第四卷第一期(總第10期) 二○○九・春

宏觀視野

- Ecology and the Classics: New Grounds for Environmental Protection
 Mary Evelyn Tucker
- 11 Deconstructive Globalization: Universalism, Globality, Diversity
 Alain-Marc Rieu
- 23 論中國學術與社會科學理論之關係 黃俊傑

多元觀點

- 25 發展人文研究的兩種策略
 - 王汎森
- 27 井上哲次郎的東洋哲學史研究
 - 大島晃
- 29 我們的時代需要什麼樣的歷史哲學?——以當代西方歷史觀變化為視角之觀察
 - 王晴佳
- 35 近卅年來中國大陸「新史學」發展概況 陳啟能
- 39 俄羅斯近年興起的「文明熱」
 - 曹特金
- 43 草根儒家:馬來西亞華人社會的個案觀察

黄文斌

計畫近況

- 45 東亞經典與文化研究計畫
- 47 東亞民主研究計畫
- 49 全球化研究總計畫
- 51 東亞法治之形成及發展:對東亞法治理論、體制與實踐之整合法學研究計畫
- 53 華人的人觀與我觀:跨學科及跨文化研究計畫
- 55 生產力與效率研究總計畫:從東亞邁向全球化研究計畫

院務新訊

- 57 新近出版品介紹
- 59 院務短波
- 61 院內大事紀

Ecology and the Classics: New Grounds for Environmental Protection

Mary Evelyn Tucker*

Introduction: Defining Terms and Context

In a world where eco-systems are unraveling at an unprecedented rate and where one in four mammalian species may go extinct in the next few decades, there are few places on Earth where environmental problems are of greater concern than China. The sheer size of the population, over a billion people, and the rapid speed of modernization are creating a collision course for a sustainable future. This is affecting not only China but also the entire world. Our interconnected global markets, trade, cultural exchange, and travel are pushing us up against one another as never before. The way China resolves its environmental problems may have an immense affect around the globe. There are many signs now that these problems are being felt strongly in China with some 60,000 protests a year occurring and with government officials recognizing that the prized Confucian value of social and political harmony may be eluding them. Clearly some new approaches are needed that are not simply punitive, drawing on traditional Chinese Legalism. Rather, many are looking to Confucianism and other Chinese traditions for a humanistic approach that would create new grounds for environmental protection. How to do this is a challenge. But we have precedents for reading classical texts in the West as sources of creating more humanistic societies and more democratic governments. Now we need to create something even more encompassing, namely, ecological cultures that will endure into the centuries ahead. New readings of the Chinese classics are part of what is emerging. This will inevitably have resonance in both China and in the West.

In the United States, the long-standing commitment in higher education to studying classical texts as part of a liberal arts education

^{*} Research Lecturer, School of Forestry / Environmental Studies and School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, Yale University; PhD in East Asian traditions from Columbia University specializing in Neo-Confucianism. For further information, please contact the website: http://www.yale.edu/religionandecology

has had a distinguished history at many universities. Columbia and the University of Chicago especially come to mind. While this commitment originated with the Western classics, it has also been extended to the Asian classics, thanks in large measure to the pioneering work of William Theodore de Bary at Columbia. There the core courses on Western civilization and cultures have their counterparts in courses on Asian civilization and cultures. With de Bary's leadership and persistence, this Asian program has emerged over some five decades with a remarkable translation of texts and with careful attention to shaping and staffing undergraduate courses.

In this paper I want to suggest another phase of interpreting these texts is coming into being. They are being read not only as humanistic classics, but also as ecological classics. In this context they offer insight into views of nature and the cosmos in Asia as well as perspectives on human-Earth relations. We will explore ways in which these Asian texts might be approached as ecological classics, with all the attendant challenges that implies. We recognize from the outset this is not a simple process, but requires examination, discussion, and contestation with careful attention to differences of time, place, and circumstances. Moreover, we acknowledge that there is a vast gap between traditional texts and contemporary ecological problems. Nor are we trying to idealize Asian classics as inherently nature-friendly. More complex reflection is clearly required.

The context for our discussions of the classics in the West today is not only for personal self-cultivation, moral edification, or social harmony. These discussions arise in a search for a larger sense of the common good for the Earth community as a whole. Just as many core curricula in the West arose out of key twentieth century questions regarding war, peace, and

human rights, so now a reading of the classics in the twenty first century requires us to respond to the global ecological crisis we are facing. For this is the largest crisis humans have ever had to face. Climate change, species extinction, and massive pollution of our air, water, and soil are threatening the viability of the very life systems of the planet. As some have observed, because of this crisis, civilization itself is at stake. We are the first generation of humans to wonder if we too are an endangered species. Surely what is required is a dialogue among civilizations that draws on traditional cultures and begins to identify the common yet differentiated values for a sustainable future.

Many are realizing that the ecological crisis is also a crisis of culture and of the human spirit. They are asking what kinds of traditional values will shape ecological ethics in different cultural contexts? As China modernizes with an unprecedented rapidity, the destruction of the environment is becoming increasingly visible and ever more alarming. What, then, do the Chinese classics in particular have to say to this massive crisis that we cannot afford to ignore? What kind of inspiration can be drawn from Confucian, Daoist or Buddhist classics for a Chinese ecological ethics?

The timeliness of this last question is evident as even the Vice Minister of China's State Environmental Protection Administration, Pan Yue, is calling for such ecological ethics to be identified from Chinese traditional thought. He writes: "Why is environmental protection considered a cultural issue? One of the core principles of traditional Chinese culture is that of harmony between humans and nature. Different philosophies all emphasize the political wisdom of a balanced environment. Whether it is the Confucian idea of humans and nature becoming one, the Daoist view of the Dao reflecting nature,

or the Buddhist belief that all living things are equal, Chinese philosophy has helped our culture to survive for thousands of years. It can be a powerful weapon in preventing an environmental crisis and building a harmonious society."

Pan Yue is calling for the creation of an ecological culture in China and an ecological civilization for the world. He observes that environmental laws are on the books in China, but they cannot be enforced because there is not an ecological culture to support them. (This situation applies to the West as well.) My suggestion in this talk is that an ecological culture may be created in part, as Pan Yue has observed, by drawing on Chinese thought and values to respond to the present critical state of the ecological crisis in China.

This interest in traditional values and ecological thinking is growing in many quarters within China. In fact, the Harvard volumes on Confucianism and Ecology, Daoism and Ecology, and Buddhism and Ecology have been translated into Chinese and published in the People's Republic of China. There are plans to translate the other volumes in the Harvard series. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is eager to sponsor a conference on the topic of religion and ecology through their Institute for the Study of World Religions Several universities have expressed interest in holding conferences on this topic. Pan Yue is hoping to sponsor a discussion of these issues through the NGO he established, China Environmental Cultural Promotion Association.

This can be seen within the broader context of the revival of religions traditions in China since religious tolerance was promulgated in the early 1980s. Since that time the interest in Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism has been strong and many of the writings of Tu Weiming, Wm. Theodore de Bary, Roger Ames and others are being translated and read in China and across

the East Asian world. The revival of traditional thought within modernity is of growing interest in China. It is here that Chinese classics have an important role to play in developing a dialogue among civilizations.

First some clarification is in order regarding the term "ecology". In these considerations I prefer to use the term "ecology" rather than "environment." The word environment can imply the study of the environment as an objective reality "out there." It can refer to a strictly scientific investigation of the environment apart from humans. Moreover. the term "environmentalism" is often associated with activism or advocacy of particular positions regarding environmental protection or use of resources. Ecology, on the other hand, is a broader and more inclusive term. It suggests the interconnected study of nature, species, and dynamic ecosystems from a scientific, ecological perspective. But it also embraces the study of human interactions with nature that we might describe as humanistic ecology. This broad area includes social ecology, cultural ecology, and religious ecology. It also can refer to emerging fields in the social sciences such as ecological economics and green politics.

Methods of Investigating Ecology and the Classics: The Grounds for Dialogue

There are three possible approaches to studying the intersection of ecological concerns and classical texts. First we can examine texts by individual religious traditions to understand their views of nature and human-Earth relations. Secondly, we can make comparisons and contrasts across traditions, such as Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism in East Asia. Finally, we can also study texts by comparison across major civilizations such as Asia and the West. We can trace influences on key thinkers, such as Chinese Confucianism on several of the Enlightenment



thinkers. Here we will highlight the first approach that we used in the Harvard research project. We will also suggest how the second approach could be helpful in the teaching of classical texts across traditions in East Asia.

The first approach, studying individual religious traditions, is what we used in the Harvard conference series on world religions and ecology from 1996-1998. Out of this arose ten volumes published from 1997-2004 and an international website constructed from 2001-2007 (http://www.yale.edu/religionandecology) Over a three year period my husband, John Grim and I, along with a team of area specialists, brought together some 800 scholars and environmentalists in a ten part conference series at the Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions. For this project I was influenced by my earlier studies of the Asian classics and by an appreciation of their contemporary relevance. This was fostered through the perspective of three remarkable teachers.

I drew on the close reading of texts and traditions that Wm. Theodore de Bary encouraged in my graduate studies in East Asian religions at Columbia. Without the broad understanding and careful training in the Asian classics that the Columbia program fostered, the Harvard project on world religions and ecology would not have been possible. In addition, I was inspired by the concerns of the historian of religions, Thomas Berry, who was keenly aware of the looming environmental crisis, and especially its effects in China and India as they began to modernize. His interpretation of these religious traditions as relevant to modern problems was indispensable. Moreover, I was moved by the Harvard Confucian scholar, Tu Weiming, who called for a reinterpretation of the Enlightenment mentality through the resources of the world's religions. His understanding of the reconfiguration of traditions within the context of modernity was indispensable in our efforts at retrieval, reevaluation, and reconstruction of religious traditions in light of the ecological crisis. All of these were major factors in formulating and guiding the conference series and subsequent publications. They continue to be base notes in imaging an effective dialogue among civilizations for a sustainable future.

The Harvard conference series tried to draw on a careful reading of texts and traditions, acknowledging that they were formulated in a different time, place, and circumstance. The gap between traditional context and modern ecological problems was recognized. Moreover, there was no assumption that ideal views of nature, such as we see in many of the classical Asian texts, assumes that the environment was not destroyed in Asia. In this respect China is no exception as it had deforested its landscape well before the modern period. The gap between theory and practice can be acknowledged. Nonetheless, we assumed that we could draw on these classical texts because they reflect both timeless and timely concerns of the human spirit. They have been subject to scrutiny, debate, and reinterpretation over time and across cultures for different values and interests.

It is also becoming increasingly clear that scientific, legal, and policy approaches to the environmental crisis are necessary but not sufficient. James Gustave Speth, the Dean of the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, has indicated this in his new book, *The Bridge at the Edge of the World: Capitalism, the Environment and Crossing from Crisis to Sustainability.*¹ He spent his entire career in legal and policy debates around environmental issues, founding the National Resource Defense Council (NRDC) and the World Resources Institute (WRI). In addition, he directed the United Nations

Development Program (UNDP). Speth is calling for moral and religious approaches to be included in the search for solutions to the ecological crisis.

A larger role for the humanities is now emerging in environmental studies. In literature this includes a renaissance of American nature writers and the emergence of eco-criticism. In history it includes environmental historians such as John McNeill who wrote a comprehensive history of environmentalism in the twentieth century and William Cronon who has written extensively of the complexity of human-nature relations. In philosophy there has arisen a robust thirty-year discussion of environmental ethics led by philosophers such as Baird Callicott and Holmes Rolston. Since the Harvard conference series a new field of religion and ecology has emerged that has implications for policy. It acknowledges that a culture's views of nature are most often shaped by their religious traditions and these are contained primarily, although not exclusively, in classical texts. It is precisely this intersection of traditional thought environmental policy that is beginning to emerge in China, thanks especially to the encouragement of Pan Yue.

Ecological Themes in Asian Classics

How can we study these texts across traditions attending to basic ecological themes? We can focus on human-Earth relations under three topics: Cosmology, nature, and cultivation.

While we will use examples from the key religious traditions of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, we acknowledge that these traditions are not considered radically separate traditions, as religions are seen in the west. In the Ming period, for example, there was a lively understanding of syncretism and exchange between and among traditions. This interaction led to a sense of shared yet differentiated values in East Asian religions.

Cosmology of interdependence

With the theme of cosmology we can observe various forms of interdependence in the Chinese classics. This includes interdependence within the vast web of life and interdependence regarding humans and nature. This can be viewed as a corrective to an exaggerated sense independence in the modern west where individualism has given rise to a drive for freedom and rights often without the balance of responsibilities. It might be observed that interdependence in many of the Asian texts and traditions is both a given and a goal. It is an assumption and an achievement; both axiomatic and to be realized through practice.

In the Confucian and Neo-Confucian tradition the sense of interdependence is expressed as a <u>cosmological filiality</u> between Heaven, Earth and humans evident in early texts such as the Book of History. One of the most eloquent expressions of this sense of connection and care is in the *Western Inscription* of Zhang Zai:²

Heaven is my father, Earth is my mother and even such a small creature as I finds an intimate place in their midst. Therefore that which extends throughout the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I regard as my nature. All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions.

¹ James Gustave Speth, *The Bridge at the Edge of the World: Capitalism, the Environment and Crossing from Crisis to Sustainability* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). This book arose out of the DeVane lectures that Dean Speth delivered at Yale in the spring term 2007.

² William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom (eds.), *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 683.



This reflects the unity of the 10,000 things. From humans to the whole of nature and to the cosmos itself there is a profound interrelation.

In the *Daodejingi* of Laozi interdependence is expressed as the <u>holistic flow</u> that is continually renewing life. The Dao pervades and mysterious presence penetrates. The human enters the flow with non-purposive action (*wuwei*). One can thus return to the innocence and beauty of childhood. The power of passivity is celebrated with images such as the feminine, the flow of water, the ravine, or the vessel:³

Knowing the male, but keeping to the female,

One may become a ravine to the world.

Becoming a ravine to the world, The constant virtue does not depart;

One returns to the state of infancy.

In Mahayana Buddhism interdependence is expressed as radical interpenetration. This is evident in the Heart Sutra where form and emptiness are seen as interconnected. The contemporary Vietnamese Zen monk, Thich Nhat Hahn, wrote a book on this sutra called *The Heart* of Understanding. It is one of the most insightful commentaries on this text. He begins by saying that when you see this page you will see a cloud and he goes on to illustrate what he calls the interbeing of paper, cloud, rain, and tree. This same interrelationship is evident in the Flower Garland (Avatamsaka) Sutra of Hua Yen Buddhism. Also in the Treatise on the Golden Lion delivered by Fa-tsang to the Empress Wu the Hua Yen teaching regarding the dependent origination of all reality is fully displayed. The goal

of both of these texts is to achieve the full awareness of interdependence that is a form of enlightenment.

Nature and Changes in Nature

A second way in which we can appreciate the ecological implications of the East Asian classics is by examining the views of nature and the changes in nature that they embody. Although distinct by traditions and text, it is appropriate to acknowledge that the East Asian traditions share organic and holistic views of nature. While nuances are needed, we can suggest that this differs from Western views of nature, especially since the Enlightenment period where nature became more objectified.

In the Confucian tradition nature is seen as moral and dynamic. Nature is considered to be dynamic and constantly transforming (sheng, sheng). It is also seen as positive, life generating, and fecund. Harmonizing with the changes in nature is viewed as a goal for humans as individuals and as a society. In the Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong) achieving sincerity is part of realizing the intimate bonding that exists between one's self, nature, and the cosmos. Tu Weiming translates the title as "Centrality Commonality" where centrality is the ground of existence and commonality or harmony is the unfolding process of self-expression amidst the dynamic forces of the universe.4

In the Daoist tradition nature is viewed as <u>neutral and flowing</u>. In the *Zhuangzi* the goal of spiritual practice is transcending change so as to embody the spontaneities of the Dao. In this one acknowledges the paradoxical nature of reality through humor and story. In the chapter titled "Discussion on Making All Things Equal" this sense

³ Ibid. p. 85.

⁴ Tu Weiming, Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness (New York: State University of New York, 1989)

of indifference to change in nature is what is to be prized:⁵

Wang Ni replied, 'The Perfect Man is godlike. Though the great swamps blaze, they cannot burn him; though the great rivers freeze, they cannot chill him; though swift lightning splits the hills and howling gales shake the sea, they cannot frighten him. A man like this rides the clouds and mist, straddles the sun and moon, and wanders beyond the four seas. Even life and death have no effect on him, much less the rules of profit and loss."

With all the changes in nature one remains aloof and detached

In Buddhism nature is considered to be atomistic and interdependent, as expressed in the together-rising-up of things (pratityasamutpada). This doctrine of the dependent origination of reality can lead to either sorrow or liberation. To avoid sorrow withdrawing from attachment to change in meditation is the object of practice. In the Madhyamika tradition the coincidence of opposites is affirmed such that nirvana and samsara are seen as one. This teaching moves directly into Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism. The result is the life affirming aspects of nature in East Asian Buddhism such as we see in the Zen gardens and in the arts of flower arrangement and tea ceremony. A text that exemplifies the dynamic aspects of nature as revealing the Buddha nature in all sentient beings is Dogen's Mountains and Waters Sutra. In the spirit of interdependence he writes:6

I came to realize clearly, that mind is no other than mountains and rivers and the great earth.

Self-Cultivation and the Role of the Human

In the Confucian tradition one can describe the process of self-cultivation as <u>botanical</u> <u>cultivation</u> of the person. This is aimed not simply for one's own gratification but also for engagement in the larger society or government service. Seeds and plants are the key metaphor reflecting the generation, growth, reproduction, and death in nature itself. In *Mencius* this is seen in cultivating the seeds of virtue (the four beginnings) so that they will lead to the four virtues of humaneness, rightness, decorum, and wisdom. It is also evident in *Mencius* in the story of Ox Mountain where deforestation occurred and the sprouts of trees were pulled up. The story ends with the analogy to humans:⁷

..... given nourishment, there is nothing that will not grow; lacking nourishment, there is nothing that will not be destroyed. (6A:6)

This demonstrates the need for careful attention to the way of cultivating virtue.⁸

The Neo-Confucian tradition expands the correlative cosmology of the Han Confucian tradition by suggesting that personal virtues such as humaneness (*jen*) are comparable to cosmic principles such as origination (*yuan*). Thus there is a correlation between encouraging the development of humaneness in the person that

⁵ Burton Watson (trans.), Chuang Tzu: Basics Writings (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 41.

⁶ Quoted by Ruben Habito, "Mountains and Rivers and the Great Earth: Zen and Ecology," in Mary E. Tucker and Duncan Williams (eds.) *Buddhism and Ecology: The Interconnection of Dharma and Deed* (Cambridge: Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions, 1997), p. 168. In Dogen Zenji, *Sokushin Ze-Butsu in Shobogenzo* (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 1939), p. 98. 7 William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, p. 151.

⁸ Sarah Allan's book, *The Way of Water and the Sprouts of Virtue* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1997), illustrates this botanical cultivation well. Donald J. Monroe also uses the natural images of plants and water in his article, "The Family Network, the Stream of Water, and the Plant: Picturing Persons in Sung Neo-Confucianism," in Donald J. Munro (ed.) *Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values* (University of Michigan, 1985).



parallels the larger fecundity of nature Humaneness is thus compared to a seed that grows. Zhu Xi describes it this way:⁹

It is like the ten thousand things being stored and preserved. There is not a moment of cessation in such an operation, for in all of these things there is the spirit of life. Take, for example, such things as seeds of grain or the pits of peach and apricot. When sown they will grow. They are not dead things. For this reason they are called *ren* [the word *ren* means both 'pit' and 'humaneness']. This shows that *ren* implies the spirit of life.

In Daoism the cultivation of the body is highly prized. Personal healing and health are valued and to this end Chinese medicine developed methods of encouraging the flow of the vital force (qi). Thus, the arts of qigong, taiqi, and acupuncture all assisted this process maintaining health. In this Daoist worldview the inner and outer landscapes are seen as part of the micro-macrocosm relationship of humans with nature and the cosmos. One of the most important Daoist expressions of this was the fourth century movement known as Highest Clarity (Shangqing). This involved the practice of visualization so as to see one's body as an intricate network of biocosmic energy. As James Miller describes this practice:¹⁰

Shangqing Daoism developed a sophisticated, esoteric array of spiritual technologies the purpose of which was to realize the transformation of the adept into a perfected, spiritual being. This

objective was achieved not by transcending or denying the world but rather by pursuing ever more deeply the latent cosmic connectivity that is implicit in having life at all. By learning to perceive the correlation physiology, cosmology, and spiritual power, adepts were concretely able to actualize the transformation of themselves in their cosmic context.

James Miller is translating some of the key texts of this tradition that will add to the body of Asian ecological classics.

In Mahayana Buddhism <u>meditative cultivation</u> is designed for one to discover the Buddha nature in oneself and in the natural world at large. This is expressed in the eighth century Ch'an text, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*. Here meditation and wisdom are foundational where meditation is seen as the substance of wisdom, like a lamp; and wisdom is seen as the function of meditation, like the light. The goal of meditation, the samadhi of oneness, means the mind does not abide in things and yet all things reflect the Buddha nature. The mind has the potential to awaken to its full nature through meditation. Rich botanical imagery is used to express this:¹¹

The mind-ground contains the seed of living things, When the rain of the Dharma falls the flowers are brought forth.

When yourself you have awakened to the living seeds of the flower

The fruits of enlightenment matures of itself.

⁹ William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, Sources of Chinese Tradition, p. 712.

¹⁰ Norman J. Girardot, James Miller and Liu Xiaogan, *Daoism and Ecology: Ways Within a Cosmic Landscape* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 352.

¹¹ Philip B. Yampolsky (trans.), *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: The Text of the Tun-huang Manuscript* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 178.

Conclusion

These classical Chinese texts are now part of vital and emerging dialogue among civilizations. We need to bring these humanistic texts to bear in facing the most pressing crisis humans have ever had to face, namely, the global environmental crisis with its complex local manifestations. We can learn to draw on the wisdom of the world's traditions for the flourishing of the Earth community at large. In this regard, present and future generations are relying on us to rediscover sustaining and sustainable human-Earth relations. The Chinese classics are indispensable in this process. Indeed, they may expand the boundaries of what are considered to be ecological classics and may broaden our horizons in both the West and in China. This is a primary foundation for a dialogue among civilizations that is so urgently needed for the environmental crisis to be addressed adequately.

Deconstructive Globalization: Universalism, Globality, Diversity⁺

Alain-Marc Rieu

Double Process

Since the late 1980ies, two major processes have been transforming the world and opening a major transition. The first process is identified as Globalization, it concerns political, social and economic systems. The second process is a cultural, philosophical and epistemological movement identified as Deconstruction. These two trends develop in two different spheres, which apparently have nothing in common. In fact, they might be the two sides or two modes of the same transformation.¹

What is properly called "Globalization" is a process, which started at the end of the Cold War. This process has been deconstructing the world order established at the end of the Second World War with the victory of the USA and its allies on

Fascism. The 1945 world order has until today a strong influence on East Asian people and nations. China became a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization. Korea, Japan and Taiwan were under US control and military protection. This situation induced their fast economic development and the integration of their industry into the world economy. The deconstruction of the USSR in the late 1980ies and of the 1945 world order since the late 1990ies has further transformed East Asia. In that sense, Globalization has been and still is a massive deconstructive process: it is redistributing wealth and power at the world level. It also creates new uncertainties, instabilities and dangers. The end of the Cold War was first understood as an American victory: the USA became the sole super-power, a "hyper-power." But in the US,

⁺ 本文係二○○八年十二月十三至十四日「全球化時代東亞研究的新取向」國際學術研討會圓桌論壇部份內容。

^{*} Professor, Department of Philosophy, Jean Moulin University Lyon 3 / Senior Research Fellow, Institute of East-Asian Study, Ecole Normale Supérieure Lettres et sciences humaines.

¹ This paper proposes a critical analysis of Globalization alternative to Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's perspective in *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).



since the late 1990ies³ and obviously 9/11/2001. the globalization process was understood as detrimental to American interests, security and power on world affairs. Today, in the middle of a global financial and economic crisis, at the moment when Barack Obama has been elected President of the United States, it is clear that the Bush administration was unable to master and control the Globalization process. On the contrary, Globalization has weakened the US hegemony and partly deconstructed the US society and economy. The election of Barack Obama part of this deconstruction Globalization is still at work but it has also deeply changed. An historical transformation is taking place but it is impossible for the moment to fathom the world order⁴ emerging from this transition. The Deconstruction project adequately expresses the world evolution since the 1980ies.

Globalization and Deconstruction are therefore closely associated. They interact with other. Globalization deconstructed and Deconstruction needs to be situated within the Globalization process. Globalization is a concept as well as an ideology. It is a set of policy decisions as well as an understanding of this historical moment. To analyze this concept and this ideology is to question and criticize their related policies. Two main discourses are structuring the debate on Globalization. The first one focuses on economic globalization, discussing and evaluating its positive and negative consequences. In the present economic crisis, Globalization is considered by some as the source of the sickness and by others as its cure. The second discourse insists on

"balkanization," i.e. the conflicting diversity of the world and its related dangers, nationalism, civil violence, terrorism and war.⁵ The time has come to evaluate the philosophical presuppositions through which issues concerning the world order and its evolution are understood and debated.

From a philosophical perspective, two schools have dominated and organized thought in this period of transition and growing insecurity: the Deconstruction project and the search for a common public philosophy. The Post-modernist project was at its peak in the 1990ies. Its main sources are the works of Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Jean-François Lyotard and many others. The project to build a common public philosophy is a denial, a criticism and even a rejection of post-modernism's assumptions and consequences. Its goal and purpose can be identified with the work of Jürgen Habermas. A public philosophy was and is still supposed to establish what postmodernism is denying: a ground for morality, political and civil life for the present and future of Humanity. The rejection of any universalistic illusion, of any common ground, requires finding an antidote in the search for universal values. But today, this endless opposition has become repetitive and sterile. A solution can be imagined, based on these debates. The solution I propose retains the meaning of the Deconstruction project: the absence and impossibility of any universal ground. But this absence should be understood not as failure and danger, with nostalgia or anxiety, but as a philosophical challenge typical of the Globalization process, as a search for a theoretical opening: the common construction of a public philosophy or the joint conception of a

12

² See Hubert Védrine (former French Minister of Foreign affairs), *L'hyperpuissance américaine* (Paris: Fondation Jean Jaurès, 2000) and *Face à l'hyperpuissance* (Paris: Fayard, 2003).

³ See Condolezza Rice, "Campaign 2000: promoting the National interest," Foreign Affairs (Jan. / Feb., 2000).

⁴ Order is here understood beyond the opposition between "order" and "disorder."

⁵ The third discourse is probably the most important one on the long term. It concerns the role of science and technology in international relations. It is beyond the limits of the papers. I refer to my Web site where several papers on this topic, in English and French, are available.

common theory.⁶ This opening is a new frame for designing a common social and political philosophy.

Diversity and Globality

My objective is to open a debate for the construction of such a theory. The first step is to deconstruct Globalization by showing what Globalization is deconstructing. The field of inquiry is philosophy and political theory.

Globalization covers many different issues. But the key issue is to analyze the opposition between "diverse" and "global." These two notions express two different ways of understanding and ordering reality, two opposite ways of organizing the social experience, two different sorts of power and power relations. Two models or principles of thought should therefore be distinguished, a principle of globality and a principle of diversity. Globalization and diversity are the basis of two different conceptions of the world. Globalization supposes "something", a being or an entity, which encompasses and assembles, encloses phenomena into one whole. From this perspective, it is urgent to clarify what is a global or globalized world, what can be globalized in a "world." Is it a real process or just a way of representing a process in order to make it real? First of all, there is a major difference between a "world" and a global entity. Globalization is just one particular conception of what the world is or should be. Therefore in the present reordering of societies and civilizations, of their relations and interactions, it is necessary to distinguish between two different processes: a process of globalization and a process of

"worldization", of being or becoming a world. In French, "mondialisation" and "globalisation" are not usually distinguished, but these two notions clearly mean two different perspectives. Globalization is the name given to a particular reordering of international relations since the end of the Cold War. It is both a conception of a "new world order" and a way to implement this type of order.

This reordering turns around the Nation-State, which has been the political norm since the European Renaissance. It also concerns the relations between Nation-States and the "Inter-National" level. The Nation-State is both the modern model of political organization and the of an ideal historical evolution. Globalization raised one major problem: the present and future role of the Nation-State. This is a controversial issue and a problem, which has not vet found a clear solution. At the end of the 1990ies, the question was: does Globalization weaken the Nation-State? Many American thinkers and strategists (not only Neoconservatives) expressed the idea that Globalization was indeed weakening the capacity of Government and the State to enforce sovereignty, i.e. to control a given population on its territory. Until today, States are classified according to four criteria. In a "weak State", some groups on some part of the territory escape the control of the Government and of security forces. In a "failed State", the basic functions of a sovereign State are not enforced anymore. In a "rogue State", the political institutions enforcing sovereign functions do not respect the sovereignty

⁶ This approach is similar to the perspective developed by Mrs. Delmas-Marty, professor at the Collège de France in Paris. See *Les forces imaginatives du droit*, Volume 3, *Le pluralisme ordonné* (Paris: Le seuil 2006). Her goal is to solve "the enigma of a world community, which, in order to become inter-human instead of inter-national, needs to build itself without any preexisting or universal ground" (2008 seminar, my translation).

⁷ This idea of diversity is quite different from the notion of "multitude" by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (New York: Penguin, 2004). In modern political philosophy (including Marxist), "multitude" covers notions identifying collective entities and behaviors situated between individual subjects and the State: populace, people, proletariat, masses, crowd, etc. This "multitude" is both what cannot be controlled and what political authority should controlled.



of other States. According to this classification, a "well-formed State" is the typical Nation-State, a norm and model for all States. It is democratic in order to associate the whole population to the political process. It has a free market economy in order to achieve a degree of economic prosperity such that the great majority of the population finds its interest in preserving and increasing its well being and social stability. The role of the Nation-State is therefore the core of Globalization: the increased economic development resulting from opening a world-wide market ideally creates the conditions for the sustainability or implementation of well-formed Nation-States, for deconstructing authoritarian governments. This explains why, concretely, Globalization is supposed to be economic and commercial, based on international relations conceived as reciprocal relations between sovereign Nation-States, which are respecting and implementing similar legal systems and values.

As a political ordering, the Nation-State was superseding a former type of collective organization called "Empire" in European political thought. An Empire was composed of different peoples, tribes, fiefdoms, etc, organized according to various vertical and horizontal hierarchies. Historically, in empires, sub-entities tend and still try to emancipate themselves. In order to succeed, each sub-entity (people, nation, etc) had and they still have to find and justify their unity, to assert their identity by referring to a common ground. This ground has been a religious belief, some traditions, customs or social structure, which are supposed to be embodied in each individual and the whole group as their common "blood," "race," "nationhood,". In other cases, a common history or culture are considered the principle of a Nation.⁸ Nations are supposed to be born from a

common origin or by designing common political institutions in order to unify different peoples. 9 All these cases are instances of the globalization principle: Nations globalize populations, people, individuals and groups on a given territory. The principle of globalization is therefore the source of the modern conception of sovereignty. Ernst Gellner has shown for instance how nationalism was the construction of ideologies or philosophies designed to define the identity and assure the sovereignty of modern Nation-States. 10 Even today, their formation against the power of Empires is still a major political and cultural process in the present world, in the case of the former Yugoslavia, in the former USSR and present Russia, in China and other nations. At their smaller scale, Nation-States are also based on different institutional arrangements historically implemented in order to control and manage diversity: from a highly centralized State like France to federative models like the US, Germany or Switzerland.

In some parts of the world, former conflicts between Nation-States are leading to a higher level of organization alongside inter-national institutions built in the 20th century. This higher level is still recent and its long-term consequences are still not clear. It introduces new levels of diversity within each nation and between nations. It has not yet established its own proper institutions. It takes different shapes, which can be classified in four types:

1. The first type is a free regional association of Nation-States in order to eliminate conflicts and generate economic growth. The most advanced and complex example is the European Union. Another example, built on different premises, is the ASEAN in East Asia. Twenty-two instances of such regional associations are presently being

⁸ As a typical case of an "imagined" principle of community, the "*kokutai*" (national body, collective being) in Japanese thought and history is the best (or worst) example.

⁹ This is traditionally the "republican" model.

negotiated in the world. At different levels, they all are economic alliances, "free-trade zones."

- 2. The second level is the resurgence of "territories" historically divided by modern political borders. 11 "Regions" are nowadays often defined as transnational: they generate a dynamics, which directly challenges the capacity of the Nation-State to control economic growth, its population and territory. From an historical and local perspective, different territories exist within Nation-States. In Europe, old territories are resurrected and new ones are emerging. Regions and territories are challenging the borders of Nation-States.
- 3. The third level directly challenges the Nation-State and the inter-national order based on the Nation-State. This evolution comes from a within the United contradiction **Nations** Organization between its legal basis, Human Rights, the reciprocal sovereignty of each Nation-State and the sovereignty of each Nation-State on its populations. Since the 1970ies, Human Rights have slowly introduced the right of the international community to protect individuals, groups, people and populations against natural disasters or political oppression beyond their official governments. This "droit d'ingérence" (Right of Interference) is the beginning of a major evolution. The International Court of La Hague, the formation of a "European legal space," are

similar evolutions.

4. The fourth level is characterized by the search by two free trade organizations, the EU and the ASEAN, to go a step further and to conceive models and methods leading toward political coordination, convergence and even integration. There are many conceptual problems to solve. The most important one is to avoid inventing a new type of "empire," ¹² exemplified in Europe by the search for a border, for a demarcation between what is European and what is not. The second problem is a question: is a common ground needed in order to converge? Is this ground something, which already exists or is this ground something, which has to be "imagined" and established in common? If a ground already exists (i.e. is recognized as given), then it is a type of globality principle. This "root" opposes "us" and "the others." But such a ground can never be so well established and commonly accepted as to enclose or repress differences. The diversity principle is more efficient, economical and productive for coordination and cooperation.

These are well-known facts. This is also a complex situation. The principle of globality is challenged by the diversity principle. In some parts of the world, the Nation-State is still a goal to achieve but in other parts it is a political structure to overcome. Different temporalities and adverse processes can be observed.¹³ There is not

¹⁰ Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

¹¹ Again, one can observe a Flemish and Hanseatic economy and culture. There are talks about an "Alpine economy" from Lyon to Milan, through Geneva and Torino. Old territories are re-emerging, new ones are taking shape. In France, part of Alsace's future is found in increased collaboration with South-Western Germany and Northern Switzerland as much as with France. The Rhône-Alpes Region understands itself as situated between Bad-Wurttemberg in South-Germany and Catalonia in North-Eastern Spain. The American "new economy" is itself a local phenomenon: it concerns maximum twelve "regions."

¹² The book by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* interprets Globalization as a new form of imperialism, a new stage in the advancement of Capitalism.

¹³ For instance, the Nation-State was a goal and ideal in South-Eastern Europe, in Croatia, Serbia, Kosovo, when Western European nations thought it has to be overcome in a European Union. Until today, the Nation-State is criticized in Europe by various populations in Ireland, in Scotland, in Spain (the Basque question), in Corsica in France. These populations aspire to their own Nation-State or to a greater autonomy within the existing National entity. For Germany, the European unification should be based on a Federalist pattern. For France, for the Left and the Right as well, it should be based on collaboration and negotiation between independent Nation-States. Major emerging nations like Russia, India or China have not yet fully raised these disturbing issues.



one global history today, but different and conflicting histories constituting a world. Until today, diversity has mostly been considered as dangerous, as a source of national desintegration, as an erosion of sovereignty. But in fact the diversity model is more efficient and reliable. Unity and coherence never existed: they were a representation of the world having for a goal the implementation and justification of a given order. Today, studying and admitting diversity are a prerequisite to organize and manage diversity. This has become the main task of Human and Social Sciences. Governments and bureaucracies of modern States thought for a long time that the role they played and the power they had accumulated, were producing the institutions, the expertise and the policies required to control diversity and reduce to uncertainties. They relied on the Globality principle. This is not justified anymore. Governments and bureaucracies are surpassed by the world evolution, which is deconstructing their control and power. To accumulate more power in order to control more and manage better has become counterproductive. It generates more resistance, it liberates more diversity. This historical transition might take time to understand and admit. But the present world shows a general evolution toward diversity. It does not provide any proof of an evolution toward globalization. There is no "convergence" as it was thought during the 1950ies according to Modernization theory. What we observe is a growing divergence. This divergence needs to be analyzed and managed in order to avoid an evolution toward conflicts. But the power to accumulate in order to stop and master this evolution toward diversity is too costly, destructive, oppressive and dangerous to be undertaken with any predictable success. The

world is in a dynamic toward multiplicity and complexity. The collective construction of a common framework is a response adapted to this conjuncture and its unpredictable consequences.

In these conditions, the opposition between the principles of diversity and globality becomes fully relevant. The world is still dominated and managed according to the principle of globality, when it is in fact constituted by a diversity of people. institutions, behaviors, values and histories. This entails two opposite representations of the world. The world is not a whole, a global entity in which things are ordered into hierarchies according to a norm or a model.¹⁴ This is why the world is and remains infinite and open, something to be thought and acted upon, changed or reformed, etc. The world is nothing else but this diversity. What I propose to call "worldization" (mondialisation) is not only a post-modern experience preaching for the recognition of differences. It is the analysis of the complex orders woven by these differences. Diversity cannot be reduced to "balkanization," to confusion, danger and finally war. To describe and explain these differences is not to globalize them, to classify them into political and economic entities, to refer them to national entities or national characters (French, German, Chinese, Japanese, etc) based on a common ground found in culture, history or religion. The world is not composed of Nations: it is a network of minorities, of subjectivities, life styles and collective behaviors, modes of production and consumption, development trajectories and markets. This is quite another perspective on Society and Humanity.

Globalization is a conceptual mistake. It is a perspective inducing conflicting practices, institutions and power relations. This concept teaches to manage differences as conflicts. It

16

¹⁴ This norm was the paradigm of the pre-modern world in Europe. It was still playing a major role in the 17th and 18th century. See Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge: Harvard university press, 1936).

relies on the Nation-State and its modern attributes. The Nation-State supposes and imposes a norm (moral or legal, political institutions), a ground (a common racial, linguistic, cultural or historical origin) or a creed (a religion, an ideology). The goal is to master diversity and to transform it into a whole, to establish the unity of a people as a Nation against internal forces and external influences, which are supposed to endanger its coherence and unity. Differences are reduced to the identity of a sovereign political entity. To globalize is to totalize. This unifying entity is defined as "the political," the principle and ground of any political order. The extreme, but typical, example is Carl Schmitt's conception of the political¹⁵ as the power to decide between the "friend" and the "enemy," "us" and "the others." Totalitarism is the extreme version of the Globality model. Therefore, as a cognitive attitude and domination technology, globalization is nothing new. The principle of diversity opens on the contrary a major change.

Deconstructing Globalization

The next step is to apply the distinction between globality and diversity. Globalization is the principle of modern and contemporary political thought, international order and social organization. It does not ignore diversity. But multiplicity is controlled and managed by the distribution of identities and differences under a definition of sovereignty. Globalization is nothing new in world history, but it has taken a new form in the last twenty years. It has become a substitute for modern universalism. It does not refer anymore to a moral norm or a political ground, but only to commercial rules and economic

rationality. This new conception does not replace the former one but it has become its basis as well as a new norm. On the surface, this unifying process is becoming more and more independent from the political level. Economic modernization is supplanting differences between political regimes and conflicts between States. A globalized economy is reputed the only way to solve all problems, the road leading to peace and in the end to democracy. Indeed globalization is being reduced to a uniform logic of industrial production and model of commercial consumption, from China to Ghana, from France to America. This logic and this model are now in crisis. They were the source of the present crisis and they provide no real solution.

This conception of globalization does not hide obvious differences in performance and achievement. But these differences are explained by "civilization" and "culture." At the age of globalization, "culture" is what constitutes and also distinguishes nations. Nations, regions, etc, are supposed to be closed in their "cultures" or "civilizations." This explains why the age of globalization is also the age of multiculturalism. Culture is the present version of the principle of globality. Culture is reduced to the behaviors, values, attitudes and prejudices, which are resisting economic globalization. Globalization transforms cultures into national identities and this destroys them. People who resist economic globalization in the name of their culture are at the end losing what they are fighting for. They just close themselves into an illusion and are being dominated by those who build their power on this illusion. Serbia is a recent example on a long list. The globalization principle becomes at the

¹⁵ See for instance Carl Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen* (The Concept of the Political), trans. by George D. Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); see in the French edition, *La notion de politique* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1972), preface by Julien Freund.

¹⁶ The conception and explanation of the world order by Samuel Huntington have been quite influential. See "The clash of civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 72 (1993), fn. 3. Concerning this conception of "culture," see also his book edited with Lawrence Harrison, *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).



national level a unifying principle identified a "culture." At the international level, it leads to economic homogenization and convergence.

The opposition between culture and economy raises a deeper problem. Globalization dissociates the economic and the political spheres. States are all different according to their national culture and history. But the economic logic is supposed to be or to become everywhere the same. It is a norm for all contexts, for all management methods, criteria and objectives. To be and remain "competitive" is the law of all things economical. To adopt this economic norm is supposed to emancipate the economy from all cultural, historical and sociological constraints. Indeed, numerous historical examples prove that in each society a change in the degree of autonomy of the economy generates a strong dynamic. This is what has been happening since the 17th century in Western Europe, in the world since the 1980ies. But research in Human Sciences¹⁷ proves that this dissociation is based on strong historical, cultural and social conditions. Economic development does not escape from these conditions. On the contrary, this dissociation happens within a given historical context and is strongly conditioned by this context. Therefore, cases of such dissociation need to be analyzed within each context in which it happens. 18 It is itself a social and historical phenomenon and it requires to be studied as such.

The problem is therefore more complex that the common idea of globalization. This apparent process is nothing new: a increasing disconnection between the political and the economical has been the source of economic development in Western Europe since the late Middle Ages. This dissociation created the conditions of the

formation of liberalism, of market capitalism and democracy. It has been the source since the 17th of "modernization century the process." Modernization is a much wider and deeper process than Capitalism, than the dissociation between religion, politics, society and the economy. Anthropology, philosophy and have repeatedly proven history that transformation of an economy cannot be separated from political and social change as well as from scientific and technological progress. On top of it, it is clear that economic development was achieved in countries like Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and China through strong internal relations between the State and the economy. This has lead to remarkable economic results and also to social and political tensions and abuses. Still the fact that this alliance did not work elsewhere proves that economic development cannot be reduced to it.19

Furthermore the disruptions introduced by industrial development in Europe have generated political movements to counteract their impact on society. Either these movements were attempts by the ruling class to reinforce its control on the population. Or other movements pretended to protect the "people," its culture and identity, social changes against induced industrialization. Both cases were always strongly opposed and closely related. In the 20th century, Fascism and Communism were two political, social and economical movements born to oppose Capitalism and its social impact. Fascism pretended to restore a former social order based on race, culture or tradition. Communism tried to construct a new and different society in order to overcome the contradictions, conflicts and exploitations inherent to modern societies. They

¹⁷ I mainly refer to the works of Max Weber, Karl Polanyi, Louis Dumont and many others.

¹⁸ On the formation, failure and criticism of the "development theory," see Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹⁹ On these questions, see Alain-Marc Rieu, Savoir et pouvoir dans la modernisation du Japon (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2001).

both relied on a strong relation between the State and the Economy. Both were based on the globality principle.

This point makes clear that the globalization process needs to be situated in its proper factual and theoretical contexts. It cannot be reduced to a separation between politics and the economy. It is wrong to suppose that politics and economy are two independent levels or types of activities in a society. Still, as an ideology, globalization presupposes either a growing opposition between politics and the economy or the reduction of politics conditions of economic to the performance. Three main types of relation between these two functions are observed nowadays:

- Politics should not interfere with the Economy.
- 2 Politics should organize Society according to an economic logic, in order to stimulate or sustain economic development or growth.
- Politics should define Society outside the economic world, for instance on a spiritual, ideological, religious or cultural ground.²⁰

There is apparently a fourth relation: the role of politics is to reach an equilibrium between economic development and social cohesion. But the goal of this equilibrium is to stimulate economic development. It is therefore a variation of the second type. The first two types are the liberal and neo-liberal ideologies. The fourth is mostly the socialist or social-democratic discourse. The third type is the source of contemporary fundamentalism and nationalism. It was historically the source of different sorts of fascism.

Since the end of the Cold War, the globalization process has apparently enforced a new degree of autonomy of economic activities in each society engaged in this process. But this

process cannot be separated from US political, economic and military hegemony, including its cultural industries. To forget or repress the historical conditions of economic globalization during the 1990ies generates distortions. The worst distortion is to situate political institutions beyond the economy, as the ground of all economic progress, with the duty to control the social and even cultural basis of economic growth. Political regimes are then considered as the "private life" of a people as well as the ground of State sovereignty. In this conceptual frame, the economy is considered public, "free" and it can be globalized: everybody should participate in economic development, each nation should have access to each "market" whatever the "nation." But, according to this ideology, Politics is private. It is considered the "private life" of each nation. It belongs to each State, to each Nation and nobody should interfere. How the State is organized, how the Government is elected are not questions to be asked in relation to the economy. The relations between the Government and the population, the level of social protection, of salaries and access to education, are supposed to be the internal affairs of the State. They are considered responsibility of the State beyond the economy and the core component of its sovereignty. Globalization is then reduced to the following principle of international ordering: "Let's not talk about politics. Let's trade and make profit. Let's not ask how goods are produced, how the population is treated for this economy to be competitive."

In this perspective, the Nation-State becomes immune of all questioning and criticism as long as economic development is achieved and sustained. Society is reduced to infrastructure. The population is not ignored but it is reduced to economic parameters of productivity and its various social factors: demography, heath, legal

²⁰ This is not only true of Islamic States. It can also be found in each religion and nation.



system, Industrial Property enforcement, tax system, levels of instruction, of revenue and consumption. When and where this fails, the State's responsibilities are supplemented by calls to Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid. In these cases, the population is still disconnected from its political, social and economic contexts and institutions. People are considered as refugees in the own country (this is indeed what they are) and not as its citizens. Therefore, in these extreme situations, the failure of the Government does not empower the population. On the contrary: the poor and hungry are simply feed and cured. Advice on political institutions (on "Nation building") is provided and financial help is promised in exchange for economic reform. Economic liberalization is the norm: the goal is to free an economy from its social context in order to make it participate to the globalization process and then share its expected benefits. This increased autonomy of the economic sector is apparently an efficient way to develop it. But it requires precise social conditions in order to be achieved. It does not change at the world level established hierarchies between Nations and between social classes at the national level.

Until now Globalization has obviously been thought and managed in order to prevent any major conflict with the Nation-State and interference with State sovereignty. It has been organized and managed in order to remain under its institutional and ideological control. But 2008 economic crisis has demonstrated that these limitations and controls by national and international institutions can fail. For many, the solution to this crisis is to be found in a reinforcement of the State. Globalization has deeply transformed the nations at the source of this process. It is challenging American economic, political, military and financial hegemony. It created the conditions for the economic development of "emerging nations," mainly of China, India and Russia, but also of Brazil, Mexico or South Africa. The 2008 financial crisis is the unwanted (not unpredictable) effect of a globalization process reduced to economic globalization. The globalization process is deconstruction in action. It is a type of "creative destruction." It has opened an historical transition toward a new world, a new world order.

The process was fast and deep. In the early 1990ies, it was an ideology and propaganda for expressing the present state of power relations in the world. The opposition between Politics and Economy was designed to open markets for the most powerful economies, to enforce and enlarge the 1945 world order by extending it to emerging nations, which were supposed to share the economic growth, the financial burden and political responsibility of this world order. The Nation-State was and is still supposed to remain the political norm. Globalization is supposed to reinforce the power of the Nation-State on the populations it controls as a consequence of the economic prosperity it is supposed to bring and distribute. But this global strategy leads to a contradiction. Because of the growing role of the economic sector in each society, the capacity of each Government to control its economy is weakened. Governments can only adapt, manage, control or even repress their populations. The Nation-State tends to solve this paradoxical situation by regularly voicing nationalist or protectionist claims. Nationalist and populist political parties are prospering, on the Right and the Left. Still Globalization is deconstruction leading to transition. Populations want to profit from economic growth but they are not ready anymore to take economic goals and models as Laws of Nature and their only future.

The main danger is globalization's double bind. Politics is weakened and is not supposed to interfere with the economy. But in case of a deep crisis like today, the State becomes the only recourse for the population and for the economy. But it is too weak (corrupted, ill managed, badly organized, etc) to respond to this situation. This situation opens a political crisis. This crisis State developing prevents the from implementing the policies adapted to this economic and social situation. The economy is in return further weakened by the political and social situation. It cannot pick up. When a Government has to choose between the economy and the social situation, it is forced to choose to restart the economy. Before any results can be felt, social and political unrest is likely. The only solution is an advancement of democracy.

Conclusion: toward a world in common

My objective is to open a frame for deconstructing the notion of globalization. The problem is not to criticize Globalization in order to limit and restrain this process. The problem is to free globalization from globality or globalism, in order to understand this process from the perspective of diversity. The goal is to interfere with this ideology in order to change the concepts, theories and practices behind it. I am not the first one to try. The results can be summarized in five points:

- 1. The idea of globalization is a false conception of a larger problem: Modernization. Modernization cannot be reduced to industrialization, urbanization and the formation of the Nation-State and its bureaucracy. The present situation cannot be reduced to a new level of autonomy of the economy.
- 2. As an ideology, globalization hides the power relations on which it is based, in particular its political, social and cultural conditions. As a notion and ideology, Globalization weakens the

political process and it reinforces the Nation-State, its bureaucracy, its control over the population and its territory.

- 3. Globalization is a dangerous ideology. From Globalization perspective, societies are reduced to a work force, to an economic system, plus a national identity, a moral or legal norm or a religious identity. Political institutions are reduced to the role of keeping equilibrium between these parameters. This is an empty conception of society, a meaningless conception of life in society as well as a project to empty society of anything beside economic behaviors and activities. The site effect is that other societies are filled by ideology or religion. In situations of severe economic crisis, globalization is dangerous because the political institutions are too weak to play their expected role. The only political recourse is nationalism, oppression, fundamentalism or fascism.
- 4. Globalization is both the cause and the consequence of recent economic development. The 2008 financial and economic crisis proves how difficult it is to accept Francis Fukuyama's idea that economic liberalization leads to political emancipation and democracy. It might deconstruct Empires. Parliaments and elections can be implemented but this is not enough to generate a democratic society and a democratized world order. The solution is to investigate and reach the presuppositions of the globalization process. Globalization does not explain the situation of the world today, neither the disappearance of the 1945 world order, nor the present experience of diversity.
- 6. It is wrong to criticize Globalization from the point of view of the 1945 world order as if it is was a norm to be saved and simply enlarged. Globalization is a moment within a larger deconstructive process, which has already

²¹ See Fareed Zakaria, *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2004).



changed the world and opened a transition toward a still unknown world order. As a concept, Globalization is an obstacle for understanding this deconstructive process, its sources and consequences.

In order to overcome Globalization's ideology, the concept of diversity needs to be further developed. Until now, it was more a postmodern philosophy than a cognitive attitude producing accurate knowledge. Until today, the appeal to diversity is more a counter-ideology, a type of cultural resistance than a form of knowledge. At least three steps are needed to progress further in this direction. The first one is to develop a theory of Modernization capable of explaining on the same pattern the formation and evolution of different regions and nations in the world.²² The goal is to provide a comparative knowledge of development trajectories, to understand why this process happens in certain conditions or does not take place in others. Differences need to be analyzed within Europe as well as between East Asia and Europe or other parts of the world. The second step is to conceptualize what is a "world". The third step is to imagine a theory of democracy based on the principle of diversity. This requires a conception of democracy beyond its present presuppositions and limitations

²² A joint research on this topic has been launched in 2008 with Eastern China Normal University, Shanghai, in association with Professor Yang Guorong. The theme is "Multiple Modernity: knowledge, culture, theory" (soon to be published). For another aspect, see my paper "Modernisation: démocratisation et individualisation. Le cas japonais" dans Alain-Marc Rieu and A. Antoine (ed.) *Individualisme et démocratie: France, Etats-Unis, Japon*, revue *Circé*, special issue (May, 1998), pp. 55-72.

論中國學術與社會科學理論之關係+

黄俊傑

自從十九世紀下半葉中國知識份子接觸西 方社會科學以後,西方社會科學理論與中國歷 史經驗之間一直存有某種緊張性,廿世紀中國 知識子常以中國經驗屈從西方社會科學理論, 也有人完全將中國經驗視為社會科學普遍理論 的例外。

本文論證社會科學理論與中國學術之間, 有其辯證性的有機關係,因為社會科學理論如 果忽視中國學術,將成為跛腳的學術。而且, 中國傳統學術也必須建構普遍性的理論性命 題,才能使中國學術不再是孤芳自賞的「地域 性的知識」(人類學家Clifford Geertz所謂的 "Local Knowledge")。兩者之間在研究內容 上有其不可分割性,但在方法論上又有其緊張 性。因此,兩者間存有競爭支配地位之關係。 但是,兩者合則雙贏,離則兩傷。

我們要論證社會科學研究與中國傳統學術 之不可分割性,可以先從兩者斷為兩橛後的負 面效果說起。這種負面效果首先表現在當代西方社會科學界對中國儒學的誤解之上。廿世紀中國以及國際社會科學界對於儒家政治思想的誤解,可謂形形色色,不一而足,基本上認為儒家是威權主義與集體主義,均有利於傳統亞洲的專制政治。

從這個角度來看,社會科學家要求儒學為 政治的專制主義與社會的集體主義負責,並不 公平,這種說法犯了「化約論的謬誤」。歐美 社會科學界這種思考上的盲點,固然與各別社 會科學家的學力有關,但是,最根本的原因則 是在於社會科學界對中國傳統學術的忽視。

社會科學理論的建構必須將中國歷史經驗納入考慮,近年來愈來愈多西方社會科學家已經注意到這一點,我們舉美國的社會學家史柯普(Theda Skocpol, 1947-)為例加以說明。史柯普研究的主題是近代世界史上的「社會革命」(social revolution),她所謂的「社會革

⁺ 本文係二〇〇八年九月十五日本院人文社會科學討論會內容。

^{*} 臺灣大學歷史學系特聘教授、中央研究院中國文哲研究所合聘研究員、臺灣大學人文社會高等研究院特約研究員。

命」是指某一個社會中「國家」或階級結構之 快速而基本的轉變。她認為,對這種「社會革 命」的分析,必須採取結構的觀點,並特別注 意革命的國際脈絡以及導致舊政權瓦解新政權 建立的國內因素。她主張「比較的歷史分析」 是最適當的研究方法。史柯普的書就從國家結 構、國際力量以及階級關係入手,分析一七八 七年到一八〇〇年代的法國大革命、一九一七 年到一九三〇年代的俄國革命,以及一九一一 年到一九六〇年代中國革命。史柯普將法國、 俄國與中國革命的經驗,放在比較的視野中加 以分析,提出許多創見,對馬克思(Karl Marx, 1818-1883) 與列寧 (Vladimir Lenin, 1870-1924)的學說,既加以吸納融會,而又提出修 正。全書論述引人入勝。史柯普從中俄法三國 的歷史經驗指出,「國家」雖然是一種行政的 與強制性的組織,但是,「國家」常常具有某 種潛在的「自主性」,而不受階級的控制。她 認為在分析「社會革命」時,必須充分注意這 一點。史柯普的書之所以能在這三大革命的歷 史事實中提煉理論,主要可以說得力於她在西 方歷史經驗之外,再將中國歷史經驗納入考 慮,從而在三個革命經驗中既求其同,又見其 異。從史柯普的例子,我們看到了中國歷史經 驗在建構社會科學理論時,所扮演的重要角 色。

從研究方法的角度來看,社會科學家企圖從人類行為中,歸納出若干具有普遍必然性的理則,以便對人類行為進行解釋,甚至對未來的發展提出預測。就其對人類社會的普遍理則的追求而言,社會科學家的研究方法論,近似新康德學派哲學家溫德班(Wilhelm Windelband, 1848-1915)所謂的「理則的知識」(nomothetic knowledge)。

相對於社會科學研究的上述特質,中國傳統學術的主要領域如文學、歷史、哲學等,都

具有強烈的描述特殊人物或事件的傾向。例如 傳統中國論述政治的文獻多因本於致用之目的 而缺乏原理性之探討,因此,從方法論傾向言 之,社會科學研究與中國傳統學術實不免有其 相互緊張性在焉。這種緊張性在某種意義上, 正是「理則的知識」與「意喻的知識」 (ideographic knowledge)之間的緊張性。

我們再進一步討論:社會科學研究與中國 學術之間的緊張性,是否能夠被克服呢?我認 為,中國傳統學術研究實際上常常「即特殊性 以論普遍性」,並且從具體經驗中提煉抽象命 題,而且,中國傳統學術所研究的歷史經驗潛 藏著大量不同於西方的問題意識,可以補當前 社會科學界之不足。所以,兩者間之緊張性之 克服實建立在兩者「互為主體性」的基礎之 上。

當前海峽兩岸中文社會科學界中研究有關「國家」(state)、「民間社會」(civil society)、「理性」(rationality)、「權力」(power)等議題的文化資源均來自西方歷史經驗,而由於西方社會科學界的支配性地位,將原是從具體而特殊的西方歷史經驗中所建構的社會科學理論與方法,推廣而成為普遍的學說。在這種推廣過程中,西方學術「典範」(paradigm)實居於霸權之地位。

展望未來,廿一世紀漢語學術界的社會科學研究,應該從西方支配走向東西互為主體。 我們愈深入中國歷史經驗以及研究這種經驗的學術傳統,愈能夠出新解於陳編,愈能夠提出新的社會科學概念與命題,而與西方的同事進行富有啟發性的對話。中國傳統學術的研究如果愈能參考社會科學的概念與方法,就愈能夠開拓新的視野,社會科學與中國傳統學術本來就應該相輔相成,相得益彰。

發展人文研究的兩種策略+

王汎森*

首先我要引用傅斯年民國九年二月刊於 《新潮》一首詩〈自然〉中的幾句:

> 「趣味!」「趣味!」 你真果和我最親切嗎? 你為什麼不能說明你自己來?

這幾行詩原是在講西方壓力下的中國傳統學問,但是用來形容今天人文學的處境,似亦合適。人文學的價值不再是不證自明的,而是要「能說明你自己來」。

在十九世紀,有些人文學者還對置身於科學家之間感到不滿意,覺得降格一等;可是到了二十一世紀的今天,人文學的價值非但不是不證自明,而是需要大費唇舌來為自己辯稱,而且所需要的力道愈來愈強。

此處我想先跳過「人文的價值」這個非常 重要而又不容易簡略說清楚的問題,直接對國 內人文學界的發展提出兩項策略性的建議,而 這兩項建議很大程度受到林毓生先生的啟發。

一、許多年來,林毓生先生與我都在努力建立以國科會的計畫補助人文學者取得「研究性休假」(research leave)的制度。我曾將這個構想在二〇〇一年對媒體宣佈,很快即遭到多方的反對。我們的理由是,圖書、設備、助理、出外參加研討會是很重要的,但是除上述之外,人文學者最重要的是得到「時間」——需要有一長段安靜而不受干擾的時間投入研究或寫作。在西方,人文方面的補助最多是用來buy out teaching time,用來負擔免授課的時間,以便能專心研究;許多有份量的研究專書,都是利用這種「研究性休假」的時間完成的。

我很高興知道近來國科會與教育部在全國 選取幾所大學設立校級人文中心,據我所知, 中心的任務之一便是接待「研究性休假」的學 者,如果將來執行得好,必定是國內人文環境

⁺ 本文係二○○八年十一月廿八日「第十二屆人文聯盟座談會:人文學術與高等教育」座談內容。

^{*} 中央研究院歷史語言研究所特聘研究員、中央研究院院士、英國皇家歷史學會會士。

的一個長足進步。不過我還是希望做幾點提議:第一、「研究性休假」的觀念一定要能為各方面接受,學校或系所不能阻礙案件的提出;第二、目前為了防止有名無實的「研究性休假」,所以一定要加入教育部及國科會選定的一個人文中心。目前而言,這當然是一個好辦法,不過長期而言,希望能夠不必如此拘泥。關於「研究性休假」的構想,林毓生先生曾在國科會人文處的《人文科學簡訊》中發表〈人文與社會研究發展芻議〉,有興趣的朋友可以參考。

二、在兩年前(2006)及這次(2008)的 中央研究院院士會議,包括林毓生先生、夏伯 嘉及我等幾位,都發現我們共同關心臺灣人文 學界的一個問題:即大量獲得博士學位的學 者,尤其是留學外國者,往往在回國擔任教授 或研究人員之後,急急忙忙趕寫新論文,極少 將學位論文改寫出版成專書,形成重大的浪 費。許多學者往往發現,在他們畢生的研究經 歷中,以四、五年甚至更長的時間研究一個主 題的機會,並不是很多。而博士論文往往是 三、四年甚至更長的時間密集研究成果,所以 它雖然不完美,但是往往潛力無窮。常有學者 在數十年學術生涯之後,回頭發現他們一生最 重要的工作就是博士論文。依我了解,在西方 人文學科最重要的資產之一,即是由博士論文 改寫出版的專書。在西方的大學或研究機構得 到長聘,往往需要一本這樣的專書。而有許多 研究機構的主要任務之一,便是提供一個無憂 無慮的環境,讓新科博士能將學位論文改成可 出版專書。在過去許多年,我也曾利用各種機 會說明這一點,並鼓勵新成立的各種中心(包 括國科會的人文中心)把這一件工作列為主要 任務。

人文學科的學位論文之所以會閒置,還有 一個原因:國內的學術機構對教授學術成績的 考核受到一種觀念的影響,認為學位論文已經 在申請工作(或升等)時使用過了,所以不管 是續聘或往後的升等,都應該用新的成果。即 使將論文改成專書出版之後,人們總是想機械 地去計算這本專書到底與學位論文有多大的不 同,而不願給予更大的肯定。許多新進人員為 了因應升等、續聘、評鑒的壓力,也不敢冒險 將心力賭在將論文修改成書這件事上,寧可趕 緊寫一些單篇論文來因應現實。

我在與人文處廖炳惠處長討論之後,發現國科會事實上已有明文支持這類工作(參見國科會「補助人文學及社會科學學術性專書寫作計畫作業要點」),其中還特別提出改寫學位論文成為專書之事。所以我想藉著這篇短文為國科會人文處作宣傳:將論文改寫成專書,是國科會所鼓勵支持的範圍;同時也希望在升等續聘的程序時,不要再機械式地計算從博士學位論文到專書有多少新寫的成份(事實上從論文到專書,其改變是無所不在的,很難清楚說明),而要給予更大的鼓勵。總而言之,希望學位論文不要庫存在個人書架上,成為「臺灣人文學界最大的一筆浪費」。

井上哲次郎的「東洋哲學史」研究+

大島晃*

前言

井上哲次郎,生於安政二年(1855),卒 於昭和十九年(1944)。在日本近代的學院式 哲學的形成上具有領導性的地位,身為東京帝 大文科大學實質上的指導者發揮了其才能。在 日本,德國哲學得以被重視,猶如井上本身所 自負,他的功績確實難以否定。並且他將日本 近代哲學與佛教、儒教相結合也是不容忽視的 事實。特別是在早期即規劃「東洋哲學」、 「東洋哲學史」體系,這可視為日本近代的 「東洋哲學」研究的開端。

被視為日本儒學史研究之先驅三部曲的《日本陽明學派之哲學》(明治 33 年、1900)、《日本古學派之哲學》(明治 35 年、1902)、《日本朱子學派之哲學》(明治 39 年、1906),這三部著作正能顯示井上所規劃的「東洋哲學史」研究的成果,也是他的主要著作。在此,檢討井上的「東洋哲學史」研究形成為《日本陽明學派之哲學》的過程,以

及其學問上的立場,並概述此三部著作的特 質。

井上哲次郎與「東洋哲學史」研究

井上出生的安政二年(1855),西周是廿六歲、福澤諭吉廿二歲、加藤弘之廿歲。八歲時(1862)開始學習漢籍,這時西周、津田真道等人赴荷蘭留學。明治元年(1868)十四歲,到博多學習英文。廿一歲時進入東京開成學校。明治十年(1877)入學於東京大學,專攻哲學,並兼修政治學。在校中受教於由哈佛大學剛畢業的 Fenollosa(1853-1908),頗受鼓舞。與岡倉覺三(天心)同為第一屆的畢業生。而井上在東京大學不只學習西洋哲學,也正式地學習漢學、國學、佛教,是值得注目的。

大學畢業後(1880),井上就任於文部省下的編輯局,從事「東洋哲學史」的編撰工作。兩年後任教於東京大學文學部,隨後開始「東洋哲學史」的課程。在這三年之間,井上

⁺ 本文係二○○八年十二月廿二日本院人文社會科學討論會內容。

^{*} 上智大學文學部國文學科教授。

出版了《哲學字彙》、《新體詩抄》、《心理學說》、《倫理新說》、《西洋哲學講義》等。其中《哲學字彙》是意圖將哲學用語奠定於官學的學院式哲學,而《新體詩抄》是提倡與漢詩不同形式的新詩,《心理學說》則是翻譯來自英國的《心理學》摘要。

卅歲那一年(1884),井上被派到德國留 學,是東大哲學科畢業生中第一個留學生。原 本預定為三年,因為在一八八七年被聘為柏林 東洋語學校的講師,所以總共留德六年。在德 國這一段期間,井上也有到法國留學,以及到 英國的機會,可說體驗非常幸運的留學生活。 井上留學中的動向,可由他的日記《懷中雜 記》得知。在《懷中雜記》中引人注目的是, 何時與何人見面的記載,詳細記述著與專家及 名士見面的過程。可惜的是,這些記錄僅止於 學派、學風、及學術傳統等表面的知識,並未 有哲學性的思索。不過《懷中雜記》中也時常 出現,井上對於「東洋哲學史」的構想,可說 井上透過留學經驗,確信「東洋哲學史」不只 是日本學者所需要的,也是西方的哲學家們所 期待的。

《日本陽明學派之哲學》

《日本陽明學派之哲學》出版於一九〇〇年十月,在序中明確指出此書為「東洋哲學史」的一環,且是一八九七年於巴黎召開的第十一回萬國東洋學會發表的〈哲學思想在於日本的發展〉之延伸。本書不只是敘述陽明學的歷史,而是以陽明學派的哲學思想及評論為主。在此應注目於,并上為何首先論述陽明學。在序文中并上所強調的是「國民道德心」,他批評明治維新以來,學者們或是提倡功利主義,或是主張利己主義,其結果破壞我國民之道德心。并上認為,隨著歐美的經濟、政治以及自然科學的思想進入到日本後,功利主義及唯物主義取代了佛教與儒教的精神主義、理想主義。也就是說「國民道德心」是針對西歐功利主義所提出的。

提升「國民道德心」其實就是根據〈教育 敕語〉所發揚的。并上回國的一八九〇年正值 〈教育敕語〉發佈的時候,他馬上在隔年出版 《敕語衍義》,解釋〈教育敕語〉,以「孝悌 忠信」、「共同愛國」為主旨。這也是他首先 注目於陽明學的理由。他認為在實踐「國民道 德」上,陽明學派是優於其他學派。

井上在撰寫日本的哲學史時的標準,不只 是觀察日本如何接受中國的儒教,而是將重點 置於日本人是否有自家的創見。他在《日本陽 明學派之哲學》的結論中說,陽明學進入日本 後即日本化,有與神道合一的傾向;若擴充言 之,有以國家精神為本的趨勢。井上在此是表 彰日本的儒學,但也帶有國家主義的色彩。

在《日本陽明學派之哲學》出版不久之 後,在出版《日本古學派之哲學》(1902)之 前,井上與其門人蟹江義丸共同編撰《日本倫 理彙編》(1901)。由此書的編制,也可一探 其對東洋哲學史的構想。

《日本古學派之哲學》、《日本朱子學派之哲學》

《日本古學派之哲學》中舉山鹿素行 (1622-1685)、伊藤仁齋(1627-1705)、荻 生徂徠(1666-1728)三人為古學派的代表。 井上認為山鹿素行將儒學與兵學融為一體,提 倡武士道是其特色;而伊藤仁齋的學問本領是 在於道德論;至於荻生徂徠,井上認為他有補 充伊藤仁齋不足之點的功績,並且將徂徠的功 利主義解釋為利他的功利主義。在此書中值得 注意的是井上的孔子論。井上認為不應將孔子 一人視為唯一的理想人格來崇拜,應該以歷史 上的一個人物來評價。

比起《日本陽明學派之哲學》、《日本古 學派之哲學》二書,并上對《日本朱子學派之 哲學》的評價是非常少的。他認為朱子學派的 學說千篇一律,而古學派的學說是多彩多樣, 陽明學派也不會如此單調。然而此書也因為評 論少,所以反而保留了其資料價值。

我們的時代需要什麼樣的歷史哲學? ——以當代西方歷史觀變化為視角之觀察⁺

王晴佳*

自一九七〇年代以來,以後現代主義和後殖民主義的興起為契機,西方的歷史觀出現了顯著的變化。這一變化主要表現為兩個方面。一是繼承和發展了自廿世紀初年以來從思辨的歷史哲學到分析的歷史哲學的轉折性趨向,二是融合了後殖民主義對西方文化霸權的批評,進一步反省西方歷史和世界歷史、全球歷史之間的複雜關係。此次講演將探討這些變化及其對東亞歷史研究的影響和意義。

談到歷史觀的變化,或許可以以史學理論 與歷史研究的關係作為開場白。歷史學比較強 調實證,在一個領域耙梳史料寫出一本著作, 這是大多數歷史學家願意從事的工作,在臺灣 史學家更是如此。史學史與史學理論的研究, 特別是歷史觀、歷史哲學的研究,在專業的歷 史學領域裡都比較邊緣化。換言之,歷史學家 對比較抽象的、上層建築的東西不大感興趣。 中國史學理論界的前輩、清華大學何兆武先生 對這種現象有一個很恰當的比喻,「歷史學家 喜歡低頭拉車,不喜歡抬頭看路。」其實拉車 和看路都很重要。完全沉浸在故紙堆中,也未 必能寫出像樣的東西。其實,中文學界的歷史 研究,特別是新近博士論文的寫作,史學史的 部分,或者文獻回顧,已經成為寫作論文的必 需。年輕的學者懂得瞭解現有的成果是什麼, 希望瞭解別人已經做了哪些工作,然後自己再 尋找突破點。所以關注歷史學派及其變化,也 就變得很重要。在西方,有一些學者還是重視 這方面的研究,一九八○年成立了國際史學史 和史學理論委員會,其中有五、六十個比較積 極的分子。比如二〇〇七年十一月在上海華東 師大開「全球視野下的史學:區域性與國際 性」國際學術研討會的懷特(Hayden White)、安可斯米特(Frank Ankersmit)等

^{*} 本文係二〇〇八年十二月廿六日本院人文社會科學討論會內容。

^{*} 羅文大學歷史學系教授,北京大學長江講座教授。

人,中文讀者已經不再陌生。他們都是這一委 員會的主要成員。

雖然歷史哲學這些抽象的東西,對西方史 家的興趣也不是很大。但與中國史學界不同, 西方史學界力求創新。比如美國歷史學會,就 有一個讓博士在開題以後,登記自己的博士課 題的機制,避免其他人撞車。因此西方史學流 派層出不窮,背後有結構上的原因。西方史學 家特別注意先瞭解現有成果,看自己還能做出 什麼有新意的東西。我剛剛為《美國歷史評 論》寫了一篇書評,所評論的一本書以研究湖 南人為什麼能在近代扮演重要角色為主題。大 家知道,在十八世紀湖南很少有進士,是文化 十分落後的地方。可是在鴉片戰爭前後卻出了 很多名人。這個現象以前有人觀察到,但一般 都是將湖南人在近現代中國的崛起,與中國民 族主義掛鈎,但這本書就特以湖南地方主義為 中心來考察這一現象,因此有其新穎之處。

因此,歷史研究的變化,與歷史觀的變化 緊密相連,無分彼此。如果將歷史研究純粹視 為史料的搜尋,並沒有真正瞭解歷史研究的本 質。以西方而言,有關歷史觀的研究是從十八 世紀才開始的。從文藝復興時代以來,要對歷 史時代做觀察和界定,就會涉及到歷史觀問 題。文藝復興就是要「復興古典文化」,本身 即是一種觀念上的變化。實際上,古典建築、 藝術一直存在在那裡,但以往人們對此熟視無 睹,從十四、十五世紀開始,西方人才開始意 識到古人為什麼能創造這些燦爛的文化。古代 典籍流傳到十四至十五世紀已經與原來有很大 的不同,因為它們原來都是用希臘文、拉丁文 寫作的,有一個文字轉換的問題,而且在謄寫 的過程中也會產生變化。但復興了古典文化以 後,就產生了一個疑問,那就是如何看待自身 的時代。當時人們思考的一個問題是,他們所 在的時代是否可以與古代相提並論。文化的演 變就像一個倒裝的馬鞍形,古典文明是馬鞍的 一端,中世紀的一千年就是中間下凹的部分。 文藝復興時期的人們認為自己的時代絕對高於 中世紀,但是否能與古典時代相提並論,似乎 還不確定。他們並不能確定自己在文化上能回 升到什麼高度,還是有種「今不如昔」之感。 這一古今之爭一直延續到十八世紀。很多學者 認為古代的悲劇、喜劇、雕塑以及其他文學、 藝術、哲學,是今人無法超越的,就像我們今 天的中國人覺得唐詩宋詞的成就是無法超越的 一樣,要研究漢代歷史,只有「一頭鑽入 『班』、『馬』」,後人沒有經歷那個時代, 史料和文筆都不如他們。但是,經過了科學革 命,也有人看到,科技的發展已經使得今勝於 昔。近代人能憑藉科技的力量,可以做得比古 人好。十八世紀中葉, 啟蒙思想家就開始認為 今勝於昔,提倡歷史進步的觀念。十八世紀啟 蒙思想家伏爾泰率先使用「歷史哲學」的概 念。概括起來,十八世紀的歷史觀具有以下三 個特點:

- 一、認為歷史是一個有意義的過程;
- 二、認為歷史有曲折,但最終是向上的,最後 的結果是理想的;
- 三、認為歷史呈現階段性,前一階段是後一階段的鋪墊。

在歷史研究的領域,十九世紀上半葉的尼布林(Barthold G. Niebuhr),專門研究古代羅馬史。尼布林對羅馬史的研究,一般認為是超越了李維、塔西陀等古羅馬史家,因為他運用了比他們更多的史料,包括實物史料。這一今勝於昔的觀念,以德國蘭克學派為主要代表。蘭克(Leopold von Ranke)認為,利用原始資料,用現代科技去考證古代的實物,如城市建築、錢幣、雕塑等等,後人對古代和中世紀的認識也可以不遜於古人,甚至在恢復歷史的真實性方面,超越古人。但是,蘭克的這種今勝於昔的觀念,還是與他的同代人黑格爾

(Georg W. F. Hegel),有明顯的不同。十九 世紀最重要的歷史哲學家是黑格爾。黑格爾認 為歷史發展是一線的,是從低級到高級,從東 方向西方發展,在中歐的日爾曼民族那裡達到 極致,總之,歷史是進步的過程。蘭克同意黑 格爾關於歷史是有一致性(coherence)、歷史 是有意義有目的的觀點,但不同意所謂單線的 歷史發展觀。在蘭克看來,黑格爾的歷史觀是 先有框架,再往裡面填材料,黑格爾實際上想 充當了上帝的角色。蘭克認為,每個階段都直 接與上帝相通,但他不想說每個階段之間的關 係是什麼。古人與今人都是人,因此我們是可 能知道以前的人想些什麼。以前的人研究歷史 是為了道德說教、政治,而我們只是想把真實 的歷史還原出來,以顯示上帝的先知先覺和無 處不在。蘭克的這一歷史觀可以說是既謙遜又 高傲的。蘭克的想法可能是,只要我們把每個 階段的歷史描述出來,別的高人也許會搞清其 内在的聯繫。當時英國歷史小說家司各特 (Walter Scott)的小說,非常流行。但蘭克很 不以為然。他認為歷史不用做任何修飾,就比 文學家的描述,更加精彩動人。文學不能跟歷 史相提並論。用新的手段就可以告訴你歷史是 怎樣的。法國的歷史學家古郎治(Fustel de Coulanges) 也說道,我的歷史著述,沒有先入 之見,只是陳述事實;歷史是通過我的書表現 出來的。這都反映了一種非常自信的心態。

如果以蘭克學派的治史作風為視角,近現 代西方歷史觀的特點可以概括為六點:一、認 為過去與現在一樣都是真實的,可以通過概 念、文字表現出來,歷史不是虛構的;二、認 為論從史出,把史料搜集出來,觀點就出來 了;三、認為展現事實與觀點是不一樣的,歷 史不用做任何修飾;四、認為歷史與小說是不 同,歷史本身的演進就很精彩;五、認為歷史 學家與歷史研究著作是不一樣的,歷史學家的 價值觀和立場是不會滲透到歷史作品中去的, 不同的歷史學家,價值觀和立場不同,面對同樣的史料,也會寫出一樣的歷史; 六、認為真理是客觀的,放之四海而皆準。只要是用邏輯的語言表達出來,即使是中國人也可以理解西方的歷史著作。

一九〇〇年,當尼采宣稱「上帝死了」, 人們覺得他很瘋狂。一戰後,人們發現尼采是 先知先覺。西方文明走到了危機時代。從拿破 崙時代到一九一四年,西方享受了一個世紀的 盛世,而對外的殖民擴張所向披靡。因此,此 間西方樂觀進步的歷史觀與這一階段的歷史進 程有關。相比之下,鄭和下西洋所看到,以及 帶回中國的香料等物品,證明中國不需要向外 面學習。在乾隆時代,中國人口占世界人口三 分之一,GDP 占世界的百分之三十五。現在很 多人批評乾隆皇帝,說他不願與馬噶爾尼見 面,是狂妄自大,但就當時中國的實力而言, 乾隆有這樣的姿態也可以理解。我們不能以今 度昔。西方工業革命,是一個特殊的歷史事 件。由於工業革命的成功,西方頓時成為世界 的中心。在鴉片戰爭中,西方憑藉一支小的艦 隊就打敗了清朝,可見西方之迅速崛起。相對 而言,中國的衰落之快可見一斑,而且每下愈 况。鴉片戰爭後,清朝欠西方列強二億兩銀 子,靠借貸維持,由此西方人自然產生高傲的 心態。只是到了一戰以後,西方才開始有人反 思西方文明,例如斯賓格勒(Oswald Spengler)和湯因比(Arnold J. Toynbee)。

但是,二〇〇二年美國出版的一本《西方歷史思想讀本》,節選了從伏爾泰(Voltaire, François-Marie Arouet)到當代歷史思想家的書,其中卻沒有斯賓格勒和湯因比,這表明以斯賓格勒和湯因比為代表的思辯的歷史哲學,在當代已經沒有多少市場。這是因為,兩次世界大戰爆發後,後殖民時代興起,西方人感到無法對歷史做出言之成理的總結。斯賓格勒、湯因比的著作已看到西方文明不能做世界領頭

羊,但斯賓格勒還在為西方文明辯護,認為所 有十七個文明都有一個從興起到衰落的過程。 馬克思(Karl Marx)一方面批評英國在印度的 殖民統治,但又說英國的今天將是印度的明 天。中國有句話說,「落後是要挨打的」,這 一方面是對自己的激勵,另一方面也是責備自 己,自己不爭氣。近年專門講述清史的大陸學 者閻崇年就說,清朝喪失了十次與西方文明接 軌的機會。過去西方人認為從西方文明中提煉 出來的歷史觀具有普遍意義,但現在已經沒有 人這樣認為。亨廷頓 (Samuel P. Huntington) 認為,西方的發展是一種特例,不是常理 (The West: Unique, Not Universal)。因此, 可以說,不能簡單地說清朝無能,而是西方太 發展了,乾隆對馬噶爾尼的拒絕是有其特殊的 歷史文化背景的。不過,雖然思辨的歷史哲學 已經衰落,但對於歷史走向和規律的問題,目 前西方還是有人探討。所以西方學界還是有人 在做「抬頭看路」的事,不過並不出在歷史學 界。如亨廷頓,他做的工作與湯因比的工作一 樣,但他不是歷史學家。歷史學家把歷史觀的 思考讓給了政治學家,而把普及歷史知識的工 作讓給了業餘的作者,如中國寫《明朝那些事 兒》的作者,都不是專業歷史學家。另一位日 裔歷史學家福山(Francis Fukuyama)承認自 己的歷史觀與黑格爾一致,他斷言民主覆蓋全 球,共產主義全軍覆沒。但是,福山的觀點, 在西方學界沒有許多人支持。懷特便自稱是 「馬克思主義者」,在二〇〇八年十一月希臘 開會的時候曾對我說,看來還是馬克思說得 對,資本主義無法克服自身的矛盾。現在出現 的經濟危機和次貸危機,都是例子。馬克思對 資本主義的弊病分析得很透,貪欲過頭,就會 導致毀滅。

自廿世紀七〇年代以來,西方歷史觀發生 了很大變化,現在的西方歷史觀可以概括為以 下六點:

一、歷史著述、文本自成體系,與歷史沒有關

係;

- 二、歷史著述的好壞不在於是否反映真實,而 在於文筆好壞,對思想有無衝擊;
- 三、外在的過去並不存在,只存在對過去的一 種解釋;
- 四、無法用真家來評價歷史著作;
- 五、歷史著作一旦寫成,就自成體系,不同的 人可以對歷史做出不同的解釋;

六、外在歷史是建構的。

因此,「歷史」等於「史學」 (History=Historiography),外在歷史看不見 摸不著,我們所能看到的只是歷史著作。

這一歷史觀的形成,與後殖民時代文化批 評對民族主義的反思有很大關係。蘭克的著作 都是民族國家史,帶有目的論(teleology)的 寫法。比如,要寫《英國史》,就把起點推得 很早,一直從古代羅馬寫起,這實際上就把歷 史拉直了,為什麼要把英國的歷史追溯到那麼 遠呢?古代羅馬時代的英格蘭,人都不是同樣 的人,與以後英國的發展,沒有多少聯繫。同 樣,「中國人」作為一個國家公民的概念是很 晚才出現的,廿世紀初年才為人所提倡。其中 就有留學日本的曾鯤化,筆名「衡陽翼天 氏」。曾寫了《中國歷史出世辭》,可見所謂 的中國歷史,到那時才出現。海外華人到了廿 世紀中葉還自稱「唐人」、「唐山人」。因此 美國有「唐人街」。China, Sina 是西方人對 中國的稱呼,日本用了,因此「支那人」 (Shina)一詞原本在日語中也並無貶義。可惜 的是,用「民族國家史」來寫中國歷史以後, 我們常常感覺自不如人,也少了歷史的豐富 性。因為在「中國」誕生以後,這一段歷史基 本上都是屈辱的歷史。

「民族主義」的形成,必然要劃分出「他者」(the other),作為自己的對立面,從而

達到團結自己人的目的。在近代中國,章炳麟 把滿洲人視為「他者」,就是一例。但發生是 在甲午戰爭之後,之前是大多數中國人沒有強 烈的民族主義意識。但民族主義存在著兩個弊 病:

一、用民族主義寫作歷史會有很多偏見, 偏重精英、政治,從中國的歷史博物館的陳設 就可以發現這個問題。與此相反,西方的博物 館展出的卻是日常大眾生活的變化,如服飾、 傢俱等等。注重民族精英的結果,就是把很多 其他的人群邊緣化了;

二、民族精英在抵抗西方殖民地統治時做出了很多貢獻,一旦把西方人驅逐出去,他們的政治建制卻與西方一脈相承,比如趕走了西方人的印度人所建立的政治統治,比西方殖民者更嚴厲,而且往往還打出更堂而皇之的理由,如為了祖國的利益、民族的利益等等。但民族主義的情緒,則很多人無法避免。如我自己近年的工作,也受到民族主義的影響,要把中國的史學傳統介紹給西方,讓西方人瞭解與西方史學不同的成就、特色。譬如中國廿世紀五〇年代歷史研究「五朵金花」中最引人注目的一朵是「農民戰爭」,其研究重點和研究成果,都與「下層研究」重疊,而且早於印度學者,其中或許有啟發印度學者的地方。

中國的農民戰爭研究,雖然都是用中文寫的,在海外亦有影響,如印度學者就有所瞭解。在文革時期,印度也出了紅衛兵,有「林彪派」、「江青派」、「陳伯達派」等,因為印度與中國相似,都是農業大國,因此毛主義,也即毛澤東發動農民革命、推動土地改革,對第三世界很有啟發性。印度的「下層研究」(The Subaltern Studies,也稱庶民研究或賤民研究),就與毛主義有關。因為這也是後殖民主義的組成部分。印度下層研究在一九七〇年代流行,研究者都是一九四〇年代出生,

文革時期他們正在大學讀書,這些人對毛主席 語錄琅琅上口。澳大利亞的印度史學者古哈 (Ranajit Guha)受到了葛蘭西(Antonio Gramsci) 和毛澤東的影響,所以他使用葛蘭 西使用過的 Subaltern 一詞來表示「下層」, 在有關下層研究的論文集中,他使用了毛澤東 式「香花」、「毒草」之類的語言,該書的序 言是賽義德(Edward Said)寫的,有助將「下 層研究」推向西方學界。古哈曾為印共黨員。 另一名很有名的印裔美籍女學者史碧娃克 (Gayatri Charkravorty Spivak)有一篇論文, 題為〈賤民能發言嗎?〉(Can the Subaltern Speak?),是有關賤民研究的。與中國不同的 是,種姓制度在印度還很有影響,高低種姓之 間的通婚很困難,賤民受到很大歧視,教育程 度很低,用學術語言來寫賤民的語言,那還是 他們的話嗎?他們的語言本身是雜亂無章的, 你把他們的話通順起來了,就不同了。其實這 一點,中國學者在從事農民戰爭研究的時候, 也已經注意到了。這裡的共同問題是,從現成 的史料中,無法找到有關農民起義的正面論 述。史家必須加以想像,發現字裡行間的含 義。可惜的是,中國農民戰爭與印度「下層研 究」的重疊,西方人不瞭解,而身在其中的印 度學者,也鮮有承認的。所以現在討論「下層 研究」或者「後殖民批評」的人,基本都不提 共產中國、特別是毛主義對印度學界的影響。

後殖民主義批評說,西方文化的霸權是用一些概念來重構歷史,重構文化,把西方文化說成有普世性。過去把文本看得至高無上,這一點從「作者」(author)和「權威」(authority)兩個詞的關係就可以看出。過去人們認為要儘量去揣測、理解作者的意思,而現在認識到歷史研究遠不是那麼簡單。因為語言一旦形成就有結構,語言不是透明的,語言是有限制的。西方人認為能說出來就是思路清楚。從語言學上講,如果一個人從來沒有看見

李奓学

過狗,要告訴他什麼是狗,就只能用比較法, 比如把狗與其他熟悉的動物之間的異同是什麼 告訴他,說「狗比老虎小,比貓大」等等。但 這些區分,都是人為的。比如老虎與貓都屬於 貓科動物。」但為什麼都屬於貓科動物呢,這 有賴於我們的定義。因此,一九七〇年代西方 的歷史觀發生了從探究歷史規律論到歷史認識 論的轉折。在一九七〇年代以前,人們認為史 料搜集完了,就可以開始寫了(to write it up)。但一九七〇年代之後,人們認識到,不 僅僅是寫出來的問題,更重要的是怎樣寫 「how to write」的問題。這裡面會碰到很多史 學理論的問題。

最後,我或許可以再次引用安可斯米特的 觀點來結束。安可斯米特認為,從蘭克到現 在,歷史學家有一種生產過剩的問題。蘭克所 謂「論從史出」的觀點(即歷史敍述清楚了, 觀點自然有了)現在被人們所拋棄。現在人們 不得不先看二手資料,看有沒有空子可鑽,然 後再去看材料,而不是像蘭克所說的,材料堆 在面前,剩下的就是把歷史寫出來的問題。安 可斯米特還認為,西方歷史學就像一棵大樹, 過去的歷史學家是研究上面的主幹和分枝,而 現在西方歷史學已落葉繽紛,因此人們現在並 不在意主幹,覺得研究片片樹葉也很有意思。 新文化史研究小人物、小事件,就是研究樹 葉。一九七〇年代以來西方歷史學家認識到歷 史發展的重心已不在西方,其他地方正在崛 起。

近卅年來中國大陸「新史學」發展概況+

陳啟能*

首先要說明,這裡所說的「新史學」是指 近卅年來,也就是在改革開放以來,在中國大 陸發展起來的,受西方「新史學」影響的,與 傳統的實證史學不同的史學研究。這個稱調在 中國大陸目前並未通用。它泛指在西方史學的 影響下,用新觀念、新視角、新方法、新理論 對歷史進行研究和評述的所有嚐試。

中國大陸「新史學」的興起是與廿世紀國際史學發展的基本趨勢相一致的,即由「新史學」逐步取代傳統史學的趨勢。只不過在中國大陸這種趨勢發生得比較晚,發生在七〇年代末罷了。這與中國大陸在這之前的封閉狀況是分不開的。

中國大陸「新史學」的興起和發展雖然與 國際史學的發展趨勢是相似的,但是在具體內 容、發展特點、步驟方法、形式形態等方面都 是很不一致的。因此,加強對這些問題的研究 和探討就很有必要。

中國大陸「新史學」的發展的特點可以大 致概況如下:在史學理論研究的全局性的帶動 下,社會史和文化史異軍突起,促進了遍地開 花的喜人局面,史學各分支學科進而得到了不 同程度的發展。

史學理論研究的全局性帶動作用表現在許多方面,首先是史學理論學科本身的發展和完善。全國性史學理論機構的成立,全國性史學理論大會的按時舉行,全國性史學理論專門雜誌的創辦,史學理論課程在大學的設立和研究生的培養,特別是許多史學理論和方法論問題的深入探討和眾多專門課題研究的組織進行,都是卅年前少有的,或者是沒有的現象。這正反映了這一學科的蓬勃發展。

其次是徹底改變了卅年前封閉鎖國的局 面,實現了與國際史學的交往和與國際史學界

^{*} 本文係二〇〇八年十二月廿六日本院人文社會科學討論會內容。

^{*} 中國社會科學院世界歷史研究所研究員。

的交流。一九八〇年中國史學會加入了國際史 學會並成為理事國,當年並參加了在羅馬尼亞 布加勒斯特舉行的第十五屆國際歷史科學大 會。這隻是中國大陸史學家重返國際史壇的一 個標記。與國際史學的溝通還表現在大量國際 史學中新思想、新流派、新著作、新觀點的譯 介上。

史學理論研究的開展是與「史學革新」的 實踐同步進行的,因而深受年輕一代的支持和 歡迎。史學理論研究隊伍的不斷擴大,青年一 代的成長,這促使其影響迅速擴大。加上理論 方法論本身對具體研究具有導向的作用,因而 史學理論研究就對「新史學」全局的發展起到 了帶動的作用。

任何一種史學範式的發展,不僅表現在理論方面,更主要的還應表現在研究實踐上。綜觀世界各國「新史學」的發展都與跨學科研究有關,其結果總是新的分支學科的產生或更新。中國大陸「新史學」的發展也是如此。上世紀七〇年代末以後,「新史學」的發展極大地拓寬了研究領域,更新了研究方法。眾多分支學科紛紛先後湧現出來或重新發展起來,如文化史、社會史、經濟史、政治史、思想史、史學史、中外關係史、婦女史、家庭史、計量史、心理史、環境史、全球史等。其中最有影響的是社會史和文化史。

社會史研究自然在七〇年代以前就已存在,但是此時作為「新史學」的一部分卻有它的時代特色。譬如,它與西方的「新社會史」一樣強調要「自下而上地」觀察歷史,要注重研究社會生活史,要應用新方法等。社會史研究的「民間取向」漸成風氣,日常生活史受到很大重視。我們可以舉出一些著作以說明問題。如中國社會科學院歷史研究所主持的十卷本《中國古代社會生活史》,包括夏商、魏晉

南北朝、隋唐五代、宋遼金、元朝、西周、春 秋戰國、秦漢、明和清。又如馬新的《兩漢鄉 村社會史》、叢翰香主編的《近代冀魯豫鄉 村》、魏宏運主編的《二十世紀二三十年代冀 東農村調查》、常金倉的《周代禮俗研究》、 徐龍華的《國風與民俗研究》、行龍主編的 《近代華北農村社會變遷》、陳支平的《近五 百年來福建的宗族社會與文化》、王玉波的 《中國家長家庭制度史》等等。最近,有社會 學家指出,要注意避免社會史研究中的過分細 碎化傾向,即專註於歷史上某一個細節,如對 一個很小的村莊進行細緻的分析,卻未見微言 大義。

文化史也與社會史類似,早已有之,但是 在「新史學」的氛圍中,自廿世紀八○年代重 新興起後,十分注重填補本學科的空白和加強 薄弱環節,十分關注觀念和方法的革新。在這 一時期,在地區文化史(楚文化、燕趙文化、 巴蜀文化、齊魯文化、吳越文化、閩粤文化、 海派文化等),斷代文化史(遼金文化、秦漢 文化等),專題文化史(《禪宗與中國文 化》、《方言與中國文化》、《中國雜技史》 等),少數民族文化史(《彝族文化》等), 近代文化以及文化理論著譯等方面都有很大的 進展。到九○年代時更有社會文化史的崛起。 社會文化史的最大特點就是眼睛向下,著眼下 層文化、大眾文化和底層社會。進入廿一世紀 後,受到西方「新文化史」的影響,中國大陸 的文化史研究中又出現了新文化史的研究潮 流。

再說遍地開花。這是說近卅年來史學許多 分支學科作為「新史學」的一部分都有了程度 不同的發展。例如政治史,原先的政治史比較 集中於農民戰爭史、民族史、重大政治事件或 政治人物史,領域比較狹隘。「新史學」的政 治史就打破了這種侷限,如白鋼主編的多卷本 《中國政治制度史》專攻政治制度,又如華僑 史、家族史、會黨史等領域都有較快發展。

有些分支也得到了迅速的發展,如心理史 學,過去較多的是對外國作品的譯介和評論。 現在不少學者開始嚐試用心理分析的方法去研 究歷史問題和歷史人物。除了對個別歷史人物 的心理特徵和個性進行分析外,學者們也注意 探討群體的社會心理。學者們為了進行學術上 的創新是付出了巨大的努力的。我們舉彭衛的 《另一個世界——中國歷史上變態行為的考 察》一書為例。彭衛指出,中國古代史籍中關 於精神失常的材料十分豐富,但是十分零散, 散見於正史、野史、筆記小說、民歌之中。而 野史和筆記小說中的有關記述大大超過正史, 然而這些記述更多地來自傳聞,需要詳加甄別 判斷。彭衛把材料分成三類兩級加以區別。他 把中國歷史上的「人格異常」分成七類,僅 「性行為變態的人格異常」一類就包括十八種 現象,其他類型的「人格異常」還包括廿種現 象。這種分法已遠遠超過了對彭衛有過啟發的 美國心理學家克萊克利在《正常的假面具》 (1973年)一書中所列舉的十六種「人格異 常」現象。

從廿世紀九〇年代末起,受國際史學發展的影響,中國大陸的「新史學」中出現了環境 史和全球史等新的領域。這表明中國大陸的 「新史學」的發展與國際史學的關聯是相當密 切的。

最後要強調一點:中國大陸的「新史學」 具有自身的特點,具有自己的發展軌跡。中國 史學的發展雖然不能離開國際的環境,不能脫 離國際史學,但是中國史學的發展必須走自己 的路。中國歷史學有著與西方不同的悠久傳 統,中國有著不同於西方的國情。中國史學的 發展雖然要借鑒國際史學,要引進和瞭解西方 史學,但是絕不能簡單照搬,更不能亦步亦 趨。這就有一個如何中西結合、洋為中用的問 題。總之,我們必須既要深入瞭解和研究西方 史學的發展變化,更要結合中國史學和中國歷 史的實際進行創新。堅持自身的特色,走自己 的路,這是結論。

俄羅斯近年興起的「文明熱」

曹特金*

在蘇聯時期,學界雖然也有人討論「文明」問題,但是不佔重要地位。在歷史學、哲學和社會科學領域,占主導地位的是「社會形態」方法。在廿世紀六〇年代,蘇聯史學界展開了一次關於史學方法論的大討論。「文明方法」開始受到重視。七〇至八〇年代,文明問題的研究更是多了起來。八〇年代下半期至九〇年代初,受到戈爾巴喬夫改革的影響,「形態方法」受到很多批評,但是「文明方法」依舊未能佔據優勢。蘇聯解體以後的形勢是:「形態方法」一統天下的局面被打破。「文明方法」也並未形成壟斷。沒有出現一種新的主導的理論學派或流派,在不同的、多樣的理論和概念中,「文明方法」是影響很大的一種。

「文明熱」的興起在蘇聯解體以後逐漸出 現高潮。這股熱潮的特點不僅是捲入的學者、 報刊、雜誌、書籍越來越多,不同的觀點五彩 紛呈,也不僅是教育機構已把「文明」問題列 入中學的教科書和教學大綱,而更重要的是, 這次「文明熱」的核心是探討俄羅斯的文明問題。俄羅斯並不缺乏研究世界上各大文明的有水平的專家,他們也並非完全置身事外。然而,不容置疑的是,這次「文明熱」就是圍繞著俄羅斯文明展開的。對其他文明的討論,除了純粹的學術目的外,也是為了從別的角度探討、對比俄羅斯的文明問題。這就使這次「文明熱」具有了特殊的、現實的意義,從而更加值得我們關注。

我們先要看一看俄羅斯近年來為什麼會興起這場「文明熱」?這自然與從廿世紀末起國際上出現的「文化熱」的影響有關。如不久前去世的美國著名政治學家塞繆爾·享廷頓提出的「文明衝突和世界秩序」的問題引發了世人的思考。然而,從根本上說,這次「文明熱」主要是與俄羅斯本身的處境及其對自身前途的考慮密切相關的。「俄羅斯文明熱」與俄羅斯的重新崛起所面臨的挑戰和問題,以及應對這些挑戰和問題、應對世界格局的變化所應採取

^{*} 本文係二〇〇八年十二月廿六日本院人文社會科學討論會內容。

^{*} 中國社會科學院世界歷史研究所研究員。

的對策有關。一位俄羅斯學者指出:研究俄羅 斯文明的興趣高漲是和俄羅斯社會這些年來的 自我認知能力有所提昇密不可分的。這是很說 明問題的。

由上可知,我們很有必要進一步瞭解在這次「文明熱」中俄羅斯學者提出和討論了哪些 主要問題,都有哪些重要的觀點。從中可以從 側面瞭解他們對俄羅斯國家的當前形勢和發展 前景的理論思考。

這次「俄羅斯文明熱」討論的問題很多, 但是其中有兩個問題值得特別關註:俄羅斯文 明是什麼樣的文明?應怎樣評價俄羅斯文明?

圍繞這兩個問題,學者們發表了許許多多 的不同觀點。歸納起來,其中有兩類對立的觀 點最引人注目。持第一類觀點的人儘管表述上 有所不同,但是大多把俄羅斯文明與理想的文 明對立起來,認為俄羅斯不存在完整的文明, 不存在成熟的文明;俄羅斯就是「不文明」, 或「不夠文明」,只是「不同文明的堆積 物」,是一個「處於多種文明之間的空間」。 譬如,一位東方學家認為,俄羅斯從來不是一 個完整的文明體系,除「純粹的」東正教、伊 斯蘭教及佛教區域外,同時存在的還有一些過 渡性的、中間性的、「無主的」介於多種文化 之間的區域。在俄羅斯的不同區域,不同的文 化成份組成了一些混雜的、湊合的堆積物。也 有人說,俄羅斯是同時存在的幾個不同的文明 的堆積物,或者說是週期性地一個接著一個地 輪換的若干文明的堆積物。也可稱為「成份複 雜的、多節體的社會」。一位哲學家認為,俄 羅斯之所以會成為一個介於「自發勢力」和文 明之間的存在,是因為基督教會於十二世紀的 分裂和俄羅斯脫離了正在形成中的西歐中心的 結果。而隨之而來的蒙古-韃靼人的入侵使俄 羅斯在經過一個短時期的文明發展之後,再次 遭到野蠻化,致使「文明的生活中斷」。

這些論斷大多看不到俄羅斯本身有什麼「文明」因子。她只要脫離開其他的「文明」,特別是西方文明就不能成為文明,至多只是個「堆積物」。有意思的是,有兩位俄羅斯學者聯合提出一個概念「俄羅斯體系」。他們的目的就是用此來解釋俄國的政治和歷史。因為在他們看來,現在對俄羅斯所用的所有術語都來自西方,只能解釋西方,無法用於俄羅斯。但是他們新創的體系主要解釋俄國的政治,並沒有對俄羅斯文明做出解釋。

第二類觀點稱之為「地域文明」觀點。 「地域文明」本是一個歷史概念,在十九世紀 時已有學者提出,簡單地說是指:「文明」不 是單數,而是多數;意思是說,不是只有歐洲 文明是文明,其他地區也有文明存在,彼此是 平等的。

在這次「俄羅斯文明熱」中,「地域文明」理論被再次提了出來。我們這裡主要介紹力主這一理論的俄羅斯學者伊戈爾·約諾夫的觀點。他說得比較清楚。在約諾夫看來,「地域文明」是指一種文化-社會的體系,它的歷史發展與世界上其他國家和地區相比具有重要的特點。這樣的體系是超民族的、超種族的。它處於地球上的一定的地域,包括一個國家或多個國家。它往往具有世界公認的穩定的文化傳統和生活結構形式。不同的地域文明之間是有差異的,但是也有共同的特點,那就是區別於野蠻狀態和蒙昧時期的特點,如都有一定的規範和準則、理想和價值,都存在有序的社會結構等等。顯然,這些共同的特點在不同的地域文明裡的性質和表現是各不相同的。

約諾夫等學者認為,俄羅斯文明就是「地域文明」,它是具有獨立性和完整性的。俄羅斯文明的完整性不僅包括俄羅斯人,而且包括屬於這一文明的各民族、各種文化。約諾夫指出,世界上的「地域文明」有古埃及文明、古

典文明、西方文明(包括歐洲文明和北美文明)、阿拉伯-穆斯林文明、印度文明和中國文明等。他強調,俄羅斯文明可以有條件地列入這樣的「地域文明」。之所以要有條件地列入,顯然是因為俄羅斯文明既受到西方文明又受到東方文明的影響,但是作者認為,儘管如此,這並不影響到俄羅斯文明的獨立性和完整性,因此可以有條件地列入與上述各大文明一樣的「地域文明」。

約諾夫等學者把俄羅斯文明列為單獨的「地域文明」是一種新的提法。這種提法把俄羅斯文明列為與世界古代文明和其他公認的有特色的文明列為同等的文明。這正反映了當前俄羅斯人的強烈願望,即大大地提高俄羅斯在世界上的地位,重振俄羅斯文化的光輝,提昇俄羅斯的民族自豪感和再走強國之路的期盼。這種觀點在俄羅斯學者中得到不少人的支持,在中學教科書中也有反映。不過,有關俄羅斯文明的許多理論和歷史問題還有待學術上的更多的探討和研究。我們還需要繼續跟蹤觀察。

草根儒家: 馬來西亞華人社會的個案觀察⁺

黄文斌

基本上,我們研究儒家都會從經典與文獻著手。此外,研究儒家的學術群若要研究中港臺以外的儒家,大致都會把注意力放在東北亞的日本與韓國,甚少注意到東南亞这個地區。若有,首要關注者也會選擇受儒家文化影響較深刻的越南。東南亞的馬來西亞、新加坡及印尼是受伊斯蘭教影響的地區,再加上這些地區的華人是勞動階層的移民,沒有士的傳統,是故一般人的印象這些地區根本談不上有所謂的儒家。

在新馬地區,大致在一八九八年曾經有過 以儒家名目進行儒教復興運動,並且由海峽華 人林文慶及曾回國考科舉的邱菽園領導。他們 因擔心受英文教育的華人逐漸忘本及倫理道德 敗壞而提倡儒教。正當儒教復興運動如火如荼 地推展並略有小成之際,接著因康有爲變法失 敗、廢除科舉制、辛亥革命及五四新文化運動 等事件,而使儒教復興運動壽終就寢。二次世 界大戰前後, 左翼思潮興起成爲社會思潮主 流,故此時期未聞有提倡儒家或儒教的運動。 直到一九八〇年代初期,新加坡政府基於類似 林文慶提倡儒教復興的理由;擔心年輕人西化 而失去華人的傳統價值觀,便在中學的教育課 程裏增設道德倫理科目,儒家倫理與其他宗教 並列讓學生自願選擇。數年後,政府以宗教之 間有拉攏信衆而引起社會不和諧的問題取消該 課程。馬來西亞政學界曾在九○年代中興起 「回儒文明對話」的熱潮,後因當時的提倡 者,前副首相安華的政治事故而胎死腹中。目 前新馬兩地因讀經運動、天道信徒、儒家團體 及政黨領袖等的提倡,致使儒家再次在民間活 動。這些都是一些比較具體的儒家或儒教的歷

^{*} 本文係二〇〇八年十二月十七日本院人文社會科學討論會內容摘要。

^{*} 拉曼大學(Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman)中文系助理教授。



史事件。

筆者注意到新馬地區的儒家並不只在這些較明顯的事件上。由於筆者教授「馬來西亞華人研究」這一門課,初步的進行了一些田野及歷史的考察,發現馬來西亞的移民社會一直以來都在其生活中體現儒家的精神。早期華人社會是一個勞動階層的移民,尤其在十九世紀中葉至一九三〇年間,大量的華工湧入馬來亞而逐漸形成一個華人社區。由於這個社群是一個勞動階層,我們都會認爲與士階層關係密切的儒家思較不可能在這個階層裏出現。然而,經過筆者觀察華人移民社區的形成過程,恰恰相反地發現儒家思想正體現在他們的生活中。我把這個現象稱爲「生活儒家」,又由於他們是草根性的,故亦可稱爲「草根儒家」。

所謂「草根儒家」主要説明這個華人移民 社群並沒有多少「士」,也根本談不上有一個 階層,但從他們所做的一切卻能看出儒家的思 想或展現儒家的精神。若要了解他們的儒家思 想,我們必須通過一些具體的組織來觀察,尤 其需要注意華人移民社區是如何形成的,有什 麼具體的組織,如何的運作等。

依據我個人初步的考察研究,我從馬來西 亞華人社會的會館、廟宇、學校、義山、醫院 及商人行為等發現了這個所謂「草根儒家」的 特色。

東亞經典與文化研究計畫

計畫總主持人: 黃俊傑^{*}

總計畫

本計畫建立在自一九九八年以來各階段的 研究成果基礎之上,以東亞為研究之視野,以 經典為研究之核心,以文化為研究之脈絡,既 宏觀東西文化交流,又聚焦東亞各地文化之互 動,並在上述脈絡中探討經典與價值理念之變 遷及其展望。本計畫擬為漢語學術界開拓東亞 儒學研究新視野,積極開拓「以東亞為研究視 野」之儒學研究,並從東亞出發思考,以探索 其中的同調與異趣;更聚焦於東亞儒學經典詮 釋傳統,提出創新議題。本計畫希望在廿一世 紀文明對話新時代中,深入發掘東亞文化的核 心價值,在東亞經典與文化研究上推陳出新, 開創新局。

分項計畫

東亞儒學視域中的朝鮮《論語》學 (II)

本研究首要目標,即在於徹底釐清朝鮮時 代六百年間朝鮮儒者《論語》學之重要內容及 其思想傾向,尤其集中在韓儒釋《論》時對朱 子學之因襲與創新,從而有助於對朝鮮朱子學 之瞭解。

東亞儒耶交流中的經典與人物

本研究以日本、韓國及中國三地共通、且 在當時即具影響力的儒耶交流典籍為切入點, 以東亞三地與天主教有接觸的儒學家為對象而 進行分析研究,亦比較其思想與日韓相通與異 同之處。

⁺ 本計畫為本院四大創始計畫之一,第一階段已於二○○八年七月卅一日執行完畢,並於八月一日起開始執行第二階段。

^{*} 臺灣大學歷史學系特聘教授、中央研究院中國文哲研究所合聘研究員、臺灣大學人文社會高等研究院特約研究員。



從韓國的三禮著作 探討韓國對華夏禮儀的融合與轉化

本研究依華夏古禮,將禮儀分為私禮、官 禮兩部分,重視韓國學者對華夏禮儀特別重視 或予以批評修改之處,並以韓國的文化和社會 背景去了解其重視或批評的原因,以突顯其融 合與轉化的痕跡。

朝鮮後期的「四端七情」之辯 (II)

「四端七情之辯」是朝鮮儒學史中最重要的一場辯論。本研究將探討丁時翰(1625-1707)、李玄逸(1627-1704)與鄭齊斗(1649-1737)的「四端七情之辯」觀點;並另研究五位朝鮮儒學的代表人物。

東亞《論語》學中的音樂美學

本研究以《論語》為研究的經典,選取中 日韓學者對《論語》中有關音樂的相關篇章的 注釋作為分析對象;並嘗試從中日韓學者的各 種見解中找尋屬於東方美學的共性。

古代東亞的「周禮國家」:儒教與王權之研究

古代皇帝制度的政體形態可稱為「周禮國家」。本研究擬從《周禮》一書的詮釋與運用 出發,說明其中以農業王權為主軸的相關學說 如何成為中國皇帝制度的信念。

東亞儒學視域中朝鮮丁若鏞之經學

本研究將針對丁若鏞關於經學的著作,進 行全面縱觀和微觀的探討,並探討三者:一、 其與日本古學派的關係;二、其與西學的關 係;及三、其與中國經學家的異同。

計畫執行近況

由本計畫與本院合辦之「儒學討論會」, 本季共舉辦一場:

〈緇衣〉楚簡本與傳世本思想之比較研究

時間:三月十一日

主講:胡治洪教授

(武漢大學中國傳統文化研究中心教授)

【計畫近況】

東亞民主研究計畫

計畫總主持人: 胡佛*、朱雲漢**

總計畫

本計畫於二〇〇三年與「南亞民主動態調查」團 查」研究計畫合組「亞洲民主動態調查」團 隊,共同組織涵蓋全球超過二十億人口的亞洲 民主動態調查。本計畫以「民主、治理與發 展」為研究主題,已陸續進行了兩波調查研究,分別完成八國與十三國的面訪;並於二〇 〇九年底開始進行第三波調查:臺灣區計畫定 於二〇一〇年春天開始進行,大陸區計畫則於 二〇一〇年下半年開始進行。

本計畫的研究目標,在於將東亞民主化經 驗,納入全球民主化研究的主流,並協同其他 區域研究,建構一全球性的民主化調查網絡。

分項計畫

亞洲民主動態調查:區域調查計畫

本研究提供了亞洲民主動態調查總部的運作及作為全球民主動態調查區域夥伴的角色, 主要任務在於設計第三波區域調查的核心問 卷、協調前測和跨國調查時程以及亞洲調查團 隊與其他區域調查團隊的研究活動。

亞洲民主動態調查:臺灣地區調查計畫

本研究之調查主題,依據亞洲民主動態調查的共同問卷,再結合若干臺灣特殊的題目而成。本研究探討臺灣、香港及中國大陸三角關係中,傳統中國社會裡政治文化與政治參與的比較性研究。

⁺ 本計畫為本院四大創始計畫之一,第一階段已於二○○八年七月卅一日執行完畢,並於八月一日起開始執行第二階段。

^{*} 臺灣大學人文社會高等研究院特約研究員、中央研究院院士、臺灣大學政治學系名譽教授。

^{**} 中央研究院政治學研究所籌備處特聘研究員、臺灣大學政治學系合聘教授、臺灣大學人文社會高等研究院特約研究員。



亞洲民主動態調查:大陸地區調查計畫

本研究定於二〇一〇年下半年開始進行調查,發展跨國研究的細部分析架構、共同問卷與總體層次資料計劃;並配合跨國協調會議,確定資料登錄規範,以及確認資料集中存放規範。

調查方法與資料庫計畫

本研究依據原始的理論構想,應用心理測量技術以更符合問卷核心構想,提供各調查抽樣設計和調查方法論上的協助,並在資料蒐集完成後進行資料清理;建立整合性的資料庫。藉由資料庫網站建構,作為資料釋出與使用之公開管道。

計畫執行近況

三月十七至十八日,本計畫派代表赴美國華盛頓特區參加「亞洲民主動態調查」第三波問卷調查「核心小組工作會議」,針對第三波問卷進行細部規劃與設計,進行討論。與會學者除本校計畫成員外,另有民主化研究權威史丹佛大學教授 Larry Diamond、哥倫比亞大學教授 Andrew Nathan、大陸團隊 Tianjian Shi 教授、韓國團隊 Doh Chull Shin 教授、東南亞團隊 Bridget Welsh 教授、日本團隊 Ken'ichi Ikeda教授、泰國團隊 Thawilwadee Bureekul 研究員等。

【計畫近況】

全球化研究總計書+

計畫總主持人: 鄭伯壎*、劉錦添**

總計畫

本計畫以極具獨特性之臺灣與華人社會為 焦點,探討臺灣與華人社會在此過程中,所受 到的衝擊與因應。本計畫一方面掌握臺灣經驗 的特色,一方面觀察其受衝擊後的變遷歷程, 針對臺灣與全球化發展的關聯性,以臺灣商 品、資金、人員及生產流動為主要的面向,討 論臺灣與華人企業在全球化的過程中,所發展 出來的華人企業全球分工的位置、企業組織結 構;華人企業在全球化過程所表現出來的組織 管理行為;臺灣總體經濟、金融及勞動等相關 市場所受到的衝擊,以及地理空間的變遷等 等。透過這些研究議題,本計畫將進行基礎理 論與科際整合導向的跨國性、長期性研究,並 與現行之重要文獻與理論進行對話。

分項計畫

經濟全球化研究

本研究的主要目的是研究經濟全球化所帶來對貿易、勞動市場、資本移動的衝擊,並研究總體政策在全球化的過程中所扮演的角色。 本研究將以臺灣經驗作為研究的出發點,但所探討的是全球性的議題。研究的範圍以九〇年代以後的發展為研究的重點。

全球化與區域變遷:東亞國家的比較研究

本研究嘗試透過比較研究脈絡,從全球城 市發展、區域發展、及土地利用變遷等三個層 面,以探究東亞地區的區域變遷特性,以瞭解

⁺ 本計畫為本院四大創始計畫之一,第一階段已於二○○八年七月卅一日執行完畢,並於八月一日起開始執行第二階段。

^{*} 臺灣大學心理學系特聘教授、臺灣大學人文社會高等研究院特約研究員。

^{**} 臺灣大學經濟學系教授。

李梦学

第一輪亞洲新興工業經濟國,在新的全球化趨勢下所經歷的快速與劇烈的產業、政治與空間轉型。

全球化下的華人組織行為:關係主義有未來嗎?

本研究將探討下列主題:一、在全球化的 衝擊下,華人企業組織行為如何因應時代而變 遷?二、隨著全球產業分工與多國企業的興 起,華人企業如何在全球各地有效運用華人企 業組織文化、組織管理、以及組織領導的各項 優勢,將企業組織行為進行跨國類推?

計畫執行近況

本計畫主辦之全球化計畫系列討論會,本 季共舉辦一場:

Globalization, Past, Now, and Future

時間:三月九日 主講:徐則謙教授

(臺灣大學經濟學系助理教授)

東亞法治之形成及發展:對東亞法治理論、 體制與實踐之整合法學研究計畫⁺

計畫總主持人: 蔡明誠^{*}

總計畫

本計畫延續「東亞法治之形成」計畫之研 究議題及方法,為展望東亞法治之理論、體制 及實踐之變遷,加入東亞法治之發展,作為研 究對象,以時間之動態觀察,比較分析東亞法 治之形成、發展過程及實踐成果。

以東亞及區域性國際脈絡之「人權」、「憲政」、「多元文化」與「社會發展」為核心,有如屋宇之四柱,以作為法治國之基礎,並以下列三種作為接下來東亞法治整合研究之議題:一、東亞憲政體制與法治原則發展;二、東亞及區域性國際脈絡下「人權」與法治發展;三、亞洲多元文化下法治原則之反思及實踐。

分項計畫

總統選制、分裂社會與憲法法院: 臺灣與南韓的比較研究

本研究將透過臺灣與南韓的比較,探究亞 洲的總統體制對分裂社會形成的作用,並透過 憲法裁判的比較分析,探討亞洲的憲法法院如 何因應基於憲政體制設計所造成的社會分裂。

法規範性與合法性: 對臺灣/東亞法治經驗之理論反省

本研究之主題脈絡有二:一、由法概念論的「法律是什麼?」的問題意識,發展為什麼是法的規範性;二、法規範性問題在臺灣/東亞的具體歷史經驗脈絡下的意義是什麼。

⁺ 本計畫為本院四大創始計畫之一,第一階段已於二〇〇八年七月卅一日執行完畢,並於八月一日起開始執行第二階 段。

^{*}臺灣大學法律學院特聘教授兼本校法律學院院長、臺灣大學人文社會高等研究院特約研究員。



區域性國際刑事人權基準之形成: 歐洲經驗與東亞發展

本研究以區域性國際刑事人權基準的發展 為研究範圍,從歐洲經驗出發,進而檢討東亞 發展的條件,將有助發展出「普世價值之刑事 基本人權」及「刑事被告權利清單」。

憲法與國際人權法的對話:東亞脈絡的考察

近年各國最高法院或憲法法院在解釋憲法 時,常有援引或參考國際人權條約或國際人權 法院判例之趨勢。本研究希望藉此研究作為探 詢東亞區域人權標準或機制的起點。

法治原則與臺灣原住民族之保障

以法治原則保障原住民族的利益,已是當 今國內與國際上的主流。本研究擬探討如何藉 由包含著自治權、土地權等內涵的法律,以及 法治原則,確保原住民族的生存與發展。

反抗「欠缺作為傳統」: 東亞法治論述的後殖民女性主義反思

本研究試圖透過後殖民女性主義批評,探討「法治之欠缺」如何被論述性地建構為東亞傳統,以及東亞女性如何被雙重地他者化;以探討抵抗西方法律霸權「法治」論述之可能性。

計畫執行近況

本計畫主辦之「東亞憲法圓桌論壇暨東亞 法治及人權系列講座」,本季共舉辦三場:

清代州縣檔案中的命案處理實態 ——從「巴縣檔案」有關命案的部分談起

時間:三月十八日 主講:寺田浩明教授

(日本京都大學法學部教授)

西方法、中國法、近代法

——有關這三者在理論上的位置與關係

時間:三月廿日

主講:寺田浩明教授

(日本京都大學法學部教授)

獨立機關的運作: 日本 vs. 台灣

時間:三月廿六日 主講:宇賀克也教授

(日本東京大學法學部教授)

【計畫近況】

華人的人觀與我觀: 跨學科及跨文化研究計畫⁺

計畫總主持人: 楊國樞^{*}、黃樹民^{**}

總計畫

本計畫將從人文學、社會科學、心理學與 生物醫學等四種視角,以跨學科及跨文化的研究方式,探討華人的人觀與我觀。本計畫之總 計畫從事有關人觀與我觀之研究結果的跨學門 比較,至於人觀與我觀的跨文化比較,則由各 學門之分項計畫分別從事之。

分項計畫

先秦儒家的人觀與我觀

本研究檢討古代血緣社會結構的親屬關係,如何獲致社會結構認同的個人形象,進而 瞭解儒家如何將分化於渾然整全之道的人,形 構其天人合一下的自我形象。

明儒的人觀與我觀:王陽明與陽明學派

本研究以王陽明的我觀為主軸,檢視文本中有關心、知、意、物四項自我概念或理念, 企圖分析出陽明學派如何影響明代晚期士人理 念的我觀及人觀模式。

禪學的人觀

本研究將提供禪學多元的人觀思考,開發 切合現代生命的禪學研究議題;更者,本研究 期望能進一步培養禪學人才,為國內佛學文獻 典藏添增研究成果。

道家之人觀與我觀

透過研究莊子與老子思想,本研究擬探索 跨學科對人的無限性、人的存在特性與諸向 度、夢、物的本質、意識層次、意義治療等問

⁺ 本計畫為本院第二階段新計畫之一,於二〇〇八年八月一日起開始執行。

^{*} 中原大學心理學系講座教授、中央研究院院士、臺灣大學心理學系名譽教授。

^{**} 中央研究院民族學研究所特聘研究員。



題,並期釐定先秦道家系譜。

基督教之人觀與我觀:全球地域化潮流中基督 宗教人觀與我觀對現代社會的意義

本研究集中於四個主題:一、人是什麼的 基本認識;二、探討人性的陰暗面與幽暗意 識;三、追問人的位格價值核心;四、關注人 在時空處境下的存在。

中國近代思想中文化多元論者的人觀與我觀

本研究擬比較近代中國思想史上的三位文 化多元論者:章太炎、陳寅恪與錢鍾書,希望 能以此對建構整個華人社會的人觀與我觀,提 供系統知識,有所貢獻。

華人社會中的人觀與中庸思維

本研究討論科學哲學中的人觀及其對建構 科學微世界的影響,並通過回顧儒家中庸修養 思想,進而重新編製「中庸修養量表」,以針 對新問題進行實徵研究。

社會學中的人觀

本研究擬分析西方社會學「文化內研究」 人觀,並就「文化間研究」人觀進行相對系統 化解讀,嘗試於西方社會學與中華文化的人觀 間,找到相互參照的可能。

人類學中的人觀

本研究探究社會角色與個體自我之二元人 觀,何以建構現代西方道德優越性及理想政治 體制;並分析儒家尚賢理論如何利用二元人觀 作為社會秩序的基礎。

人觀的人性基礎與發展歷程:心理學的觀點

通過訪談、記憶測驗、文本描述、實驗等 研究法,本研究檢驗關於人類演化偏向與形塑 人觀之相關假說,以為原初「人觀」及其發展 方向做出拼圖。

華人之雙文化的人觀與我觀:個人取向與社會取向的心理學觀點

本研究從個人取向與社會取向進行分析, 研究現代華人雙文化之我觀如何在不同文化傳 統下形成;並探究不同文化系統之我觀如何共 存與運作。

生物學的人觀與我觀

本研究擬進行生物學思想中的人觀與我觀概念分析研究,探討人觀與我觀概念在演化理論、人類學理論與人性觀的見解,並釐清其哲學意義與反思。

【計畫近況】

生產力與效率研究總計畫: 從東亞邁向全球化研究計畫⁺

計畫總主持人: 黃鴻*、傅祖壇**、王泓仁***

總計畫

本計畫的研究目標,在於整合本校與國內 生產力研究上之研究人力與資源,推動重要且 創新性之整合型生產力研究計畫,提升國內生 產力研究之品質。

分項計畫

銀行產業的生產力與效率

本研究分析全球四十三國銀行的生產力和 營運效率,以判斷銀行民營化是否有增進生產 力和效率的效果,進而分析國有和民營銀行生 產力差別的原因。

運用參數與半參數估計東歐各國銀行業技術與 配置效率

本研究擬探討「技術無效率」與「配置無

效率」對轉型中國家銀行業之影響,進而分析 不同所有權形式對於東歐國家銀行成本效率之 影響。

會計師事務所的生產力增長

本研究擬分析會計師事務所的生產力變動 因子;另外本研究亦探討業務比重日益增加的 非審計服務,其對於會計師事務所生產力增長 及其組成分子之影響。

生產力與盈餘管理

本研究將透過生產力分解,以分析生產力 成長的各因子如何影響經理人員之盈餘管理行 為,並探討人力資本如何影響生產力及盈餘管 理間的關係。

⁺ 本計畫為本院第二階段新計畫之一,於二○○八年八月一日起開始執行。

^{*} 臺灣大學經濟學系特聘教授、中央研究院人文社會科學研究中心合聘研究員。

^{**} 中央研究院經濟研究所研究員、臺灣大學農業經濟學系合聘教授。

^{***} 臺灣大學經濟學系教授、中央研究院經濟研究所合聘研究員。



臺灣高等教育之生產力與效率評估

本研究將以學生為本位,針對大專院校與 技職院校之商學院進行績效評估,並評估校際 之表現差異;進而分析效率為純學校效果或學 生差異效果。

服務創新與組織績效:社會互動觀點

本研究欲透過社會互動觀點,來探討服務 創新與組織績效之關係,並針對半導體產業進 行個案研究;進而歸納出影響服務創新績效的 主要因素。

事業網絡、知識管理能力與創新績效: 社會網絡觀點

本研究欲透過網絡觀點來探討組織間網絡 如何透過知識管理來提升其創新績效,並將討 論所提出研究架構及命題之研究貢獻及相關之 管理意涵。

服務品質到服務滿意度:信任與公平觀點

本研究擬探討影響顧客對服務品質感受的 因子,並發展以信任與價值為中心的服務評價 機制;進而確認「信任」與「顧客價值」如何 影響服務滿意。

品質工具、觀念與制度對組織效能之影響研究: 產業構面個案研究

本研究透過產業構面問卷調查與訪談,以 分析品質工具、品質觀念及品質制度三個面向 對增強組織效能的可能效果;以分析品質管理 技術對組織效能的影響。

品質工具、觀念與制度對組織效能之影響研究: 廠商構面個案研究

本研究透過產業調查與廠商組織個案研究,分析品質工具、品質觀念及品質制度三個面向對增強組織效能的可能效果;以分析品質管理技術對組織效能的影響。

隨機邊界模型的統計檢定與模型認定問題探討

本研究將針對隨機邊界模型中的統計檢定 與模型認定等問題進行研究,期能增進 SF 模 型設定之檢定方法,並提出 SF 模型具有選擇 樣本性質時的估計方法。

考慮環境外部性之效率與生產力評估指標: 生產前緣函數為基礎之量化模型與政策分析

本研究擬新提可容納非意欲產出之差額模型,建立可同時評估生產與環境品質績效的整 合衡量指標,進而建立以差額模型為計算基礎的新生產力指數。

在考慮非意欲產出下的焚化爐效率與超額運量分析

本研究將擴充傳統方向距離函數的概念, 改良評估焚化爐效率之工具;並透過推估汙染 物的影子價格,模擬不同環境標準的影響,進 而焚化爐的可能超額運量問題。

新近出版品介紹

《東亞文明研究叢書》

本院「東亞經典與文化研究計畫」所出版 的《東亞文明研究叢書》書系,本季出版了一 冊新書:

編號 79,徐興慶編的《東亞文化交流與經典詮釋》,共收十九篇論文,分別探討二十一世紀人文社會科學領域中備受關注的「東亞文化交流」與「經典詮釋」二大主題,聚焦於跨國文化互動的脈絡上,闡釋經典與價值理念之變遷及其展望。

在「文化交流」方面,本書囊括了從東亞古代冊封體制中的「將軍號」探究東亞世界的政治秩序問題;並析論中國唐船與日本江戶時代「唐話」的傳播、「唐通事」制度的成立始末;日本中世文學隨筆的代表作《徒然草》與老莊思想;明末儒生朱舜水、黃檗僧獨立禪師與德川社會儒教及佛教界的關係;日本漢學家久保天隨與中國學者的交往;明治日本的「興亞論」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞論」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞論」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞論」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞論」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞論」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞論」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞論」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞論」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞語」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東亞語」與漢學;中國的觀音信仰、媽祖信仰東西亞語,與漢學;中國的觀音信仰,

在「經典詮釋」方面,本書收錄了針對十 八世紀中日儒學異同問題的剖析;日本現存最 早的分類國語辭書《倭名類聚抄》的相關論 述;《性理大全》的底本考證;蘭陵王樂舞與 日本雅樂「陵王」的關係;江戶時代僧人廓門 貫徹與《註石門文字禪》的校註本;陽明學的 思想交流;以及朝鮮對占察法的吸收與發展、 十七至十九世紀朝鮮對《大學》的闡釋等研究 成果。

本書廣泛涉及中、日、韓的東亞研究,不 僅開拓東亞政治史、海洋史、文化史、思想 史、文學史、宗教史、社會史研究的新視野, 也觸及諸多深具全球化時代新意義的學術課 題。

Scientific Reason

本院本季出版由加拿大科學哲學家 Ian Hacking 教授所著的 Scientific Reason 一書。本 書共有四章,內容為 Hacking 教授於二〇〇七 年底來臺灣訪問時於臺灣大學、清華大學、東 吳大學時,所發表四場演講的講稿。這四章的 章名(四場演講的題目)表面上看起來差異甚 大,分別是 "On the Historical Roots of Scientific Reason" (科學理性的歷史根源)、 "Where do Mathematical Objects Come from?" (數學對象從何而來)、 "The Laboratory Style of Thinking and Doing" (思考與作為的 實驗風格)、 "Realisms and Antirealisms" (〔多義的〕實在論與反實在論);但其實這 四章的內容有其相通之處,即是從各個面向來 討論基本的科學哲學問題,展現科學理性的四 個側面,並探討了什麼是「真實」?什麼是理



性?科學概念是否是真實的?

科學理性是西方學界長期關切的一個研究主題。從結構來看,Hacking 教授從它的四個側面進行探討,圍繞著科學理性的四部份內容,彼此前後呼應,自成一體。Hacking 教授採取哲學人類學的觀點,來探討的科學理性,觸類旁通,豐富此書內涵,也使全書讀來生動有趣。

Hacking 教授是一位治學嚴謹的科學哲學 專業學者,不但精於科學哲學,對科學哲學相 關領域,與其歷史發展亦相當嫻熟。Hacking 教授本人是分析哲學家,儘管他並未輕易放棄 「真實」有其客觀性的想法,但他同意追究真 實的方法、手段、技術會受到時空的限制,也 就是「論證的方法、科學發現的技術有其歷史 性」,尤其是「科學思考方式」(styles of scientific thinking) 有歷史性。Hacking 教授強 調他不是科學史家,他只是個「利用關於過去 的事實的哲學家」(a philosopher who exploits facts about the past)。他從科學史家 Alistair C. Crombie 那裡學到了對於「科學思考方式」的 六種分類,簡單講這六種方式可分別用以下六 個形容詞來代表: Mathematical、 Hypothetical · Experimental · Taxonomic · Statistical、Genetic。這六種科學思考方式是由 其科學研究的論證方法 (methods of reasoning)與研究的對象(objects)所定義 的,例如 mathematical style 面對的東西是「抽 象物體」如數字、形狀等。

院務短波

與成均館大學東亞學術院締結姊妹院

本院於二月廿四日,假本院會議室,與成 均館大學東亞學術院(Academy of East Asian Studies, Sungkyunkwan University)代表團,舉 行兩院簽署《學術交流及合作研究協議》儀 式,兩院自此正式結成姊妹研究單位。

兩院約定將共同就「經典詮釋」、「東亞 儒學」等學術領域,進行交流和合作;未來, 兩院將合作舉辦國際學術研討會議,相互派遣 學者進行訪問交流,並共享學術研究文獻。

本院指導委員張隆溪教授榮任瑞典皇家人文歷史及考古學院外籍院士

本院指導委員張隆溪教授(香港城市大學中文、翻譯及語言學系講座教授),於三月獲得瑞典皇家人文歷史及考古學院(The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities)選聘為外籍院士(Foreign member);該院成立於一七五三年,至今僅有兩位華人學者獲選為該院外籍院士,張隆溪教授即為第二位。

「東亞視野中的日本武士道與文化」國際學術 研討會

本院於三月七日,假本校行政大樓五樓第 四會議室,舉行「東亞視野中的日本武士道與 文化」國際學術研討會國際研討會,邀請國內 外學者藉著「武士道」這個日本文化課題,以 一個東亞文化的比較視野,從武士道與文學、 武士道與電影、武士道與醫學、武士道的生活 現象與哲學、武士道與宗教倫理、武士道與國 家主義、朝鮮的花郎精神、中國的武道、中古 歐洲的騎士道、武士道與軍人武德等諸多跨文 化領域角度,進行宏觀比較或微觀探索,使東 亞「武士道」這個豐富多元的文化內涵,能在 比較詮釋視野下,重新獲得深入的整理與批 判,並開展未來研究的可能性。

本次會議分為「東亞武(士)道」、「武士道與商道、醫道」、「近現代日本武士道」、「武士道社會與宗教」等四個場次;共邀請葉國良教授、蔡振豐教授、鄭墡謨教授、林月惠教授、江燦騰教授、張崑將教授、甘懷真教授、金培懿教授、簡曉花教授、劉士永教授、陳培豐教授、佐藤鍊太郎教授、John Tucker 教授、藍弘岳教授、藤井倫明教授、陳繼東教授、林鎮國教授、韓東育教授、何燕生教授、田世民教授等多位國內外人文社會科學領域學者,共同發表論文並參與座談。

本院指導委員會、學術諮詢委員會聯席會議

本院於三月九日,假本校行政大樓五樓第 四會議室,舉行本院「指導委員會、學術諮詢 委員會聯席會議」。



本院黄院長《台灣意識と台灣文化》日文版由 東京東方書店出版

本院黄俊院長所著《台灣意識と台灣文化》一書之日文翻譯版,二〇〇八年十二月廿日由東京東方書店出版。

院內大事紀

2008年12月16日~2009年03月15日

日期	紀要
12月16日	人文社會科學討論會 武內房司教授主講: 「清代貴州天主教在非漢族社會的傳播——圍繞安龍教區成立的幾個問題」
12月17日	儒學討論會 黃文斌教授主講: 「草根儒家——以馬來西亞及印尼華人移民社會為例案觀察」
12月22日	人文社會科學討論會 太田登教授主講: 「漱石の《こころ》を読む(一)」
12月22日	人文社會科學討論會 大島晃教授主講: 「井上哲次郎の東洋哲学史研究について」
12月24日	人文社會科學討論會 太田登教授主講: 「漱石の《こころ》を読む(二)」
12月24日	人文社會科學討論會 王敏教授主講: 「日本文化の学習方法をめぐって」
12月24日	儒學討論會 吳根友教授主講: 「廿世紀後半葉臺灣地區明清思想研究」
12月24日	儒學討論會 Kenneth W. Holloway 博士主講: 「從《五行篇》的角度探討《性自命出》」



日期	紀要		
12月26日	人文社會科學討論會 王晴佳教授主講: 「我們的時代需要什麼樣的歷史哲學?——以當代西方歷史觀變化為視角之 觀察」		
12月26日	人文社會科學討論會 陳啟能教授主講: 「當代西方史學理論的發展趨勢」		
12月26日	人文社會科學討論會 曹特金教授主講: 「近年來俄國學者對俄羅斯文明的探討」		
01月12日	人文社會科學討論會 鄭伯壎教授主講: 「全球化下的華人領導」		
02月24日	與成均館大學東亞學術院簽署學術交流及合作研究協議		
03月06日	人文社會科學討論會 陶德民教授主講: 「跨文化視野中的東亞『文化基因』及其『變異』——從 2007 年底日本總 理福田康夫訪問曲阜一事談起」		
03月07日	「東亞視野中的日本武士道與文化」國際學術研討會		
03月09日	人文社會科學討論會 林梅村教授主講: 「元朝重臣張珪與保定出土元代宮廷酒器——兼論海內外收藏的『仁宗型』 器」		
03月09日	本院指導委員會、學術諮詢委員會聯席會議		
03月11日	儒學討論會 胡治洪教授主講: 「〈緇衣〉楚簡本與傳世本思想之比較研究」		