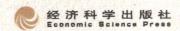
中南财经政法大学现代政治经济学丛书

交汇与分野

——马克思与演化经济学家的对话

杨虎涛/著





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中南财经政法大学(最早的前身为中原大学)政治经济学学科始建于1949年,它是新中国成立后最早在大学设立的政治经济学学科点之一。60年来,先后在国内知名学者马哲民、朱剑农、张寄涛、杨怀让、王时杰、夏兴园等几代学科带头人的努力下,使本学科在国内同类学科中位于前列,20世纪90年代以来先后被财政部和湖北省确定为重点学科。

本学科重要的学术传统就是, 既坚守马克思主义政治经济学的基本原理, 又与时俱进, 力求在新的历史条件下, 尤其在中国改革开放的历史条件下, 积极地借鉴和吸收其他一切理论的优秀成果, 创新和发展马克思主义政治经济学。

我们坚守由马克思和恩格斯开创的政治经济学基本原理, 是因为与其他经济学理论相比它具有以下更优越的基本理论 特性:

第一,它旗帜鲜明地强调生产关系研究对象,这就抓住了经济学的本质。不错,经济学是要研究资源配置。但是,资源"自己"没有主见和行动,它离不开人。资源配置如果离开了人,离开了人与人之间的经济利益关系即生产关系,就只能是自然力作用下的沧海桑田"配置"。所以,经济学研究的资源配置在本质上就是生产关系。不错,在资源稀缺条件下,经济学要研究人的理性选择。但是,人的理性选择如果离开了社会,离开了人与人之间的经济利益关系,只能是寓言中鲁宾逊孤立的个人选择,而不可能在现实中存在。退一步说,即使存在,它也不是经济社会的博弈行为,而是与自然力之间的博弈行为。

所以,经济学研究人的理性选择,在本质上是研究人与人之间 经济利益博弈关系的理性行为,或者更准确地讲是人与人之间 的交往理性行为。

第二,它的理论架构更宏大且更具有开放性和包容性。虽然它强调生产关系对象,但它不是孤立地研究生产关系,而是在与生产力和政治、法律、意识形态等上层建筑互动关系中研究生产关系。所以,该理论架构也完全可以把科技与生产力、政治法律与意识形态等相关因素内生化,这就使它对其他一切理论都具有开放性和包容性的理论品质。

第三,从最基本的研究方法来说,它不仅遵循形式逻辑, 而且还遵循辩证逻辑;它不仅逻辑地看待经济问题,而且还历 史地看待经济问题;它不仅使研究对象即经济形态具有历史过 程,而且还使经济形态具有演化过程。

本学科与时俱进,力求在新的历史条件下创新和发展马克思主义政治经济学,是因为我们也坚信:"理论是灰色的,而生活之树常青。"不仅当今世界与马恩当年世界的社会、政治、经济和文化条件有很大的不同,而且中国东方特殊的社会、政治、经济和文化条件是马恩不曾经历和体验过的,所以,马克思主义还面临在当代中国条件下的创新和发展任务。不错,彻底的理论具有一般性和普适性,但是一般性和普适性的理论不是封闭的,它始终需要容纳新的特殊性而进一步一般化。

我们强调积极地借鉴和吸收其他一切理论的优秀成果,不仅因为这是马克思和恩格斯本人一贯倡导的学术品德和科研精神,以及他们开创的政治经济学本身就具有的对其他一切理论开放和包容的性质,而且还因为在他们开创之后,曾有很长时期由于被苏联政治经济学教科书教条化而变成了一个排斥其他理论的封闭体系,并且这种教条化的影响甚为深远。所以,政治经济学迫切需要借鉴和吸收其他一切理论甚至包括反对它的学派理论,才可能有在新的历史条件下的生机和成长。

首先,由于过去传统政治经济学的教条影响深远,因此,

现代政治经济学的"现代",包含了与"传统"相区别的含义。例如,长期以来,传统政治经济学由于受苏联所有制教条影响,不仅把所有制等同于生产关系,而且使其成为外生的所有制因素。而我们认为,作为马克思对复杂经济社会高度抽象得来的生产关系范畴(另一个相关的范畴是生产力),显然不能只从一个角度即所有制角度去理解和研究,而是可以从多个角度和方面去理解和研究的。所以,政治经济学的生产关系研究对象,至少是包括所有制(内生的)和依赖关系(交往关系)在内的二维生产关系。©这是我们所谓现代政治经济学"现代"的一个首要方面的含义。

其次,我们所说的现代政治经济学的"现代",表现为在马克思宏大的理论架构上,在现代社会条件下需要更加开放地借鉴和吸收现代其他各种经济理论,即所谓主流和非主流经济学、正统与异端经济学等一切经济理论,从而对政治经济学进行新的综合。

最后,现代政治经济学的"现代",还在于它立足于当代中国改革开放和经济发展之厚土,在解释中国经济之"谜"的过程中,通过创新和发展马克思主义政治经济学而使其在现代获得新的生机。

要实现上述定义的现代政治经济学宏伟目标,显然不是几个人的事情,而是需要无数学者甚至几代人的共同努力。我们希望,由中南财经政法大学政治经济学省重点学科微薄经费资助的"现代政治经济学丛书",能成为迈向该目标一块耀眼的铺路之石。

程启智

2009年11月21日夜于武昌竹苑小区

① 程启智:《论马克思生产关系二维理论:所有制和依赖理论》,《当代经济研究》,2009年第6期,第7~12页。

序言

近五年来,随着新自由主义的衰败,马克思主义政治经济学和演化经济学在中国越来越获得更大的关注,它无疑与工业革命以来自由市场与社会保护的周期性交替密切相关,但也与经济思想史上两大经济学研究传统在这种交替中的地位兴衰有很大关系。

自文艺复兴以来,在西方经济思想史中就形成了由两种不同的世界观作为其基础的经济学研究传统:一种是从重商主义、美国学派、德国历史学派、马克思经济学、老制度学派和熊彼特经济学等一直到目前由马克思主义政治经济学和现代演化经济学综合所构成的研究传统,这是一种以动态的、系统的和有机的世界观作为其哲学基础的西方经济学研究传统;另一种则是从重农主义、亚当·斯密、大卫·李嘉图、"庸俗经济学"和杰文斯-瓦尔拉斯的边际革命等一直到现代新古典经济学的研究传统,这是一种以静态的、原子论的和机械的宇宙观作为其哲学基础的目前被称之为西方"新古典主流"经济学的研究传统。在现代新古典主流经济学家的眼中,前一种传统被看做是异端并遭到贬斥,而后一种传统则被视为正统并得到推崇。

这一分歧在第二次世界大战结束以来愈发清晰,两种传统在西方经济学界已经明显地分化为西方"新古典主流"经济学和西方"异端"经济学两大阵营,而西方"异端"经济学这一阵营内部又被划分为马克思主义的和非马克思主义的。按照奥哈拉的《政治经济学百科全书》的看法,新古典经济学不属于政治经济学,而政治经济学则包括了目前在西方经济学界处于异端地位的马克思主义经济学和熊彼特经济学、老制度主义经济学等演化经济学传统的流派。

大量的研究已经证明,对于处理日益复杂的现代经济来说,"新古典主流"经济学越来越显示出无法克服的严重缺陷,其根本原因就在于其陈旧的世界观及其对大量经验现实问题的漠视。而异端经济学的先驱在其直觉意识上与现代自然科学所提供的宇宙观具有一致性,其理论工作具有

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朴素的现代世界观要素,其哲学基础先进于"新古典主流"经济学,因此,这种经济学研究传统对未来经济学发展的价值要远大于"新古典主流"经济学的传统。如何使这一传统中的各种思想流派能得到有效的比较、借鉴与综合,使其在交融中获得长足的发展,在西方经济学已经日趋多元化的时代里,就显得尤为重要。

也正因为如此,本就同属于一种研究传统的马克思主义政治经济学和演化经济学诸流派的比较与借鉴就尤具价值。这不仅可以从他们对西方"新古典主流"经济学的共同反对和目前日益扩大的交流中所观察到,而且从哲学基础上来说他们还具有共同的起源:批判实在论作为演化经济学现代综合的哲学基础,其主要的理论先驱就是马克思主义政治经济学的创始者——卡尔·马克思。对于演化经济学的现代综合来说,马克思主义政治经济学的宏大视野和深刻的结构分析是其必须认真研读并需要大量吸收的,否则其现代综合是难以实现的。而对于马克思主义政治经济学的发展来说,这种比较研究不仅有助于克服许多人把西方经济学等同于西方"新古典主流"经济学的错误认识,而且更重要的是,它将为马克思主义政治经济学的创造性发展提供新的和大量的灵感来源。

杨虎涛教授的著作《交汇与分野——马克思与演化经济学家的对话》正是以马克思经济学与演化经济学的比较、综合与借鉴为主旨的,这本书是在他的国家社科基金项目《马克思主义经济学与演化经济学的比较研究》(006BJL006)基础上形成的,在研究过程中,我与他经常有交流,他的诸多相关文章以及项目的最终结项报告我也曾仔细读过,应当说,这是一个下了很大工夫的研究成果,涉及的文献量很大,就马克思主义经济学与演化经济学诸多流派之间的异同进行了考究与评述,这是国内第一本在本专题上的创新性研究著作,对我国政治经济学和演化经济学的发展都具有重要的理论价值。

杨虎涛教授的研究挖掘出了很多新的观点。例如,本书在对直接涉及演化经济学的方法论基础和未来发展方向的系统哲学观进行深入研究后,以"关系"为主线对马克思和演化经济学进行比较研究,思路清晰,富有启发。演化经济学的思想来源非常庞杂,除了传统的流派之外,还有一些新的进展,要进行系统比较难度还是很大的,但《交汇与分野——马克思与演化经济学家的对话》一书从我们可以称做是方法论的"关系主义"这一共同点出发,将马克思主义经济学与众多演化经济学流派在"关系"两字上连接起来,这样我们就能看到演化经济学的众多流派与马

克思主义经济学一样,都在关注某种"关系"的维系与发展,比如老制度主义的技术—制度,调节学派的制度形式—调节模式等,都能在马克思的生产方式理论中找到对应物进行比较,经过这样的比较之后,我们可以发现马克思与演化经济学之间存在着深厚的共同基础,从而为各种具体理论的比较提供了一把钥匙。

《交汇与分野——马克思与演化经济学家的对话》在行文中也系统地梳理了演化经济学的脉络和主要观点,体现了演化经济学自身发展的前沿动态,对演化经济学的关键性概念、方法特征和思想流派、代表性观点进行了比较全面的阐述。尤其值得一提的是,该书也对演化生态经济学和演化发展经济学进行了更深入的研究,在这两者中,以博尔丁和罗根等人代表的演化生态经济学在时间上还要早于纳尔逊和温特的演化思想,但过去并没有得到足够的重视,杨虎涛教授的这种开拓性的研究,为我国生态经济学的发展以及解决我国日趋严重的生态环境问题提供了新的视角;而杨虎涛教授把它与马克思经济学、世界体系和依附论进行比较研究,无疑是这个领域中的领先性尝试,它对欠发达国家特别是发展中的大国在新自由主义衰败后寻求新的发展道路提供了更宽广的视野。即使是从国际视角来看,这些研究也是处于前沿性的研究成果。

多年以来,我对马克思主义政治经济学与演化经济学的关系在中国的发展就怀有这样一种设想:一是马克思主义政治经济学可以批判性吸收演化经济学的丰富研究成果,例如,老制度学派在制度、"新熊彼特"学派在技术、奥地利学派在"主观知识"和认知经济学、女性主义在性别和种族、后凯恩斯主义在货币金融和宏观经济学等方面的诸多具体理论,在此基础上创造性地发展中国的政治经济学;二是中国演化经济学的发展则需要认识到现有演化经济学的理论架构和概念体系所存在的一些缺陷,例如,它不重视甚至缺乏马克思的阶级和利益分析视角,而通过对马克思级济学的学习和交融等途径,中国学者可以创造性地发展本土的演化经济学。这两方面的内容构成了我一直在倡导的中国经济学自主创新的重要内容,而杨虎涛教授的《交汇与分野——马克思与演化经济学家的对话》无疑是这方面的一项基础性的工作。

費根良 2010 年元旦于北京

Abstract

In very broad terms, one can distinguish between two main types of economic theory. One is based on metaphors from nature, generally from physics. The other type of economic theory is normally based on biological metaphors rather than on metaphors from physics. It is well known that the most typical example of the former is neoclassical economics, or say, the orthodoxy economics. About the latter, we may list institutionalism, Marxism and other economics schools. Generally, they were labeled as heterodoxy economics. It is easy to understand the barriers between the orthodoxy and the heterodoxy, But, Unfortunately and Unreasonably, Even in the heterodoxy camp, between the different schools there remains a Berlin Wall. The efficient dialogue and synthesis were rejected for a long time. There is some evidence that modern mainstream economics begin to break through some restraints, but it is still hard to find some positive signals about the fall of Berlin Wall in the heterodoxy camp.

Concerning the Heterodox economics, the most important or valuable problem is how to promote the compare and synthesis between the different sects. Especially the Marxism and the Evolutionary economics. As Tony Lawson pointed out, Heterodox economics is then distinguished by its commitment to an ontological analysis that takes social reality to be intrinsically dynamic or processual, interconnected and organic, structured, exhibits emergence, and includes value and meaning and is polyvalent (Lawson, 2006, pp. 495 – 496). Both Marxism and evolutionary economics admittedly meet this standard. In fact, many heterodox economists would like also to recognise the theoretical achievements of Marxism. They see Marxism as one of the great systematic social theories which are Organicism and holism. Marxism has an impressive historical scope and a powerful analysis of the capitalist system.

The evolutionary economics consists of many different branches, including old institutionalism, regulated theory, neo-Schumpeter and Austrian School, even the evolutionary Eco-Economics which advocated by Kenneth Boulding and Nicholas Georgescu — Roegen. If we compare the evolutionary economists like Veblen, Michel Aglietta and others with Karl marx, we may found the gap was not as big as we had expected, on the contrary, there are many similarities between evolutionary economics and Marxism. The long standing misunderstanding that evolutionary economics and Marxism are incompatible types was based more ideology than the nature of theory.

American institutional economics was strongly influenced by both Marxism and the German historical school. In theoretical terms, both institutionalism and Marxism recognise the problem of structure and agency. This is one of the central problems of social theory. The question concerns the relationship between the individual and social structure and how this relationship is to be theorised. Both institutionalism and Marxism share this concern, and both see agency and structure as irreducible to one another. They are both against the extreme positions, where everything becomes explicable simply in terms of structure, or simply in terms of individuals. Both institutionalists and Marxists agree on another issue. This is the recognition of historical specificity. Unlike much in the physical world, the socio-economic world changes dramatically and structurally through time. Accordingly, it may be necessary to change the theory to deal with the changes in Social reality. This is not true for the physical sciences, but the social sciences deal with a changing subject matter, nevertheless, how to deal with historical specificity is extremely important to social scientist.

Although Paul Samuelson claimed that the development theories of Marx and Schumpeter have little in common. There are indeed broad similarities between Marx and Schumpeter, as well as neo-Schumpeter. Schumpeter viewed his aim to construct a theory of economic change in time as being "exactly the same as the idea and aim which underlie the economic teaching as Karl Marx." He also thought Marx's economic interpretation of history was "one of the greatest individual achievements of sociology to this day." Most of Schumpeter's achievements are related to the central questions in Marxism. Marx was the first to raise the problem of capitalism's future, and Schumpeter attempted to explain

the problems, such as —Is socialism the inevitable successor to capitalism? Can capitalism survive? Can socialism work?

The neo-Schumpeter school inherits and develops to Schumpeter's theory. In the neo-Schumpeter, the innovation will be a multilevel matter. Only then under the analytical framework which involved co-evolution of technology and institution, the mechanism and the achievements of the innovation can obtain the comprehensive explanation. In this point, the neo-Schumpeter school is closer to Marx's viewpoint than Schumpeter. Like Marx, the neo-Schumpeter school also elaborated the universality and multi-dimensional of innovation and focused on the organization's function in the innovation process. However, by explaining the knowledge's nature of novelty, the neo-Schumpeter has formed oneself unique theory characteristic. Marx, although involved the relationship between knowledge, technology and innovation, however, his theory of this topic is particularly insufficient. In addition, we must note, in Marx's technological innovation theory, there is an obvious technical alienation subject, but this point, from Schumpeter to the new Schumpeter school of thought that has not touched.

Regulation theory is a fruitful synthesis of Marxism and other economics theories especially Cambridge post-Keynesianism. Most of regulationists also situated themselves within the field of Marxism. It is obvious that the regulation theory and Marxist are similar in various points, especially, the former making critical use of Marxist theory in order to understand features and transformations of contemporary capitalism. The regulation theory studies current capitalism via macroeconomics and to some extent we can see regulation theory as a kind of institutional macroeconomics based on Marxism. Even some argued that these two theories are complementary when we were required to take account of the historical specificities. Rather than representing some supersession of Marxism, Regulation theory thus seems to be the updating or reappropriation of it required to take account of the historical specificities of post-war capitalism and to escape dogmatism. Most key concepts of regulation theory can be traced back to Marxist heritage, the concepts such as Regimes of Capital Accumulation (ROA). Modes of Regulation (MOR), institutional forms and mode of growth were some kind rebuilding to Marx's mode of production. The shared features also involved methodological aspect. There is certainly a strong affinity between scientific realism and Marxism and, given their particular concern with political economy, almost all regulation theories have adopted this approach. The regulation approach also works with a realist ontology and epistemology; adopts the method of 'articulation' in theory construction; operates within the general Marxist tradition of historical materialism with its interest in the political economy of capitalism and the anatomy of bourgeois society.

Unquestionably, the evolutionary economics should included evolutionary Eco-Economics which advocated by Kenneth Boulding and Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen. We even should regard their theories as the most typical example of evolutionary economics since they focused on the physic-biological energy Circulation issues. Anyone with the slightest acquaintance with Georgescu-Roegen's work knows that he was not a Marxian economist. But the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels provided him with another major school of thought, besides neoclassical economics, with which he could contrast his own views of the economic process. While criticizing several of Marx's views, Nicholas Georgescu Roegen noted approvingly that Marx did not consider the economic process as an isolated or closed system. This contrasts with its representation by the neoclassical paradigm, which ignores the absorption of low-entropy resources from the environment and their transformation into high-entropy waste. For Nicholas Georgescu Roegen, even though Marx's scheme of simple reproduction is not a flow fund model of the type that Georgescu-Roegen favored, he gave Marx some credit for forming a view of the production process inspired by historical materialism, a doctrine that does not represent the production process as insulated from its surroundings by an artificial boundary. Georgescu-Roegen also maintained that only dialectical reasoning can adequately represent qualitative economic change and, Like Marx and unlike the neoclassicals, Georgescu-Roegen became convinced that the institutional traits that characterize an economy should be an integral part of the schema used to portray it.

There were many debates between Austrian and Marxist economists, in the famous economic calculation debate, the Austrians claimed that Marxism was flawed because prices could not be set to recognize opportunity costs of factors of production, and so socialism could not make rational decisions, we even can date the divergence of views to Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk's critique of Marx,

which centered on the untenability of the labor theory of value in the light of the transformation problem. But if we deplore deeply the history of Marxism and Austrian school, many valuable and interesting points will be shown, one of the modern Austrian economists, Barry Smith, who maintains that Hegel, Marx, and the German Historical School display marked affinities with the Austrians. Both groups, in particular, count as Aristotelian. David Gordon thus divide nineteenth-century philosophical thinking in the German-speaking World into two camps which respectively direct Hegelian (Marx) and Aristotelian (Austrian). Because of some common philosophical ideological origin, We should not surprised that there are some similarities shared by Marxism and Austrian school and, they can benefited each other.

We must admit that Marxism was not flawless, Marxism lacks a developed micro-theory of how social structures affect, and are affected by, individual purposes or dispositions. Meanwhile, we must recognize that the most potent of Marxism is the dialectic and historical materialism which can improve many weaknesses existed in current evolutionary economics. The purpose of this book is to explore the potential relationship between Marxism and evolutionary economics and the common ground that they can share. It is maintained that both parties have something to learn from each other, there are gains to be made from intellectual trade and inter-research tradition discourse. Neither Marxism nor evolutionary economics presently provides a sufficiently robust or sophisticated approach to individual and group problem-solving activity within institutionalknowledge constraints and historical time dynamics, yet they both make an attempt to seriously grapple with such issues. The gulf between them is narrowing given that there is some convergence toward a middle ground where it is recognized that individuals do not exist in a vacuum and that institutions both constrain and enable purposeful behavior. Through increased interaction, and evolutionary economics may learn to take institutional frameworks even more seriously whilst Marxism may learn to be even more earnest in their treatment of 'individual' action within a historical time continuum, we must say, this dialogue is based on some old questions in social science—historical specificity, and the relations between agency and structure.

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马克思与演化经济学家的对义

多元主义时代的马克思主义经济学 与演化经济学[©]

<u>第一节</u> 经济学的多元主义时代

一些经济思想史的研究者非常推崇用年代,而不是术语和个人来分析经济思想变化的做法,认为后者只适合个别研究而难以概览经济学发展的历史进程,并易于疏漏思想史上的重要事件(M. S. Morgan and M. Rutherford, 1998; David Colander, 2000)。按照这种划分法,第一次世界大战和第二次世界大战期间的这段时间获得了一个特殊名称——战间多元主义(Interwar Pluralism),其特征是制度主义、马克思主义、边际主义等多种思想并存发展。第二次世界大战之后则是明显的新古典主导地位,但其方法与观点却一再受到质疑,不少异端思想也在这一质疑过程中兴起,但总体而言并未达到取代新古典经济学理论(以下简称新古典)占主流的地步。进入 21 世纪以来,经济学的多元主义趋势日益明显,不少经济思想史的研究者认为,经济学已经进入了又一次多元主义时代。那么,两次多元主义时代的交替包含了哪些内容,在多元主义时代。那么,两次多元主义时代的交替包含了哪些内容,在多元主义时代,都不是主流的马克思主义经济学和演化经济学如何生存与发展,能否已经或如何相互借鉴?这是本书首先要分析的问题。

① 本章第一节部分内容曾以《现代西方经济学多元化趋势评析》,发表于《社会科学管理与评论》,2006年第4期,同时,作为第一届中国政治经济学年会的论文,也转载于中国政治经济学教学科研网。