to its intrinsic connection with the realm of the real. [25].

On the other hand the real socialism or empirical communism that existed and ultimately failed in the history of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe model, which is characterized economically by a highly centralized planned economic system and politically by bureaucracy and top-down centralism. is an outdated form of communism, and even goes to the opposite of communism, hence the current need to contrast with Soviet-style communist theory and practice to make a radical break and reconstruct a new conception of communism in order to bring about a renewed awareness and understanding of what true communism is.

However, these European left-wing scholars did not develop a unified view on the new understanding of the meaning of communism, and the contradictions between these views and the

The controversy essentially reflects the differences in their respective academic backgrounds and positions.

Alain Badiou, a leading figure of the European radical left, stood for transcendentalism, a philosophy of events from beyond the Understanding the idea of communism as an eternal hypotez.

From this understanding of Badiou, both scholars have extended and added to the Communist Hypothesis, and scholars have questioned and refuted it. (See. The Communist Hypothesis)

Zizek, for example, follows Badiou in pointing out the four antagonisms inherent in the capitalist system, the And accordingly corroborate the legitimacy of the return of the concept of communism and present their own hypothesis of communism.

Bruno Bostil, on the other hand, criticized the purely discursive, philosophical communism of Badiou.
Emphasize the realistic, practical nature of communism.

Judy Dean, for her part, has again attempted to build on Postil's critique by constructing the communist potential in three dimensions. Finding the motivation to realize the theoretical edifice of communism. [27] .

Michael Hardt and Negri, among others, take an intrinsicist stance, drawing on Marx's political economy to Understanding communism as an inherent tendency of globalization and immaterial labor.

Scholars represented by Jacques Rancière understood communism from a cultural and aesthetic perspective as an expression of the co-creative and co-sharing nature of culture and art. [28].

In addition to this, some more niche or even alternative communist ideas, including eco-communism, aesthetic communism, disaster communism, hacker communism, and so on, have also attracted the attention of Chinese researchers.

Finally, domestic researchers have not been swept away by the current passion for reviving communism, but rather have kept this wave of communist thought A calm, rational and objective judgment was made.

Chinese researchers have generally recognized European left-wing scholars for daring to challenge neoliberal hegemony in an era of global capitalist domination, and by their theoretical courage to return to the idea of communism, but also the sobering realization that most of these scholars have a communist conception of Marx. They think classical scientific communism of Engels is fundamentally different from Marx's.

They rationally and calmly adhered to the Marxist position, viewpoints and methods of this new wave of communism, the theoretical viewpoints of An objective discernment was made.

For example, Prof. Lan Jiang of Nanjing University, after studying Badiou's ontological construction of the concept of communism, after attempting to encompass in this way the emancipatory political science logic of real political processes and political goals, it is unflinching to point out that this purely philosophical thesis Communal (communal)ism under the evidence remains a utopian teleological fantasy. [29].

Prof. Wang Jinlin of Fudan University, after studying Zizek's communist hypothesis, found that he took everything to be deprived of the public body, Subjects of entity or content are included in the proletarian category.

Professor Wang Jinlin astutely points out that this radicalization and generalization of the concept of proletariat certainly accommodates the classical proletarianism. marginalized groups that the concept of class has trivialized, but at the same time it has deprived the concept of its original revolutionary character. [30].

In the opinion of Song Xiaojie, an associate professor at Henan University, even Negri, who is considered to be the most faithful to historical materialism among the group of left-wing scholars who revived communism, is suspected of voluntarism, aesthetic utopianism, and the risk of relativism due to his overemphasis on the subjective element of the revolution, his detachment from the objective material relations of production, and his reduction of the impetus of historical development and social transformation to a simple confrontation and conflict of class wills embodies risk of relativism. [31].

It follows that domestic researchers generally recognize that these European left-wing scholars, despite their choice of words from the Marxist discourse.

adopted some Marxist research perspectives and methods, but after all they were not Marxists in the strict sense of the word.

More than anything else, they are trying to make their radical position known by reactivating the long-dormant concept of communism, thoroughly criticizing the entire ruling order of global capitalism and the construction of an ideal state in line with the current situation and circumstances.

However, as Prof. Wang Xingfu has summarized in a pinpoint manner:
The biggest problem they face is how to make a connection between their theories and reality.

Marxism is essentially the transformation of communism from unreality to reality, while the contemporary radical left has taken the opposite path. [32]

Chapter 4

The Current State of Foreign Research on Communist Thinking among Left-Wing Scholars in Post-Cold War Europe

The current state of foreign research on communist thinking among left-wing scholars in post-Cold War Europe can be read in three ways.

First, monographs and scholarly papers on the topic of communist thought by important scholars.

Secondly, articles reviewing important academic conferences, including the landmark Communist Ideas Conference and various influential annual academic conferences organized by the Marxist Left journals.

The third is the largest number of book reviews, which synthesize the ideas of monographs on the subject of communist thought and express their own valence.

The foreign research results have the following three commonalities in terms of content:

first, foreign academics realized relatively earlier that European Left-wing scholars' attempts to reshape the image of communism and revive its discourse.

1991 collection of essays edited by Robin Blackburn, *After the Decline: The Failure of Communism and the Future of Socialism*.

Contains a series of essays written by worried socialists rather than elated dissidents or anti-communists during the period of the Soviet upheaval, focusing on the reasons for the failure of Soviet-style communism and the feasibility of a future of socialism. [33] (See. Book: After the Fall: The Failure of Communism and the Future of Socialism)

Christine Ryder sees this collection of essays as a powerful response to the misconception that communism was seen as an unchanging, monolithic force against the democratic, pluralistic West, ignoring its plurality and its contribution to opposing fascism, colonialism, and promoting social reform in the West. [34].

In the same year a collection of essays edited by Vladimir Tismanaru and Judith Shapiro, "Debates on the Future of Communism. Tangible contributions have also been made to the controversial aspects of the flaws and reform potential of communism and to the partial explanation of its collapse. [35]. (Debates on the Future of Communism)

Jacques Derrida is credited with being one of the first in Europe after the end of the Cold War to flag the opposition to Fukuyama's end-of-history conclusions. he was one of the left-wing scholars who advocated the defense of Marxist communism.

Jonathan Joseph thought Derrida he'd be bold enough to resist pressure to recall communism in 1993, shortly after the Soviet upheaval. It's because the specter of communism may be, and remains, beyond existence.

But it at least has the ability to hover. And this trait is what Derrida hoped to awaken in time during this period. [36]

Alex Callinicos argues that the process of the rise of a new communist ideology among critical theorists began with Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's 2000 book *Empire*, whose famous concluding sentence provoked an irrepressible lightness and joy as a communist, but that the most decisive event in the discourse on the awakening of communism came from a very different and, in some ways, surprising direction. The most decisive event in the discussion of the awakening of communism came from a very different and in some ways surprising direction.

The attention this article attracted inspired a large and wide-ranging public discussion in London in 2009, largely orchestrated by Žižek and focusing on the idea of communism. [37] (De quoi Sarkozy edt-if le nom?).

Badiou's original paper and his submission to the London conference in turn became the subject of extensive discussion by Zizek and (Alex Callinicos included) many other left-wing philosophers. [38].

And scholars represented by the likes of Panagiotis Soderis and Joran Bogdan see in one of the chapters of Badiou's 2003 anthology *Infinite Ideas: the Return of Truth and Philosophy, Philosophy and the Death of Communism*, a chapter in which he actually tried to revive the spirit of communism and fight the decline of the so-called communist nation-states of Eastern Europe even before he formulated his communist hypothesis, and remained loyal to the communist position. [39], [40]. (See book. *Infinite Thought: Truth and the Return of Philosophy and the Death of Communism*)

Second, foreign researchers have generally and clearly recognized the existence within this wave of communist thought among European left-wing scholars of putting communist as a philosophical idea or a real movement, and expresses his views on this disagreement.

Steven Xavero of Wayne State University sees the divisions in the European left-wing academy over the question of communism, as presented at the 2009 London Conference on the Idea of Communism, as historical echoes of the Marxist debates of the 20th century.

On one side of the debate in the past were the pioneers who explored the tactics of violent revolution in order to wield power, and on the other side were those who argued that the logic of history would almost automatically lead capitalism to socialism and then to communism.

And one of these two tensions today is the claim of Zizek and Badiou to return to revolutionary passions, but only to insist on the necessity of a radical voluntarism against the ubiquitous domination of capital.

The other strand is Hart and Negri's insight of the plurality as a force against empire, arguing that late capitalist globalization has, as a result, created the objective conditions for communism.

Shaviro argues that in the 21st century, this confrontation has become so lifeless that we need to somehow transcend it altogether. But no one at this meeting was able to offer such a program. [41]

The famous political and social philosopher of the University of Amsterdam, Robin Celikates, also bluntly published his own tendencies and views on this debate about communism within the left under the title Communism: Idea VS. 'Real Movement'? under the title of "Communism: Idea VS. 'Real Movement'?", which expresses his own tendencies and views on this debate about communism within the left. deep [42] Communism: Idea VS. 'Real Movement'?)

He makes an important contribution to this discussion of communism by recognizing that Etienne Balibar and Frank Fischbach did not succumb to economic reductionism, historical determinism, or messianic proletarian high ground, but adhered to an absolutely political, non-traditional Marxist position that was systematically linked to theory, political practice, and social experience.

Accordingly, he criticized the idea of communism or the assumption of communism put forward by scholars represented by Badiou and Žižek as being completely divorced from the Marxist social-theoretical analysis of the status quo.

This rejection of social theory (not to mention empiricist social research) coincides with voluntarism and purism, Its inherent position is to see loyalty to the subject to the singular event as a sign of political radicalism.

A radical break with the status quo seems to be a matter of determination, divorced from its underlying social conditions. Why communism or why one becomes a communist thus also tends to be a matter of faith.

And according to Marxism, communism, if it still means anything, can only, as The German Ideology said, be understood as a movement of reality rather than of ideas or assumptions, that is to say, a movement that is intrinsically in a historical and political sense A movement that is based on the actual socio-historical situation and at the same time completely rejects the existing social order.

Of course, there are scholars like Allen Johansen who collectively judge this wave of neo-communism as a simple repetition of the old communism, who see it as still within the orbit of left-wing totalitarianism, and who ironize these left-wing scholars by saying that neo-communism is so seductive we can't afford to do anything but shake our heads at it and walk away. [43]

Finally, some foreign researchers have begun to try to apply the new communist ideas of European left-wing scholars to other theorizing Section or in the analysis and study of real-world problems.

John Roberts has attempted to integrate the communist thought of recent years among European left-wing scholars with the study of cultural aesthetics in his paper "Introduction: art, Enclave Theory and the Communist Imaginary. (Introduction: Art, Enclave Theory and the Communist Imaginary).

In his view, the notion of utopian enclaves in science fiction literature and countercultural practices becomes a hidden (and unobtrusive) dialog with the communist tradition. (Utopian Enclave) ② [44].

Accordingly, he uses a new type of Enclave Thinking to reinterpret and explain this new wave of communist thinking, including Badiou's invariant theory of communism, (Communism Invariant) The peculiarities of communism in Ghattali and Negri's emancipatory thought and Nancy's literary model of communism. ((Communisms Liberation of Singularities) (Literary Communism)

Through this interdisciplinary reading, the author argues that it is imperative what kind of communism is appropriate to the thwarted communist legacy, rather than a mad obsession with the name of communism itself.

And what is necessarily crucial for advanced cultural practices is in fact the encounter between the aestheticization of politics and the politicization of aesthetics in a kind of inaugural communism or zone of enclave thought as a space for mobile (pioneering) experimentation. (Inaugural Communism) 3 [40].

For his part, Professor Bernard Kovar, a marketing major, joins Pauline McLaren and Alan Bradshaw in describing how the ideas and methods in this wave of neo-communist thinking have influenced marketing.

Their paper, Rethinking Consumer Culture Theory: from Postmodern to Communist Perspectives (Rethinking Consumer Culture Theory from the Postmodern to the Communist Horizon) puts the spotlight on a group of theorists who revived communism while thinking about how these ideas can help us critique and reimagine theories of consumer culture. (Consumer Culture Theory) [45].

They argue that postmodern theory, which has had a profound impact on the field of consumer research, is now saturated, and that academic questions and confusion about what comes after the postmodern can be answered by looking to the idea of communism.

If Badiou saw the real communist movement as an exceptional event interrupting the natural course of history, then unlike communist theory, which tended to emphasize events that ruptured the status quo, Consumer Culture Theory book chose to focus only on moments of seizure and replication, but communism as a kind of post-postmodernity had inescapable effects on CCT. [41] (Post-postmodernism)

As the authors point out: the shift towards embracing communism meant taking into account political orientation and the subject position of the Consumer Culture Theory canon. Instead of merely seeking to explain consumer culture, this shift brings about a mode of analysis that turns to identifying and nurturing moments of resistance and rupture.

Communism is so axiomatically internalized in Consumer Culture Theory that Consumer Culture Theory has always been communist. [41].

Other researchers have used the communist theories of these left-wing scholars to explain and analyze the current state and future trends of the online society, such as Fimko Kolingfreaks and Ruud Kolingfreaks who attempted to explore contemporary notions of the common man in the Internet-based community. As an exploration of contemporary communist appearances in the Badiou sense. [46].

Comrade Xi Jinping pointed out that revolutionary ideals are higher than heaven.

The realization of communism is the highest ideal of us communists, and this highest ideal requires successive struggles from one generation to the next. [47]

On the path of adhering to and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must always take communism as our highest ideal and ultimate goal of struggle.

For this reason, in the academic field, it is necessary to keep abreast of the times and to pay attention to and study the new trends and developments in world's communist trend of thought and the international communist movement. In presenting and studying left-wing communist thought in post-Cold War Europe, it is important to remain firm in the Marxist stance, perspective, and methodology.

Use scientific socialism as a criterion for judging this new wave of communist thinking, and strive for the revival of true, scientific communism.

Annotation:

① The original text gives the publication date of *Goodbye Mr. Socialism* as 1990, but after checking by the author.

The original version of this work was published in Italian in 2006.

② Enclave is a special human geographic concept that originally referred to an area under the jurisdiction of an administrative region but not contiguous to it.

But Johansson cites Fredric Jameson in *Archaeologies of the Future: utopian desires and other science fiction*:

The Desire

Called *Utopia and Other Science Fictions*) in the the notion of utopian enclaves: such enclaves are like foreign objects in society: processes of variation in the enclave are temporarily captured to the extent that when such processes of variation transcend society for a time and demonstrate their political powerlessness, the enclave is preserved, and at the same time the enclave provides a space for.

In it new pictures of social aspirations are designed and tried out.

(iii) A term Johansen uses for what he understands to be Nancy's communist model of literature.

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