

ICCT series 2

Humanizing Asia: Rethinking Literature and Arts under the Situations of the Cold War

edited by

ISHII Tsuyoshi (ICCT-UTCP)

BABA Tomokazu

GODO Wakako

CHEN Qi

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HUANG Lei

LI Yun

LUO Gang

NA Xifang

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Acknowledgements

前言

ISHII Tsuyoshi

1. **The Paths to the Universal:
Imamichi and Levinas in 1957 at Tioumliline**
BABA Tomokazu 11
2. **Dynamics between Political Propaganda and Mass Entertainment:
Evolution of the Denomination of PRC Spy-themed Film**
CHEN Qi 31
3. **Why Do Children Write?:
A Study of Life Essay Education in Japan**
GODO Wakako 51
4. **Takeuchi Yoshimi and Japan's War Responsibility**
SUGITANI Kota 65
5. **重读《春蚕》**
Reread "Spring Silkworms"
HUANG Lei 77
6. **作为“社会主义城市”的“上海”与空间的再生产
——“城市文本”与“媒介文本”的“互读”**
Construction and Renovation of Urban Space in Shanghai:
Intertextuality of Construction and Image of Socialistic City
LI Yun LUO Gang 91

7. 战后民主主义对自由民权运动的探讨

——以植木枝盛为例

Discussion on Jiyu Minken Undo by Postwar Democracy in Japan:

The Case of Ueki Emori

NA Xifang

119

Conference Program (Japanese / Chinese)

About the Authors

Acknowledgement

On March 7th and 8th, 2014, we gathered together at Minhang (闵行) Campus of East China Normal University (ECNU), and held a two-day long graduate conference. All presentations were made by younger scholars and doctoral candidates of ECNU and the University of Tokyo (UT). Teachers remained behind them, let them freely exchange their own ideas each other. During several months for preparing the conference as well as the days of the conference, UT's Kota Sugitani (杉谷幸太), ECNU's Wang Dake (王大可) and the other members had much contact via internet to make the conference held successfully.

This conference owes to the longtime relationship between the University of Tokyo Center for Philosophy (UTCP) and ECNU. To strengthen the cooperation, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of UT to which UTCP is belonging and Simian Advanced Institute of Humanities (思勉人文高等研究院) signed an agreement and a memorandum for academic cooperation and exchanging students in 2013. We had the conference to celebrate this new launching relationship. In ECNU, Professor Luo Gang (罗岗), who regards the friendship with UTCP as important for many years, put forward almost all preparation for our visit, and supervised students during those months of preparing, as well as solved many problems occurring in the process. Professor Mao Haijian (茅海建), Director of Simian Institute, gave the largest support

to work out the cooperation from beginning to end. The successful sign of our agreement and memorandum highly dues to his excellent judgment on the basis of his profound academic wisdom. Professor Ni Wenjian (倪文尖) and Professor Zhu Kang (朱康) participated in the conference with Professor Luo. Our success undoubtedly derived from their great physical and moral assistance. On behalf of the members from UTCP, I would like to give my sincere gratitude to them.

This booklet contains articles which were presented at the conference. Each presented paper expresses author's young potential and energy so as to bring out a lot of stimulate comments and discussion. The two-day conference was carried out within the lively and concentrated atmosphere. The theme entitled "Humanizing Asia" expresses our hope to make international academic communications be more humane. As above mentioned, we "let students freely exchange their own ideas each other" just because we hope that they would cultivate their friendship through academic critique each other. The biggest motivation of humanities must be concern for human, in other words, must stand on sympathy, understanding, tolerance and occasional frictions emerging from the relationship among people. So, obviously, just one meeting is not enough for this. We wish we will have the second and the third discussions on "Humanizing Asia". In fact, our cooperation has just begun.

In conclusion, I also thank to Dr. Sato Sora (佐藤空), Ms. Na Xifang (那希芳) and Mr. Kota Sugitani for editing this booklet.

November, 2014
Tsuyoshi Ishii
UTCP

前言

2014年3月7日和8日两天，我们聚集在华东师范大学闵行校区，开了两天的学术会议。主人公是两校的年轻学者和博士生，我们当老师的都退居后边，让同学们各抒己见，互相切磋。不只是会议当天，在筹备所花的几个月时间中，以东京大学的杉谷幸太（SUGITANI Kota）和华师大王大为为核心的两校博士生通过网络取得联系，为会议的顺利召开做了周密详实的计划。

我们这次的活动产生于如下机缘：东京大学国际哲学研究中心（University of Tokyo Center for Philosophy, UTCP）和华东师范大学之间长期以来就有学者之间的交流。为了进一步加强双方的合作交流，UTCP所属的东京大学综合文化研究科和华东师范大学思勉人文高等研究院之间于2013年签订了学术合作交流的协议以及交换研究生的备忘录。这次会议也是为纪念这项合作框架的建立而实施的。在华师大方面，罗岗教授一向重视和UTCP的合作并推动相关的具体工作，在这次会议的筹备当中，指导华师大同学，并解决了中途出现的层层困难。思勉人文高等研究院的茅海建院长始终为我们的合作交流予以最大的帮助。合作协议的顺利签订离不开茅院长以其深厚的学识为基石的前瞻性判断。会议当天，倪文尖教授以及朱康教授也和罗岗教授一起参与了学生交流的整个过程。没有他们物质上和精神上两方面的大力支持，此次活动不可能获得成功。我在此代表UTCP的所有赴会人员向他们的友情表示由衷的感谢。

本论文集收录了在会议上发表的部分论文。每一篇论文都焕发着年轻学者特有的活力，其他未收论文也都在会议上引起了

许多具有针对性的回应和评议。两天的会议始终在热烈且高度集中的氛围中进行。我们这次将交流的主题定为“人文亚洲”。其英译为 *Humanizing Asia*，因此这里的“人文”应当是动词，说明我们希望将人化的、人性的某些因素注入到我们的学术交流中来的微意。我在上面说过，这次会议“让同学们各抒己见，互相切磋”，为的就是要培养新一代年轻学者们之间的“人”性情谊。人文学术最宝贵的动力，无非是对“人”的关怀，也就是人与人之间产生的共鸣、理解、体谅以及偶尔的碰撞。为此，只开一次会议是远远不够的。我热切希望有第二次、第三次“人文亚洲”讨论的场合。毕竟，我们的合作还刚刚开始。

最后，我也感谢参与编辑本论文集的佐藤空（SATO Sora）、那希芳（NA Xifang）以及杉谷幸太。

2014年11月
石井刚
UTCP

The Paths to the Universal: Imamichi and Levinas in 1957 at Tioumliline

Tomokazu BABA
(Nagano Prefectural College)

Introduction

In the age of globalization, the notion of the universal must be re-examined, because in the first place, what we can call roughly “neo-liberal” norms make the contemporary world a uniform battlefield of the market in the name of the global standard as something *universally* valid and, in the second place, in this struggle for existence imposed by these norms (to which very few political leaders in the world make an objection except those in the so-called “Third world”), people in the world often yield to the emotion of hatred in regards to foreign countries (especially to neighbour countries in the East Asia), to foreigners (especially Zainichi [residents of Korean nationality] in Japan), to other social classes (curiously not to the rich capitalists but to the most impoverished, such as poor people living on social security in Japan).

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Berlin Wall have made us, if only for a moment, dream of a coming peaceful world without the separation between the East and the West. Unfortunately, conflicts are everywhere. If it is true that peace is established only after a battle, this battle should be one of rational discussion and not a battle of weapons or

money.

To be free from the race of economic development imposed by the neo-liberal obsession and to conceive otherwise the idea of the universal which would make today's world less unfair, we would like to go back to the reflections of two philosophers in the first decade of Cold War period. Concretely, we would like to compare the thoughts of one of the representative French Jewish philosophers of twentieth century, Emmanuel Levinas (1906-1995), and of the internationally-known Japanese philosopher Tomonobu Imamichi (今道友信1922-2012). In fact, they met in Morocco at the Tioumliline Monastery in 1957.¹ Their paths toward a universal philosophy show interesting common characteristics and differences which seem to us worthy of debate in the present age, when the idea of the universal must be re-examined.

1. Encounter at Tioumliline

1.1. What and Where is Tioumliline?

Tioumliline is a name of a French Benedictine Monastery in Morocco. In 1952, twenty Monks of the Encalca Monastery (located in the department of Tarn in southern France) arrived in a mountainous area near Azrou, not far from Fez. In 1968, the monastery had been compelled close by an intervention of local government, which suspected the spread of Christianity in an Islamic land (Bensaber 2006). After its restoration for a film shoot (Lorrain 2010), the monastery became the location of French movie "Gods and men" (*Des dieux et des homes*, Xavier Beauvois, 2006)(Carrière 2010). In this film, we can see the inside and outside of the site, as well as the surrounding landscape, where the two philosophers spent three weeks in philosophical dialogue.

1. There are two spellings of the name of this monastery: Tioumliline and Toumliline. It would appear that the first one is used more frequently.

1.2. The International Colloquium at Tioumliline (1956-1959)

Already in 1955, students from cities around Tioumliline had organized a colloquium and seminars on the diverse themes such as literature, history, music, and astronomy. They had decided to hold a second colloquium in the following year, 1956, when Morocco would have gained its independence from France. This was the first international colloquium of Tioumliline, in which over 120 participants from 12 countries came to participate in 52 conferences. Its success was soon known throughout Morocco. The main theme of the colloquium was “City” (cité). In the second colloquium, Prince Moulay Hassan proposed the main theme of “Education”. There were over 200 participants from 26 countries. In this monastery, there were four colloquia in total until 1959, among which the second was the largest.

According to our limited historical materials, we do not know how or why this summer seminar was originally organized by the Benedictine Monks and Moroccan students in this Maghrebi hinterland, or how it became a large international event supported by a monarchic government. But at least we can say that historically, these years were somehow exceptional in the Cold War period, when there was an easing of East-West tensions because of, among other events, the death of Stalin and the cease-fire agreement of the Korean War in 1953, and that there was also a rise of the Third World through the Bandung Conference in 1955. There might have been a favourable atmosphere for an international, intercultural and interreligious dialogue.

A short report written in 1960 that analysed these four colloquia insists on its historical significance comparable with the efforts of Frederic II, the Emperor of Holy Rome, to assure an interreligious dialogue in Sicily in the thirteenth century (Mayeux 1960). It is true that today, an intercultural and interreligious conference such as this may not be so uncommon, but we have to imagine the situation in the early years of the Cold War, and the extent to which the participants were aware of the great significance of what they were trying to do in this small monastery.

It was at this occasion, in 1957, that Levinas and Imamichi met for the first time. They were together for the most of this summer seminar, and thus cherished their friendship. Born in Lithuania, the French Jewish

philosopher was 51 years old, the Japanese philosopher was 35. After 1957, Imamichi continued to visit his older friend until his later years.

1.3. Imamichi's Reminiscence of the 1957 Tioumliline Colloquium

Unfortunately, we couldn't find any writing of Levinas which refers to Imamichi. The *Levinas Concordance* doesn't contain the name of "Imamichi" as an entry. Rather, it is Imamichi who brought back his memories of Levinas in his preface dedicated to Noriko Hashimoto's (disciple of Imamichi) monograph on Levinas' philosophy (Imamichi 2007). In the 1957 Tioumliline Colloquium, there were conferences, seminars, and excursions from morning to night. During the tight schedule of day, there were a few hours of siesta in the afternoon. Imamichi and Levinas were joined by James Crisec and Ousman Yahuya. They had occasion to "discuss on mainly two topics under the shades of big African Acacia eating a big watermelon, which is a Moroccan speciality" (Imamichi 2007, p. ii).

The first topic was the disagreement with the traditional ontology which conceived of the Judeo-Christian God as an Eternal Being according to the neo-Thomistic interpretation of "I AM THAT I AM" (Ex. 3.14). Levinas opposed the Infinite to this Eternal Being. Imamichi opposed an eastern tradition to this western thought of Being whose contrary is Nothing. In the eastern tradition, the contrary of Being is not Nothing but Having (Possession 有) whose subject is Heaven (Tian 天) symbolizing a unique God. Thus, Being means that Tian possesses Being. The two of them referred to the Platonic idiom "epekeina tes ousias" (beyond the being), but Levinas drew from the *Politeia* and thus took it for "Good", while Imamichi referred to the *Paidon*, and thus conceived of it as "Beauty". Levinas established his "ethics" and Imamichi his "kalonologia" (philosophy of Beauty, not aesthetica). Each of them had his own cultural background, e.g., Judaism for Levinas, and Confucianism for Imamichi.

The second topic was classical humanism, which both Levinas and Imamichi respected as the basis of education. They had this in common, but they had also a difference. Imamichi says, "as Levinas had

a rather radical Jewish position, he tried to take the position of religious humanism” (Imamichi 2007, p. iv). In contrast, Imamichi insisted on the mutual complementarity of the two classical humanisms (eastern and western) from the position of the whole human being.

Our main subject in this article concerns not only this difference but also their common features. Seen from Imamichi’s recollection, there seems to be an opposition between Jewish particularism (of Levinas) and comparatist universalism (of Imamichi). But in fact, both of them aimed at a certain universal philosophy beyond geographical and historical conditions, through their respective spiritual traditions which themselves originated under those conditions. Their difference consisted rather in the approach that each took to attain their universalism. In the following, we want to compare these two approaches, which appear in their conference in Tioumliline.

2. Judaism, Philosophy and Justice — Levinas

2.1. Some reservations on Levinas’ Universalism

In Levinas studies, it is well known that the philosopher made problematic comments in view of political correctness. Concerning the East-West relation, he said in a late interview (Mortley 1991, p. 18):

I often say, though it’s dangerous thing to say publicly, that humanity consists of the Bible and the Greeks. All the rest can be translated: all the rest – all the exotic – is dance.

In this remark, the Bible and the Greeks clearly represent western civilisation. Consequently, eastern civilisation is only a “dance” for him.

During the Cold War, three years after Tioumliline, we can find a similar comment on the East. In 1960,² concerning the Sino-Soviet split, the Jewish philosopher is anxious about the future of Russia (Levinas 1963, p. 226) :

2. «Le débat russo-chinois et la dialectique», published for the first time in *Esprit* (October 1960).

Abandoning the Occident, isn't Russia afraid of drowning in an Asian civilisation which also subsists behind the concrete [but superficial] appearance of a dialectical outcome [of historical materialism]? Yellow peril! It is not racial but spiritual.

This passage is often criticized by commentators, but we would like to read here Levinas' concern. Here, he is afraid that a part of European civilisation would vanish as it is absorbed by eastern civilisation. He presupposes its "radical strangeness, [...] of the entire thickness of its past, [...] of lunar or Martian past." (Levinas 1963, p. 226) In order to comprehend his fear, it should be noted that Russian culture (particularly literature) was a kind of cradle for an adolescent Levinas. If historical dialectics should exist, his hope here is that it should be the dialectical relationship between the particular and the universal which Herder had dreamt of.

The march to an universal society would pass by the paths where the diverse human groups don't have to overcome their histories. Dialectically indispensable particularities would exist. (Levinas 1963, p. 227)

In a sense, Levinas was thus in a sense a "European" philosopher. But he didn't identify himself as a "pure" European, nor he doesn't take Europe for a monolithic cultural entity. Because his spiritual identity came from his Judaism (which itself was a certain Judaism developed in the countries and regions today called by the specialists "Litvakie"), he was highly conscious of the heterogeneous composition of European culture. But on the other hand, his concern for the European identity was somehow related to his total incomprehension of Asian culture.

Still, this Jewish philosopher found a great occasion open to universal humanity in Tioumliline. Just after the summer seminar in Morocco, he wrote in a revue of Jewish community:

The sense of the universal comes to men of wisdom who overcome their political histories. To this wisdom, attain the Western spirit, when it pronounces the rights of Man and the Citizen, to this wisdom attain the great religions which come from the Bible. Wisdom which is not the result of the free play of national families who blindly develop

their vitality. The wise men – including Bergson – have understood the impossibility of making humanity from the simple addition of egoistic nations. *A great élan must carry the souls beyond the limits of their customary existence. Perhaps the friendships of international encounters represent the center of a new union of men; suitable for these wisdoms to which the frenetic nationalisms must yield.* It was of this aspiration to an open nation that we were particularly conscious during this summer in Morocco [...]. *The political framework which has ruined the life of men for many centuries, which was also the origin of many catastrophes, are not thus a backbone of the being as the desperate world often thinks.* The Monks of Tioumliline who, without ulterior motive – and also without any intention of spread [of Christianity] – have successfully caught the heart of new Morocco, have proved to us that *humanity could open itself to the words and deeds of highly intelligent thought* (haute pensée). (Italicized by us.)
(Levinas 1957, p. 14)

Despite of a kind of rejection of Eastern or Asian culture as something totally foreign to the West, Levinas is here open to universal humanity beyond the “political histories” and “political framework” of nations and nationalism. When we take into consideration his words concerning the Sino-Soviet split, we have to say that this conception of universal humanity must conserve spiritual history but not political and national history. How, then, is Levinas’ conception of Jewish culture related to this universal humanity ? He continues the previous citation as follows:

[A]nd we, Jews, in this highland climate where the Monks of Tioumliline have successfully settled down with admirable freedom, are we not at home? To feel social bonds being tied everywhere the human gaze shines, isn’t it to feel the elementary feeling which constitutes the Jewish universe?
(Levinas 1957, p. 14)

According to Levinas, the Jews feel at home in this special place where every nation is open to an intercultural and interreligious dialogue,

beyond political and national history. As a nation whose identity consists of its non-possession of a political state (before the restoration of state of Israel), the Jews find themselves in this open and universal atmosphere. The only thing which characterizes this heavenly climate is the human. Being human is beyond any national or political framework. But how can Judaism, as a religion, go beyond this framework? In fact, it is the very conference of Levinas at Tioumliline which answers this question.

2.2. Judaism, the West, and Philosophy

The lecture that Levinas gave at Tioumliline was published afterwards in his *Difficult Freedom – Essays on Judaism* under the title of “Religion of adults”. This is one of his most fundamental essays, in which we can find his essential understanding of Judaism. It seems that for him this colloquium was a very good occasion to show the people of other religious convictions what Judaism was. For one of the intellectual leaders of the European Jewish community, particularly in France (the country not only of Catholics but also of philosophers), it was important to convey an appropriate comprehension of Judaism. After the War, as well, the “Jewish question” was a recurrent problem in the Christian nations. In 1953, Levinas did not hide his vehemence against the Christians in Europe when he wrote an article “unique apaisement” which dealt with the Finlay Affair (Levinas 1953. Lescourret 1994, pp. 278-280).³ In another article on Tioumliline, Levinas affirmed the necessity of dialogue, particularly with Christians in Western countries. Despite the Jewish effort to find in Christianity something common with Judaism, the Christians did not know Judaism (Levinas 1958, p. 26. Lescourret 1994, p. 283). This is one of the two focal points upon which we would like to insist in Levinas’ lecture, viz., *the proximity of Judaism and philosophy (or the Western spirit)*.

Already in the passage of “Rencontres” that we have seen, we could see

3. Jewish children were baptized by Christian family who protected them from the Nazis during the war in France. Because of Auschwitz, children became orphans. But their aunts and uncles in Israel demanded the Christian family to let the children go to them. But the family has refused. It is only by trial at court that the children could go to the Israeli family.

that the biblical religions and the West could attain the idea of universal humanity. According to Levinas, Judaism is very far from religion in a certain sense. If the essence of religion consists of the veneration of something sacred or “numen” (the term Levinas borrows from Max Müller), or of a mystical union with this super-substantial existence, Judaism is not religion in so far as one of its essential activities lies in Talmudic exegesis, which demands highly-trained intelligence. If Judaism consists of an excellence of intelligence, it is very close to philosophy. In fact, “Judaism feels extremely close to *the West* I mean *philosophy*. [...] for a Jew, education is not distinguished from instruction, and someone ignorant can not be really *pious* !” (Levinas 1976, p. 33) [Italicized by us.] To be pious in Judaism means to be intelligent and well educated. This instruction of excellent intelligence leads one to a denial of mystical union with the sacred. Those who are intelligent and indifferent to a mystical enthusiasm are what should be called adults. To be adult, one must take a “risk of atheism”, but this atheism is necessary to be pious in Judaism.

The difficult path of Judaism joins the route of the West. One can ask him/herself, actually, if the Western spirit, if the philosophy is not, in the final analysis, the position of humanity that accepts the risk of atheism which one has to take, but overcome for a ransom of the age of majority.
(Levinas 1976, pp. 34-35)

2.3. Judaism, Social Justice, and Responsibility

The second characteristic of Judaism is the responsibility of social justice. “[T]he pious, it is the just. Justice is the term which the Judaism prefers to terms which evoke rather sentiments.” As we have already seen, the social bonds tied by the human gaze are what Judaism wants to realize in the world. Justice is not to be faithful to God (as in Christianity), but to be just in relation to our neighbours. The religious rites in Judaism are not practices directly addressed to God, but to this social justice.

That the relation with the divine goes across the relation with men and coincides with social justice, that is the spirit of Jewish Bible.

(Levinas 1976, p. 40)

[...] the aspiration for a just society is in Judaism, beyond all the individual piety, an eminently religious action.

(Levinas 1976, p. 42)

God in Judaism, according to the Talmudic reading of rabbis, is not capable of giving a pardon to those who have committed the sin against men. God can forgive only the crimes committed against God. So, whether we can repair social injustice, which is a crime committed by human beings against other human beings, depends only on us. Thus, “the personal responsibility of one man to another is such that God can not cancel (annuler)” (Levinas 1976, p. 40).

2.4. From Judaism to Universality

This is a kind of philosophy of responsibility included in Judaism based upon Talmudic reading. This philosophy conceives of social justice as an ideal for human beings to realize, and each man has responsibility to do so. It is true that this thought is based upon a reading of the sacred writings of the religion called Judaism. But Judaism is always trying to “associate the divine with the moral” (Levinas 1976, p. 43). If the moral is the phenomenon universally observed in all the communities of human being regardless of their religion, Judaism “always wanted to be universal” (Levinas 1976, p. 43). According to the ordinary prejudice against Judaism that has prevailed in Western and Christian culture, Judaism was often regarded as an exclusive religion of particularism and Jews as having the consciousness of an elite chosen by God. Levinas seems somehow to reverse this myth. He states that Judaism wants to be universal, and that the story of the election of the Jewish people by God represents a human structure of responsibility where the “I” responsible to the other is not “equal to the other”. If there exists a moral conscience, it must have the structure of the conscience of election. If reciprocity exists in human relationships, “reciprocity is a structure founded upon a original

inequality” (Levinas 1976, p. 43), because being selected is not a result of a reciprocal action. Being unilaterally passive is the original structure of human being.

Levinas has thus demonstrated the essence of Judaism still misunderstood by the Christians in Western countries. Through the above accounts, “the radical position of Judaism” (the expression of Imamichi) of Levinas is not something like a Juaeo-centric fundamentalism, but a form of religious tradition very close to philosophy in its search for social justice which would be achieved through the responsibility of each person, not through God. However, because of the reservations we have made in the beginning of this section, we have to add the following observation. It is true that Judaism according to Levinas is a certain moral philosophy open to all. But its resources are limited necessarily to the Bible and the Talmud. At most, Greek philosophy might be referred to as another resource. From what we have seen in his comments about the world outside of Europe, we have to say that for Levinas, the universalism of Judaism does not need *a priori* Eastern wisdom, that Greek thought and the Bible are enough to create a philosophy which is universally acceptable.

We can here raise a question concerning this universality of Judaism, philosophy, and the West how this philosophy itself can declare itself universal without asking for its validity *outside* of its own tradition, historically and geographically delimited by what we call the West? Levinas’ argument doesn’t presuppose this question coming from outside of his spiritual territory, from a civilization extremely foreign to the West. But, if he admits that Eastern peoples are also a part of human being (not Martians!), he has to answer to this question. If Imamichi were to have posed this question to Levinas at Tioumliline, the Jewish philosopher must have answered to him. However, as we have observed, we can not find any response in his writings. He has even negated the possibility of this question by saying that everything else — “the exotic” — is dance.

In the next section, we would like to retrace the argument of Imamichi to see concretely his question addressed to Levinas. We will see another path to the universal philosophy.

3. Comparison between Eastern and Western Humanism — Imamichi

Imamichi's lecture ("L'humanisme comme principe d'éducation en Est et en Ouest") is published in the acts of colloquium (Imamichi 1957, pp. 145-), but it seems to have been shortened (Mayeux 1960, p. 85, fn. 13). We have a complete version ("Die Idee des Humanismus im Westen und im Osten") in his book written in German *Betrachtungen über das Eine* (Imamichi 1968, pp. 23-29). From this German version, we would like to retrace his argument in 1957.

3.1. The Necessity of Universal Philosophy

The lecture is entitled "Humanism as a Principle of Education in East and West". Obviously, humanism is the central topic. However today, after structuralism and post-structuralism, taking humanism as a principle is often considered an obsolete gesture, insofar as the notion of the human as subject of philosophy has been strongly criticized. Rather, it is a fundamental structure (epistemic, psychoanalytical or social) that determines the human being and not the inverse. The human being is now a means of historical manifestation of supra-individual entities.

However, Imamichi is not trying to defend a simple and naïve restoration of classical humanism whose political consequence would be conservatism. His respect for classical humanism is based upon the historical necessity of a new type of philosophy in the age of an increasingly globalized world. This universal philosophy must be founded on the comparative study of the classical humanisms of the West and the East. At the beginning of his lecture, he describes the enhancement of technological research from the earth to space.⁴ The range of human activities through technology based on natural science

4. Since he mentions "astronauts" at the beginning of the German version of this text, Imamichi must have modified the initial version of 1957, for the first artificial satellite "Sputnik" was sent into the space just after the Tioumliline colloquium, on October 4th, 1957. Gagarin's journey to space in Vostok took place on April 12th, 1961. Imamichi's book *Betrachtungen über das Eine* is published in 1968.

is now “intersideral”. The range of politics is also enhanced from national or regional to “global”. But classical humanism still remains regional. By classical humanism, he means first of all the Western humanism in the age of the Renaissance pursuing an ideal of human being according to the classical philosophy and literature of the Greeks and Romans, free from dogmatic Christian interpretation (Imamichi 1968, p. 25).⁵ But he thinks also of today’s humanities in their broader sense: philosophy, literature, and history.

In the West, the classics were Greek and Roman literature including philosophical, religious, historical, artistic elements. This Western tradition has its equivalent in the East. The classics in the East are Buddhism in India, Confucianism and Taoism in China. The classical humanism in the West was an interpretation of the classics based upon philological studies freed from a theological framework. In fact, the East has also a long history of commentary of the classics based on serious philological studies. This tradition begins in China from the twelfth century, in Korea and Japan from the fifteenth century. These are the equivalents of classical humanism in the West. But until now, these two humanisms remain without any exchange, although their dialogue might be quite fruitful. Today, we have to awaken two humanistic traditions from their “provincialism” and thus establish their mutual complementarity.

However, we can ask if the Eastern classical humanism is really the equivalent of Western classical humanism. To answer this question, Imamichi compares three common characteristics of the two classical humanisms: first, critical spirit; second, self-reflection; and third, distance from the outside world. Let us take a look at his argument on these three points, one by one.

5. But the word “humanism” itself was used for the first time in German by Niethammer in the nineteenth century.

3.2. Comparison of the East and the West

3.2.1. Critical Spirit

This means spiritual independence from positive religion. In the West, classical humanism has made great efforts to be liberated from Christian influences in order to discover the reality of Greco-roman civilization. So the Western classical humanism is “essentially *indifferent* to Christianity” (Imamichi 1968, p. 29, italicized by us) except in the case of incidental constraint by ecclesiastic authority. As we saw, Eastern classical humanism in China begins with neo-Confucianism of the twelfth century. But can we say that Confucianism is “essentially indifferent to religion”? Knowing that there have been many debates on the religiosity or a-religiosity of Confucianism, we could at least say that Confucianism has a religious aspect because there are the temples of Confucius at which people worship the Saint. But Imamichi emphasizes that Confucius himself took distance from spiritual existence or the next world beyond the earth. In Confucianism, the form of God is thus “ambiguous”. In place of this ambiguous form, one may place a Buddhist Absolute or the Japanese deities. “By virtue of its indifference to religion, Confucianism was able to become deeply rooted in the Asian soul.” (Imamichi 1968, p. 29)

Through this comparison of the East and the West, the philosopher could say that the two classical humanisms were indifferent to religion in its essence, and thus that “classical humanism is an agora where deep dialogue is possible without taking into account one’s religion.” (Imamichi 1968, p. 30) In this way, the common “stage” of humanistic education offers the possibility of rational dialogue and communication between the West and the East.

3.2.2. Self-reflection

If the critical spirit is a common feature of both the West and the East, the second feature, “self-reflection”, offers an interesting contrast between them. Because of this contrasting difference, the two humanisms must complement each other.

To commence his argument, Imamichi give an analysis of the idea of self-reflection. Self-reflection has as its two prerequisites the notions of “person” and “responsibility”. We can reflect on ourselves because we have these notions of person and responsibility. The notion of person is the core of the self. The reflection on the “self” is mediated by the notion of a “person”. The sense of responsibility is a reaction to the relationship with others surrounding the self. The reflection on my “person” is also mediated by interactions with other “persons” surrounding my “person”. Thus, self-reflection has these two conditions. In fact, it is the conceptual development of these two notions (both are the constitutives of self-reflection) that shows an interesting contrast between the West and the East.

On the one hand, in the West, the notion of person has evolved from antiquity. One of the great contributions of Western classical humanism to the history of human being is its development of the notion of person (although this was still related to Christian thought). The place of human dignity (*Menschenwürde*) and the borders that separate the human from its other being is interiority of man. The notion of person is at the core of interiority. On the other hand, the notion of responsibility as we understand it today is relatively recent. For example, the German word “*Verantwortlichkeit*” did not have its current meaning before the nineteenth century. In spite of the above-mentioned development of the notion of person, a meditation on responsibility was lacking for long time.

In the East, on the other hand, the question of the interiority of man has been considered for long time in the question of human relationships. The notion of person has thus been lacking in this thinking based upon relations. We can find the equivalent of this notion not in the classics themselves but in their commentary, in the sixteenth century with Wang Yang-Ming’s “*liantsi*” (良知, common sense, *Gewissen*, *bon sens*). Contrary to this relatively late development of the notion of person, we can find the abundant reflections on human relationships from a very early period, for example, in four of the five cardinal virtues of Confucianism (仁 *ren*, 義 *yi*, 礼 *li*, 智 *zhi*, 信 *xi*). *Zhi* apart, the other four virtues are related to human relationships. Among the four virtues (*ren*, *yi*, *li*, *xi*), *yi* is what Imamichi considers the equivalent of

responsibility. As a translation of *yi*, he proposes the word “responsibility” (in English) or “Verantwortlichkeit” (in German), in this way rejecting the common translation (justice, *Gerechtigkeit*) (Imamichi 1968, fn. 27). He even states that according to the Confucian idea, “Being human is to be a responsible living-being (*verantwortliches Lebewesen*) – this is the permanent ideal of the whole humanistic tradition in the East.” (Imamichi 1968, p. 32) Being irresponsible leads thus to staining human dignity.

Now we can see clearly the contrast between the two forms of development of the notion of self-reflection in the West and the East. In the West, the concept of person develops over a long period time, while that of responsibility has been lacking, whereas in the East the concept of responsibility has a long history but that of person is relatively short. It is here that the two classical humanisms have to complement each other, so as to make the ideal of education less incomplete. As we saw in the previous section, the classical humanisms is the agora or stage of rational discussion. “Until today, classical humanism has been provincial, but it is not humanism [insofar as it remains provincial].” (Imamichi 1968, p. 33) It is only by complementing each other on this stage that the two classical humanisms can become a real humanism.

3.2.3. Distance to the Outside World

Critical spirit was common to both humanisms. Self-reflection was also common to them but the form of its historical development showed the necessity of mutual complementation. The third feature, the distance to the outside world is also something common to both humanisms. However, this is somehow a negative characteristic to be overcome in our age of technology.

While the natural sciences and technology take the physical world as the object of their research or exploitation, classical humanism reflects on the works of the human spirit. Today, in the age of technology (*technischen Zeitalter*), we also need reflection on technology. Unfortunately, it is rather difficult to find this in the two humanisms. In the West, the “tragic separation between civilization [made by technology] and culture [made by human spirit] begins with humanism.”

(Imamichi 1968, p. 34) Similarly, in the East, according to Confucius, the elites “must respect, not craftwork but the heart”. From its beginning, Eastern humanism has also a tendency to look down on technology. So, both humanisms don’t have adequate philosophical resources to confront the problems brought about by technology. “The survival of the humanisms becomes more and more doubtful because of machines.” (Imamichi 1968, p. 35)

Probably here, thinking of the Cold War as “political antagonism with technological power” (Imamichi 1968, p. 35), Imamichi lays stress on the necessity of having a clear consciousness of the “common destiny of human being” so as to conciliate the serious separation of the international political order. The lack of reflection on technology in a common feature of both humanisms is a problem which the whole human being must overcome.

To attain the consciousness of “common destiny”, each nation (Volk) has to understand themselves well. For this understanding, they need to communicate thought with other nations. If classical thought is the most general crystallization of each culture, the classical humanisms must let the two crystals complement each other on the stage of rational dialogue. Imamichi even states, “to learn another humanism is not only the way to understand other cultures but also human obligation to grasp the idea of the whole development of human being” (Imamichi 1968, p. 35).

The studies of classical humanism exist for the mutual complementation of the East and the West. The mutual complementation is for the consciousness of a common destiny of human being. The studies of classical humanism are thus nothing but a step to cope with the crisis of human being. Through these studies, we can grasp an appropriate comprehension of the relationship which the human being has maintained with nature. But it is not humanistic study itself that has to give us a philosophical explanation of technology. This depends on a further step, viz., a philosophy based upon the complementary studies of Eastern and Western humanism. This must be a universal philosophy capable of confronting the problems of the intersideral age brought about by contemporary politics and technology.

As we have seen above, the restoration of classical humanism proposed by Imamichi is never a kind of conservative reaction to the

age of technology, or nostalgia for a glorious past. It takes an active role in the creation of a philosophy in the global and intersideral age. This role, the mutual complementation can be fulfilled because of the first of the common characteristics of the two humanisms: indifference to the religion. In the East, it is Confucianism that is a stage of rational or, we may say, philosophical dialogue.

Conclusion

From above considerations, we now see the difference between Imamichi and Levinas. The French Jewish philosopher did not show any judgement (at least in the lecture we have examined) on the age of technology and the global political separation that has been reinforced by the technology. In fact, on his view, technology is not related to the crisis of human being. Rather, he considers it a great factor for the emancipation of human being from its inclination to remain rooted to the earth. When Gagarin succeeded in his journey into space, the philosopher was loud in his praise for this feat (Levinas 1961). Moreover, he did not have an idea of the comparison of the East and the West. For he already has two “philosophical” resources (Greek and Hebrew) and insofar as Judaism itself is an intellectual and ritual practice in search of a universal moral, he did not need to make the comparison. But the question remains whether one can say that one tradition does not need to be put into question by the other, if this tradition wants to be universal.

On the contrary, Imamichi stressed the necessity of mutual complementation of the East and the West, taking as an example the contrasting development of the notions of person and responsibility in the two traditions. For Imamichi, the two humanistic traditions are resources for a new philosophy. By the way, from point of view of Levinas, Imamichi’s notion of “the West” may obscure its internal diversity. The distinction between Hellenism and Hebraism (both are “philosophical” in Levinas’ sense) is not clear in a monolithic notion of the West. When we employ the method of comparison following the example of Imamichi, we have to pay attention to an eventual effect akin to cultural essentialism, which obscures the heterogeneous, internal dynamics of

each cultural entity such as the East and the West.

Still, there were interesting common characteristics between the arguments of the two philosophers. First of all, Judaism and Confucianism were considered something close to philosophy. In Judaism, one must take the risk of atheism. Confucius distanced himself from transcendent existence and left its form ambiguous. Secondly, the notion of responsibility was important in the both philosophical religion (Judaism and Confucianism). Levinas stressed rather the social aspect of responsibility (efforts to make justice prevail in human society) whereas Imamichi paid more attention to human relationships. Both would contribute to fill the lack of deep reflection on responsibility in the West (composed of Hellenism and Christianity).

For Levinas, the West (Occident) was a synonym for philosophy. Then, is Imamichi exploring the philosophical potential of Confucianism, is Confucianism approaching the West, or is the Eastern close to the West? Of course not. When we look at Imamichi's philosophical approach to Confucius's thought after 1957, for example, in the philosophical potential of the poetry, rituals, and music in Confucius's text as a way to truth other than conceptual thinking, we can understand that Imamichi is giving a concrete example of another form of philosophy which the West does not know. The "agora" which Imamichi has found in the two humanisms makes philosophy richer than ever. This agora is still open to the post-Cold-War age in which tensions among the East Asian countries are running high, and also in the age when nuclear crisis is realized not in the military but rather the civil sphere, so as to create a global and intersideral philosophy. This world is still the "common destiny of human being".

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Dynamics Between Political Propaganda and Mass Entertainment:

Evolution of the Denomination of PRC Spy-themed Film

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Introduction

In the last decade, films and television dramas about spy war have constantly received widespread popular and critical attention in China. This wave of spy war heat was triggered by *Silent Oath* (Shiyan wusheng, 2002) and *Plot against* (Ansuan, 2006), and it reached its summit in 2009, the 60th anniversary of PRC and also the year of grand narrative of the nation, with double hits of *Lurk* (Qianfu, 2009) and *The Message* (Fengsheng, 2009). The great success of spy war drama and film in the new century have activated the historical memory, and brought their “previous life” back into our sight. That is why anti-spy film of the Seventeen Years Period (*Shiqinian fante pian*) and thriller-mode film of the New Period (*Xinshiqi jingxian yangshi pian*) are enjoying a revival in public nostalgia and academic research in the past few years.

The historical transformation of PRC cinema is precisely concluded by Professor Yin Hong as “from cinema in new China to new Chinese cinema” (*cong xin Zhongguo dianying dao Zhongguo xin dianying*).¹ The

1. Yin Hong, 2003. *Cong XinZhongguo dianying dao Zhongguo xin dianying de lishi zhuanxing* (A Historical Transformation from “The Cinema in New China” to “The New

evolution of PRC spy-themed film from anti-spy film to spy war film is a tangible display of this cinema transformation and it also reveals the social, economic and political changes experienced by PRC. As Nie Wei said, the coding structure of spy-themed film mirrors the tensions among multiple ideologies in the specific era, which made it a typical aesthetic container bearing multiple political appeals.² Besides the innate political blood, continuity is another special feature of PRC spy-themed films.

Indeed, literatures and films themed on spy have never been completely suspended since the birth of new China, even during the Cultural Revolution.³ However, the continuity sustained in PRC spy-themed films tended to be overlooked in current studies. In my opinion, such discontinuity should be ascribed to the lack of standards for naming and classifying PRC spy-themed film. Aforementioned names, like *fante pian* (anti-spy film), *jingxian pian* (thriller-mode film), *diezhan pian* (spy war film), are just some representatives among the complex bunch of names for PRC spy-themed film, which could also be called *tewu zhencha pian* (spy detection film), *fante jingxian pian* (anti-spy thriller), *jiandie pian* (spy film), *gong'an ticao dianying* (public-security-themed film), *dixia douzheng pian* (underground struggle film), *yinbi zhanxian ticao dianying* (secret-war-themed film), *jingfei pian* (crime film), etc. The multiplicity and complexity in denomination made the classification extremely difficult, so the current mainstream approach is to chronologically slice up PRC spy-themed film into three segments (the Seventeen Years Period, the New Period, and the new century) and then conduct isolated researches respectively. This approach has led the studies into a problematic hourglass figure: most of the attention are focused on the initial Seventeen Years Period and the latest new century, while the

Chinese Cinema". *Qinghua daxue xuebao* (Journal of Tsinghua University), 5 (2003), 38-44.

2. Nie Wei, 2005. "Nihongdeng xia de shaobing": zhanzheng yishixingtai longzhaoxia de chengshi ganxing (Sentinels under Neon Lights: Urban Sensibility Covered by Ideology of War). *Dangdai dianying* (Contemporary Film), 6 (2005), 87.
3. During the Cultural Revolution, spy-theme is mainly sustained in revolutionary model play (yangbanxi), such as *The Red Lantern* (Hongdengji), *Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy* (Zhiqiu weihushan), and *Shajiabang*. In the late of Cultural Revolution, several anti-spy films followed the principle of "three prominence" were produced, such as *Haixia* (1975), *Great Wall on South Sea* (Nanhai changcheng, 1976), and *Unforgettable Battle* (Nanwang de zhandou, 1976).

New Period in between is always completely ignored or simplistically dismissed.⁴ Therefore, it is necessary to clarify the naming of PRC spy-themed film in order to resume its integrity and this is what I mainly attempt to do in this essay.

2. Denomination as a Useful Analytical Category

Inspired by Zhong Xueping's research on Chinese television drama,⁵ I see denomination as a useful analytical category. Even though the denomination of PRC spy-themed film is often casually noted and most critics do not seem to be particular about how to identify the complex names, the emergence and evolution of those names could be viewed as the site at which the relationship between representations and changing political climate, mental climate, market interests, and cultural and ideological logic in China that informs PRC spy-themed film can be located and examined. Why, how and which names appeared and became popular are emblematic of changes and tensions in the social history and its preoccupations.

As illustrated in the part below, different names have their respective scope of application and bear the hallmark of the corresponding era. I use the term "spy-themed film" for two reasons. First, instead of using "spy film", which is a mature genre in the West, I hope to give consideration to the convention of PRC cinema industry, in which film is always classified thematically while the notion of genre film might be unsuitable. Additionally, as discussed later, the name *jiandie pian* (spy film) was loaded with special political implications in the Maoist era, therefore it is particularly inappropriate to call the anti-spy film (*fante*

4. Although Tan Qiuwen and Wu Qiong have included spy-themed films of New Period into their discussion, their analysis lacked consideration of the interaction between the film and the society. See Tan Qiuwen, Peng Jingyi, 2009. *Cong yishixingtai xuanchuan dao yulexing zhuiqiu de tuibian* (From Ideological propaganda to pursuit of entertainment: The Chinese anti-spy film in 1980s). *Dangdai dianying* (Contemporary Film), 12 (2009), 66-69; Wu Qiong, 2005. *Zhongguo dianying leixing yanjiu* (Genre study on Chinese film). Beijing: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe.

5. Zhong Xueping, 2010. *Mainstream Culture Refocused*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

pian) of the Maoist era spy film (*jiandie pian*). Second, instead of casually selecting one from the coexisting names as the umbrella name, I intend to emphasize and respect the integrity of this film type and demonstrate that each name has its respective origin, history and implication. The concept of spy-themed film is historically and culturally constructed, therefore constantly changing. PRC spy-themed film has developed different variants in response to the changing socio-historical contexts. We have to put the films back into their original socio-cultural context from a historical perspective, and try to reestablish the interaction between the film and the era that created it.

Among the bunch of diverse names for PRC spy-themed film, *fante pian* (anti-spy film), *jingxian pian* (thriller-mode film), *diezhan pian* (spy war film), *jiandie pian* (spy film) are the most widely-used ones. In order to have a better understanding of the use of these four names, some data have been gathered through CNKI (Chinese National Knowledge Infrastructure). The results are shown in Figure1.1, Figure1.2, Figure1.3 and Figure1.4.

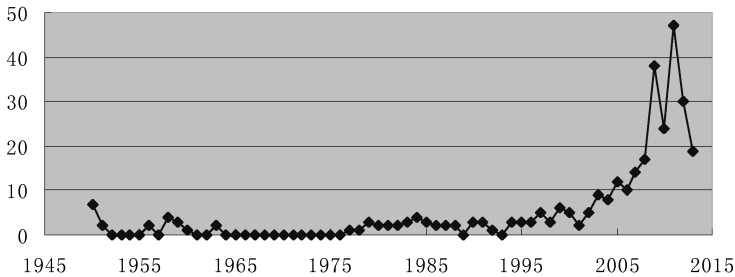


Figure 1.1. Search results in CNKI with “fante”(anti-spy) as search term sorted by year

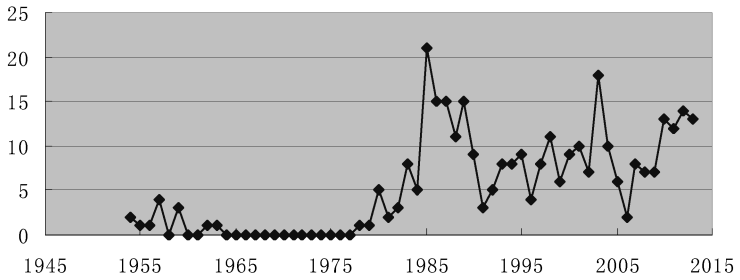


Figure1.2. Search results in CNKI with “jingxian pian”(thriller-mode film) as search term sorted by year.

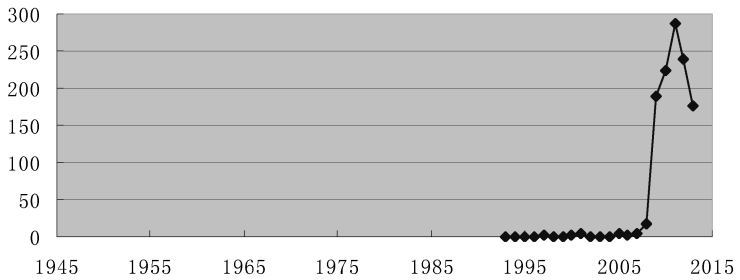


Figure1.3. Search results in CNKI with “diezhan”(spy war) as search term sorted by year.

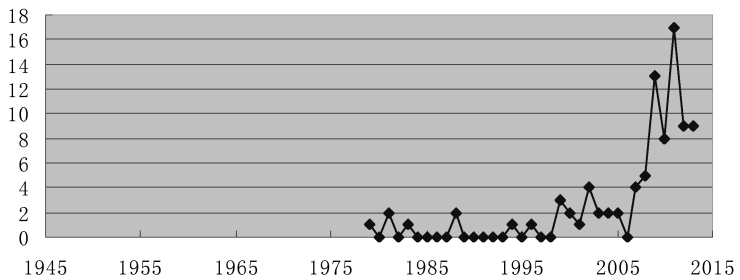


Figure1.4. Search results in CNKI with “jiandie pian”(spy film) as search term sorted by year.

These statistics, though rough, could offer some valuable information about the emergence and frequency of the three names. Based on the data and combined with the fruits of previous studies, we can have a historical trajectory of the denomination of PRC spy-themed film, and the evolution of this film type as well.

3. Politicalized initiation: anti-spy film

Anti-spy film (*fante pian*) is the earliest name for PRC spy-themed film and also the one with the strongest political implication. In the early years of new China, the primary task of literature and art was to legitimize the new social order. Given the windy and cloudy international milieu and the vulnerability of newborn political power, anti-spy struggle became one of the top priorities. The emergence of the first anti-spy film *Invisible fronts* (*Wuxing de zhanxian*, 1949) echoed the social and political trend and marked film's participation in actual political movement. Xia Ming, who worked for National Security Agency, depicted the magic power effected by anti-spy film produced since the foundation of PRC in a vivid way:

These films have great contribution to imbuing the public with high vigilance and confidence in defeating the enemies, and mobilizing them to support the anti-spy struggle conducted by people's government. Due to the successful propaganda and education offered by anti-spy film, the masses, aged from teenager to grey-haired old man, ranged from cadres and workers to jobless activists, have been engaged in assisting the government's anti-spy struggle. There has been an upsurge of touching stories about their positive assistance and many unknown heroes fighting in the invisible front had retrieved great comfort and encouragement from that.⁶

As pointed out by Wu Qiong, socialist anti-spy film of the Seventeen Years Period, which directly advocated political slogan "raise the vigilance,

6. Xia Ming, 1985. *Fante pian yu guojia anquan* (Anti-spy film and national security). *Dianying yishu* (Film Art), 3 (1985), 19-20.

defend the nation” (*tigao jingti, baowei zuguo*), served as a weapon for the class struggle at that time.⁷ The major role played by anti-spy film in class struggle during the Maoist era is the creation of “enemy/the other”, the spy (*tewu*). The term “*tewu*” (*tokumu*, 特務) in modern Chinese language is a loan word from Japanese, which stems from a proper noun “*tewu jiguan*” (spy agency, 特務機關), referring to military intelligence agencies founded in Japan after WWI. “*Tewu*” (*tokumu*, 特務) is a neutral word in Japanese, meaning specially-trained military secret agent whose job is to obtain confidential information and carry out sabotage activities. When originally introduced into modern Chinese language during the beginning of 1920s, “*tewu*” merely meant special task (*teshu renwu*) and bore no negative meanings. During the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1924-1927), both CPC (Communist Party of China) and KMT (Kuomintang) established their own spy agencies.⁸ However, after the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War and especially after transition of political power from KMT to CPC, the term “*tewu*” was no longer a neutral word and became stereotyped with derogative meanings. To prove the purity of the political party and the legitimacy of the new regime, *tewu* in the new context particularly referred to the enemies who were dispatched to (or lurking in) mainland China aiming at detecting vital information and undermining the socialist construction and production. As noted by Esther Yau, under the influence of anti-spy film, spy gradually became a designated type of antagonist in films of the Seventeen Years Period.⁹ Considering that spies in anti-spy films always colluded with

7. Wu Qiong, 2005. *Zhongguo dianying leixing yanjiu* (Genre study on Chinese film). Beijing: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe, 180.

8. In the May of 1927, suggested by Zhou Enlai, CPC founded Secret Service Section (*tewu gongzuo ke*), which was the predecessor of Central Secret Service Section (*Zhongyang tebie xinmgdong ke*) established later in Shanghai. KMT set up Party-affair Investigation Division of Central Organization Bureau (*Zhongyang zuzhibu dangwu diaocha ke*) in the end of 1927, which developed into Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Central Executive Committee (*Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui diaocha tongji ju*). Besides “*Zhongtong*”, “*Jun tong*” (Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of Military Committee) was another famous spy agency built by KMT.

9. Esther Yau, 2006. *Leixingyanjiu yu Lengzhan dianying: jianlun “Shiqinian” tewu zhenchapan* (Genre study and Cold War cinema: comments on spy detection films of the Seventeen Year period), trans. Zhu Xiaoxi. *Dangdai dianying* (Contemporary Cinema), 3(2006), 77.

reactionary classes and their action were closely related to the volatile international political climate, the term “*tewu*” in the Seventeen Years Period had become a synonym for “public enemy” and implied all class enemies including imperialists, KMT, landlord class and various kinds of counterrevolutionaries.

It is noteworthy that the original anti-spy films were reality-based, depicting contemporaneous struggles between courageous heroes and evil spies. The struggles were conducted overtly by our heroes against the covert enemies. And the heroes always enjoyed an obvious advantage over the spies. As the early anti-spy film developed into more subtypes, especially since the birth of infiltration-surveillance-typed anti-spy film (*daruxing fante pian*, e.g. *Track the Tiger to Its Lair* [Huxue zhuizong, 1956], *Silent Woods* [Jijing de shanlin, 1957], *Silent Post in Canton* [Yangcheng anshao, 1957], *Intrepid Hero* [Yingxiong hudan, 1958], etc.), the previous favorable situations were replaced by partially unfavorable ones where our hero infiltrated (mostly alone), lurked in the enemy camp and got surrounded by dangers and suspicions. Such plot resembles a subtype of revolutionary-history-themed film (*geming lishi pian*), underground struggle film (*dixia douzheng pian*, e.g. *Underground Vanguard* [dixia jianbing, 1957], *The Eternal Wave* [Yongbuxiaoshi de dianbo, 1958], *Depot No.51* [Wushiyi hao bingzhan, 1961], etc.), which usually displays stories about underground CPC members' fighting against the enemies under the guise of merchants, doctors, workers or other social identities. Although infiltration-surveillance-typed anti-spy film (*daruxing fante pian*) and underground struggle film (*dixia douzheng pian*) share the same motif, they both concerning our heroes' covert fight against the overt enemies, the former shows the present tense of the struggle while the latter shows the past tense of the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, the intertextuality of these two film types reveals the implied logic of continuous revolution and the combination of these two tenses of revolutionary struggle could be interpreted as the imperfect tense of revolution. Thus, the implied connection between these two helped to justify the legitimacy of the revolutionary struggles in the post-revolutionary era which is supposed to concentrate on peaceful construction. Besides, it is quite interesting that narratively the stories presented in underground struggle film is the prehistory of the anti-spy

struggle depicted in infiltration-surveillance-typed anti-spy film (*daruxing fante pian*), whereas in fact it was the success and the excellent audience attendance generated by the latter that promoted the development of the former. Later on, the boundary of these two film types got blurred and underground struggle film was absorbed into anti-spy film, and such merger also expanded the connotation of the term “*tewu*” and naturally justified the legitimacy of CPC before the Liberation.

In the New Period after Cultural Revolution, with new political climate, the ideologically loaded term “*tewu*” has refreshed its connotation, with the conventional American-KMT spies still remained and Soviet spies newly added due to the Sino-Soviet split. Compared with the sharp contrast between the enemy/other and the hero/self in the Maoist era of PRC, the New Period spy-themed film turned on a rather ambiguous attitude in representing the relationship between the enemy/other and the hero/self. For instance, the nationality and background information of the overseas spy who attempted to damage the reputation of China and undermine the trade in *Where does he come from* (Ke conghelai, 1980) remained a mystery to the audience. Another ambiguity of screen spies in the New Period spy-themed film is embodied in a newly-invented narrative strategy shared by several spy-themed films, like *Murder in Room 405* (405 mousha an, 1979), *A Handcuffed Passenger* (Dai shoukao de lüke, 1980), and *The Mystery of R4* (R4 zhimi, 1982), all containing an unexpected ending implying that the spies are not strangers from outside but acquaintances lurking among us. Such narrative strategy applied by spy-themed film of the New Period indicates a serious reflection on Cultural Revolution and forms an intertextual relationship with Xie Jin’s “scar film” (*shanghen dianying*). As the social reform proceeds, spy-themed film in the middle of 1980s had abandoned the historical pathos while still kept this narrative strategy. In addition, the narrative strategy that internalized the antagonists is emblematic of a shift in PRC spy-themed film: from dedicating in demonizing or estranging the cold-war opponents to criticizing and judging the self.¹⁰ The disappearance of anti-spy struggle in the New Period blurred the

10. For more discussion on the shift in 1980s spy-themed film, see Zhang Huiyu, 2010. *Diedie buxiu: diezhanpian de houlengzhan shuxie* (A Study on Immeasurable Spy Films: Post-cold War as A Perspective). *Dangdai dianying* (Contemporary Cinema), 4 (2010), 45-39.

conventional binary opposition between the other and the self, and as a result, the name *fante pian* (anti-spy film) gradually became out of date and was replaced by a name firstly emerged in 1950s and got increasingly popular in 1980s.

4. The infiltration of entertainment: thriller-mode film

“Thriller-mode film” (*jingxian pian*, short for *jingxian yangshi pian*), denominated in a psychological way, is a new mode of representation introduced in 1950s from Soviet literary theory. As the first thriller-mode film of PRC, *Ingeniously Taking Mount Hua* (Zhiqu Huashan, 1953) got acclaimed by the audience for its extraordinary settings and breath-taking scenarios. The renowned film critic Zhong Dianfei praised this film as “a good start in exploration of thriller mode” in his review for *Ingeniously Taking Mount Hua*, and he also proposed that,

“This mode is not only accepted but also demanded by the people. Besides solemn epic film, lyric film is also needed by the people, and so is comedy and thriller-mode film.”¹¹

Zhong’s emphasis on the demand for diversity in people’s film (*renmin dianying*) was quite pioneering at that time and such proposal got fully promoted by the Hundred Flowers movement launched in 1956. Under the auspices of Hundred Flower, a series of films, which perfectly combined the theme of anti-spy and the film mode of thriller (e.g. *Ten O’clock on National Day* [Guoqing shidianzhong, 1956], *Track a Tiger to Its Lair* [Huxue zhuzong, 1956], *Silent Woods* [Jijing de shanlin, 1957], *Silent Post in Canton* [Yangcheng anshao, 1957], *The Bell Rings From An Old Temple* [Gucha zhongsheng, 1958], *Intrepid Hero* [Yingxiong hudan, 1958], *Outpost* [Qianshao, 1959], etc.), brought great pleasure to the audience and aroused widespread discussions (both affirmative and

11. Zhong Dianfei, 1954. Yingpian “Zhiqu Huashan” de jingxian yangshi he tade biaoan yishu (The thriller-mode and performing arts of the film “Ingeniously Taking Mount Hua”). *Xiju bao* (Drama Gazette), 1 (1954), 19-22.

derogative), making such film the “canon of entertainment” in that era.¹² The successful combination of “thriller mode” and “anti-spy theme” in the second half of 1950s marked the intertwining of these two within the denomination of PRC spy-themed film, which could be perceived from the emergence of a bunch of hybrid names like “*fante jingxian yangshi pian*” (anti-spy thriller-mode film), “*jingxian fante gushi pian*” (thriller-mode anti-spy story) after the middle of 1950s. The original “thriller-mode film” (*jingxian pian*) referred to a mode (*yangshi*) of film and had been applied to at least three kinds of themes including anti-spy, underground struggle and guerilla war.¹³ However, by the end of 1950s, anti-spy thriller had merged underground thriller, expelled guerilla war thriller and become the synonym for thriller-mode film (*jingxian pian*) by virtue of its superiority in both quality and quantity.

As Bao Ying argued in her dissertation about Chinese comedy film in the Maoist era, in a social context where personal enjoyment was discouraged and suppressed for the greater good of a collective society, being entertaining itself could shed light on the hidden structures of diverse desires and thus could be potentially subversive.¹⁴ In this sense, entertainment and pleasure were almost the most luxury thing and could only be represented and retrieved in a secret way in the Maoist era. In such an intensified political climate, the anti-spy thriller-mode film, the infiltration-surveillance-typed anti-spy film (*daruxing fante pian*) in particular offered the audience a psychic outlet with its breathtaking scenario concerning the hero’s outwitting the spies, its inevitable display of material desires embedded in the scenes showing the capitalist living environment and corrupted lifestyle of spies, and its provocative sexuality exerted by coquettish female spies when they tried to seduce the male heroes. However, such “canon of entertainment” just occupied

12. Esther Yau, 2006. *Leixing yanjiu yu Lengzhan dianying: jianlun “Shiqinian” tewu zhenchapan* (Genre study and Cold War cinema: comments on spy detection films of the Seventeen Year period), trans. Zhu Xiaoxi. *Dangdai dianying* (Contemporary Cinema), 3(2006), 74.

13. Yu Shan, 1981. *Jingxian dianying chutan* (Preliminary study on thriller-mode film). Beijing: Qunzhong Chubanshe.

14. Ying Bao, 2008. *In Search of Laughter in Maoist China: Chinese Comedy Film 1949-1966*. Thesis (PhD). The Ohio State University.

a small part of the film production in general and its development was hugely constrained and hindered by the intensification of anti-rightist (*fanyou*) and anti-revisionist (*fanxiu*) campaign in 1960s, which could be discerned from the decline and even disappearance of the most entertaining and also the most corrupted film type, the infiltration-surveillance-typed anti-spy film (*daruxing fante pian*).

As suggested by Freud, the returns of the repressed would be witnessed once the shackles are released. Thus in the New Period, thriller-mode film—the type that had demonstrated its tremendous commercial value and entertainment potential in the Maoist era—became the most popular film type and its over-popularity even impeded its development and made it unpopular. As soon as the Cultural Revolution came to an end, thriller-mode film got back to the screen, among the first batch of films produced at the beginning of the New Period. The audience were excited about the reappearance of thriller-mode film in the first place, but they expressed disappointment and criticism as this type declined hugely in quality and grew purely profit-driven. Many people admitted that it was the title of “anti-spy thriller-mode film” (*fante jingxian pian*) that attracted them into the cinema, whereas the films just left them with regrets and complains. In the middle of 1980s, the film market was inundated with vast amounts of thriller-mode films, or rather films merely exploiting thriller-mode as a promotion gimmick. Those films were criticized as being “deliberately mystifying” (*gunong xuanxu*) and “produced in a shoddy way” (*cuzhi lanzao*), and they almost exhausted and ruined the good reputation built by anti-spy thriller-mode films of the Seventeen Years Period. In 1984, as the Fifth Generation films shocked this industry and the whole nation, Wu Ziniu’s *Secret Decree* (*Diexue heigu*)—the only Fifth Generation film used the thriller-mode—resumed people’s confidence for thriller-mode film to certain extent. Given the nationwide debates generated by the thriller-mode film during the New Period, a seminar focused on this topic was held in Beijing in January of 1985.¹⁵ As shown in Figure

15. For more information about the heated theoretical discussion on thriller-mode film in 1985, see Xia Hong, 1985. Nuli tigao jingxian yingpian de chuanguo zhiliang (Strive to improve the quality of thriller-mode film). *Dianying yishu* (Film Art), 3 (1985); Ren Yi, 1985. Zhenai ta, tigao ta: tan jingxian yangshi yingpian de shengchan (Cherish it and enhance it: comment on the production of thriller-mode film). *Dianying yishu* (Film Art),

1.2, theoretical discussion on thriller-mode film reached its summit in 1985, but these heated discussion turned out to be utopian anticipation and did not manage to reverse the tide of serious thriller-mode film shifting into tawdry entertaining film. In the meanwhile, the distinction between commercial film and art film had been highlighted in academic discourse since the Fifth Generation of directors burst onto the cultural scene and the term “thriller-mode film” (*jingxian pian*) had completely been reduced to “commercial film” (*shangye pian*) or “entertaining film” (*yule pian*). In addition, authorized by the reform and open-up policy, domestic audience regained access to foreign thrillers (usually dubbed), like *Pursue and Capture* (Japan), *Escape to Nowhere* (France), *The Cassandra Crossing* (Italy, West Germany, UK), *Death on the Nile* (UK), *Air Crew* (Soviet Union), etc. Furthermore, the acquaintance with foreign thrillers had been internalized as a captious scrutiny for domestic thriller-mode films and a broader understanding of this film type as well. It should be noted that Chinese people’s anticipation for thriller was greatly influenced by Alfred Hitchcock, the master of suspense, whose works—including *The Thirty Nine Steps*, *Rebecca*, *Spellbound*, *Notorious*, *North by Northwest*—were dubbed and shown in 1980s, and they immediately got recognized as the model for thriller. The declaration and proposal of “*Xiang waiguo dianying xuexi*”, or learning from foreign film, widely expressed throughout the New Period and even the 21th century, accompanied with the introduction of Hollywood genre theory, had expanded the concept of thriller-mode film into an international genre. Under this trend of “joining the international tracks” (*yu guoji*

3 (1985); Situ Zhaodun, 1985. Jingxianpian bingfei diaochongxiaoji (Thriller-mode film is not insignificant skill). *Dianying yishu* (Film Art), 3 (1985); Wu Ziniu, 1985. Zai shizhong zhong xunzhao pingheng: *Diexue beigu* daoyan yishu zongjie (In search of balance in the weight loss: summary of the director art of *Secret Decree*). *Dianying yishu* (Film Art), 5 (1985); Zhao Ming, 1985. Yao zhenshi, yao kuankuo, yao shenke (Should be real, broad and profound). *Dianying yishu* (Film Art), 8 (1985); Chen Yutong, 1985. Jingxianpian chuanguo ying zhuiqiu shenmei jiazhi: jingxian dianying de yishu texing jiqi jixinghua wenti (Thriller-mode film should pursue aesthetic value: art characteristics of thriller-mode film and its problem of being abnormal). *Dianying yishu* (Film Art), 8 (1985); Tong Mengzhi, 1985. Xiwang Zhongguo you Xiqukeke: xiaoyi basinian jingxianpian (Hope for the appearance of a Hitchcock in China: comment on the thrillers made in 1984). *Dianying pingjie* (Movie Review), 6 (1985).

jiogui), the term “thriller-mode film” (*jingxian pian*) in the New Period was no longer monopolized by conventional themes like anti-spy struggle or underground struggle and had grown into a broad category including crime film, disaster film, adventure film and so forth.¹⁶

As demonstrated in Figure 1.2, both *jingxian pian* and *fante pian*—used to be mainstream names for spy-themed film and widely-discussed topic as well—turned obsolete in the new century and got replaced by a more popular name, *diezhan pian* (spy war film).

5. Variant under globalization: spy war film/ drama

According to Figure 1.3, the term “spy war” (*diezhan*) firstly appeared in 1990s, when it was sporadically used to describe the intelligence competition in the fields of economy, science and technology, and manufacturing industry.¹⁷ The bond between spy war (*diezhan*) and audiovisual works was initially established by *Silent Oath* (Shiyan wusheng, 2002), whose success gave rise to the term “spy war drama” (*diezhan ju*) and inspired a bunch of followers which enriched this term and the category it refers to. By the end of 2006, the production of spy war drama had been quite sizable and such rapid growth also raised concerns about its future. Though admitting the progress achieved by spy war drama, especially the superior quality of *Plot Against* (Ansuan, 2006), critics pointed out many problems existed in the mass production of this type and gave out warnings that it would probably fall into recession as a

16. The extension of thriller-mode film in China was typically marked by Zhou Xiaowen's *The Last Frenzy* (Zuihou de fengkuang, 1987). For more information about the theoretical response of the generalization of this film type, see Qun Yan, 1990. *Jingxian yingpian sikao manbi* (Informal thought on thriller-mode film). *Sichuan shifan xueyuan xuebao* (Journal of Sichuan Normal University [Social Science Edition]), 5 (1990).

17. Based on the research results of CNKI, the word “spy war” (*diezhan*) was mentioned in 1990s in the following essays: Canku wuqing de jingjibu diezhan (Ruthless spy war in ministry of economy). *Jiage yuekan* (Price Monthly), 2 (1993); Gao Shizhen, 1995. Chuanqi de nvdiezhan (Legendary war of female spies). *Zhongzhou Tongzhan* (The United Front of Henan), 7 (1995); Lijian, 1996. Quanqiu qiche jian die zai xingdong (Global automobile spies are in action). *Shidai fengcai* (Modern Elegance), 11 (1996); Sining, 1997. Shanghai diezhan (Spy war in business). *Juce Tansuo* (Policy Research & Exploration), 7 (1997).

result of audience's aesthetics weariness.¹⁸ However, instead of confirming the pessimistic prediction, spy war drama enjoyed a steady rise and received unprecedented public attention in 2009 due to the great success of *Lurk* (Qianfu). In the meanwhile, the silver screen echoed the spy war heat on TV with the release of *The Message* (Fengsheng), a film billed as "the first spy war blockbuster in China" (*Zhongguo shoubu diezhan juzhi*) and became the dark horse of *xianlipian* (films made to commemorate the founding of PRC). It is noteworthy that, before the appearance of *Lurk* and *The Message*, the name *diezhan ju* (spy war drama) and *diezhan pian* (spy war film) were usually tied to thriller (*jingxian*) or thriller-mode (*jingxian yangshi*), whereas they completely get rid of the conventional modifier and become an independent new name (or new breed) for spy-themed audiovisual works thereafter. Hence the self-positioning of *The Message* as "the first spy war blockbuster in China" also implies an ambition to make a break with the pre-history of PRC spy-themed film and get independent as the starting point of a brand new history. The tendency of rewriting the spy-themed film history is both symbolic and symptomatic of the social transformation of China and the fact that it has stepped out of the cold war context (and, by extension, the revolutionary history, the Maoist era, and the whole past) and got totally involved in the new trend of globalization. In response to the invincible trend, Hu Ke, who initially showed interest in anti-spy film and made insightful research on it as early as in 1999, used *diezhan pian* (spy war film) as a general denomination and definition for PRC spy-themed film and justified his choice with China's demand for "joining the international tracks" (*yu guoji jiegui*).¹⁹

Additionally, another name *jiandie pian* (spy film) deserves further analysis. Before 1949, spy film was a neutral term referring to a genre of film originated from the West and owned domestic equivalents in 1940s.

18. See Jian Ping, 2007. Diezhanju haineng zouduoyuan (How far could spy war drama proceed). *Wenhui bao* (Wenhui Post), 17 November; Wang Ming, 2007. Diezhanju rebo yingping, zhongzhuanjia pingshuo youlie (Spy war drama gets popular on TV, experts commenting on its pros and cons), *Zhongguo yishu bao* (China Art), 9 November.

19. Hu Ke, 2010. Xin diezhanpian de meixue qingxiang yu wenhua fenxi (The aesthetic tendency and cultural analysis of new spy war film). *Dianying yishu* (Film Art), 1 (2010), 64-68.

Spy Number One (Tianzi diyihao), the first Chinese spy film made by KMT's official film studio in 1946, became an instant hit in Shanghai and led to an upsurge of spy films featuring the Sino-Japanese War (*kangzhan jiandie pian*). Owing to their catering to citizen class's taste with the fusion of gunplay, fight, suspense and perverted love, those spy films were disdained and criticized by left-leaning filmmakers as "glossing over KMT's rule reliant on spy agency", "branding themselves as war films while just exploiting some fragmented war stories, and being sheer boredom and eroticism indeed".²⁰ All of these constituted the political sin of the name *jiandie pian* (spy film) so that it became a taboo and had been repressed and averted in the Maoist era of PRC. To certain extent, the invention and promotion of the name *fante pian* (anti-spy film) could be regarded as a refusal and rebuttal to *jiandie pian* (spy film) and the political sin (and, by extension, the old regime of KMT) within it. In this sense, anti-spy film is also a pun, which could be interpreted as anti spy-film as well. And it was spy film that anti-spy film was anti in the very first place. The distinct boundary between anti-spy film and spy film was set at the very beginning, right after the release of the first anti-spy film (*fante pian*) *Invisible Front* (Wuxing de zhanxian). As an editorial in People's Daily put it,

"As one of the people's films (*renmin dianying*), *Invisible Front* is essentially different from spy films, which were produced by American and KMT's gangs and got well received by the urban petite bourgeoisie. Our films, like *Invisible Front*, could make a balance between thrilling storytelling and reflection of the real life...We are warning the remnant KMT spies that we have sufficient force to wipe out the invisible enemies. Anti-spy struggle is still ongoing severely, especially in the newly-liberated regions (including but not limited to cities)...It is no exaggeration to say that *Invisible Front* will contribute to the victory of this struggle."²¹

20. The comment quoted is from Cai Chusheng. See Cai Chusheng, 1947. Shengli hou de Zhongguo dianying (The Chinese films after the triumph). *Xinwen bao* (News Paper), 6 January.

21. Cited in Qi Zhenxin, 2011. Zhongguoshi "diezhan" shengji (Upgrading of Chinese-style "spy war"). *Junying wenhua tiandi* (Culture in Barracks), 1 (2011), 6-9.

Just like other taboos in Maoist era, as shown in Figure 1.4, the name *jiandie pian* (spy film) was among the returns of the repressed in the New Period and it firstly reappeared in some comments on dubbed films featuring spy stories like *Le Serpent* (France), *Escape to Nowhere* (France), *The Sea Wolf* (USA, UK), *Climbing to the Bottom* (Egypt).²² As for now, this name is just sporadically used for several foreign films and its exposure is far less than the new name *diezhan pian* (spy war film). Then, we have to give attention to such a paradox: the name *jiandie pian* (spy film), which is more neutral and international, is supposed to be the first choice when denominate the new century spy-themed film because it would perfectly meet the demand for globalization and joining the international tracks, while actually *diezhan pian* (spy war film) came out as a new invention and became overwhelmingly popular. To certain extent, this paradox precisely indicates the particularities within spy war film.

As noted by Fredric Jameson, globalization is the worldwide Americanization or standardization of culture, the destruction of local differences, the massification of all the peoples on the planet.²³ Although new century spy war film is a cultural product of globalization and it does show an obvious tendency of depoliticization and dehistoricization in the rewritings of the history, it still remains an ambition and a possibility of anti-standardization. Indeed, the way chosen and pursued by PRC spy-themed film has never been identical with the West, and such particularities were established by anti-spy film in Seventeen Years Period and got maintained in spy war film in the new century. The logic of continuous revolution formed in original anti-spy films has been conserved in later PRC spy-themed films. Therefore, to certain extent, the

22. For more details about the review of the dubbed spy films in the New Period, see Zhang Shuxing, 1979. Yibu jingxianliqi, kourenxinian de jiandiepian: “Chenmo de ren” guanhou (A thrilling and breath-taking spy film: Review of “Escape to Nowhere”). *Dianying pingjie* (Movie Review) 10 (1979); Chen Wenming, 1981. Tanlan shi zuie de yuansou (Greed is the sink of iniquity). *Dianying pingjie* (Movie Review) 4 (1981).

23. Frederic Jameson, 1998. Notes on globalization as a philosophical issue, in Frederic Jameson and Stanley Fish, eds., *The cultures of globalization*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 61.

invention and adoption of the name *diezhan pian* (spy war film) could be interpreted as the start of anti-standardization. In the meanwhile, it manifests the fact that China, though widely expressed its declaration of farewell to revolution throughout the 1990s, has never managed to achieve this goal. However, most of the studies on new century spy war films and dramas are focused on their indication of mass culture, market-oriented culture industry, consumer society, society of spectacle, amusing to death, and so forth. Such researches and their conclusions are just like a congregation of introduction and verification of classical postmodern theories. As a result, they just notice and highlight the entertainment and market factors in spy war films and dramas while neglect the political factor, weaken the impact of state, and simply view the choice of the spy theme and the display of revolutionary history as a decoration of political discourse and a license to pass the censorship. In fact, as a kind of mainstream culture, spy war films and dramas, are by no means simply mass entertainment. But at the same time, in terms of the studies on mainstream culture, such state-market-dichotomy perspective was quite typical. As noted by Zhong Xueping, this perspective assumes a monolithic view of the two entities and ignores the fact that Chinese mainstream culture consists of multiple social, cultural, and historical forces whose coexistence, and the tensions and contradictions among them, constitute the seen and unseen rhythms that shape and inform cultural production.²⁴

6. Conclusion

The evolution from *fante pian* (anti-spy film) to *jingxian pian* (thriller-mode film), then to *diezhan pian* (spy war film) manifests the socio-historical changes, the corresponding political climate and ideological struggles. Hence through the survey of the evolution of its denomination, we could see the founding, establishing, changing and developing process of PRC spy-themed film and its interaction with the corresponding social

24. Zhong Xueping, 2010. *Mainstream Culture Refused*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2.

history, which is mainly illuminated in the dynamics and tension between political propaganda and mass entertainment. In arguing the essence of spy-themed film, Hu Ke points out:

Despite the changing time, spy-themed film has never fundamentally changed and it is always a perfect collusion of political propaganda and mass entertainment. What makes the difference is the varying requirement of political propaganda and mass entertainment.²⁵

Therefore, it is the dynamics and tension between these two that made PRC spy-themed film stand out and become a special type of film which has always managed to generate widespread public attention. However, most of the current studies did not see this and just highlight one side and ignore the other.

I have always believed that reviews and comments are of great importance to cultural production because the authors and creators would be guided and disciplined by that. The spy war heat is going downhill these two years, which could be explained in many ways, but those colored reviews and comments might be partially responsible for that. As those comments just viewed the spy war films and dramas as successful mass entertainment, the creators tended to follow this positioning and do make spy war films and dramas more and more market-oriented and entertainment-focused. Therefore, instead of the aesthetics weariness due to its mass production and monotonous repetition, the real risk and problem faced by new century spy war film lie in the unbalanced relationship between political propaganda and mass entertainment, which could also be seen as the risk and problem existing in the current cultural industry in China.

Because of the limited scope of one essay, this study does not include the analysis of any specific film text. The denomination of PRC spy-themed film, along with the dynamics between political propaganda and mass entertainment as its hallmark deserve more attention and exploration in future studies.

25. Hu Ke, 2010. Xin diezhanpian de meixue qingxiang yu wenhua fenxi (The aesthetic tendency and cultural analysis of new spy war film). *Dianying yishu* (Film Art), 1 (2010), 64.

Why Do Children Write?: A Study of Life Essay Education in Japan

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Introduction

Writing literary works is not a special act reserved only for professional writers. There are many amateur writers who love writing for the sake of writing, and for no audience but themselves. If we include reports, essays, letters and diaries as 'literature', we can say that everyone is involved to some degree in creating literature. Even children are no exception. In fact, children probably write more than most adults. Children are frequently encouraged to produce creative writing and essays at school, for example, in language or social education classes.

In Japan, there is a unique traditional writing education method known as 'life essays' [seikatsu-tsuzurikata 生活綴り方]. In this method, teachers let children write essays about their own life in their own words, without giving the children specific topics or showing them examples of good essays. This kind of essay is different from creative literary works, explanations of scientific facts, or expressions of opinion to persuade someone. 'Life essays' intrinsically assume no readers and no external purposes. Children merely try to write down their life as it is.

This unique writing education method has been popular twice: in the

1930s and the 1950s. Many teachers, called ‘life essay teachers’ [tsuzurikata kyoshi 綴り方教師], eagerly engaged in this method of education and made a movement to spread the method. Many books about the method were published and teachers all over Japan created a network to exchange reports and opinions about their classes. However, the influential power of life essay education gradually declined in the 1960s. The method is not considered as attractive as it once was, although it is still one of the bases of writing education in Japan nowadays.

In this paper, I will examine what life essay education accomplished and why this form of education lost its power. I will also point out what we can learn from the practices of life essay education. In the first chapter, I will outline the history of life essay education. In the second chapter, I will examine the practice of life essay education, focusing particularly on the 1950s, and clarify its accomplishments and limitations. In the third chapter, I will point out the hidden educational achievements which life essay education realized but teachers overlooked.

1. History of Life Essay Education

1.1. The Birth of Life Essay Education

In this chapter, I will outline the historical process in which the unique writing education method known as ‘life essays’ developed and declined. It is difficult to define the start point or the founder of this form of education because life essay education was not originally a well-defined method, but rather the name given to a group of similar educational practices. Different starting points for life education can thus be identified, depending on what one regards as the central characteristics of this kind of education. However, generally speaking, we can say that life essay education began before the Second World War, and its development can be divided into three different phases.

The first phase was the method of ‘essays on freely selected topics’ [zui’i-sendai-tsuzurikata 随意選題綴り方] proposed by Ashida Enosuke [芦田恵之助]. As the name of this method indicates, Ashida insisted that teachers should let children write essays on any topic they chose. He

explained that this approach involved ‘children searching for what to write in their life and writing only for their own satisfaction’. Nakauchi (1970) points out that Ashida conceived of this style of writing not as a special style for education but as the essence of writing, because he wrote that ‘to select topics freely is the true state of writing’.

The second phase was the activity in the journal *Red Bird* [Akai Tori 赤い鳥]. This was a journal of juvenile literature and children’s songs published from 1918 to 1936. Suzuki Miekichi [鈴木三重吉], who was a disciple of Natsume Soseki [夏目漱石] and a writer of juvenile literature, edited the journal. The journal carried not only works by professional writers but also essays and poems contributed by children. Suzuki and Kitahara Hakushu [北原白秋], one of Japan’s greatest poets, selected fine works and wrote comments on them. The characteristic of this activity was that professional writers and poets became involved with writing education for children. They discovered the artistic value of literary works created by children roughly but freely, and formed the opinion that adults, who had learned the techniques and styles of literature, were not able to express themselves as children could.

The third phase was the activity in the journal *Life of Writing* [Tsurikata Seikatsu 綴方生活]. The editor of this journal, Sasaoka Tadayoshi [小砂丘忠義], emphasized the importance of children’s intrinsic power, and insisted that teachers should try not to weaken this power by overly strict education, but rather should try to strengthen it by letting children behave freely. He criticized the practice in *Red Bird* for being partial to literature and argued that the essays of children must be connected strongly to their lives. Teachers who empathized with Sasaoka contributed reports of their essay classes to the journal and exchanged opinions about the method of essay writing education.

These three educational practices emphasized the importance of children engaging in free writing without any instruction by teachers. They also emphasized the importance of children writing as they see or as they feel. This point was expressed as ‘to write as it is’ [arinomama ni kaku ありのままに書く]. Actually, the motives for emphasizing this point were different. Ashida insisted it was based on the thought of Zen Buddhism. He regarded true cognition as not objectifying things but unifying subjects and objects, and believed that this is the process

through which we can reach the true self. Editors of the journal *Red Bird* emphasized the same points because of their position as artists. They regarded these points as necessary for achieving better artistic expression. Teachers writing for the journal *Life of Writing* tried to make children realize the social situation in which they lived and turn them into subjects capable of independently and actively changing this situation. Although these differences are not minor, we should admit that they are all a significant part of life essay education.

1.2. Revival of Life Essay Education

Life essay education flourished in the 1930s. However, it diminished in the 1940s because this method did not fit in with the policies of the government at that time. If children are given complete freedom to write about whatever they wish, they will sometimes write about things that are immoral or undesirable. During the time of all-out war in the first half of the 1940s, the Japanese government tried to cultivate loyalty to the country. Life essay education seemed to be against this policy and teachers who eagerly practiced this method were oppressed by the government.

After the Second World War, teachers regretted their militaristic and totalitarian way of education in wartime and tried to establish a new way of democratic education. At this time, life essay education revived.

The trigger for its revival was the book *Echoes from a Mountain School* [Yamabiko Gakko 山びこ学校], published in 1951. This book was an anthology of life essays written by second grade students in Yamamoto Junior High School in Yamagata prefecture. The teacher of this class, Muchaku Seikyo [無着成恭], edited the anthology. In the essays in this book, children wrote vividly about their lives. The village in which they lived was very poor at that time, and they wrote frankly about their poverty. They read each other's essays and discussed why their life was so tough and how they could overcome their difficulties. This book caused a great sensation. Movies and dramas were made based on the book, and it was translated into Chinese and English and published in many countries. Teachers who were inspired by the book began implementing

life essay education themselves.

The New Class of Life Essays [Atarashii Tsuzurikata Kyoshitsu 新しい綴方教室], written by Kokubun Ichitaro [国分一太郎] and published also in 1951, became a good textbook for teachers implementing life essay education. In this book, Kokubun set out a clear method of life essay education, and provided advice to teachers experiencing difficulties implementing it, such as how to encourage children to write essays when they are not interested in writing, how to make children to write in detail when their essays are too simple, or how to connect life essay education to other subjects, and so on. Life essay education, which had been based only on teachers' experiences, became more firmly grounded by gaining an organized methodology.

Although life essays intrinsically assume no audience, they were used to cultivate a sense of solidarity in the classroom. As seen in the book *Classroom Revolution* [Gakkyu Kakumei 学級革命], written by Konishi Kenjiro [小西健二郎], children read each other's essays and united to work on the problems they had in common. Teachers became aware of this effect and began actively using life essays to help them manage their classes.

1.3. Decline of Life Essay Education

Life essay education declined once again in the 1960s. In 1965, the proportion of students entering high school reached more than 70 percent. Because of intensified competition to pass entrance exams, students and parents began demanding that schools offer 'efficient' education designed to help students gain good scores in examinations. Life essay education did not meet this demand because the practice of this method takes much time and the effect of this education is difficult to measure through exams.

Teachers also became conscious of the need for education with a scientific basis. In order to meet the need for efficient education, it was necessary to objectively examine whether pedagogical methods were really effective or not. Because the effect of life essay education is difficult to measure scientifically or statistically, teachers gradually came to think

poorly of this method. Some teachers thought that life essay education was against scientific education. Others optimistically insisted that life essay education could be naturally connected with scientific education, but this argument lacked an evidential foundation. In this way, the method lost its power. Writing education was confined to Japanese language classes, new methods with a scientific basis were developed for each subject, and student life guidance became independent of writing education.

2. Accomplishments and Limitations of Life Essay Education

2.1. Awareness of Social Problems

In this chapter, I will particularly focus on life essay education in the 1950s and clarify its accomplishments and limitations.

One accomplishment of this method was that, through the process of writing life essays, students became aware of problems in their lives that had a social cause, and they became able to face up to these problems.

The essay titled ‘My Mother’s Death and What Happened After That’ [Haha no Shi to Sono Go 母の死とその後] in *Echoes from a Mountain School* is a good example. Eguchi Koichi, the author of this essay, had lost his mother the same year he wrote the essay. Because he had also lost his father when he was six years old, his family had suffered from poverty. In the first half of his essay, he described in detail what happened when his parents died. Following the instruction of life essay education, he rarely used exaggeration or rhetoric and just described things as they were. He even accurately noted the date of his mother’s hospitalization, death and funeral, how much these things cost, and how little property his family had. After these descriptions, in the middle of his essay, he raised the following question:

My mother regarded my growth as a source of hope and always said ‘when you become an adult...’. My mother tried to pay off our debt before I was fully grown, but in reality, she needed to borrow more and more money. My mother kept struggling to realize a comfortable

life, but actually, she became poorer as she struggled. In the end, my mother was defeated by poverty and passed away. When I think of my mother, I cannot help asking, 'why did my family's life not become better though my mother worked so hard?' (p.10)

Here he reached a general question about the relationship between labor and poverty. In the latter half of his essay, he examined whether he could realize a comfortable life if he worked harder than his mother. After calculating expected income and spending, he reached the conclusion that it would be almost impossible. In the last part of his essay, he promised his mother that he would keep seriously studying and clarify the reason why people do not become wealthy even though they work as hard as she did.

This essay is one of the best examples of successful life essay education. The student discovered a social problem by examining his own experiences, and resolved to confront the problem. The process of writing a life essay developed the critical mind of this student and encouraged him to be independent.

2.2. Cooperation with Others

Good life essays affected not only authors but also readers. Although life essays were originally written for the writers themselves, teachers had students read each other's essays. By reading other students' essays, students could share their life experiences and confront common problems together.

We can find a sign of this cooperation in the essay cited above. In the conclusion to 'My Mother's Death and What Happened After That', Eguchi described how he could go to school because his classmates and teacher helped him to finish his work on his family's farm. He also referred to one of his classmates who was poorer than himself and appealed to the community to cooperate together to help ease this classmate's burden. In this part, he expressed poverty as a general problem and stressed the importance of cooperation.

This awareness of a problem seems to have developed into the

cooperative research reported in the same book. Seven students in the class formed a group and conducted a study about how much it cost to go to school. They felt uncomfortable asking their parents to give them money to go to school because their families were very poor. They started their research by examining their own cashbooks, but in the course of their investigation they realized that the cost of education was an issue not only for themselves or their families, but also for their village as a whole. They looked over the account book of Yamamoto village and concluded that the budget for education was not sufficient. These students became able to step back from their individual worries, look at them from a broader critical perspective, and recognize that their own problems were problems shared in common with the other inhabitants of the village.

Students began to take action to improve the situation in their village. For example, in the essay titled ‘O’hikari-sama’ [おひかり様], we can see how students resisted a superstitious new religion spread in their village at that time. Although many adults in the village believed this religion blindly, children concluded that this was just a superstition and put up signs criticizing it. Through cooperation, children gained the power to confront adults and declare their own opinions.

In conclusion, we can say that life essay education in the 1950s changed children into subjects who were conscious of social problems and worked together to cooperatively reform society by themselves. Life essay education in this period inherited in particular the characteristics of the third phase of life essay education before the war.

2.3. Education Only For the Underprivileged

Although life essay education succeeded in cultivating the independence and solidarity of students, the method lost its appeal in the 1960s. As I mentioned above, one of the reasons for this was the demand that arose at this time for education with a scientific basis. However, there was a fundamental problem in life essay education that also contributed to its decline in popularity. This was the fact that life essay education had

become education only for underprivileged children.

As we have seen, life essay education made children aware of the contradictions and inequality in society through the process of describing their own lives. This meant that the existence of social problems was a necessary condition for this kind of education, but this condition began to disappear as the Japanese economy grew and people's living conditions improved. It became harder for children to understand problems in the social structure because in most cases they were not personally affected by these problems any more. They could no longer identify social problems in their own lives.

Of course, poverty is not the only problem in society. Even in the 1960s, life essay education worked effectively when there were other social problems. The anthology *Okinawan Children* [Okinawa no Ko ra 沖縄の子ら], published in 1966, is a good example. At that time, Okinawa was governed by the United States. Students in Okinawa wrote essays about their life, especially about poverty and problems related to the US military bases. Okinawan teachers edited the anthology and teachers on the mainland had children read the book. A sense of solidarity developed between teachers and students in Okinawa and on the mainland, and this affected the movement demanding the restoration of Okinawa to Japan.

However, life essay education did not so affect children in favorable circumstances. In Japan, there were two big political parties, the Liberal Democratic Party [自由民主党] and the Social Democratic Party of Japan [SDPJ; 日本社会党], reflecting the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Most teachers supported the SDPJ and criticized the policies of the government and the Ministry of Education. Life essay education became just a weapon used by teachers in this conflict, and declined further as the SDPJ increasingly lost popularity.

3. Another Possibility of Life Essay Education

3.1. Overlooked Attractiveness of Life Essay Education

As we have seen in the second chapter, life essay education worked

most effectively in situations where social problems, especially poverty, were widespread, and gradually declined as the economy of Japan grew stronger and the SDPJ lost its influence. Does this fact mean that life essay education is out of date and we cannot learn anything from this method nowadays? In this chapter, I argue that life essay education offers us several more points to learn from if we look at it from another viewpoint.

In *The New Class of Life Essays*, Kokubun described how children worked on life essays as follows:

Children keep writing with pencil stubs or overly sharpened pencils. One student falters and wonders what to write, shaking his head. Another student licks his pencil and is absorbed in his writing. This student knits her brows and struggles with the difficulty of finding good words to express her thoughts, while that student glances at the teacher's face and begs his pity. Some students envy other students because they write very smoothly. We can see children in various states of mind when they write life essays. (p. 3-4)

From this passage, we can see how eagerly children worked on life essays. Kokubun wrote in another passage that children wrote essays as homework even though there were no desks or tables in their homes. They lay on their stomach and wrote essays on old tatami mats. They tried to find time to write essays even though they needed to work on the farm or nurse their siblings. Why were children at that time so fascinated with writing life essays? Was it because their teachers eagerly encouraged them to write essays, or because they wanted to express to others how tough their life was? I think there must have been other motivations to write essays. Even life essay teachers overlooked the true attractiveness of their own practices of life essay education.

3.2. Writing Activity as Re-experience and Confiding

In order to understand why children were fascinated with life essays, we need to think of a more fundamental question: Why do people write

about their life experiences? Writing requires effort and people do not write for no reason.

One of the reasons to write about one's life experiences is to record impressive events in life. By creating a written record of events, authors can re-experience these events and give them a stable form. Through this process, they can enjoy good experiences again. If the events were hard or painful for authors, they can recover their composure through writing and become able to take an objective view of the situation.

Children who wrote life essays seem to have experienced this efficacy of writing. There are many essays describing beautiful scenes and fun events in children's lives. For example, 'Chasing Rabbits' [うさぎ追い] in *Echoes from a Mountain School* is an essay about the experience of hunting rabbits. The author wrote about how he set traps in the mountains, and how he felt when he failed or succeeded in catching rabbits. This essay does not reflect any social problems, but the author undoubtedly had a good reason to write about his experience. The poem 'A Hairy Caterpillar' [毛虫] described the writer's experience of standing on a caterpillar and seeing blue blood spread out. He must have been shocked and could not help writing this experience as a form of a poem.

Another possible reason to write about life experiences is to share events and feelings with other people. Through writing, authors confide private facts about their lives to readers. For students, writing life essays must have been a way of revealing their private life and feelings to teachers and classmates. Although life essays did not originally assume any audience, all students knew that their teachers read their essays, and that sometimes teachers would let other students read their essays. They must have written what they wanted to confide to teachers and classmates, or at least, what they felt comfortable sharing with them.

Even the most successful example of life essay education, 'My Mother's Death and What Happened After That' which I described in 2-1, shows these motivations. In writing about the death of his parents, the author did not originally intend to draw people's attention to the poverty and social inequality experienced by his family. He simply wrote about what happened as it was, and in so doing became able to objectify his experiences and become aware of a problem behind this tragedy. He shared his experiences with his teacher and other students because he

wanted to share his grief and to express how his classmates' work was helpful for him, but as a result, his classmates became aware of a problem which they all had in common. Independence and solidarity of students were by-products of life essays, which children wrote for other reasons.

Teachers who worked on life essay education seem to have overlooked these motives for writing essays in children. They regarded the aim of life essay education as fostering students' agency and ability to reform society, and tried to make children write about experiences which reflected problems in society or in capitalism. In the 1980s, teachers deplored the fact that the lives of their students were ruled by money and products, and tried to make children think not as consumers but as workers. However, children did not have the motivation to write essays on such topics because these topics did not reflect their reality.

Nowadays, children's life is constructed by TV games and the Internet, or cram schools and entrance exam competition. What children want to re-experience or what they want to share with others are these aspects of life in a consumer society. However, they also have various feelings and emotions in this life, just as poor children did in the 1950s. If we admit this fact, I argue, we can redesign a new method of life essay education. We need to go back to the original principle of life essay education: write your own life experience as it is.

Conclusion

In this paper, I tried to point out what we can learn from life essay education by examining its history and characteristics. Life essay education especially in the 1950s aimed to make children aware of the contradictions and inequality in society through the process of describing their own lives, and to encourage children to work together to cooperatively reform society by themselves. This method achieved these aims at that time, but became less attractive as the Japanese economy grew and declined further when the cold war came to an end. However, if we pay attention to children's motivations to write life essays, we can think of another way to develop this unique method of writing education. Children wrote about their own lives because they wanted to

re-experience impressive events of their lives and share their events and feelings with teachers and classmates. These motivations were the keys to the success of life essay education. By emphasizing these motivations, we can invent an improved life essay education which fits in with the current situation of our society.

Although life essay teachers in 1950s overlooked the importance of children's motivations, they could unconsciously avoid harming these motivations because they stick to the principle of life essay education that let children write their own life experiences as they were. Teachers in our time also should hold to this principle. Even if the lives of children seem to be spoiled by consumer society and capitalism, teachers should not forbid students to write about these facts. By letting children write their experiences as they are, children can keep their motivation to write, try to polish their expressions, and become able to calmly objectify their experiences. As Ashida pointed out before the war, this is writing education based on the essence of writing activity.

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Takeuchi Yoshimi and Japan's War Responsibility

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1. Introduction

Since the Cold War ended around 1989, Japan's war responsibility has been a controversial topic between Japan and neighboring countries for the last two decades. Thus it is now widely believed that the Cold War hindered Japan to truly face with its neighbors, as Yonetani Masafumi, a Japanese Scholar stated, "it [the Cold War] can be seen as a structure in which Japan was not able to meet and get involved with East Asia."¹

Many Japanese thinkers, however, tried to tackle the problem of Japan's war responsibility throughout the Cold War. Takeuchi Yoshimi (1910-1977), a scholar of modern Chinese literature, is a typical example. He went to China to serve as a soldier of Japanese Army from 1944 to 1946, and after coming back to Japan, became famous as a cultural critic. Based on the comparison of China and Japan, specifically focusing on Lu Xun, the founder of China's modern literature, he criticized Japan's modernity

1. Yonetani Masafumi and Marukawa Tetsushi, "Asianism, the Discourse of Overcoming Modernity, and Post Cold War: Ozaki Hidemi and Takeuchi Yoshimi", monthly journal *Jyokyo (Situation)*, 2004, August+September, p. 7.

as “slavish” imitation of Western modernization.² He was also a well-known proponent for the normalization of diplomatic relations with People’s Republic of China (PRC). He repeatedly argued that Japan should overcome the hostility with China which had been fixed by the Cold War structure, and specifically Japan’s dependence with the U.S., because he believed that it was the only way for Japan to fully assume its war responsibility.

Today we casually use the word “Japan’s war responsibility” without due thought to the definition of it, or historical change of its usage, but firstly the concept itself should be open to question. Let’s see for instance, immediately after the end of the war, many people in Japan thought Emperor Hirohito was the most responsible to the victims of Japan and Asia, but as Hirohito had been exonerated in the Tokyo War Crimes Trial, and already died in 1989 (his death accidentally coincided with the end of the Cold War), today people rarely discuss this aspect of war responsibility. In this way our understanding of war responsibility has changed through the social and political changes of postwar Japan, from the U.S. occupation through the Cold War and Japan-China honeymoon years of the late 70’s to today’s neoliberal globalization, but what is important is the fact that this concept has survived these changes and influenced Japan and East Asia. Therefore, we must admit that even today, we don’t have a clear and consistent definition of WHAT the war responsibility is, nor do we know HOW to address or fully assume it. To rethink the relation between the Cold War and Japan’s war responsibility, it would be helpful to revisit Takeuchi’s argument, which was characterized by his two dimensional strategy, i.e., always redefining war responsibility as a present task in the fluid political and social context, and at the same time, on philosophical level searching for a consistent explanation of the problem – aporia of Japan’s modernity.

2. The idea that Japan’s modernity was “slavish imitation” of Western model first appeared in the essay “China’s Modernity and Japan’s Modernity” in *The Nature of Occidental Social Ethics* (Toyo-teki Shakai Rinri no Seikaku), Hakujitsu shoin, 1959. The title changed when it was included in his first essay collection as “What Is Modernity”. *Takeuchi Yoshimi Zenshu* (Complete Works of Takeuchi Yoshimi, Chikuma shobo, 1980-1982), No. 4 (Hereafter abbreviated to TYZ #4), pp. 128-171.

2. The Tokyo Trial, the Cold War and Japan's War Responsibility

In around 1960, Takeuchi wrote three important articles on war responsibility, namely "Overcoming Modernity" (1959),³ "On War Responsibility" (1960),⁴ and "Japan and Asia" (1961).⁵ These are the most intensive effort he made on the issue, and therefore later named "war trilogy". In these articles, he first put forward and then developed his idea of the "duality (dual nature)" of the Great East Asia War (Daitoa-sensou, today more often referred to as Asia Pacific War) and Meiji Japan. The duality hypothesis, he argues, means that the Great East Asia War actually had two dimensions, which were intertwined in real process of the war, but should be distinguished on the philosophical level; war of invasion onto Asia, and war against European imperialism. He related this duality to Japan's war responsibility, and insisted that "we should take responsibility only on the aspect of aggression upon China and Asia."⁶

One would wonder why Takeuchi took up the issue of Japan's war responsibility more than 10 years after the end of the war. Interestingly, contrary to today's common understanding, it was the onset of the Cold War that reactivated the dispute of war responsibility in Japan.

Immediately after the defeat of the war, Japanese people generally believed that the war would be settled in traditional way, that they were relieved of war responsibility by signing a peace treaty in the near future. The Tokyo Trial from 1946 to 1948, in which the so-called "Class A" war criminals were executed, seemed to be a necessary process to the reconciliation. However, The confrontation of the U.S. and the Soviet Union gradually came to surface, and the situation totally changed in 1949 when the Communist government took the regime in China, followed by the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. The U.S. blatantly changed the occupation policy to militarize Japan in order to turn Japan into a breakwater against Communism. In 1951, Japan signed a peace

3. "Overcoming Modernity" (Kindai no Chokoku), TYZ #8, pp. 3-67.

4. "On War Responsibility" (Sensou Sekinin ni tuite), TYZ #8, pp. 210-218.

5. "Japan and Asia" (Nihon to Chugoku), TYZ #8, pp. 68-93.

6. TYZ #8, p. 33. See also TYZ#8, p. 216.

treaty in San Francisco only with the nations of the Western bloc, and next year with Taiwan where the Chinese National Party retreated and ruled since 1949. As a result, when the Korean War finally led to a cease-fire agreement in 1953, Japanese people suddenly found that East Asia was divided into two blocs, and reconciliation with (and compensation to) mainland China already became impossible.

Although most Japanese people were content with Japan's situation as a member of Western bloc, Takeuchi regarded this as escaping war responsibility with regard to Japan's invasion on China. Other Japanese thinkers, whether they were leftist-minded or conservative, also started to discuss the war history and war responsibility a little before 1960. For instance, Kamei Katsuichiro, a conservative literary critic, wrote a book in 1957, and demanded a reassessment of the Tokyo Trial, in which the Great East Asia War (more often referred to as the Asia-Pacific War) had been denounced under the name of "civilization".

Takeuchi's duality hypothesis of the war history was actually inspired by Kamei's argument. The problem they commonly face was the two conflicting aspect of the Tokyo Trial: most Japanese people for the first time learned to know the violent acts of their army on Asian peoples through the press report of the Trial, which made them feel responsible. But they didn't think that Japan had invaded the U.S., and because of the experience of air raid and atomic bombing, they even had the "victim consciousness" against the U.S. Therefore, they felt they could not easily feel responsible for what happened during the war after 1941. For this reason, the leadership of the U.S. in Tokyo Trial and denunciation of the war under the name of "civilization" -- substantially represented the standpoint of the U.S. -- made obscure the meaning of war responsibility. In the essay "On War Responsibility" Takeuchi explains the paradox of the Tokyo Trial as follows.

.....war responsibility is what we "escape shamelessly". [...] In order for us to assume responsibility, the only such tradition we can rely to is the pain (heartache) we feel on Japan's aggression towards Asia, especially to China. The pain surely exists, and potentially very huge. [...But] if we define the whole process of war as the "aggressive acts on civilization", then the function [of the word "responsibility"]

doesn't work.⁷

The duality hypothesis was an alternative to the Tokyo Trial view on war history that denounced the whole process of war from 1931 to 1945 as an aggression on civilization. By distinguishing the two dimensions of the war, Takeuchi tried to make Japanese people aware that as long as Japan remained in the Western bloc and politically confronted with mainland China, Japan couldn't fully assume its war responsibility on military aggression in Asia. He even went so far as to say that, as long as Japan remains dependant upon the U. S., the war with China was still continuing. "The argument of war responsibility presupposes that we have continuous consciousness of aggression. Therefore we must realize that, as a matter of fact, political reconciliation has not yet realized, or rather, the war itself has not yet ended."⁸ Then, in what way could Japan assume war responsibility, or in other words, put an end to the war with China? Takeuchi tried to answer this question by reassessing "Overcoming Modernity" symposium held during the Great East Asia War, in which he thinks the same question should have been asked.

3. Overcoming Modernity

"Overcoming Modernity" refers, in its original meaning, to the symposium held in 1942 during the Great East Asia War by the members of the journal *Bungakukai* (*Literary World*) and other intellectuals, critically examining Japan's westernization since the Meiji Restoration. After the symposium, "overcoming modernity" became a "magic word" that captured intellectuals' attention and mobilized educated youth to the war. Therefore in the aftermath of the war, the symposium became notorious for a typical example of intellectuals' collaboration in the war and spreading fascist ideology. In the same named article written in 1959, however, Takeuchi wrote that the symposium itself was actually a failed attempt to change the nature of the war, and in order to make this attempt revitalize in today's situation (in Takeuchi's word, to make it a

7. TYZ #8, p. 217

8. TYZ #8, p. 212.

tradition), it should be analyzed separately from ultra-nationalistic (or militarist) ideology.

Takeuchi first pointed out that the symposium fascinated many Japanese intellectuals only because they were “shocked” beforehand by the declaration of the war to the Allies on December 8th 1941 (Here Allies refers symbolically to the U.S. and the U.K., including other countries but not Soviet Union at that time). Takeuchi quoted Takasugi Ichiro’s (chief editor of *Bungei* literary magazine) recollection to explain what the “shock” really means; “As long as Japan had been invading China, I had had a sense of resistance, however weak it had been. [...] but when Japan desperately jumped into the Pacific War, I also threw away my feeling of resistance overnight, and as if by a self-induced paralysis, jumped at the idea of the sacred war.”⁹ Takeuchi argues that this conversion was the most typical reaction among Japanese intellectuals, who had a common understanding that Japan had actually been invading China since 1931, but were not able to stop invasion earlier. But why, Takeuchi asks, couldn’t Japanese intellectuals organize a broad resistance movement? Takeuchi pointed out two reasons; one is “weakness of liberalism” compared with Western intellectuals. The other, and more important reason was “misunderstanding and lack of sympathy toward China’s nationalism”, which Takeuchi explained by quoting Kamei Katsuichiro’s recollection.

Although several years had passed since the Manchurian Incident [in 1931], I had been ignorant and indifferent to China. I had no sense of solidarity with China, nor with Asia as a whole. The sense of superiority (of Japanese people toward Asia...) seemed to be deeply rooted in me.

[...].

I couldn’t imagine at that time that the Manchurian Incident and the Second Sino-Japanese War proved fatal to Japan. [...] I must admit that I certainly had made light of China back then.¹⁰

9. Takasugi Ichiro, “As an Editor of *Literature and Art*” (*Bungei henshusha to shite*), first published in the journal *Literature* (*Bungaku*), April 1954, cited from TYZ #8, pp. 27-28.

10. Kamei Katsuichiro, “Retrospection” (*Kaisou*), *Literature* (*Bungaku*) April 1954, cited from TYZ #8, p. 32.

Takeuchi further argues that this sense of “superiority” toward Asia came from the idiosyncratic character of Japan’s modernity, or in his word, “duality of Meiji Japan”. Since the Meiji Restoration, Japan had colonized and deprived independence to East Asia for the sake of its own independence and survival. This contradictory behavior was justified by a double standard, that is, on one hand claiming Asia’s benefit against the West, and on the other hand claiming its leadership in Asia based on its successful modernization (Westernization). This dilemma was the reason that “Japanese intellectuals, including the members of *Literary World*, commonly recognized that the so-called Sino Incident [the Second Sino Japanese war] was actually an invasive war against China, but their rational logic was not strong enough to resist realistic ‘lifeline theory’...”¹¹

The declaration of war against the Allies in 1941, in which “establishment of an everlasting order in East Asia” was presented as the aim of the war, gave these intellectuals the last opportunity to change the nature of war from invasion upon Asia into liberation of Asia. According to Takeuchi, “Overcoming Modernity” symposium was actually an attempt to change the nature of the war, “therefore it was right at that time to place the problem [of overcoming modernity], and that’s why the symposium captured intellectuals’ attention. It failed by another reason, that the dual nature of the Great East Asia War was not differentiated. The aporia was not recognized as such.”¹² As Kamei Katsuichiro, a participant of the symposium recollected that “in retrospection from today, surprisingly, China was in no sense brought up as a topic of discussion in the symposium.”¹³

At around the same time as the symposium was held, Okawa Shumei, a famous fascist ideologue, and Takeuchi himself, were aware that

11. TYZ #8, pp. 30-31. Since the Manchurian Incident in 1931, the argument called “lifeline theory” gained popularity in Japan, especially among mass media. It is an argument that Japan should defend and keep Manchuria and Northeastern China for the survival of Empire of Japan.

12. TYZ #8, p. 54

13. Kamei Katsuichiro, *The Task of Modern History* (Gendai Shi no Kadai) Chuo-koronsha press, 1957, cited from TYZ #8, p. 33.

China was a key to change the nature of the war, and Japanese people's blindness and contempt toward China was the obstacle to settle the war with China. In his book written in 1942, Okawa claimed that the Sino-Japanese War should be settled separately from the war against the U.S., and in order to do so, it was necessary for Japanese people to reconsider their negative views on China. He insisted that "if Japanese people regard today's China in the same light as the late Qing dynasty or militant era, *we should revise our understanding of China right away.*"¹⁴ In 1942, Takeuchi also wrote a declaration "The Great East Asia War and Our Resolution", in which he enthusiastically supported the war and pledged that "in order to liberate East Asia to a new world order, we will do everything (warera no shokubun ni oite biryoku wo tsukusu) from now on. We will study China, collaborate with true liberators of China, and *let us Japanese people know the true China.*"¹⁵

As a concluding remark of "Overcoming Modernity", Takeuchi argued that Japan under the Cold War split continued to be unable to settle the Second Sino-Japanese War for exactly the same reason that the "Overcoming Modernity" symposium had failed, i.e., Japanese people's ignorance and sense of superiority toward China.

Okawa had lamented [in his 1942 book] that Japan had not been able to settle the Sino-Japanese War in 1941. The war was not yet settled in 1945, and today in 1959, it still remains to be unsettled. Why? It's because we are forgetting the duality of the Pacific War, and therefore the duality of Meiji Japan is not recognized. [...] At least we should revisit the point where Okawa Shumei was at a loss for words, and try to settle the Sino-Japanese war right now.¹⁶

As mentioned at the introduction of this article, Takeuchi persisted that Japan should settle the war with China by normalization of diplomatic

14. Okawa Shumei, "Construction of the Order of the Great East Asia" (Daitoa Chitsujyo Kensetsu), Daiichi shobo press, 1942, cited from TYZ #8, p. 50. Italic mine.

15. "The Great East Asia War and Our Resolution" (Daitasensou to Warera no Ketsui), first published as the opening article of the journal *Chinese Literature* (Chugoku Bungaku) No. 80, January, 1942, cited from TYZ #14, p. 297.

16. TYZ #8, p. 51.

relations. In the citation above, Takeuchi actually argues that in order to do so, Japanese people should recognize the duality of Japan's modernity, which nurtured Japanese people's sense of superiority to China and other Asian nations. Therefore it can safely be said that in 'Takeuchi' argument, war responsibility would not fully be assumed just by the normalization of Japan-China relations itself; it should be a catalyst for change in this "national mentality" of Japanese people.

4. "Expiration Date" of China?

Marukawa Tetsushi, a Japanese scholar of Taiwanese literature, points out Takeuchi's argument of war history and war responsibility lost its validity when the hostility with China was settled by normalization. He wrote that "China as a frame of reference, which Takeuchi used to criticize historical recognition of Japanese people" had passed its "expiration date fixed by Takeuchi's understanding of history that the war had been continuing with People's Republic of China."¹⁷ Indeed, immediately after the normalization, Takeuchi stopped publishing his self-publishing journal *China*, and fell into silence afterwards. It seems that Takeuchi was deeply disappointed by the normalization, as he wrote in an essay that "the recent turn of events [that Japan became willing to negotiate with China] proved to be the will of Japan's total capital, and not directly related to the will of Japanese people. I am totally disappointed, but I have to admit the fact."¹⁸

Takeuchi's disappointment can be understood in a deeper sense. Getting closer to normalization, he repeatedly expressed his "pessimistic view" as if he didn't want it. In October 1971, just three month after President Nixon proclaimed to visit China, Takeuchi wrote an article titled "I can't jump on the bandwagon". The title itself explains his fundamental dissatisfaction to Japan. He witnessed an unchanging "national mentality" -- always pursuing the West and despising China, even in the negotiation for political reconciliation.

17. Marukawa Tetsushi, *Cold War Culture* (Reisen Bunka Ron), Sofusha press, 2005, pp. 30-31.

18. "The Starting point of Reconciliation" (Kouwa no Genten), first published in *Asabi Journal*, September 1st, 1972, cited from TYZ #11, p. 388.

Now a voice is getting louder and louder, saying “Now is the time for normalization”. However it seems that the voice itself shows our tendency to think this problem very easy, only in our own favor. I think it reflects our national mentality -- easy to forget, ignore and look down on others, and think that we can have our own way in everything we want.¹⁹

This unchanging “national mentality” may explain why Japan has apologized again and again for waging aggressive war and oppressing its neighbors, but those apologies have fumbling and awkward, and often been undercut by revisionist statements from senior politicians. Indeed, Japan’s war responsibility and historical perception have become big issues since the 1980s (first appeared as a history textbook problem in 1982), after establishing diplomatic relations with China. The so-called “Japan-China friendship” (honeymoon years) after the normalization seemed to last only in so far as Japan keep its sense of superiority (with the support of the U.S.), and the friendship turned into anti-Chinese sentiment very easily as China have achieved economic development and become a global power.

What was wrong with Takeuchi’s strategy to catalyze a change in the “national mentality” by normalization? Takeuchi surely had a keen eye to see that by muddling up two aspects of the Great East Asia War, the jurisdiction of the Tokyo Trial oppressed Japanese people’s “victim consciousness” to the U.S. and allowed them to be insensible to their pain (heartache) on Japan’s invasion upon China. Observing from Chinese people’s standpoint, however, we may find a paradox that on the same score, normalization of diplomatic relations would also oppress “victim consciousness” of Chinese people, which sooner or later came to surface. Of course Takeuchi often warned that Chinese people would not easily forgive Japan’s invasion, but I doubt whether claiming of normalization of diplomatic relations was the best way to catalyze a change in Japan’s “national mentality”.

19. “I Can’t Jump on the Bandwagon” (Shiriuma niha Norenai), first published in the journal *World* (Sekai) October 1972, cited from TYZ #11, p. 382.

The East-West dichotomy Takeuchi used to explain duality of Japan's modernity may be another problem in his argument. As Marukawa clearly points out, Takeuchi regarded the Cold War as a continuation of the Sino-Japanese War, and required Japan to make a choice between being a pseudo Western nation and being a true member of Asia by overcoming the hostility with China".²⁰ In other words, he translated the issue of war responsibility into the choice between Western civilization (Europe) and Eastern civilization (Asia), and this dichotomy was again superposed on real confrontation of the Eastern bloc and the Western bloc in the Cold War. Takeuchi's argument of war responsibility surely attained actuality by this adaptation of the concept of civilization to world politics, but his whole argument became substantially invalid when the Cold War ended.

5. Open Questions

What can we learn from Takeuchi today in the post-Cold War era? Firstly, it is difficult to adopt Takeuchi's argument directly to today because Takeuchi often liked to use poisonous words such as "contempt toward China" or "slavish imitation of Western modernity" in order to shake and change Japanese people's sense of superiority to Asia. These words are not suitable in today's situation where Japan and other Asian nations, including China, already have close, face-to-face relationships.

One possible way to open up Takeuchi's "poisonous" words today to rethink war responsibility may be to historicize these words further back into pre modern era, as Takeuchi himself also tried to.

Needless to say, the sense of contempt has been historically created. To put it concretely, it is a byproduct of the First Sino-Japanese War. The sense of contempt was a sign of fear the Japanese had had before the war. These two feelings are two sides of the same coin, therefore one feeling can be easily replaced by the other, or they can also appear at the same time. Indeed, we witnessed a typical shift in our

20. Marukawa, *op. cit.* pp. 31-32.

feelings after the [Pacific] war.²¹

Takeuchi analyzed Japanese people's "contempt" as a complex sense of superiority and inferiority, or fear, which stemmed from an overwhelming influence of Chinese culture on Japan in the premodern era. Namiki Yori-hisa, a Japanese scholar of Chinese history, also found that the switching of illusion and delusion about China repeatedly appear in Japan's modern history, first after the First Sino-Japanese War and then after the Cultural Revolution.²² This seems to be an unchanging propensity of Japanese people's view on China, as this explanation can also be applied to today's Japan where the so-called "Threat of China" theory and "Collapse of China" theory exist at the same time.

Japanese culture has been deeply influenced by China in its root. But at the same time, China also imported many concepts of modern Europe like "哲学 (zhexue, philosophy)" or "經濟 (Jingji, economy)" through Japanese translation, and in this way has already internalized both Japan and Europe within itself. It might be possible to generalize and say that every culture has "Otherness" inside itself that makes the culture as it is. This "otherness" may be a cause of fear, because it is something uncontrollable and always betrays expectation and refuse idealization, just as Takeuchi experienced through the struggle with "China inside ourselves". If so, then we have to accept these "otherness" as such, because Takeuchi's text tells us that, it was not the Cold War, but sense of fear and contempt inside ourselves, that obstructed establishment of stable relationships between Japan and East Asia.

21. "Japanese people's view on China" (Nihonjin no Chugoku kan), first published in the journal *Perspective* (Tembo) September 1949, Chikuma shobo, cited from TYZ #4, p. 9.

22. Namiki Yori-hisa, *Japanese People's Perception of Asia* (Nihonjin no Ajia Ninshiki), Yamakawa Press, p. 23.

重读《春蚕》¹

Reread “Spring Silkworms”

黄蕾

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1. “现实主义”原则与《春蚕》再讨论

1980年代的“重写文学史”作为“文学史”上的重大事件至今影响颇为深远，这一事件本身也被历史化而成为诸多学者的研究对象，李扬这样评价：“重写文学史”逐渐获得理论自觉，以“文学性”、“个人性”、“日常生活”等启蒙主义的基本概念作为支撑，在启蒙文学与革命文学、文学与政治等一系列的二元对立中找到了自己的主体性。人们依据启蒙主义为基础的“政治正确性”，通过重新确立“文学”的本质或总体性、重新分期或分类、重新设定文学与非文学的界限等方式来接近和表述更“真实”的文学史²。

“重写文学史”语境下“真实”观的提出势必使得原来的“真实”观变得不那么“真实”甚至虚假。在文学史的脉络中，这一颠覆无疑针对的是左翼文学史观，在“重写”思潮的推动下，左翼文学史的评价体系被认为是“政治性”、“公式化”、“概念化”的，因而阅读作品的新标准——“文学性标准”、“审美标准”替代了原本的“政治标准”得以确立，原本颇具“政治性”话语的作品也因此被认为价值不高。新的评价体系使得“左翼文学史建构的文学秩序被颠倒过来”³，原先不被注意的作品重新得到发现，与之照应的是左翼作

1. 本文已发表在《中国现代文学研究丛刊》2014年第2期。

2. 李扬：《文学史写作中的现代性问题》第2页。山西教育出版社2006年2月版。

3. 同2。

家及其作品也被重新阅读、评价、反思。这其中，被誉为现实主义文学大师的茅盾首当其冲。

1984年《中国现代文学研究丛刊》第4期上发表吴组缙《谈〈春蚕〉——兼谈茅盾的创作方法及其艺术特点》一文，略显突兀的是文章采用了吴组缙在1953年的讲稿。此文对《春蚕》中老通宝“借债买桑叶养蚕”提出质疑，认为情节和思想都缺乏真实性，不符合“生活真实”，甚至于“无中生有”⁴。联系到吴组缙与茅盾同为“社会剖析派”作家，可以想见他对茅盾这一评价必然影响力巨大——编者在解释为何时隔三十年重新整理发表时预言道：“这将是一篇令人感兴趣、广泛受到注意甚至会引起若干争论的重要文章”⁵。果不其然，在随后的重读茅盾作品中，出现了一批否定茅盾创作方法的文章，颇具代表性的有王晓明的《惊涛骇浪里的自救之舟——论茅盾的小说创作》⁶，文章把“感性的”、“个人性”的文学表达看作至高标准，肯定了茅盾的《蚀》三部曲，对茅盾之后的创作则持否定态度，认为缺乏“艺术活力”；更有甚者，则干脆取消茅盾创作的文学性，如蓝棣之直接把茅盾的长篇小说《子夜》等同“一部高级形式的社会文件”，“是一次不足为训的文学尝试”⁷；这一时期的批评普遍以政治/艺术、功利/审美的二元对立作为评价作品好坏的尺度，把作品中的意识形态因素视为概念化的产物⁸。

放到“重写文学史”的背景下来看，这篇50年代的文章在80年代的“适时”出炉不可谓不意味深长，吴组缙的评论或者还在“文学内部”探讨创作问题，借他的评论来否定茅盾继而对左翼文学提出质疑就与80年代占主导地位的启蒙历史观有着深刻联系了。某种意义上，吴组缙是对茅盾的创作进行高度肯定的基础上，提出了“生活不够”的批评⁹，换言之，吴组缙的批评仍在左翼文学史的评价体系中展开。不过，80年代重提此文却并不在这一逻辑中进行，

4. 吴组缙：《谈〈春蚕〉——兼谈茅盾的创作方法及其艺术特点》，《中国现代文学研究丛刊》，1984年04期。

5. 同4。

6. 王晓明：《王晓明自选集》第129页。广西师范大学出版社1997年版。

7. 蓝棣之：《一份高级形式的社会文件》，《上海文论》，1989年第3期。

8. 需要指出的是，这种趋势产生于80年代思想解放的潮流下，有其特定的历史涵义，一方面缘于对“文革”的不满，一方面也来自于对建国后高度统一的“革命意识形态话语”的拒斥。

9. 同4。

而是借助于同属社会剖析派的吴组缙的批评，对茅盾的整个创作方式提出质疑；可以说，这是在确立新标准——用“文学性”“审美性”原则改写“真实性”原则过程中的一次试水。因此，同时期仍然在文学内部为茅盾辩护的许多文章¹⁰表面上似乎接了吴组缙的准头，实则仍用旧有的评价模式阅读作品，更因没有捕捉到发表此文的弦外之音而显得力不从心。

直到2009年余连祥所写《稍叶——吴组缙不了解的一种蚕乡习俗》一文旧话重提，引征大量地方文献和近代蚕桑习俗，论述了老通宝生长于商业气氛浓郁的杭嘉湖蚕乡，完全有可能按照市场化的生产经营方式来组织春蚕生产，老通宝借债买桑叶养蚕理所当然。文章描述了“在杭嘉湖蚕乡，桑叶早就作为一种商品被买卖”，不仅如此，“蚕多叶少的农家，怕遭受突然涨价和买不到桑叶的危险，于是通过赊买、订购等形式购买桑叶‘期货’，即产生了‘稍叶’（或称‘抄叶’），还产生了专门从事买卖桑叶的‘叶行’和从事桑叶买卖的中间商——叶行老板。在‘叶市’上，现货交易和期货交易并举，带有很浓的资本主义色彩”¹¹。

这篇文章用翔实的历史材料直接回应了吴组缙对《春蚕》“生活真实”的质疑，虽然已经脱离了80年代的文语境，但就“真实性”问题而言，这一公案看似应该了结了。

不过，新的讨论很快出现，在2010年3月，发表于《汉语言文学研究》的《关于〈春蚕〉评价的通信——从吴组缙和余连祥的分歧说起》由清华大学教授解志熙和他的学生尹捷通信而成，虽不是学术文章却因其随意而更见活力。通信中尹捷对余连祥以“小说之外的历史现场”¹²为依据反驳吴组缙并不满足，他非常敏锐的指出一个问题：吴组缙并不只在于质疑某一处细节的真实与否，他其实要谈论的是茅盾现实主义创作的得失。解志熙则以“历史真实”作为回应，认为茅盾的叙述重点不在于一个30年代的中农，而在于表达出世界性经济危机和中国作为半殖民的这一状况的加剧。这样一来，关于现实主义的

10. 比如，《论〈春蚕〉及茅盾有关小说的主题把握——与吴组缙同志商榷》——邱文志，《中国现代文学研究丛刊》，1986年04期。《“村中忧患系春蚕”——谈谈〈春蚕〉中对老通宝的心理描写》——李维凯，《名作欣赏》，1985年第03期。

11. 余连祥：《稍叶——吴组缙不了解的一种蚕乡习俗》《中国现代文学研究丛刊》2009年第4期。

12. 《关于〈春蚕〉评价的通信——从吴组缙和余连祥的分歧说起》，《汉语言文学研究》2010年第1卷第1期。

原则似乎由原来基于生活经验的“生活真实”观扩展为从历史出发的“历史真实”观。然而尽管解志熙认为老通宝这一艺术形象是“真实、鲜活、深刻”的，但这一表述只是出于个人的阅读感受。如果不能从小说肌理、人物形象中感知到“历史真实”，所谓的“历史真实”将仍然外在于小说本身，从而也难逃“主题先行”及“概念化”的批评。

那么接下来的问题则是，茅盾的小说中呈现了怎样的“历史真实”，这一“历史真实”与茅盾所要表达的主题构成了什么关系？最关键的问题则是，在现实主义的创作中，茅盾又做了什么突破？

上述两篇文章正好打开了一扇窗口，恰恰是“从小说之外的历史现场出发”能帮助我们重新梳理这一文学性问题。带着这样的眼光重新回到“老通宝”的世界，也许会有不同的发现。

2. 老通宝的世界

引起大量争议的是这个情节：

“叶行情飞涨了！今天下午镇上开到四洋一担！”

老通宝偏偏听得，心里急得什么似的。四块钱一担，三十担可要一百二十块呢，他哪来这许多钱！但是想到茧子总可以采五百多斤，就算五十块钱一百斤，也有这么二百五，他又心一宽。

.....

第二天早上，老通宝就到镇里去想法借钱来买叶。临走前，他和四大娘商量好，决定把他家那块出产十五担叶的桑地去抵押。这是他家最后的产业。¹³

这就是被吴组缃认为“不真实”的细节，在他看来，老通宝“投机”到要“抵押桑地”的程度去买叶，与普通农民的形象完全不符，尤其他明知这是一个兵荒马乱的道世道，“他岂能不有所警惕”¹⁴；而如果这只是特殊的个案，那么茅盾创造的“典型环境中的典型人物”就失去了意义，不具有普遍性。

13. 《茅盾全集》第8卷，《春蚕》，第327页。人民文学出版社1985年版。

14. 同4。

小说如何呈现的呢，其实矛盾并非没有交代老通宝这么做的动机，一开头就说明了：

他活了六十岁，反乱年头也经过好几个，从没见过绿油油的桑叶白养在树上等到成了“枯叶”去喂羊吃；除非是“蚕花”不熟，但那是老天爷的“权柄”，谁又能够未卜先知？¹⁵

老通宝敢于“投机”的基础在于：他所经历的反乱年头从没有对他的蚕乡世界造成过影响。既然以前不会有影响，那么，这一次“上海的不太平”和“军队的撤离”等等与之前又有什么区别呢？

更何况，今年还是前所未有的好年成，从老通宝的眼里看过去：

才只得“清明”边，桑叶尖儿就抽得那么小指头儿似的，他一生就只见过两次。今年的蚕花，光景是好年成。三张蚕种，该可以采多少茧子呢？只要不像去年，他家的债也许可以拔还一些罢。¹⁶

对于熟谙桑蚕的老通宝而言，没有理由放弃极可能兑现的利润，因此他才会有胆量放手一搏。既然战乱都不曾造成影响，那么一个超稳定的蚕桑世界，加上极好的年景，除了自己不辛勤劳动或者触犯了忌讳（都属可控范围）之外，还会有什么毁灭性的力量？

况且，“投机”也并非“个案”，虽然小说只描写了老通宝作为个体的孤注一掷，但从杂乱人群中传出来“叶行情飞涨了”的话却传达出一个信息：叶市的存在及有涨有跌，对于老通宝和他的乡亲们来说，并不是一件突兀的事；同时必然存在一个与之匹配的高度市场化的机制。事实也确实如此，除了余连祥举“稍叶”为例之外，还有许多文献佐证，比如《江南市镇：传统的变革》一书就详细描述了农村的蚕桑丝织业分工明确、极为高效，有一套成熟的运

15.《春蚕》，第313页。

16.《春蚕》，第317页。

转模式¹⁷；通常情形下，尽管受到商业资本与高利贷资本的掌控，只要桑蚕丝市场稳定，凭借辛勤劳动，付出基本能得到回报。因此，富有的商人借贷给农民的利息甚至会高达百分之一百，而且这种借贷行为非常普遍，其中一个原因是当时江南丝绸的输出量极大，即便对外输出量受到清政府的严格掌控，养蚕的经济效益仍然普遍好于种田，故而农民能够看到希望，愿意把生产重心向桑蚕业倾斜。

因此，在老通宝所处的杭嘉湖蚕乡，“借钱买桑叶”的行为有高度的合理性，老通宝这个人物形象，具有普遍性、代表性。更关键的是，这一细节所凝结的丰富的历史讯息为我们打开了一幅鲜活的江南历史图景——江南农村，从来都不是一个封建、保守、落后的地区。相反，江南很早以来就一直是中国在经济中心，整个江南农业市场¹⁸都极为发达，李伯重先生在重新考察了西方到来之前中国江南农业的经济发展状况后，认为江南农业经济的发展更多的依靠“勤劳革命”——劳动质量的改变而非技术的更新换代，同时以家庭为基本单位的小规模经营因为可以灵活的掌握土地、劳力和时间的使用显得更为高效¹⁹。由于在明清时期形成了以中国为中心的东亚贸易区，江南地区又因具有最佳的交通位置获益匪浅。

老通宝的“史前史”就与这一进程密切相关，他的祖祖辈辈们就生活在一个存在了近千年且仍在不断完善的农家经营已然商业化的时代，不断出现的技术革新会提高生产效率偶尔使蚕桑业出现波动，但并不会对人民的生活产生太大影响——直到1840年鸦片战争以及随后太平天国运动的出现，而老通宝就处在被战争洗礼过的蚕乡世界里。

小说开篇就通过他的一段心理描写作了交代：

他记得自己还是二十多岁少壮的时候，有一年也是“清明”边就得穿夹，后来就是“蚕花二十四分”，自己也就在这一年成了家。那时，他

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17. 见樊树志：《江南市镇：传统的变革》第234页。复旦大学出版社，2005年6月。
 18. 这里说的“市场”与我们今天受“西方中心论”影响联想到的“资本主义市场”并不相同。李伯重先生认为由于世界的“近[现代]”始于西欧，如果把“近[现代]性”作为判断过去的标准，实际就是把西欧作为中心，以此出发去观察和判断世界上其他地区的历史。这种评判标准本身值得商榷。详见李伯重：《江南农业的发展1620-1850》第2页，上海古籍出版社2007年6月。
 19. 见李伯重：《江南农业的发展1620-1850》第12页。

家正在“发”；他的父亲像一头老牛似的，什么都懂得，什么都做得；便是他那创家立业的祖父，虽说在长毛窝里吃过苦头，却也愈老愈硬朗。那时候，老陈老爷去世不久，小陈老爷还没抽上鸦片烟，“陈老爷家”也不是现在那么不像样的。老通宝相信自己一家和“陈老爷家”虽则一边是高门大户，而一边不过是种田人，然而两家的命运好像是一条线儿牵着。不但“长毛造反”那时候，老通宝的祖父和陈老爷同被长毛掳去，同在长毛窝里混上了六七年，不但他们俩同时从长毛营盘里逃了出来，而且偷得了长毛的许多金元宝——人家到现在还是这么说；并且老陈老爷做丝生意“发”起来的时候，老通宝家养蚕也是年年都好，十年中间挣得了二十亩的稻田和十多亩的桑地，还有三开间两进的一座平屋。这时候，老通宝家在东村庄上被人人所妒美，也正像“陈老爷家”在镇上是数一数二的大户人家。可是以后，两家都不行了；老通宝现在已经没有自己的田地，反欠出三百多块钱的债，“陈老爷家”也早已完结。²⁰

这一段回顾隐含的事件是英国鸦片倾销到中国以及同时期发生的太平天国起义。太平天国战争对于江南经济带来致命的打击，不仅人口锐减，还摧毁了原本相当稳固的农村经济。似乎不可思议但真实存在的是：老通宝所处的杭嘉湖一带的蚕桑业却在同时期迅速兴起，否则无法理解为什么几轮战争之后“老陈老爷做丝生意‘发’起来的时候，老通宝家养蚕也是年年都好”。

这“年年都好”究竟因何产生？如上文所提及，直到18世纪初，中国的生丝出口一直都呈上升趋势。然而，由于清政府对生丝出口的限制和中国内地市场对丝织品的极大需求，一直到19世纪60年代，这种上升趋势从未达到过足以改变中国整个蚕桑业地理分布格局的地步。但19世纪40年代至60年代期间连接发生的几件事情——鸦片战争、地中海地区蚕微粒子病的爆发和太平天国战争——改变了这种状况。鸦片战争彻底改变了中国和西方国家之间的贸易关系，为欧洲自18世纪以来因丝织工业蓬勃发展而对中国生丝需求日益增大的贸易需求扫除了障碍。一方面，清政府不能再像以往那样对生丝和丝织品出口施以配额限制；另一方面，凭借着《南京条约》，欧洲人可以前所未有地自由进出中国市场。在这种情形下，中国蚕桑业被完全置露于国

20.《春蚕》，第313页。

际市场的直接影响之下。不过鸦片战争虽然解除了清政府对生丝出口的限制，使生丝可以随便出口，但生丝出口的增加依然有限。其中一个重要的原因就是国发达丝织业的存在。要改变蚕农一向将大部分生丝销售给国内丝织业的习惯，除非国际生丝价格额外高昂或国内丝织工业需求骤然下跌²¹。

历史就是这样充满了巧合，太平天国运动严重摧毁了江南丝织业，这一摧毁的直接后果是江南经济一度萧条，从而降低了国内丝织业对生丝的需求，为生丝出口到国外市场埋下了伏笔；而同时在19世纪四五十年代，欧洲主要生丝产地地中海地区爆发了蚕微粒子病。蚕微粒子病在地中海地区的肆虐蔓延使法国和意大利的蚕桑业受到极大破坏，两国生丝产量骤减，更加剧了欧洲丝织工业对生丝的需求，并因此带来了国际市场上生丝价格的大幅度上涨和欧洲对中国生丝的迫切需求²²。就这样，中国江南地区的蚕丝业利润一跃涨为原来的三倍²³。

所以当我们回过头再去看看老通宝之前的世界，会发现，从老通宝祖父的发家开始，那个所谓传统的江南经济体已经不复存在了。鸦片战争用炮火打开的中国国门促使清政府再无力调控蚕丝的进出口，资本亦如洪水猛兽般涌入，只不过，最初的涌入以“温情脉脉”的面目呈现。老通宝祖父的个人发家也正是当时千百万个体小农看到了蚕桑业背后的经济利润而起，可是同时他们失去了所有保障，在他们身后，只有市场。这个市场，已然不再是千百年来中国自发形成的“江南市场”了。因此，《春蚕》中的“丰收成灾”其实在老通宝的祖父辈发家时，就已经埋好了伏笔。老通宝的祖父辈们经历了个人生活的最好时光，这最好时光却是以不平等条约的签订以及国家——清政府的溃败为代价；老通宝就没有那么幸运了，当中国由一个生丝生产大国转变为出口大国时，彼时的蚕桑业就不可避免的受制于欧洲市场对生丝的需求，而这需求一旦减缓，蚕农就注定沦为最直接的牺牲品。雪上加霜的是，在20世纪初，日本的桑蚕业则在日本政府的有力支持下占据了国际市场²⁴。相比之下，无论是清政府还是北洋政府都无力保护、引导广大中国蚕农。因此不仅

21. 张丽：《非平衡化与不平衡》第349页，中华书局，2010年1月。

22. 同21。

23. 见李伯重：《江南农业的发展1620-1850》第113页。

24. 见张丽：《非平衡化与不平衡》第354页。

作为小康农家的老通宝家业败落，就连富庶大户的“陈老爷家”也已完结。

不过作为广大蚕农一员的老通宝，又怎么可能对国际市场竞争和促使生丝价格浮动的因素有着清晰的把握呢？当20世纪20年代资本主义经济危机来临之际，没有一个强有力的政府作为后盾，老通宝们以个体之躯被彻底的抛向国际市场，不仅毫无招架之力，更无可以荫避之所。

由此可知，茅盾呈现的并不是一个自给自足的小农经济体突然被卷入资本主义市场的过程；老通宝及其蚕乡其实早已深刻的被卷入其中，只不过一开始因为西方经济发展的原材料需求，他们成了受益者，这种受益注定不会久远。然而，问题的关键是，老通宝虽经历了这一系列的过程，但是他没有自觉，更不会明白这个中关系。他既不明白何以会发家，自然更不可能知道何以会败落。尽管对发生过的事情有真切的感知，老通宝却无法意识到彼此间的联系，于是，他只能把所有的问题都交给神明处理。

小说的巧妙之处即在于，作者设置老通宝因为对现实不满而“追忆似水年华”，一方面通过“过去”赋予这个人物以历史深度，另一方面又把“现在”老通宝如何认识自身冷静的呈现给读者看。用“诉说家史”的方式把读者带到老通宝的世界里，让我们分明感到，历史的车轮早已滚滚向前，可旧的思想意识仍是主流。两者之间的缝隙与差距恰是叙述者想要揭示给读者看的：“过去”深刻的决定了“现在”，而“未来”该何去何从，则取决于人们对当下的认知。

3. 现实主义的形式化

因此，长时段历史的引入，或者可以修正我们对这篇小说的理解，小说不仅描写了江南农村因为被纳入半殖民地而导致“丰收成灾”的残酷性，还写出了深受其害的农民们对这一现象根本无从把握的悲剧性。就《春蚕》的主题而言，茅盾曾明确表达过是先认识到帝国主义经济侵略造成的农村破产，继而再处理人物，创造小说²⁵。这也是被诟病“主题先行”的“证据”之一，且不论这一判断是否有意义——优秀的作品显然并不取决于主题先行还

25. 见茅盾：《我怎样写〈春蚕〉》，茅盾研究资料（上）第435页，知识产权出版社2010年版。

是后行。关键问题是，茅盾在小说中如何呈现了这一主题，亦即不仅在于小说叙述了什么，还在于小说是如何叙述的。因为单纯就对这一主题的认识而言，30年代的有识之士大有人在，而作家的使命则是用文学形式把它表现出来。如果说吴组缃用缺乏“真实性”来诟病“主题先行”尚属文学内部的争鸣，当茅盾的创作被批评是“高级的社会文件”时，就几乎取消了作品的“文学性”了；不过有意思的是，上世纪90年代之后，在对《春蚕》重读的过程中却出现了新的肯定，陈思和教授就高度评价了小说中对“农事活动”的描写，认为茅盾细致的呈现了民间的鲜活形态²⁶；王光东也直言：“这篇作品的真正魅力不在于写‘蚕农’如何破产的过程，这个过程的描写是散乱、生硬，甚至干瘪的，造成蚕农破产的外部环境描写也不充分，倒是与这个‘主题’没有太多联系的几个农妇的片断描写和老通宝对洋货的仇视心理及企盼蚕宝宝丰收的虔诚更能打动人心。像荷花与六宝的对骂、六宝和多多头的调情，在溪畔、桑田的映衬下，别有民间生活的情趣”²⁷，这种解读自然为我们理解作品提供了不同的面向，但这套“民间话语”却对作品所包含的丰富性缺乏阐释力，因为历史与经济的维度恰是这部小说不可或缺的部分。某种意义上来说，90年代之后通过“民间”概念对左翼作品的重新把握与80年代主流话语对左翼作品的否定并无太大区别，他们共同的趋势都是要取消左翼文学的“政治性”，不过问题在于，“政治性”与“艺术性”是茅盾创作的一体两面。正是左翼思潮提供的“政治性”因素，即社会科学视角，被茅盾转化为了新的叙事技巧，才能把历史、经济、文学有机的整合为一体，从而使小说《春蚕》能够呈现出丰富的文学意义与审美内涵。因此当我们时隔多年再读到“老通宝”这个人物形象时，仍然感觉“真实”、“鲜活”、“深刻”，很难想象，如果没有茅盾的精妙构思，没有新视角的介入，只凭借“主题先行”加上“素材堆积”能带来这样的效果。重读《春蚕》，我们会发现这部小说不仅在叙事模式上有所创新，而且还突破了原来的现实主义创作的真实观。

26. 在讲述茅盾名篇《春蚕》时，仍然是从阅读感受出发。陈思和先生提问：“如果抽掉篇中劳动过程的描述将会怎样？”俟学生一一答问后，他再从民间形态、生活灵气与劳动欢悦等起讲，导出茅盾小说非常注重细节化这一重大艺术特点……他还十分形象地将茅盾小说比喻为苏州园林，一草一木一石一池皆藏用心。见《陈思和的现代文学组品授课》，作者裴毅然，《现代文学研究丛刊》1998年第3期。

27. 《民间的现代价值》，王光东，《当代作家评论》2004年第2期。

茅盾在小说叙事模式上的创新使得这部小说与五四时期的写实主义小说拉开了距离。借用卢卡奇在《叙述与描写》中的分析模式，大概可以做出区分。“叙述与描写”是卢卡奇对两种表现方式的概括，“描写”指自然主义式的临摹客观现实，而“叙述”则在细节中也贯穿作品的全局观。卢卡奇对左拉的《娜娜》和托尔斯泰的《安娜卡列尼娜》中都有的一段赛马比赛进行了解读，在卢卡奇的分析中，同样是赛马比赛，在小说《娜娜》里，只是呈现了赛马比赛这一事件，是一种资料式的铺陈，与小说人物的命运毫无关系；而在《安娜卡列尼娜》里，赛马比赛对于安娜之后的命运及情节的发展就休戚相关了。把赛马这一素材纳入整体性的视野而非断片式的呈现，既能有力表现现实生活，也能深化对赛马本身的认识。

这种把客观性事物纳入自己主观叙述的方式也体现在《春蚕》中，小说情节通过老通宝对现实认知的偏离而不断推进，一边是老通宝的自我意识，一边是他实际置身的历史过程与现实状况。老通宝面临的现实状况是30年代的中国农村已被深刻的卷入到世界经济之中，而他还活在一个以为凭借自己的辛勤劳动就能致富的传统农事活动中。因此在小说中，我们会读到大量对“农事活动”的描述，这一描述不厌其烦的程度让吴组缃颇为不满：“春蚕有些地方还写得琐屑罗嗦。如第二节写‘收蚕’的手续，提到灯芯草、野花片、布子共四次；提到称杆、鹅毛、蚕簞有三次；提到蚕花也有两次。这显然是以好奇心看乡下事，同时也是以此来满足读者的好奇心，超出了表现主题和描写人物的需要”²⁸。在吴组缃看来，这是茅盾在“卖弄熟悉的生活”因而流于琐屑。如果这农事活动在小说中只是以景观的方式存在着，那吴组缃的批评不无道理。不过茅盾自己显然不会同意这种看法²⁹；那么在《春蚕》里，茅盾为什么要密集的描述“农事活动”呢？我们结合小说的另一段叙述来看：

离老通宝坐处不远，一所灰白色的楼房蹲在“塘路”边，那是茧厂。十多天前驻扎过军队，现在那边田里留着几条短短的战壕。那时都说东洋兵要打进来，镇上有钱人都逃光了；现在兵队又开走了，那座茧厂依

28. 同4。

29. 1936年，茅盾谈及乡土文学时明确表示除了展现风土人情外“应当还有普遍性的与我们共同的对于运命的挣扎。”详见茅盾：《关于乡土文学》，选自《茅盾全集》第21卷，第89页。人民文学出版社1991年版。

旧空关在那里，等候春茧上市的时候再热闹一番。老通宝也听得镇上小陈大爷的儿子——陈大少爷说过，今年上海不太平，丝厂都关门，恐怕这里的茧厂也不能开；但老通宝是不肯相信的。他活了六十岁，反乱年头也经过好几个，从没见过绿油油的桑叶白养在树上等到了“枯叶”去喂羊吃；除非是“蚕花”不熟，但那是老天爷的“权柄”，谁又能够未卜先知？³⁰

“东洋兵来过”、“上海的丝厂关门”，是借用小说叙述者的视角暗示造成老通宝丰收成灾的悲剧性根源，不过像老通宝这样既没有经过启蒙思想的灌输又对自身特性不会有足够自的农民根本“不肯相信”，这恰是对原来世界充满自信的缘故。原来的世界是“老天爷的权柄”，“谁又能未卜先知”也就是“天道”、“靠天吃饭”，“农事活动”是靠天吃饭的表现形式。

只是“天道”早已改变，当西方市场对中国蚕桑丝的需求没有发生太大变化时，老通宝的“天道”和这个已然被深刻改变的世界没有冲突，他仍旧可以启灵神祇、把荷花偷蚕宝宝视作忌讳——这也是他评判能否丰收的标准。有论者认为《春蚕》文本的叙事出现了两条不同的路径：一条是按照农业时令延伸的“农事活动”，另一条则是按照商业周期运行的资本流通过程³¹。不过，矛盾要表达的并不是两者之间的冲突，因为显性的农事活动一开始就被隐性的资本流通过程所操纵，一系列的农事活动“术语”只是作为一种习俗和字面意思留存下来，它形成的是老通宝们理解这个世界的方式。所以小说中，农事活动不仅不是一种“景观”，相反，它决定了老通宝的命运；叙述者通过不断描写农事活动，叙述的是一个被“天道”观规定了农民在遭遇冲击时的难以自觉。从“种洋种”的妥协到“卜蚕花”的不灵验再到“荷花偷蚕宝宝”的禁忌失效，都是对这一逻辑的加强。因此，小说要揭示的不是“天道”和现实的冲突，而是“天道”早已不存在了，但老通宝们意识不到，因为他们并不知道他们所做的意味着什么。显然如果吴组缃的不满在于他割裂的看待“农事活动”与小说叙事的内在关系的话，对“民间话语”的过分强调同样也会“只见树木，不见森林”，从而丧失了把握问题的整体眼光。

30.《春蚕》，第313页。

31.《经济 文学 历史——〈春蚕〉文本的三个维度》，李哲，《文学评论》2012年第3期。

茅盾在谈及创作时曾提及自己非常熟悉“叶市”和“茧厂”，但在小说创作中，他却把可以信手拈来的商业知识一笔带过，着墨于并不熟悉的农村生活。这固然是因为小说以老通宝作为主要的叙述视角——在老通宝对世界的认知中，农事活动是他主观意识的全部，因此目光所及，皆是与生活休戚相关的事物，于他而言，大蒜头的发芽与否和蚕桑是否丰收紧密相连，不在这一生活逻辑之内的人难以想象。反而“叶市”和“茧厂”对于他，才只是“客观存在”的事物，不构成意义。

另一方面的意义还在于，茅盾用“农事活动”把阅读者带入了一个更为早期的历史状况之中，这种带入不仅表现为作者通过一幅幅生活横断面，把习俗、生活习惯及人们的思维方式淋漓展现，也体现在作者并没有执滞于当下的情境，而采用一种长时段眼光来看待问题。正是借助于“农事活动”，小说用一次叙事向读者同时展现了两个层面：老通宝在辛勤劳作、老通宝不知道辛勤劳作已经无法改变命运。

这一奇妙的效果展现了茅盾高超的叙事技巧，他有效的控制了叙述者与人物之间的距离。比如在描写老通宝时，用了大篇幅的心理活动，老通宝心理世界表现的越细致入微，越能赢得读者的同情与理解，从而跟随老通宝一起参与他的农事活动，我们虽然深知所有的辛勤劳动最终是一场徒劳，却又忍不住与他同喜乐。然而当描写到其他人物时，叙述者则不动声色的进行客观描述，只是把所发生的事情如实的记录下来，几乎没有进行任何交流。以多多头为例，当所有人都对蚕事抱有期待的时候，只有“他永不相信靠一次蚕花或是田里熟，他们就可以还清了债再有自己的田；他知道单靠勤俭工作，即使做到背脊骨折断也是不能翻身的”³²。这一值得大书特书的细节在小说里只是一笔带过，叙述者有意拉远多多头和读者的距离，我们无法看到多多头的内心世界，也无从知道导致这一想法产生的内在原因究竟是什么，多多头只能成为读者远距离观察的对象。此处有节制的叙述反而会引起读者的思考，让读者在扼腕老通宝们的悲剧时思索：要改变命运的出路究竟从何而来，又通往何处？

如果说叙述者把老通宝的辛勤劳动作为“近景”描绘，远景则是点到为止极富象征意味的漂在河面上的小火轮，在这里，无论是“农事活动”还是“小

32.《春蚕》，第319页。

火轮”都并不仅仅作为点缀的景观而存在，聪明的读者自然洞若观火，他们既看到了作为“帝国、资本”象征的“小火轮”对于农村社会的蚕食，又看到了老通宝们仍然生活在被“天道”笼罩的世界中；最关键的是，读者看到了老通宝们的徒劳正在于他们无法把握到就在眼前的现实世界。也就是说，“真实”并不仅在于表现出现实世界，还在于通过对现实世界的把握，获得某种“意识的真实”，惟其如此，才能获得历史必然性。

如果没有新视野的带入，不具备长时段的眼光和对中国社会问题的全新把握，很难想象一篇短篇小说可以呈现出如此复杂的层次，类似的题材极容易写成对帝国主义的直接控诉或者口号式的宣传鼓动，而《春蚕》之所以可以超越此类叙述，自然与20世纪30年代的左翼思潮有关。茅盾构思的主题集中在“经济危机”之上，这不仅是因为恰巧发生在30年代的世界性经济危机引起了茅盾的注意，继而把其转化为创作题材；还在于马克思主义政治经济学理论打开了茅盾重新审视社会问题的整体视野，茅盾的创新之处在于，他把意识形态上的成熟借助于“叙述”的表现形式技巧性地通过文学呈现了出来，由此突破了观念的桎梏，使之能够在新的政治视野下重新讲述一个中国农村的故事，这就不仅与五四时期的写实主义文学拉开了距离，也在同时期的左翼文学作品中脱颖而出，这一马克思主义的文学实践无疑是极为成功的。由此我们可以看到，茅盾在现实主义创作中要确立的新的真实性原则，既不是客观描摹、镜子般的映射，也不是简单的讲述历史，而是通过历史与个人之间的辩证关系展现现实，最终目的是要获得把握历史必然性的动力。《春蚕》这篇小说就向我们再现了茅盾如何凭借高超的艺术想象来构造历史与个人之间各自的运行逻辑以及相互作用的关系。

不过，仍然留给我们思考的问题是，80年代对“文学性”、人的感性需求的强调本身有其合理性，而且，80年代对茅盾的前期作品如《蚀》三部曲给予了高度肯定，那么，为什么创作形式、写作技巧更为成熟的《春蚕》以及《子夜》却不能获得同时代的认可，不能满足人们内在“感性”的审美需求？除了“去政治化”的因素之外，恐怕我们也还需要进一步思考左翼文学创作自身存在的问题。

作为“社会主义城市”的“上海”与空间的再生产 ——“城市文本”与“媒介文本”的“互读”

Construction and Renovation of Urban Space in Shanghai
——Intertextuality of Construction and Image of Socialistic City

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2003年，为了纪念“上海开埠160周年”，上海各大媒体举办了一系列的文化活动，《东方早报》、《申江服务导报》两家报纸甚至推出专刊或增刊“160版”来庆祝这一盛大的“城市节日”。在它们的带动下，整个上海犹如“市庆”般狂欢，其隆重之极超人想象。对应于报纸不同的定位，《东方早报》的专刊把“上海这160年”描绘成一个发达的和精英的“都市”；而《申江服务导报》的增刊则将“开埠以来的上海”打扮为一个时尚的与生活的“城市”，既塑造了一个资本的、“国际化”的上海（充斥着“远东华尔街”、“东方巴黎”……的名号），又展示出一个市民的、“小资”的上海（弥漫着“红颜遗事”、“豪门旧梦”……的故事）。虽然各自叙述出来的上海面目不同，却都暗合了“国际大都市”的诉求，因为它们有一个共同的来源，就是那个萦绕不散的“上海梦”。

很显然，无论是《东方早报》还是《申江服务导报》，它们追溯“上海这160年”的历史，其实是一种对“历史”的重新解释和重新叙述。纪念特刊的“上海”已经不是“历史的”上海，而是今天人们认为应该是“那样的”“上海”。上海过去的繁荣被作为今日经济崛起的注脚所津津乐道，昔日的文化印迹也被当作象征符号在新一轮竞争中被消费。160年过去了，上海以一种崭新的面貌出现在世人面前，尽管它的辉煌让人赞叹，但它的过去似乎更具魅力。于是各种对于上海的想法如雨后春笋般的兴起，经历过的人和没经历过的人，都在编制自己心中的“上海梦”，这个梦关乎“过去”，更连接着“现在”，即为了使上海更符合现在的形象与想象，对它的过去进行改造或重建。

富有戏剧性的是，在开埠 160 周年纪念的一年后，是“上海解放 55 周年”。这一同样应该被人们永远记忆的事件，却只在 2004 年 5 月 28 日的《文汇报》最后一个版面中被提起，且以“55 年前的昨天”——而不是通常的“55 年前的今天”——这一颇具象征意味的延误方式加以命名。这样巨大的媒体反差在让人迷惑不解的同时，也显现出当前“上海热”叙述的秘密：1949 年以前和 1992 年以后的上海遥相呼应，共同构造了一个开放的、国际化的形象。而这一叙述得以完成，端赖于在时间上将新中国成立后的四十多年的上海历史屏蔽于无形。

历史的断裂必然抹煞了其他想象的可能性，于是乎，上海毫无疑问成为“现代”的代名词。李欧梵的《上海摩登》可谓恰逢其会，这虽然是一本严肃的学术著作，但被翻译成中文之后，却扮演了上海城市文化指南的角色，正如书名所示，这本书只言片语都充满了“摩登”的暗示。《上海摩登》向人们“Remap”了一个 1930-1945 的上海：时而是蒙太奇的剪接，时而又是跳跃闪回的结构，大块分割了都市的种种物象：外滩、百货大楼、咖啡馆、舞厅……；恣意地抛出了一幅幅潇洒中隐含野心的场景：《东方杂志》、《良友》画报、月份牌、电影院……；并将视线聚焦于一群在这个“海上桃花源”中最为烂漫唯美的文人。文本之内与文本之外似乎随心所欲又似乎是满心期待，怀“旧”——这个“旧”是上海的旧，却又巧妙地对应着 1990 年代以来上海的“新”——中更多的是一种欣然的姿态，展示出一幅由艺术家、作家和花花公子组成的“东方巴黎”的图景。在“霓虹灯下”所有关于上海的形象，都仅仅关注了这个城市“现代”的一面，别的研究者如卢汉超所关注的“霓虹灯外的世界”——那个充斥着潦倒困顿的上海底层生活——则消失于无形¹。在这样的叙述脉络中，从昔日的“远东第一大都市”到今天的“东方明珠”，历史的遗忘也就成为了必然：“日占时期的上海是早已开始走下坡路了，但一直要到 1945 年抗战结束，因通货膨胀和内战使得上海的经济瘫痪后，上海的都市辉煌才终于如花凋零。而以农村为本的共产党革命的胜利更加使城市变得无足轻重。在新中国接下来的三个十年中，上海一直受制于新首都北京而低了一头。而且，

1. 参见李欧梵：《上海摩登——一种新都市文化在中国》毛尖译 北京大学出版社，2001 年；卢汉超：《霓虹灯外——20 世纪初日常生活中的上海》，段炼等译，上海古籍出版社，2004 年。

虽然上海人口不断增加，但从不曾去改造她的城市建设：整个城市基本上还是 40 年代的样子，楼房和街道因疏于修理而无可避免地败坏了。这个城市丧失了所有的往昔风流，包括活力和颓废”²。

“在新中国接下来的三十年中”，上海这座城市难道真得一点都没有改变吗？这样的说法显然缺乏历史依据。1949 年之后，“工人阶级”在理论上成为国家的领导阶级，它在主流意识形态中的位置必然会投射到城市的空间面向上，直接影响到社会主义对城市发展的重新规划。借用列斐伏尔（Henri Lefebvre）的说法，这正是一种“空间的生产”（production of space）的方式：“一个正在将自己转向社会主义的社会（即使是在转换期中），不能接受资本主义所生产的空间。若这样做，便形同接受既有的政治与社会结构；这只会引向死路”³。空间成为了城市最重要的资源。社会主义改造和建设的历史在上海城市空间上留下了深刻的“烙印”：上海既代表了社会主义中国一种鲜活的改造资本主义都市结构、营造社会主义城市空间的全面努力，更提供了一种新的理解和体验都市日常生活的“话语”，重新规范了对待日常生活的态度，也重新界定了日常生活的意义。譬如已经有学者通过对解放后上海市棚户区改造历程的梳理，讨论在社会主义城市改造计划以及住宅政策对于贫民区居民生活的影响，从而对新中国建立之后上海城市空间结构的变动过程做出相当深入的解释。它对社会主义城市空间结构变迁机制的解释和对“棚户区改造”历史的研究，触及到政治目标与城市社会及其社会结构之间错综复杂的关系。这项研究不仅探索了相对独立于政治、经济系统的城市空间结构如何在社会主义时期被延续下来，并以何种独特的方式塑造了社会主义城市中空间与人的关系，而且通过对这种城市空间与社会关系的梳理，有利于我们从一个新的学术角度去面对和认识社会主义历史上诸多充满悖论的事实⁴。

虽然同样关注“上海”作为“社会主义城市”的空间问题，但本文切入问题的角度与上述城市社会学的方法有所区别。它不是直接讨论城市空间和

2. 李欧梵：《上海摩登——一种新都市文化在中国》，336页。

3. 参见亨利·列斐伏尔：《空间：社会产物与使用价值》中的关于“社会主义空间”的相关论述，载包亚明编：《现代性与空间的生产》。上海教育出版社，2003年。

4. 参见林拓、水内俊雄等：《现代社会城市更新与社会空间变迁——住宅、生态、治理》，上海古籍出版社，2007年。特别是收入此书中的陈映芳《作为社会主义实践的城市更新：棚户区改造》一文。

社会形态，而是力图将“城市”作为一个“文本”来把握，进而透过不同的“媒介文本”来解读“城市文本”。即运用“文化研究”的方法，通过对小说、报告文学、电影和话剧剧本等文本的分析，结合具体城市空间和历史的变迁，在“空间的表征”和“表征的空间”之间，将“空间的表征”和“真实的城市”做进一步有效的勾连：一方面呈现出现代媒体是如何形塑和想象社会主义城市空间这一复杂过程，另一方面则使“被压抑的上海”重新浮出历史地表，并勾勒其在社会主义国家构建中的暧昧位置，进而分析五、六十年代社会主义对上海重新规划背后的经济、政治及意识形态的力量，以及在此基础上产生的空间变革与原来大都市殖民空间的疏离、冲突和并置。只有这样，才能以这段真实的历史为起点对现实做出更深入的反思。

1. 对城市空间的争夺与改造

“上海真是不能想，想起就是心痛。那里的日日夜夜，都是情意无限”⁵。这是一段来自《长恨歌》主人公王琦瑶的遥想，说得便是海上的一场繁华春梦。繁华与破旧并存的上海，飘着万国旗的小巷，优雅的霞飞路，若有似无的月光，凌乱的舞步，迷朦慌乱的女人心，黑暗中依稀闪烁的眼睛……小说那淡黄的旧上海滩的封面勾起了多少对旧上海十里洋场的无限忧思。在梦里，上海的璀璨光华是掩也掩不住，藏也藏不牢的，却注定要堕入到黑白胶片的滑动中，坠入永不醒来的死亡中。而在现实里，却是谁也拆解不了上海风华绝代的欢娱和曾经沧海的忧伤。

“开埠和西方租借的设立几乎颠覆了原有传统的城市格局和社会秩序，将上海的发展带向另一个方向，由一个传统市镇向近代化大都市迅速转型”⁶。上海在黄浦江沿岸迅速发展起了整个城市生命线，出现了全新的社会秩序和城市景观：银行、洋行、邮局、港口、大自鸣钟的出现，一点一点改变着上海的城市空间，使上海最终成为“万国建筑博览会”，形成了日益西化的“世界主义”的城市面貌。“她是中国最大的港口和通商口岸，一个国际传奇，号

5. 王安忆：《长恨歌》，144页，作家出版社，1999年。

6. 张晓春：《文化适应与中心转移——近现代上海空间变迁的都市人类学研究》，15页，南京，东南大学出版社，2006年。

称‘东方巴黎’，一个与传统中国其他地区截然不同的充满现代魅力的世界”⁷。在当时不少人眼中，到了20世纪30年代，上海已和世界最先进的城市同步了。当内陆中国还深陷在中世纪的泥潭时，这个城市的发展已神气地跨越了“前现代”而矗立于世界的东方，成为现代化进程的象征。

一般认为，传统城市的现代化虽然有不同的方式和途径，但概括起来，大体上可以分为三个阶段，首先是城市功能的改造，即对包括道路、上下水等在内的城市基础设施以及公共设施进行的改造；其实是城市的格局改造，即根据现代化的需要对城市空间的扩大并对其发展进行全面的规划；第三是城市空间意义的改造，即在上述两种改造的同时，新的意识形态对作为公共领域的城市空间的渗透和占领。以往对城市现代化的研究，比较关注前两个层面具有普遍性的城市现代化进程，却相对忽视了城市市政的决策者以及这些决策者所代表的各阶层的“城市意志”。这种“城市意志”作为一个特定历史时期的政治精英的现代化目标、国家政权和文化建设的理想以及主导性的意识形态等等的结合，往往对城市空间的变化与改造起到了特别重要的决定性作用⁸。1949年上海解放。由于这座城市在政治上的复杂性与经济上的重要性，和在历史变迁的多样性与文化交汇中的多元性，它在行政上的空前统一并不意味着对城市空间的争夺和改写就此结束，相反，一种新的“城市意志”需要透过对城市空间的改造和改写表达出来。因此，上海的社会主义城市形象应该呈现了怎样的特征？与解放前的城市形象相比有什么不同？发生的变化是通过何种方式赖以成型、得以表达和形成叙述的？

《上海解放十周年》这本书使我们得以窥见这个历史的瞬间。该书通过第一篇文章《攀登新的胜利高峰》，引出由著名作家（巴金、胡万春）、理论批评家（靳以）、艺术家（童芷苓、黄宗英）和“民族资本家”（刘鸿生）以及其他来自各行各业的群众所撰写的文章所组成的城市叙述⁹。

7. 参见李欧梵《上海摩登——一种新都市文化在中国1930-1945》中关于上海“世界主义”的相关论述。

8. 关于“城市意志”对“城市空间”所发挥决定作用的讨论，可以参看赖德霖：《城市的功能改造、格局改造、空间意义改造及“城市意志”的表现》，载《中国近代建筑史研究》，北京，清华大学出版社，2007年。

9. 《上海解放十年》征文编辑委员会编：《上海解放十年》，上海文艺出版社，1960年。这本书的前言介绍了《上海解放十年》的编辑情况：“1959年，是中华人民共和国建国

正如第一篇文章的标题所示，为了更好地展现上海的崭新形象，也需要一个新的胜利高峰的出现。于是，一位美国“知名的黑人学者，我们时代众多历史见证人”站在百老汇大厦俯瞰苏州河外白渡桥，发出了重要的感叹：“变化太大了”。这位“证人”就是 W.E.B. 杜勃依斯 (Dubois)，几天前他刚刚在北京和毛泽东、周恩来一起庆祝了他的 90 岁生日。“一九三六年，他到过上海，在外滩一带住过几天。二十三年以后，当我们登上上海大厦的阳台，俯瞰市区全景的时候，他指着外白渡桥以南的那一片绿化地带，再三地问：‘这确实是外滩吗？’这里没有了帝国主义国家的军队和水兵，没有了流氓和妓女。这是人们比较容易想象得到的；变得这样干净，这样迷人，这样景色迷人，是人们比较不容易想象得到的。这就难怪杜勃依斯不敢相信他所看到的就是当年住过的外滩了。当他再次得到肯定的答复以后，他说：‘变化太大了。’风很大，我们劝他到屋里休息。这位历史学家却站在那里，迟迟不动，像钻进了一部描写天翻地覆的伟大历史事变的书册里，舍不得出来一样”¹⁰。这位初来乍到的国际友人用一种疑惑和惊喜的目光在打量着这座旧时的帝国主义堡垒。

新中国成立以后，外滩从殖民势力枢纽和金融中心变成人民政府所在地。外滩的外资银行相继撤离上海，上海市政府、若干行政单位和企事业单位就在水滩沿线欧式风格的建筑中办公。外滩，这个租界“十里洋场”的中心地段，旧上海的金融中心和象征外国殖民统治势力的景观标志，突然转变为人民政府的行政中心，人们对外滩的记忆和印象被原地重新构建。而这不过是整个上海城市形象变迁的一个缩影，其背后是整个上海社会主义城市空间构建的全盘蓝图。

与外滩一样，还有很多重要的旧城市地标改造工程。这些城市面貌的变化，正是城市发展主旋律的不断变更及其在城市空间和中心区域变迁上的反映。这些文本不是静态的，而是随着社会历史的发展不断演变，重新结构或转化。列斐弗尔认为：“空间是社会性的。空间渗透着多种社会关系。它不仅被社会

十周年，也是上海解放十周年。为了纪念这个伟大的节日，上海各报刊发起了上海解放十年征文，发动广大群众以散文、特写的形式，来记录上海十年来各个时期、各个方面的斗争……这本选集，正是在党的领导下，发动群众创作和专业创作的结果。”

10. 张春桥：《攀登新的胜利高峰》，载《上海解放十周年》，3页。

关系支持，也生产社会关系和被社会关系所生产”¹¹。也就是说，都市空间，总是社会的产物，是多种社会关系和社会力量在相互作用、相互斗争、相互协调的过程中，历史地“生产”出来的。

这也就难怪《上海解放十周年》用了那么多篇章来描写城市旧有地标的新兴面貌，这些旧地标的改造正铭刻下城市主旋律的更替。“南京路”是可以和“外滩”媲美的感知上海的重要符号，它连接着外滩与人民广场的变迁：“一九四九年五月二十五日拂晓，人民的军队解放了上海，攻进了南京路……冒险家从他们的‘乐园’中滚了出去，南京路屈辱的岁月从此结束了！”¹²。过去的南京路是专为“冒险家、公馆帮”和少数豪客服务的。这个上海商业地标作为一种人造空间折射出商品、金钱和资本等特性，其独特的空间结构与中国本土文化有着本质区别，作为殖民城市的一块商业飞地，体现出中西文化及意识形态的差异和冲突。正如福柯所言：“空间位置，特别是建筑设计，在一定历史时代的政治策略中，扮演了重要的角色。‘建筑……变成了为达成经济——政治目标所使用的空间部署问题’¹³。过去这座城市的占领者，建造出代表其文化意象和价值象征的建筑物，直接地传达资产阶级式的政治理念，即透过这一空间塑造一种西方为镜像的种族及文明的优越感。很显然，作为一种生产的方式，空间也是一种控制的、统治的和权利的工具。新的规划已经成功抹去了南京路旧十里洋场的殖民色彩，作为人民政府对城市空间的绝对主导的物化形态，南京路的城市空间和建筑样式成为上海城市的主要标志之一。

五、六十年代的上海经历了全景式的社会主义改造，新的领导阶级集中在政治和经济方面推动整个城市的迅速工业化和实现社会主义。这样巨大的历史变动给城市空间带来了史无前例的改变。无论是由外国殖民势力枢纽、金融中心转化为人民政府所在地的外滩，或者由西侨、豪客专属购物街转变为社会主义消费场所的南京路，还是由殖民地的娱乐空间转而成为群众集会活动的文化广场……对旧有城市地标的全新改造使得“上海”以崭新的形象出现在中国社会主义城市序列中，这些旧有的城市地标不仅被新的规划与设

11. 亨利·列斐弗尔：《空间：社会产物与使用价值》，载包亚明主编：《现代性与空间的生产》，48页。

12. 谢刚：《南京路今昔》，载《上海解放十周年》，556页，上海文艺出版社，1960年版。

13. 转引自戈温德林莱·莱特等：《权利空间化》，载包亚明主编：《后现代性与地理学的政治》30页，上海教育出版社，2001年。

计也被新的活动所改造，而且城市空间的性质也被重新界定。

强调上海社会主义城市实践的开端性，恰恰表达出一种告别的焦虑，希望与过去那个被看作是罪恶的渊藪，冒险家的乐园的殖民城市一刀两断。然而，问题的复杂性在于，城市的历史没法完全抛弃，“新城市”必然要从“旧城市”的血污中诞生。亨利·列斐弗尔曾指出：“空间一向是被各种历史的、自然的元素模塑铸造，但这个过程是一个政治过程。空间是政治的，是意识形态的，它是一种充斥着各种意识形态的产物”¹⁴。当新的权力登临城市之上，必然会以一种全新的空间形式来向城市渗透，可是旧有的空间形式并不必然地退让，而是裹挟着不甘退出舞台的意识形态甚至是政治权力，在城市空间中展开了一场争夺。

话剧《霓虹灯下的哨兵》¹⁵描写我野战军的一支英雄连队，在刚刚结束了解放大上海的英勇战斗之后，奉命进驻南京路，在眩人眼目的霓虹灯下担负警卫任务，进行一场特殊的战斗。剧作特意把冲突发生的地点安排在解放初期的南京路上，昔日的上海曾经是冒险家的乐园，尽管当时已经回到了人民的手中，但曾被誉为“十里洋场”的南京路依然充斥着强烈的诱惑和腐蚀。

南京路混合了现代都市强烈的光怪陆离之感，两种新旧的城市感觉与体验方式呈现破碎拼合的状态，彼此冲突，不再能构成一个稳定的心态结构，预示了一种危险、不稳定的状态，故事正是在这样一个冲突的状态中展开。南京路的霓虹灯下不仅有尖锐的敌我斗争，还存在着各种异质的声音。在美国记者偷拍南京路军事岗哨，开车在南京路欢庆游行队伍中横冲直撞被抓以后，南京路上显示出了不同的声音：戴眼镜的说：“适可而止吧！美国人不好惹。现在贵军解放上海之初，立足未稳，乱子闹大了不好收拾。”；资本家提心吊胆：“不要闹僵，上海滩还是要和美国人做生意的！不做生意，上海人吃什么？……我是替大家担心，再闹下去，上海滩真要坍了！”¹⁶。而南京路上花店和菲莉咖啡店作为曾经的城市文化生活地标，表征了令人陶醉的西方生活

14. 亨利·列斐弗尔：《空间政治学的反思》，62页，载包亚明主编《现代性与空间的生产》。

15. 《霓虹灯下的哨兵》的剧本最初发表在《剧本》1963年第2期，以及《解放军文艺》1963年第3期。

16. 沈西蒙、漠雁、吕兴臣：《霓虹灯下的哨兵》，载《中国话剧选4》，277页。

方式，在剧本中却成为了破坏游园会的阴谋诞生的地方，不仅不再能象征现代都市提供给都市人的一切，而且连接了过去作为外国经济和军事势力屈辱标志，成为一种罪恶的延续，一种急待被改造和拯救的罪恶象征。

斗争的严重性还在于，这些错综复杂的社会矛盾也渗透到了革命队伍内部。新战士童阿男带着浓厚的小资产阶级思想入伍，受了批评后竟开了小差；赵大大看不到这是一场无形的战斗，对站马路思想不通，一再要打背包上前线；连长鲁大成也一时不能适应新的斗争形式，认为“南京路不能呆”……特别是主人公解放军排长陈喜，在拿枪的敌人面前，在枪林弹雨的战场上，他无愧于英雄的称号，可在灯红酒绿的环境中，面对着香风毒雾，他却显得迷惘，变得脆弱，逐渐失去了抵抗资产阶级思想侵蚀的能力：他对妻子春妮的冷漠，对“上海兵”童阿男的放纵，对战友赵大大的冷嘲热讽，对连长和指导员批评的耿耿于怀，对阶级敌人警惕性的松懈……都让我们看到了在南京路酒绿灯红、柔歌艳舞中弥漫着巨大的诱惑，暗藏着无数陷阱¹⁷。那么，作为革命中坚力量的人民解放军，最终是倒在了南京路，还是改造南京路？

同样，小说《上海的早晨》的开头也呈现出与危险而不稳定的“南京路”类似的画面，尔后随着文本的展开，无论是“弟弟斯咖啡馆”、“新雅菜馆”……这种最亲密的、最优雅的、最颓废的、最仪式的上海重新进入了我们的视线，极尽繁华灵魂的抒情脉搏、幻想的波涛和意识的跳跃。那里有的是低暗的光线与沉郁的场景：“虽然是白天，太阳老高的，可是进入弟弟斯咖啡馆光线就暗下来。登上旋转的楼梯，向右手那间舞厅走去，周围的窗户全给黑布遮上，一丝阳光也透不进来，舞池两边的卡座上有一盏盏暗弱的灯光，使人们感到已经是深夜时分了”¹⁸。就在这个闹市中僻静的咖啡馆，沪江纱厂的保全工人陶阿毛与厂长梅佐贤偷偷会面，策划如何在工会改选中在工人群众中埋伏，打入工人中伺机搞破坏分裂。咖啡馆正是为追求金钱和堕落提供了绝佳的隐蔽和无限的机会。“梅佐贤听到这里很高兴，他歪过头去，对舞池里望了望，那边有三对舞伴随着音乐在跳狐步舞。卡座里的人都是一男一女，在低低地谈着，谁也听不见他们在谈啥。整个舞厅没有一个人在注意他们这

17. 沈西蒙、漠雁、吕兴臣：《霓虹灯下的哨兵》，载《中国话剧选4》，287页。

18. 周而复：《上海的早晨》卷一，11页。

个卡座”¹⁹。舞池“空荡荡的,没有一对舞伴在跳,但音乐台上还是兴高采烈地演奏着伦巴舞曲,舞动的旋律激动着人们的心扉。”这里看不见的罪恶、毁灭正在角落里肆虐;而随后新生的力量也受到了代表着金钱和性的迷人又毁灭人的力量的侵袭,随之在这个欲望中的空间内沉沦和迷茫。小说写到了代表苏北行署卫生处来上海采购药品的张科长来到朱延年经营的福佑药房,他受到了非同一般、带目的性的接待,并渐渐被花言巧语所蒙蔽,在上海的“七重天”里迷失了方向。摩天大楼里可以俯瞰着车流和人流,闪烁的灯光和转动的音乐宣告着“Light, hot, power”,魔幻的城市一角却足以激发起男子占有金钱、占有女性的欲望,并一发难以遏制,从老区来的纯朴的革命干部在狐步舞搭建的空间中跌倒在投机家、反动者和妓女的脚下。

很显然,这样具有暧昧意味的城市画面,是混沌停滞在处于社会主义改造的激进大潮之中的“反历史”景观,是等待并需要被改写和重构的城市社会结构。一方面,这些旧有的城市形象作为一种被否定的“前历史”而相形见绌,并置于一个殖民主义和帝国主义的历史框架中。鸦片战争之后,外国殖民势力在上海建立租界,大量外侨随着外国殖民势力的入侵而移居上海,在上海建立起繁华的十里洋场,正如时人的《租界》诗所云:“北邻一片辟蒿莱,百万金钱海漾来。尽把山丘作华屋,明明蜃市幻楼台”²⁰。在这些文本中,咖啡馆、舞厅和霓虹灯等作为一种人造空间体现了罪恶历史的遗留和残存,不仅表征了西方工业化后人们寻求新型娱乐休闲空间的特性,更随着殖民主义进入中国,始终印刻着殖民主义与帝国主义的文化意象和侵略象征,进而在今天成为潜伏的威胁国家政权、阶级稳定和人民利益的黑暗策源地;另一方面,这种叙述方式把过去的“具体性”从历史视野中消除掉,抹去以消费主导的城市的合法性,使得旧上海的形象迅速而完全地被新形象所吞没。

19. 周而复:《上海的早晨》卷一,13页。

20. 葛云熙:《租界》,见葛云熙等著:《沪游杂记·松男梦影录·沪游梦影》,52页,上海古籍出版社,1989年。

2. 新城市空间的再生产

城市是社会中各种力量角逐的战场，对城市空间的占有和控制，往往是社会权力最直接的映射。新的城市形象表征了不同文化和政治意识形态的影响，上海那些曾经的“浮华”，面临着争夺、占有、书写和涂改。上海的城市空间变迁，书写的正是其背后的社会力量的竞争与更迭。在考察上海城市形象变迁的过程中，或许可以把整个的都市空间看作这样一个剧场的场景：随着聚光灯照射角度的转换，场景中的主角不断变换。1949年之后，随着新的城市形象的登场，不仅唤起了城市中的人们对新的共同体的想象，更为人们提供了一种新的生活方式。

作为社会主义城市的上海首先表现在作为领导阶级的工人阶级地位的空前提高。新中国建立后，“上海真正成为我国人民的工业基地和文化中心之一，是在中国人民掌握了自己的命运以后。而当人们一旦认识到是为自己劳动、是用自己的劳动为自己创造幸福的时候，我们上海的面貌也就迅速改变了”²¹。工人阶级对于能够成功改变自身地位并拥有相应的权力而感到骄傲。城市的全新面貌表征了一个新的阶级空间性的全面登临，新的城市是一个依靠劳动人民的城市，而不再是“帝国主义者、殖民主义者、官僚、买办、资本家的城市”。

这座劳动人民的城市正力争实现由消费型城市向生产型城市的重要过渡，工人阶级开始适应这个城市在转型后所建构的新的工作世界，并且塑造他们在新工作中的经验。过去，工人在城市中的日常体验是：“自己是受重度剥削、受到欺凌的劳动者”，因而只能是被动与顺从的角色。现今，一种新的政治文化和语言，不仅确立了工人在城市中的主体地位，同时也极大地改变了城市自身。社会主义工业化重新定义了城市的含义，包含了使经济快速发展，使国家迅速现代化的远大理想。

随着生产空间的变革，城市的生活空间也在发生一场静悄悄的革命。在《上海的早晨》中，与第一卷开头描述的表征了资产阶级生活方式的“西区”构成鲜明对比的是，小说的第三卷出现了一种标志着社会主义新气象的城市空

21. 张春桥：《攀登新的胜利高峰》，载《上海解放十周年》，3页。

间——工人新村。一位上海纺织女工的代表汤阿英，由于在和资本家斗争过程中的突出表现和在车间劳动中出色的工作成绩，她全家分到了上海市第一批工人新村的住房，得以脱离肮脏陈旧的棚户区，搬入新建的曹杨新村：“只见一轮落日照红了半个天空，把房屋后边的一排柳树也映得发紫了。和他们房屋平行的，是一排排两层楼的新房，中间是一条宽阔的走道，对面玻璃窗前也和他们房屋一样，种着一排柳树”²²。这是对普通工人获得这个城市中新的居住空间的第一次全面的礼赞。随后，小说又动人地描绘了曹杨工人新村的全景式社会主义生活画卷：“大家走出了学校，暮色从四面八方聚拢来，房屋，柳树和草地什么的都仿佛要溶解在暮色里，模模糊糊看不清楚了，只有路边的河流微微闪着亮晶晶的光芒。幢幢的人影在路上闪来闪去。这个新村，只有合作社那里的电灯光亮最强，也只有那里的人声最高。从那里，播送出了娥唱的沪剧，愉快的音乐飘荡在天空，激动人们的心扉。一眨眼的功夫，新村的路灯亮了。外边开进来一辆又一辆的公共汽车，把劳动了一天的工人们从工厂送到他们的新居来。像是走进了一个新奇的世界，灯光和暮色把新村送进迷离变幻的奇境，茫茫一片，看不远，望不透，使人感到如同走进一座无穷丰富的奇妙的新兴城市”²³。就这样，上海不仅全然脱离旧有的城市形象，同时宣告了以一种全新的面貌腾空出世。工人阶级作为城市新的主人翁在文本中获得了相应的话语权，讲述了一个新的关于城市的伟岸传奇。而在现实中，社会主义的城市形象正不断地占据城市的空间，用来表征一个新国家中领导阶级的历史登临。而城市重建的中心就在工人新村——一种广大的工人住宅群——由于建设规模宏大、风格鲜明并主要服务于工人阶级，成为了一个时代的象征。

1949年之后，社会主义城市设计对“上海”面貌的改变，既有意识形态的考虑（工人阶级当家作主、改变殖民化城市的面貌、显示社会主义的优越性……等等），同时也关系到城市形态的变化（从“消费型城市”向“生产型城市”的转变）。而工人新村的建立，恰恰对应了社会主义对“上海”城市改造的诉求。因为“工人新村”一方面显示出了社会主义的优越性，符合意识形态的要求；另一方面“生产型”城市功能的发挥，需要工人阶级的积极参

22. 周而复：《上海的早晨》卷三，122页。

23. 周而复：《上海的早晨》卷三，124页。

与和投入。工人新村的建立虽然没有大规模地改变工人的生活条件，却具有十分明显的“示范”作用，让工人体会到当家作主的感觉，把宣传意义上的“主人翁”地位落实为具体的生活感受。

需要特别指出的是，上海的社会主义城市设计是以“先生产、后生活”为基本原则的，建国以后近30年间，“先生产，后生活”的宗旨始终贯穿于近郊工业区的建立和中心城区用地规模的扩大过程中，直到70年代末，上海基本上只注重企业发展，忽略了城市基础设施和住宅建设，所以中心城区尽管有所延伸，但其发展的范围和质量均相对地在一个较低的水平上。不过，工人新村的出现把这个原则复杂化了。社会主义城市设计也要顾及“生活”的问题，但它对“生活”问题的考虑是以“生产”为前提的。换句话说，“生产”和“生活”的原则在工人新村上已经一体化了，“生活”成为了“生产”的一个组成部分。由此也可以引申出另一个问题，即大工业的现代生产方式对“意识形态”（社会主义，资本主义）的穿越，“组织化”的“生产”形式和“生活世界”的重建之间具有了非常密切的关系。

具体而言，“大工业化”本来就与现代“住宅”问题联系在一起，早在1887年，恩格斯就指出：“一个古老的文明国家这样从工场手工业和小生产向大工业过渡，并且这个过渡还由于情况极其顺利而加速的时期，多半也就是‘住宅缺乏’的时期。一方面，大批农村工人突然被吸引到发展为工业中心的大城市里来；另一方面，这些旧城市的布局已经不适合新的大工业的条件和与此相应的交通；街道在加宽，新的街道在开辟，铁路穿过市里。正当工人成群涌入城市的时候，工人住宅却在大批拆除。于是就突然出现了工人以及以工人为主顾的小商人和小手工业者的住宅短缺现象。在开初就作为工业中心而产生的城市中，这种住宅短缺现象几乎不存在。例如曼彻斯特、利兹、布拉德福德、巴门—爱埃尔伯费尔德就是这样。相反，在伦敦、巴黎、柏林和维也纳这些地方，住宅短缺现象曾经具有急性发作的形式，而且大部分像慢性病那样继续存在着”²⁴。针对由高速工业化同时也是市场化和资本主义化所带来的住宅问题，恩格斯提出了“革命性”的解决方案：那就是消灭资产阶级，建立无产阶级专政，由社会主义国家把房产分配到工人的手中。但他没有预料

24. 弗·恩格斯：《〈论住宅问题〉第二版序言》，载《马克思恩格斯选集》（第三卷），北京，人民出版社，1995年。

到随着 20 世纪城市人口剧增，即使革命成功，把原有的住房平均分配也不足以解决“单个家庭的独立住宅”问题。因此，20 世纪建筑业在工业化的高度压力下，一个核心的问题就是如何设计出一种标准化、低成本、预制构件的“平民住宅”，从而现实地解决在有限的空间之内，经济合理地容纳更多人口的问题，并使他们过上有尊严的生活²⁵。

这样的设计和建筑理想也体现在新中国建立之后，国家在经济力量有限和“百废待兴”的情况下，仍然非常重视住宅建设。在三年（1949～1952 年）经济恢复时期和“一五”（1953～1957 年）时期，国家用于住宅投资分别为 8.3 亿和 53.79 亿元，竣工住房面积为 1462 万和 9454 万平方米，住宅建设投资占全国基本建设投资的比例为 10.59% 和 8.8%。由于原有基础薄弱，又受经济能力限制，当时的住宅建设能达到这样大的规模，和在全国基本建设投资中占有较高的比例，是难能可贵的。按经济承受能力来分析，建国初期的住宅建设是一个较快发展的时期。这一时期的住宅建设，主要集中在大城市、急待恢复的工矿区 and 新建大型厂矿生活区。同时也维修改造了一批破、旧、危房和棚户区。这一时期比较有特色的住宅建设，一是有的城市建造了工人新村，如上海的曹杨新村、北京崇文门幸福村；二是当时著名“156”项大型建设项目中的新建项目，都建了生活福利区。

主导这份调查报告仍然是“为了生产”而“改善生活条件”的思路，但从中也不难看出，解放后的上海，人民政府一直面临着改善下层居民居住状况的巨大压力。

因此，工人新村的意义首先体现在解决广大工人阶级的住房问题，特别是改善下层劳动人民的实际生活状况。回顾解放初期，当时城市底层产业工人的居住条件十分恶劣，大部分人都住在用竹竿、苇席搭建而成的被称为“滚地龙”的“棚户区”中。这种“滚地龙”，夏不能避暑热，冬无法御风寒，雨天潮湿、漏水更是家常便饭²⁶。解决这部分城市居民的住房条件问题是关系到

25. 参见周博：《设计为人民服务》，《读书》2007年4期。

26. 根据1948年详细的区域调查，上海棚户达70,000，居民达30万以上，也就是说，约是城市人口的10%。因为棚户四散在城市各处，加之其拥挤的状况，可以想见要得到一个确切的数字是很困难的。五十年代早期，另一项更为有组织的调查估计，在上海棚户区13万个不同类型的屋檐里，住有18—20万户人家。棚户区的总人口将近100万，

城市发展的当务之急，同时也关系到与城市整体综合发展相关的卫生和治安等问题。1951年，上海市人民政府成立了上海工人住宅建筑委员会，潘汉年副市长受陈毅市长委托，具体负责筹建工人新村的领导与监督工作。《上海的早晨》中的曹杨新村的兴建正是当时城市改造中的一项重要工程²⁷。除了曹杨新村以外，当时的上海还规划了其他八个类似的工人新村²⁸，其建设速度之快、规模之大令人惊叹，开创了上海成批建设住宅新村的道路。《不夜城》中也表现了当时工人居住空间的前后变化。工人老瞿的家——解放前：“一件破烂的草棚子。正漏着雨，桌子上、床上、地上，到处用面盆、铅桶和盆盆罐罐一类家伙接着漏”²⁹。而解放后却是全新的景象：“老瞿的新居；一幢工人新村一类的宿舍的底层，屋子的特色是简单而洁净。一些极普通的家具，壁上正中是毛主席像，旁边挂着瞿海生和沈银弟的并肩合影，在过去些，是银弟当选为劳动模范的锦旗”³⁰。可以说，城市的住宅发展乃是涉及这个城市中广大居民切身利益的地方，新的领导阶级在设计规划城市建设时正将其放到了优先考虑的地方。他们完全可以骄傲地在社会主义事业的宏伟蓝图中为自己添上浓重的一笔，事实也确实如此。《上海的早晨》中汤阿英一家人在搬入曹杨新村之时的激动之情溢于言表：“不是共产党毛主席，我们还不是住一辈子草棚棚，谁会给我们盖这样的好房子？连电灯都装好的，想得真周到。”³¹；“新中国建立了，工人当家做主了，才盖这些工人新村来，要不解放，我们工人还不是住一辈子草棚棚吗？”³²。

同时，这样的骄傲还包含了另一种情感，工人阶级对于他们能够成功改变自身地位并拥有相应的权力而感到骄傲，而这正是通过对城市住宅空间的

或者说约是上海市总人口的五分之一到六分之一。

27. 当年，由市政府派出的工作组经过实地调查，最后确定在中山北路以北、曹杨路以西一带征地建房。1951年9月，新村第一期工程正式动工兴建，仅花了7个月时间，便以大跃进速度完成了。

28. 如普陀区的甘泉新村，杨浦区的长白、控江、凤城和鞍山新村，徐汇区的日晖新村，长宁区的天山新村，黄浦区的长行新村等。

29. 柯灵：《不夜城》，选自《中国新闻学大系1949-1976·电影卷一》，419页，上海文艺出版社，1997年版。

30. 柯灵：《不夜城》，选自《中国新闻学大系1949-1976·电影卷一》，440页。

31. 周而复：《上海的早晨》第三部，154页。

32. 周而复：《上海的早晨》第三部，155页。

重新构建来表征的。新的领导阶级有意地将“自己的形象投射”在这座新城上，因而工人新村的实用性在某方面来说反而不如象征性。正是在这个意义上说，工人新村“与其说是一种公共建设，倒不如说是一种文化的自我投射”³³。正如《上海的早晨》所描写的，曹杨新村工人住宅造好之后，沪江纱厂也搬到四户，当时全厂到处张贴的标语为“一人住新村，全厂都光荣”³⁴。工人新村的意义不仅在于其实际的居住功用，更重要的是表征了一种工人阶级空间性的登临，生产了产生新的社会想象的空间。工人新村的建设正符合了意识形态的需求，它提供了一种人为的场景，即一种更加精心设计的人造环境，使得工人阶级在规模、强度、社会区分和集体依附性于地点方面得到了扩展。作为某种意识形态的产物，当工人新村携带着新政权的威力登场时，它象征着一个欣欣向荣的国家在政治上的倾向性关怀，在这样一个神奇的空间中转化为一种黄金时代的梦想——预示着未来“共产主义”的某种原型。可以说在当时，工人新村通过空间的“导向作用”³⁵让所有的人都相信：我们的强有力的地位、我们的兄弟般的情谊、我们的英雄气概、我们的革命力量……上海市“第一个工人新村”曹杨新村正是作为“工人阶级翻身做主人”的标志被迅速认同和复制，并在全上海和全国快速推广。

随着工人新村的建立，一种更为积极能动的空间权力性在这里得到了高度体现。可以说，城市空间决不是中性的，权力的诸种关系被深深地印入社会生活的空间中，并充满了意识形态运作的可能性。实际上，城市的空间完全可以看作是一种物质力量和意识形态力量的空间化，这种空间化与社会的劳动分工、国家体制的物质性以及经济、政治和意识形态力量的各种表现紧密相连。因此，“工人阶级”在这个城市主流意识形态中的位置不仅必然会投射到城市的空间面向上，而且将直接影响到对社会主义城市发展的重新规划。他们用自己的想法来重新塑造上海的城市空间，上海的城市面貌发生着迅速的改变。作为新的领导阶级意志的表达，以曹杨新村为代表的工人新村在设计上所表现出来的空间概念是崭新的和原创的。这一系列公共住宅的建设，

33. 卡尔·休斯克：《世纪末的维也纳》，页79，黄煜文译，麦田出版公司，2002年12月版。

34. 周而复：《上海的早晨》第三部，140页。

35. 空间的“导向作用”是指空间与人物共同组成某一整体。由于空间知觉引起的联想，会使我们对人物的知觉带有一定倾向性与选择性。参见黄承元、周振明：《城市社会心理学》，42页，同济大学出版社，1988年7月版。

将在成为所有居民的共同财产的同时，更展现出社会主义城市想象的深层面相。

一方面，工人新村的设计者尽可能地将空间予以组织——包括将所有与工人新村有关的要素组织起来。这样既减少了建筑障碍，同时也消除了视觉终点，从而充分扩大了观察者的水平的视野，使工人新村的居住环境得到了空前的强调。我们再次回到曹杨新村在小说中的第一次亮相，它成功地蕴含了一种观察者宏观俯视的视角，将工人新村置于纪录对象的位置之上：“只见一轮落日照红了半个天空，把房屋后边的一排柳树也映得发紫了。和他们房屋平行的，是一排排两层楼的新房，中间是一条宽阔的走道，对面玻璃窗前也和他们房屋一样，种着一排柳树”³⁶。从空中的“落日”开始，“房屋后边的一排柳树”、“一排排两层楼的新房”、“一条宽阔的走道”依次展开，在第一时间将读者带入了一个横向推进、整齐开阔的视野之中。事实上，在规划上海的工人新村时，设计者着重的就是在住宅的总体布置和绿化设计等方面创造一个安全、舒适和优美的环境，远甚于对基本住宅形式本身的要求。而通过对周围环境的改造和利用，可以迅速地达到这一目的。例如在曹杨新村的建设原址上，曾经环绕着乌黑发臭蚊蝇肆虐的臭环浜，而经过合理的填埋改造和疏通绿化后，这条“上海龙须沟”逐渐变成了“除公园外市区唯一可以垂钓的河流”³⁷。在建设工人新村时，就有一项重要的指导意见，即保留和利用工人新村内的小河浜，结合道路的分布，将整个新村分成若干个小街坊，成为一个有机的整体；并加之在环浜沿岸种植大片绿树和开辟大片绿地，从而形成疏密相间的空间。如果我们比较原先上海各类独门独户的小洋楼就可以发现，那种作为资本主义土地商品化产物的居住样式，产生的多是极端自由化的建筑格局，建筑是从属于花园，而不从属于街道、河流等任何其他空间，周围的环境不过是为了将视线聚焦于凸现的建筑本身。而像工人新村这样的居住空间是全新的，维持着一种大度和开阔的气氛；新村中的住宅得以错落有致地分布于其间，并且同一期工程中所有住宅的外观都尽量达到了协调统一，从而在组织上形成了一种浑然一体的壮观景象。

36. 周而复：《上海的早晨》第三部，150页。

37. 参见张永华、王含芳、童惠民主编：《文明之路——曹杨新村街道社区建设成果荟萃（1951-1996）》，19页，中共普陀区委宣传部、中共曹杨新村街道委员会、曹杨街道办事处资料。

另一方面，整个工人新村享有开放和自由的公共空间，强调自身配套设施的有机合一。在《上海的早晨》中，工人新村的主要建筑面貌得以展现后，所有视线都集中在一个升格的画面中：“远远望见一座大建筑物，红墙黑瓦，矮墙后面有一根旗杆矗立在晚霞里，五星红旗在空中呼啦啦飘扬。红旗下面是一片操场，绿色的秋千架和滑梯，触目地呈现在人们的眼前。操场后面是一排排整齐的平房，红色的油漆门，雪亮的玻璃窗，闪闪发着落日的反光”³⁸。这是工人新村建设的一个重要配套内容，以“五星红旗”为标志的培养社会主义新人的地方——社会主义学校。紧接着的聚焦使我们看到更为温情并充满文化氛围的场景：“这个新村，只有合作社那里的电灯光亮最强，也只有那里的人声最高。从那里，播送出了是娥唱的沪剧，愉快的音乐飘荡在天空，激动人们的心扉”³⁹。工人新村的建立是一个庞大的系统工程，在建造工人住宅的同时，一系列配套公共设施也同时兴建。考虑到的不仅有一系列基本的居民群众的文化生活设施的迅速发展，如学校、影剧院和图书馆等⁴⁰；也有商场、菜市场、公共浴室、消费合作社、诊疗所和大礼堂等重要生活网点的建设，以满足新村居民的日常生活需要⁴¹。为了适应以后的发展，还预留了银行、邮

38. 周而复：《上海的早晨》第三部，151页。

39. 周而复：《上海的早晨》第三部，152页。

40. 1952年10月，动工兴建曹杨新村文化馆，1953年春节落成开放，有简易剧场、评弹室、图书阅览室、乒乓球室、弈棋室、文艺活动室和露天球场等场所（1958年春改名为普陀区文化馆）。同年新华书店曹杨新村门市部开业（1978年又新建为800平方米的书店大楼）。1959年，新建曹杨影剧院，于1960年5月开业，建筑面积有4800平方米，1000多座位，既能放映电影，又可供大型剧团演出戏剧和歌舞剧目，80年代后期进一步发展成拥有舞厅、大屏幕录像、游艺、卡拉OK等多功能文化娱乐场所。新村内2所街道文化中心（站），也颇具规模。曹杨新村街道文化中心依靠社会集资，于1987年建造了一座500多平方米面积的楼房，设有舞厅、老年茶座、围棋角、桌球房、录像室、卡拉OK、电子游戏等各类活动，成为新村内很有特色的群众文化活动场所。该文化中心的一支老妈妈合唱队，30年来，尽管人员不断更迭变化，歌声却从未间断。曹杨新村地区尚有曹杨游泳池1座，街道图书馆及少年儿童图书馆4所、少年儿童艺校（培训班）6所，舞厅6座，各居委会还设有老年文化活动室。1986年以来，在新村内曾先后举办“仲夏十二夜”、“仲夏家庭文化荟萃”、“五月歌会”、“新村家庭楼台歌会”、“曹杨之春”社区文化艺术活动周等丰富多彩的群众文化艺术活动。

41. 1952年5月曹杨一村建成后，6月即开设新村第一家商店——曹杨新村工人消费合作社，当时面积106.5平方米，从业人员49人，年营业额91万元。1956年更名国营曹杨综合商店，经营商品增多，除一家综合大门市部外，还有小门市部5家、菜场4家、食堂1家、小吃店4家、熟水店1家、理发店3家、洗染店及缝纫工场各1家，共有职工358人。全年营业额351万元。60年代起，区商业部门在新村街区陆续开设一些商店，使新村商业网点更趋完善。1975年除新村中心区有一个大型商店，各村还有中、小型门

局、托儿所、公园与文化馆等公共设施的建筑基地。工人新村不仅以“新工房”塑造了工人生活的空间形态，而且以一系列的配套公共设施，改写了他们的生活习惯和生活方式。在工人新村中一应俱全、环境清幽，个人的生活完全可以被包容在工人新村的天地之中，自给自足。而新村里还有上海最早开通的一条24小时的公共汽车路线，往来于新村和工厂之间，接送上下班的工人：“外边开进来一辆又一辆的公共汽车，把劳动了一天的工人们从工厂送到他们的新居来”⁴²。这样的新居正是一个自愿、自助和自我管理的空间，所有生活便利将由生产财富的工人阶级全体公平分享。与此同时的是，新村的建设者只单纯追求居住面积，住宅的基本功能受到了不断的削减。以厨房和厕所为例，曹杨新村一期工程的居室虽然设计为独门独户，但厨房和卫生间却为公用。稍后二万户型的设施配套则更差一些，到1954年建设的内廊式住宅的条件略有提高，但随后的住宅标准却一再下降，甚至取消了室内的卫生间设施。比较旧上海的建筑历史，特别是二十至三十年代上海经济繁荣时期的住宅建设，都在住宅功能上达到了相当高的西化程度，最新的现代住宅元素如抽水马桶、浴盆等大量进入了家庭生活之中。而像工人新村这样社会主义的住宅形式则不仅形式简朴，在内部功能上更达到了完全的简化。工人生活所需要的一切被严格和系统地划分在各个不同的商业网点和配套设施处，使人们的生活连结成为一个系统的网络。

可以说，这样的设计风格包含了很多新的因素，已经完全不同于上海原先的城市住宅设计而呈现出了一种新的面貌。新的领导阶级策划了新的社会主义城市规划，完全不同于西化的风格；这代表了与资本主义文化的自觉断裂，并隐含了为自己的意识形态在城市空间上寻找新的定位的强烈诉求。解放初，作为全国工业生产能力强、技术水平最高的城市，上海有着全新的“城市更新”的使命：抹去旧上海“冒险家乐园”的形象，通过对大批资本家的改造，迅速转型成为社会主义国家的重要工业阵地，使之从金融和消费中心转型成为红色中国的生产车间。1954年6月，建筑工程部在北京召开第一次城市建设会议，明确了城市建设的目标是贯彻国家过渡时期的总路线和总任务，为国家社会主义工业化，为生产、为劳动人民服务，并要求按照国家统一的经

市部，另有一个通宵服务部。

42. 周而复：《上海的早晨》卷三，124页。

济计划、建设的地点与速度，采取与工业建设相适应的“重点建设，稳步前进”的方针⁴³。而上海市政府早在1949年和1953年就已经两次邀请苏联专家为上海城市的改建和发展提出相应的规划方案，主要都是参考了苏联社会主义城市的发展模式，力图实现由消费型城市向工业化城市的转型⁴⁴。以曹杨新村为代表的上海工人新村的营造，就是以当时的上海市市长陈毅提出的市政建设“为生产服务，为劳动人民服务，首先为工人阶级服务”的方针为指导，主要目的是在特定的时间和空间中迅速组织起一支生产大军，组织起革命的“身体”更“全心全意”地服务于社会主义现代化建设的事业，服务于一个民族国家的工业现代化梦想。这样一个以大规模工业生产为出发点的社会组织方案，使得生产和生活的原则在工人新村上已经一体化了，“生活”作为“生产”的一个组成部分在工人新村的空間规划上得到了最好的体现。

新的城市空间为作为城市象征的劳动组织提供了全新的感觉结构。曹杨新村作为上海的第一个工人新村就具有了特殊的意义。在《上海解放十周年》中的《曹阳新村的人们》一文中，作者热情地呼唤到：“我要向大家介绍曹阳新村，要大家到这里看看，并不仅仅是为了让你知道这个新村如何漂亮……是的，它不但是上海第一个规模最大的工人新村，也是新中国最早、最大的工人新村之一……因为要了解解放后的上海工人，了解上海工人的生活，就得亲自来看看”⁴⁵。新村内部的规划、布局和陈设作为一种空间的生产方式，不仅再造了工人群体的日常生活环境，而且形塑了他们的日常生活模式。

43. 董志凯：《新中国城市建设方针的演变（1949—2001）》，转引自当代文化研究网·论坛·读书会，www.cul-studies.com。

44. 1949年，市政府邀请以希马柯夫为首的苏联莫斯科苏维埃专家小组来上海，提出了《关于上海市改建及发展前途问题》意见书。意见书认为：上海市一个服务人口远远大于生产人口的畸形发展的消费城市，必须改造成生产城市。1953年，苏联专家穆欣来上海指导编制《城市总图规划》，其中重要的一点即是：“住宅区要靠近工厂，到处都可以发展。”工人新村的建立恰恰对应了社会主义对城市改造的诉求：由消费型城市迅速向生产型城市转型。

45. 唐克新：《曹阳新村的人们》，载《上海解放十周年》，570页，上海文艺出版社，1960年版。

3. 中心与边缘：社会主义城市的内在矛盾

上海的城市中心开始了新的转移，上海的城市面貌也发生了新的变迁。“城市在其历史的某些时刻会经历及其突然、强烈的形式变迁，这时刻就会产生一些断层，城市在霎那间变得如此陌生，即使对它的居民而言。那谁又知道它将向什么样的新的状态发展呢？”⁴⁶。问题在于城市有其自身的记忆，记忆不是一条直线，未必顺序从头开始，最后整齐排列整齐地结束。漫长的记忆空间广阔浩瀚，城市空间的改造和生产并不能那么迅速地改造附有主观经历和独特情感的城市记忆。此时，城市的记忆和城市的改造之间具有某种矛盾性。它诡诈时会刻意强化，防卫时又会着力淡忘；越是变迁迅速，越是发展未卜，越是价值不明，越可能产生强大的怀旧情绪。

随着上海的解放，工人阶级似乎成为城市空间的主人？表面上看，工人阶级以压倒性的力量占领了城市，获得了对城市空间的高度支配权，并从此获得了建设新世界的信心。资产阶级的城市面貌迅速成为一种灰暗的过去被抛入了历史的漩涡中，新兴的工人阶级的生活社区向人们提出了另外一种更加恢宏的制度，并且迅速抓住了大众的想象力。然而上海又仿佛还保留着某种“等级性”，被新政权征用的市中心以及当时“南下干部”普遍居住的“西区”与工人新村以及更破败的棚户区之间构成了令人触目的差异。这样的城市空间布局既代表了社会主义对上海这座殖民大都会的改造，同时更显示出暧昧甚至是退避的一面。在解放后上海市政府对城市规划的几次重要实施方案中我们可以发现⁴⁷：城市规划的主要目标集中在扩大近郊工业区的建设和中心城

46. (法)莫里斯·哈布瓦赫：《论集体记忆》，335页，上海人民出版社，2002年。

47. 市府制定：《上海市发展方向图草案》：“安排市区人口上四周扩散……原市区住宅区，面积共50万平方公里，拟配合新区建设，逐步疏散人口，达到每公顷300~400人之密度，留在原市区的人口可降至175万人以下。”另外中区为175万，新住宅区385万。苏联指导制定：《上海市总图规划示意图》：根据苏联经验（社会主义改造城市的办法），“保留历史上已经形成的城市基础，加以彻底的整顿，重新规划，合理的分布住宅、工厂、铁路、运输和仓库，使城市中稠密的人口加以疏散，创造城市居民的正常和健全的生活条件……根据城市特点，加以综合统一，使之建设成为一个社会主义城市。”——强调城市四周都可以发展。“二五”期间制定：强调“充分利用，合理发展”，12年内规划建设住宅1000万平方米。“平均每人四平方米，可以是100多万人的居住情况得到改善，某些人口密度在每公顷3000人以上的街坊，逐步减至1000人左右。”《1958上海城市总体规划的初步意见》：“根据市区现有2700多万平方

区用地规模，而隐含其中的“中心/边缘”的矛盾重新出现。作为社会主义对城市的规划的一项重要内容，以曹杨新村为代表的工人新村的建设主要集中在上海中心城区的周边（很多是原地改造后原地安置），从而达到了人口疏散，工厂外迁的主要指导方针⁴⁸。城市的边缘被新的工人新村所填充，城市的中心地带却仿佛成为这场社会主义洗礼中的“边缘”。

解放初期，上海市包括郊区在内的面积为618平方公里，其中市区面积仅82.4平方公里。由于狭小的地域空间难以适应工业发展的需要，因此在1950年，将苏州河以西、中山北路以东的地区划入普陀区。同时，逐渐有计划地在市中心的外围建设了一批工业区和居住区。当初城市周边的近郊农业地带，如今已完全成为中心城区的一部分，而这一基础，正式始于50年代初期的职工住宅建设。例如，普陀区在1950年以建设曹杨新村为起点向市区西北部的开发，时至今日，已成为连接近郊嘉定区的主要地段。杨浦区在1952年以建设职工住宅发展起来的控江、鞍山、长白、凤城等新村，如今也已构成了城市东北部人口稠密的集聚点，并为过去相当长一段时间内变化很小的江湾五角场地区的发展，提供了基础。1952年在长宁区境内建设天山新村的选位与布局，为向西部纵深地区的发展提供了重要条件。

然而，与城区面积依靠工人新村加以拓展形成意味深长的对比是，原中心城区作为文化/经济中心的空间地位被延续了下来：上海的全部市级金融机构都集中在地处原英美共同租界中心的黄浦区内；市级文化活动场所多利用租界著名的老建筑改造而成，如人民广场（原跑马场）、市工人文化宫（原“东

米正是住宅和460万平方米棚户简屋来看，其中60%左右是抗日战争前建成的大都已经陈旧，建筑密度很高。规划安排市区外围新建与旧区改造同时并举，近期主要以外围地区新建为主，为旧区大规模改建创造条件。……”

48. 《上海住宅1949-1990》中记载着这样的事实：“按照住宅新村距市区要近，充分利用城市原有的市政公用设施和生活服务设施，住宅新村配套要权，提供较好居住条件的原则，规划了9个新村”，即普陀区的曹杨、甘泉新村，杨浦区的长白、控江、凤城和鞍山新村，徐汇区的日晖新村，长宁区的天山新村，黄浦区的长行新村等。这9个住宅新村用地127.8公顷，建筑面积60万平方米，建设住宅单元21830个，开创了上海成批建设住宅新村的道路。到了第一个五年国民经济计划实施期间（简称“一五期间”，1953年至1957年），住宅建设进一步扩大，又陆续开辟新的住宅新村。按照所谓“本着适当满足职工就近生产、方便生活的要求”，按照市区工业分布状况，规划设计了沪东的玉田、大连、广灵新村，沪南的天钥、龙山、东安、上钢新村，沪西的宜川、石泉、武宁新村，沪北的广中、柳营新村，呈现了环市区住宅新村星罗棋布，茁壮成长的局面。

方饭店”）、市青年宫（原“大世界”）、市图书馆（原跑马场主建筑）、博物馆（原“中汇大楼”）等主要都集中在黄浦区；科学会堂（原法国学校）、文化广场在原属法租界的卢湾区，市少年宫（原外商豪宅）、市展览馆（中苏友谊大厦，原哈同花园）在原属公共租界的静安区；而上海的市级商业街，也都集中在租界原繁华地带。不仅如此，原租界地区还成了新的城市政治中心，几乎所有市级党、政机构都集中在原租界地区，其中市人大常委会、市人民政府、中共上海市委的四分之三的市局机关都设在黄浦区内。与此同时，新政权的党政军各类进城干部，纷纷入住因外国侨民归国、旧政权军政权贵外逃、部分资方人员及市民外迁等种种原因而空出（或被新政权没收）的原租界洋房、公寓中。这些人员与留在上海没走的旧上流阶层、中等阶层的市民，共同构成了旧租界地区的主要居住者群体⁴⁹。

正是在这个意义上，“革命”虽然宣称其目标在于消灭阶级，而实际上却对维持现状很敏感。1949年以后的新政权，在拥有管理城市空间权力的同时，也利用城市既有的空间秩序，便捷地建立它所迫切需要的政治、经济和文化秩序，成功地将空间的权力转化为新政权及其权力支配层的现实权力。同时，被维持的空间结构也开始形塑、影响新的社会结构。在既存的空间秩序中，旧的社会空间结构得以部分保留，新政权虽然部分地改变了各阶层之间的经济关系和政治关系，却没有能真正改变其社会关系。于是，城市的“解放者”被一种城市的记忆结构所捕获，重新成为了城市的“主人”。在今天，需要我们反省的是，这样隐匿在符号覆盖下的是中心/边缘的分裂，一种在本质上仍然是压迫与被压迫的可能性关系，这种在空间上得到组织的城市系统不断地得到了想象性的神圣化，从而遮掩于人们的视线之外。由此创造出来的新城市空间或许能够“使得这个阶层的人获得一种‘感觉结构’”，但随之而来的“某种归宿感、安全感甚至是一种存在的自尊”⁵⁰只会使人们深陷于拥有“整体结构”的美好幻想之中。

表面上看，百年来的沪上繁华沧桑都在王安忆细腻写实的笔触之下得以缓缓地呈现。《长恨歌》之后的《富萍》，也表达了作家对六十年代上海的一

49. 参见陈映芳：《作为社会主义实践的城市更新：棚户区改造》。

50. 蔡翔：《城市书写以及书写的“禁言之物”——关于《城市地图》的文本分析和社会批评》，转引自当代文化研究网·论坛·文化研究www.cul-studies.com。

种新的寻找和发现,企图走入“逼着破陋的梅家桥”,撇开那实际存在过的“历史真实”,另外拖出一个梅家桥式的棚户区,让它来充当上海故事的主角。然而这番敏锐和诗情,着意于上海故事新讲法背后的深刻用意是否得以实现?

《富萍》以小说女主人公的名字命名,“富萍”又是“浮萍”的谐音。它讲述了这个叫“富萍”的苏北女孩因为婚约关系偶然来到上海寄住在“奶奶”那里。小说一开始就铺排了一种细致和絮叨的描摹:写奶奶怎样带东家的孩子,怎样体现她即自尊又诚恳的待人之道;写吕凤仙每天忙于生计的安排,她在邻里中的做人姿态;写戚师傅上门补马赛克、修地板,沉默耐心又细致地做活。《富萍》中几代移民,她们的日常谋生手段无非是帮佣、收拾破烂、运送垃圾、糊纸盒子、摆小摊等等。她们处在城市生活的边缘状态中,默默地做着上海人所鄙视的“苏北人”;但是,正是在这种状态中,最能体现顽强生存意志和独立生活选择,充分地教会了富萍独特的市民文化:即在顺应和变通中融入城市的主体或主流生活,同时开创自己的独立生活。

王安忆曾经这样表达过:“现在的人把爱情和性夸大了……事实上爱情只是很小的故事,爱情背后有很多很多丰富的故事”⁵¹。富萍已经不是传统意义上的主人公了,她连接起两个大的场景和众多的人物,提供了一幅上海变迁历史中的生动人物画卷。如上所说,作者企图夸赞的正是上述六十年代初上海群体小人物踏实生活辛勤劳动的风貌。从某种意义上来看,作者正是力图证明自身已经自觉抛弃了悲天悯人、居高临下式的写作姿态,而回归对于普通劳动者的辛勤赞誉。通过富萍的自觉选择——逃避一个既定的命运,而是嫁到一个比自己更加孤苦无依的家庭中去,从而将富萍汇入了和奶奶、舅舅等一样的独立自主的劳动者人群中去,将周围的一群人物并置在一起,组成了一幅硕大的群像图。作者开始热烈地赞美梅家桥人的朴素的生活状态,赞美没有被贫困、粗俗所损伤的人性的美好:如舅妈不仅聪敏能干,看准了舅舅是个有文化的人,实实在在地撑起了一个家庭;而且善良宽容,对富萍的悔婚最终采取了一种冷淡后的接纳的态度,仿佛“这里的人都没大记性”。最终这里的一切更改了主人公的心意,不仅选择了在梅家桥扎根,更选择了在梅家桥中的最具有底层性的一户残疾破落的家庭发芽,从而完成了从淮海路、到苏州河,再从苏州河到梅家桥的“乾坤大挪移”,让上海故事的叙述重心整

51. 《与王安忆关于小说的对话》,选自《钱江晚报》,2000年8月4日。

个得以颠覆和重置。

但是，作者对于梅家桥的生活形态的叙述则明显要流于形式化和概念化。她企图以一种欣然的姿态进入一个别样的生活领域——上海贫民窟，以同情的目光注视着那些城市边缘棚户区的男男女女，注视着他们一幕幕生生死死悲欢离合的话剧，却又反而隔离了我们的感官，变得模糊和遥远了起来。相反，小说最具华彩的部分恰恰出现在小说的开头部分，即对于六十年代初上海日常生活场景、经验和生活状态的描绘上。经过奶奶逐步实践和考察后，她选定的最“适合”的帮佣的地方就是淮海路。小说从淮海路弄堂下午三四点钟的阳光开篇，一路写下去，使得奶奶的眼光和作者的眼光时而重叠时而分错。这条不深的弄堂和弄前小街的声、色、形、韵，成为了小说最具神采的地方。我们可以跟随着奶奶的目光细细打量着这一带的楼房、街道、住家，跟随着富萍的身影驻足店铺门前凝望。作者为了还原上海六十年代的市井小铺如零食铺子、零头布点、纽扣铺子，可以用上五六百字，在看似啰嗦的叙述中显示的是上海世俗生活的精致、琐碎，不光代表了一种陶醉其中的欣然，而更是一种深谙门道后的挑剔。“每一日都是柴米油盐，勤勤恳恳地过着，没一点非分之想，猛然间一回头，却成了传奇。上海的传奇均是这样的。传奇中入度的也是平常日月，还须格外地将这日月夸地结实，才可有心力体力演绎变故”⁵²。弄堂里的富足闲适，织缀成了富萍生活的背景和底色，独立构成了日常生活的真实空间，轰轰烈烈地占据了小说最跌宕起伏的乐章。

《富萍》中还欣欣然呈现出了一种新的城市阶层：如在第二节“东家”中，详细地描述了“奶奶”的东家——从部队转业的生活，他们生活简朴，大大咧咧，却也爱上馆子、买沙发、看电影。小说还描写了另外“奶奶”曾经去过的虹口区的一位解放军司令的家。但无论是描绘和东家那样迅速适应了淮海路生活的干部，还是虹口大院里的森严刻板的生活，这些个居高临下的新的统治者正渐渐开始占据起原先的公寓大楼的世界，进而也开始享用起昔日十里洋场遗留下来的淮海路、南京路上的西服店、咖啡馆，开始继承起过去踏着圆舞曲做着繁华梦的殖民地遗风，形成了和新的社会主义规范混合并存的博弈程式。虽然绕过市中心的花园洋房，特别创造出“梅家桥”这

52. 王安忆：《寻找苏青》，《上海文学》，1995年第七期。

样一片低矮的棚户区，可以概括的说为：“从淮海路到梅家桥”⁵³的一种自觉选择。但这样一个有自觉、有慧心的作家，在处处与新意识形态编撰的老上海故事拉开距离的同时，早也就隐隐陷落于“上海梦”的幻景与恣意中，反而泄露了时代的症结与隐秘。

今天，正当世人惊叹上海经济和社会的急剧发展之时，以“重返石库门”为代表的怀旧情绪也在这座城市弥漫开来。许多人看到的是被改造成“新天地”酒吧一条街的石库门：它被伪装成老上海文化中最具情调的部分，在人们的编码和想象中重新被据为己有；它不仅成为了上海城市形象的有力代言，并且转化为营建中国现代性想象的神秘背景。上海城市空间的历史果真能被这般炮制的情调给迅速“浪漫化”吗？也许这个城市让身在其中的每一个人都相信这样被塑造的城市形象，我们似乎也安逸和自得于这样的城市镜像。因为我们和这个城市息息相关，它的性格同样也写进了我们的生活之中，反而显得太过真实。文学文本的重要性在于提供给我们一种可能性，让我们一同来释放其中的多元结构，揭示其中的复杂体验；更从城市的符号表达这一领域追溯在现代生活中已经分崩离析的更直接、更具体的过去。

然而，时至今日，这种恢宏壮大的社会主义城市想象却处于一种“缺席”的状态，即使过去的记忆残片仍得以拼帖在一起，也成为了一种无法再现其灵魂的记忆。偶尔流动的是一份怀旧者的不无隔膜的怅惘之情，更多充斥的是深刻的现实焦虑之痛。人们哀叹的更多的是，解放后的上海中心城区面貌迅速“衰弱”，上海曾有的都市辉煌如花凋零，往昔风流成了人们心中无法抚平的隐痛。由于资本与消费文化席卷而来，释放了惊人的“重构”城市的欲望和力量，上海正欢欣鼓舞地重新昂首迈进跨国资本主义的全球潮流，如李欧梵所说：“上海终于在一个世纪的战争与革命的灰烬里重生了”⁵⁴。与二三十年代的上海一样，在历经近40年计划经济主导的社会主义之后，上海重新成为一个寄托了国人欲望和梦想的乌托邦城市，一个巨大的市场意识形态的经济—文化符号。“上海怀旧”的背后正是对殖民地时代的上海的迅速神话化：“她

53. 参见王晓明：《从“淮海路”到“梅家桥”——从王安忆近来的小说谈起》，载《二十世纪中国文学史论》，东方出版中心，2003年。

54. 李欧梵：《上海摩登——一种新都市文化在中国1930—1945》，352页。

是中国最大的港口和通商口岸，一个国际传奇，号称‘东方巴黎’，一个与传统中国其他地区截然不同的充满现代魅力的世界”⁵⁵。大都市的繁华，对外开放交流，对财富的崇拜与个性的张扬，对未来美好生活的向往……这些又重新塑造了上海的城市历史和上海人的历史体验。以上海二三十年代和九十年代共有的“市场经济”及消费文化为基础，把改革开放后的上海与殖民地时代的上海直接连接在一起，成为了当下流行的上海史的叙述模式。三四十年代的上海和九十年代的上海分享了共同的城市记忆，这样的上海带着一种欣然的姿态再一次亮相并风姿绰约地在一派“Light, Heat, Power”中重新占据人们的想象空间。

“想象的生产”从来没有停止过她的步伐，这种迫切的对城市记忆的重新书写表现了上海改革开放以来寻求跨越式现代化发展背后的极大的焦虑和矛盾心情。一方面，它强烈地暗示了一种“历史一致性”：南京路和外滩巍峨富丽的西方式建筑的复兴不仅带给我们对过去的美好怀念，更重要的是为后革命时代提供意义，论证了上海当下现代化方案的可行性，表征了一种以上海方式命名的依靠国家力量驱动的市场经济的可能性；另一方面带来的结果是，这种叙述在时间的纬度上将新中国成立后的四十多年的上海历史屏蔽于无形，出现了历史上的空白地带，它抹煞了其他想象的可能性。更进一步地说，当下流行的上海史的叙述模式所带来的是我们对于主流城市的理解；在这种主流理解的指导下，透过地理环境、交通安排、居民分布、社区构成和建筑样式……诸方面以“空间布局”的形式重新规划和改写了在现代城市中的居民的“生活方式”和“生活习惯”。由此把解放后的社会主义城市的想象空间说成是完全失败，恰恰是一直“误置”，因为现代城市已经成为了一种“话语”，不仅全面规范了我们对于城市空间的理解，更将现在对过去的“否定”不断地“投射”到过去，不断诋毁那样一种鲜活的改造资本主义都市结构、营造社会主义城市空间的全面努力，并且以形象化地方式表达所有的改造都是浮光掠影，留下来的才是真实的生活：

……这是1957年的冬天，外面的世界正在发生大事情，和这炉边的小天地无关。这小天地是在世界的边角上，或者缝隙里，互相都被遗忘，倒也是安全。

55. 李欧梵：《上海摩登——一种新都市文化在中国1930—1945》，4页。

窗外飘着雪，屋里有一炉火，是什么样良辰美景啊！他们都很会动脑筋，在炉子上做出许多文章。烤朝鲜鱼干，烤年糕片，做一个开水锅涮羊肉，下面条。他们下午就来，来了就坐到炉子旁，边闲谈边吃喝。午饭、点心、晚饭都是连成一片的。雪天的太阳，有和没有也一样，没有了时辰似的。那时间也是连成一气的。等窗外一片漆黑，他们才迟疑不决起身回家。这时气温已经零下，地上结着冰，他们打着寒噤，脚下滑着，像一个半梦半醒的人⁵⁶。

56. 王安忆：《长恨歌》，193页。

战后民主主义对自由民权运动的探讨 ——以植木枝盛为例

Discussion on Jiyu Minken Undo by Postwar Democracy in Japan:
the Case of Ueki Emori

那希芳

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解题

战后民主主义这一思潮是在怎样的背景下产生的呢？根据高嶋通敏¹的解释，“战后民主主义作为历史用语，其出现具有一定的时间过程，在《旧金山和约》缔结、美军占领结束前后，起先被革职的保守派政治家们陆续回归政界，他们以鸠山一郎(1883-1959)为首，打着‘纠正过头的民主化’的旗帜宣传改宪，意欲夺取政权。左右两派社会党、劳农党、共产党成为与这种‘逆流’作战的革新力量，他们展开了‘保护和平与民主’的护宪运动。从出版物也可看出，战后民主主义成为此时期宪法否定派与护宪派激烈冲突中的争论焦点”（中村1995, 1页）。

战后民主主义具体是指二战后的一系列民主化政策。是战后各阶层人士对于何谓自由民主，以及如何在政治、社会、经济等领域实现自由民主等问题，进行的一系列思考和行动。其内涵随着时代和个人理解的不同而有诸多差异。然而对自由民主问题的思考不是二战后才出现的，早在1874-1890年间，日本就出现了第一次追求自由民主的运动，史称“自由民权运动”。本文试图探讨的问题是，战后民主主义在对自由民主这一问题进行思考的过程中，是如何借鉴和反思自由民权运动的。

1. 中村政則等編《戦後民主主義》岩波書店，1995年。

1. 自由民权研究的状况

1.1. “民主主义的人民大众运动”

自由民权运动一般是指，从“民选议院设立建白”（1874年）²起，至1890年国会正式召开，这期间持续展开的国民性政治运动³。对于自由民权运动，二战前的研究界没有进行太多探讨⁴。二战后美军占领期间，在麦克阿瑟（1880-1964）的领导下，军国主义解体，日本开始施行民主化政策，其核心是《日本宪法》的制定⁵。在民主化浪潮下，二战后的研究界开始对自由民权运动进行广泛的研究。

学者铃木安藏（1904-1983）在其1948年写的文章⁶中，对自由民权运动做了全面肯定的评价。他说，自由民权的研究要重新认识和探讨以下问题，即“我们的祖辈在六、七十年以前，面对着绝对主义专制和封建性的从属关系，是怎样为人权、自由和平等，为人民主权而战斗的。他们的斗争又是怎样被镇压的。他们的斗争存在哪些问题”（铃木1948，2页）。铃木在别的文章⁷里，进一步将自由民权运动表述为“日本开展的第一次民主主义人民大众运动”（铃木1957，88页）。二战后，很多人像铃木这样评价自由民权运动。但同时，也存在着不同的意见。

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2. 1874年，因“征韩论”失败下野的板垣退助、后藤象二郎、副岛种臣、江藤新平等人向政府提出希望选举代表参与政治的建议。他们同时向左院提交了“民选议院设立建白”。这件事成为自由民权运动的开端。《日本国語大辞典》第二版，小学館，2000-2002年。
 3. 丸山真男1948年的论文〈自由民権運動史〉丸山真男《戦中と戦後の間》みすず書房，1979年，308页。
 4. 据学者井上清回忆，二战前日本学界对明治以后的历史研究望而却步，尤其进入“天皇制法西斯”时代后，“搞明治时代的研究甚至可能遭到迫害”。井上清〈自由民権运动をめぐる历史の評価について〉《思想》379号，岩波書店，1956年。引自井上清《井上清史论集2 自由民権》岩波書店，2003年，100-101页。
 5. 《戦後民主主義》（注1），2页。
 6. 植木枝盛著，鈴木安藏解題《言論自由論 勃爾罈を殺す》実業之日本社，1948年。
 7. 鈴木安藏〈植木枝盛の人民主权論〉明治史料研究連絡会編《民权论からナショナルイズムへ》御茶水書房，1957年。

1.2. 丸山真男的观点

丸山真男（1914-1996）在1948年写的论文〈自由民权运动史〉⁸中，将自由民权运动分为三个时期，第一期为“明治七年的民选议院建白到明治十年的西南战争时期”，第二期为“西南战争以后到明治十七八年左右”，第三期为“以大同团结运动为中心的明治二十年前后”（丸山1979，309页）。丸山认为第一期的性质不是“由群众‘自下层’支撑起来的、自发的自由主义运动”，而是“明治维新后，由‘上层主导’构建近代统一国家之际，以没能参与进去的落伍武士阶级为核心，掀起的反政府运动”（丸山1979，311页）。丸山对于“民选议院设立建白”的评价也不高，他认为其是“在征韩论不被采纳的情况下，表达不满的一种手段”。“参加建白的人，他们自己对于民选议院即近代的议会制度，究竟有多大程度的认识，是值得怀疑的”（丸山1979，312页）。

丸山认为，在第二期旧武士的身分发生了变化，他们“失去了社会上的特权，逐渐无产化”。在“武士层和群众层之间，具备了形成共同战线的基础。”（丸山1979，316页）。在第二期的后期，运动中增加了“贫农层反抗”的因素，使第二期的运动既是“政治运动”，又“带有某种浓厚的社会运动的性格”（丸山1979，319-320页）。也就是说丸山认为，在第二期运动中武士与群众真正地联合了起来，运动具有一定的群众基础。他还认为，将自由民权运动仅看作“政治运动”是不够全面的。丸山说第三期的情况更为复杂，是在“国粹主义者”、“日本主义者”与自由民权派的“共同战线”下进行的（丸山1979，322页）。

可见，丸山在探讨自由民权运动时，并不急于给自由民权运动加上“民主主义的人民大众运动”这样的称号。但他也不全盘否定自由民权运动的民主主义性质。他在1960年发表的论文〈忠誠と反逆〉⁹中谈到“自由民権論中の抵抗と反逆”，并对自由民权运动的抵抗思想非常重视。

丸山非常重视探讨历史本身，采取的方法也是分析式的。他对自由民权

8. 收录于《戦中と戦後の間》（注3）。

9. 丸山真男〈忠誠と反逆〉伊藤整等編《近代日本思想史講座6》筑摩書房，1960年。引自丸山真男《忠誠と反逆》筑摩書房，1992年，45-58页。

运动的某些方面持批判态度。他视第一国会后的自由党的活动为“自由民权运动的挫折乃至变质”。他认为“自由民权运动存在内部的脆弱性”。其原因有二，一是“自由民权运动思想基础方面的脆弱性”（丸山 1979, 326-327 页）。具体如“国家主义”与“天赋人权主义”的“并存”，及“自由观念”的混乱等（丸山 1979, 331-332 页）。第二是由于“自由民权运动内部的相互抗争”（丸山 1979, 333 页）。丸山还指出了自由民权运动的“非近代性”。他批评了从“欧洲的自由主义运动做机械的类推”，硬是将自由民权运动用“近代的尺度”去解释的做法（丸山 1979, 337-338 页）。

1.3 自由民权研究的主流思想

然而丸山对自由民权运动的理解方式，在二战后的学界可说并非是主流。丸山也没有对自由民权运动进行更多深入的探讨。二战后多数研究者的自由民权观，莫若说更接近铃木安藏的看法。他们大多赞同将自由民权运动定位为“民主主义的人民大众运动”。研究者之间的争议，主要集中于自由民权运动的具体评价方面。

1.3.1. 平野义太郎

平野义太郎（1897-1980）在 1948 年的著作《民权运动的发展》¹⁰ 中，分析了自由民权运动内部的阶级构成，认为“旧下级武士和富农富商们”是“半封建性质的剥削者”，他们的存在“导致了自由党的反动”。平野对以上阶级的评价是极低的，也不重视对他们的研究。与此相对，他更加重视对“小农和城市劳动人民”、“东洋自由党”¹¹ 及其指导者大井宪太郎（1843-1922）的研

10. 平野義太郎《民権運動の發展》雄鷄社，1948年。

11. 明治25（1892）年11月结成的帝国议会初期的小政党。由大井宪太郎、樽井藤吉等在自由党内部成立的东洋俱乐部发展而来，一些急進的民权论者加入其中。他们主张立宪代议制和强硬的外交政策，发行了机关杂志《新東洋》。次年12月该党解散（《日本国語大辞典》第二版，小学館，2000-2002年）。

究（平野 1948，1-2 页）。平野对大井等发动的“大阪事件”¹²也给与很高的评价（平野 1948，6 页）。而当今学界一般认为该事件具有干涉别国内政的侵略性质，平野的说法值得商榷。由于当时学界盛行马克思主义唯物史观，其中阶级斗争是极为重要的内容。自由民权运动的领导者多为平野所说的“旧下级武士和富农富商”出身，平野既认定他们是“半封建性质的剥削者”，对其不予重视便成了很自然的事情。平野之所以给与大井宪太郎及其组织的“东洋自由党”如此高的评价，是因为平野认为他们与“小农和城市劳动人民”站在同一战线上的缘故。

1.3.2. 井上清

对此，井上清（1934-2001）抱有不同看法。井上在 1951 年的论文〈自由民权运动〉¹³中认为“富农富商阶层”同样具有“革命的因素”（井上 2003，55 页），他主张对“富农富商阶层”给与合理评价。而对于“大阪事件”，井上明确指出其是“从国内民主革命逃离的运动”，具有“军国主义”性质（井上 2003，67 页）。

井上在 1956 年的论文〈关于自由民权运动的历史评价问题〉¹⁴中，指出了当时研究界的趋势：很多研究者对自由民权运动中，由旧武士和富农领导开展的运动持否定性见解。很多研究者对“所谓诸事件——从福岛事件到群马事件、加波山事件、秩父事件、饭田事件等接连的起义或其计划”称赞不已，认为那才是“革命运动”。这种倾向一直很普遍（井上 2003，108 页）。井上的观点则不同，他认为应该给与“国会开设运动、以及板垣退助”¹⁵更多的评价。

12. 明治 18（1885）年大井宪太郎等旧自由党左派人士拟参与朝鲜的内政改革，在渡海前被发现，139 人在大阪和长崎被捕的事件（《日本国語大辞典》第二版，小学馆，2000-2002 年）。

13. 〈自由民権運動〉《新日本史講座》中央公論社，1951 年。引自《井上清史論集 2 自由民権》（注 4）。

14. 参照注 4。

15. 板垣退助（1837-1919）：政治家。土佐藩出身。在幕末时期推动了讨伐幕府的运动。明治维新后在新政府任参议，因主张征韩论下野。其后组织了爱国公党，向政府提交了“民选议院设立建白书”。此后一直领导自由民权运动，并创建了自由党。后来他又组建了立宪自由党，还担当过内务大臣（《日本国語大辞典》第二版，小学

他还认为，对于“自由党的诸多起义”，也要看到其存在的问题（井上 2003，109 页）。井上还强调了自由民权运动孕育出的诸多思想——“天赋人权论”、“人民主权”、“革命权”等——的价值（井上 2003，125 页），他对于自由党发挥的作用给与了一定的评价，并没有采纳单纯从阶级的角度看待问题的方法。他还说，

对于历史的评价不应是这样的方式，即首先确立一个理想的基准，或者一个百分之百的“正解”，对照这个“正解”给一段历史评分。历史评价的唯一立场，应该是看它对日本人的进步和发展做出了哪些新的贡献。武士或者富农的身份本身并不是问题。他们中的知识分子，从理论或知识的角度参与到自由民权革命中来，这本身也没有问题。有人因为他们没有斗争到最后就说他们不争气，说他们因为是武士、富农所以不行。这种研究方式，完全是用经济的架构偷换政治史。（井上 1956，110-111 页）

井上指出的问题，正是战后民主主义在研究中出现的问题。由于过度重视经济基础的作用，他们侧重经济结构、阶级结构的分析，忽略了很多重要的问题。

1.3.3. 后藤靖

二战后初期，马克思主义史学占据了压倒性的优势，在此情况下很多研究都没能离开阶级的观点去看问题。关于这种研究方法遗留下的问题，后藤靖（1926-1998）在 1960 年的论文〈关于战后的民权运动研究〉¹⁶中做了批评。他说，“将政治过程仅仅看作是经济过程的直接反映或其对应物来进行把握，这是贯穿民权运动研究史的一般倾向”（后藤 1960，58 页）。由于马克思主义史学认为，经济基础决定上层建筑，因此当时对自由民权的把握难免以社会的经济结构和阶级构成为核心，这也就是后藤所说的“将政治过程仅仅看作

館，2000-2002年）。

16. 後藤靖〈戦後の民権運動の研究について〉《歴史学研究》247号，青木書店，1960年。

是经济过程的直接反映”。

后藤自身也可说是一位具有马克思主义史学倾向的学者，他也非常重视阶级关系的研究。但是后藤对这种研究方法做了反思性的回顾，提出也应重视“政治思想”的研究。但后藤要探讨的“思想”，并不是今天一般意义上的思想。他说自己要探讨的“思想”不包括“抽象意义上的”内容，而必须是“与组织理论乃至组织过程相结合的”思想。后藤强调的是“一定的政治理念和组织化”同等重要，对于此二者都要好好探讨。在他看来，此二者虽然都处于“阶级关系”的影响下，但仅探讨“阶级关系”，不足以弄清楚“政治理念”和“组织化”本身的问题。后藤将此二者统称为“主体的关系”（后藤 1960，58 页），他提出应该重视“主体的关系”，这一观点在当时是很有创见性的。后藤所言“主体的关系”，我推测，指的是仅通过研究“阶级关系”不足以弄明白的、作为思考和行动主体的人的存在方式。

后藤还提出要重视“政治思想”。他本人也在该论文中探讨了“进口的革命思想”在日本如何被接受的问题。他认为要弄明白“进口的革命思想”多大程度地在日本被接受，最终要先弄清楚日本“自生的思维方法”，具体说就是自由民权期普遍存在于社会各阶层的意识中的“国学＝尊攘思想”（后藤 1960，62 页）。后藤的这一提法，对于自由民权思想的研究来说，是一个很好的启示。可惜他并没有对这一问题进行更为细致的讨论。

虽然后藤在给“政治思想”加了很多限定的前提下，提出要重视“政治思想”。然而他的这一想法可谓后继乏人。松尾章一（1930-）的著作《自由民权思想的研究》¹⁷一书，算是对自由民权思想做了一个概括性的综观，除此以外，专门探讨自由民权思想的著作很少。

1.3.4. 色川大吉

与后藤相比，色川大吉（1925-）的研究方法对之后的自由民权研究影响深远。色川于 1964 年出版了《明治精神史》¹⁸一书，该书聚焦于地方富农，在

17. 松尾章一《自由民権思想の研究》柏書房，1965年。

18. 色川大吉《明治精神史》黄河書房，1964年。

自由民权的地方史及民众史研究方面贡献不小。根据色川自己后来的表述，他“以1960年为界限，精神深层发生了变化”，他开始想要探求“埋没于历史中的、人民思想的地下水。并从中发掘出开启未来变革的契机”。他说，“不将自己的立场放在历史底层的水脉上，真正的思想独立无从谈起”¹⁹。由于民众不是思想家，他们的想法不一定都可以称之为思想，所以色川干脆放弃思想一词，取而代之以“精神”。色川的研究实际上并没有忽视思想方面的内容，但由于他对研究对象做出了限定，自由民权运动的核心思想（自由党、改进党的主要理论家的思想）不是他研究的中心内容。

色川在1981年的著作《自由民权》²⁰中，将自由民权运动分为三种潮流：以反政府武士为中心的“爱国社潮流”、以地方富农民权家为中心的“在村潮流”和“都市民权派潮流”（色川1981, 49页）。在这里他依旧以“在村潮流”为中心展开叙述，同时用了比以往更多的篇幅论述了“爱国社潮流”和“都市民权派潮流”的思想。但由于此书篇幅所限，大都没能充分展开。

以上是对二战后的自由民权思想研究趋势的概观。下面以自由民权运动的指导者植木枝盛的研究为例，进一步分析自由民权思想研究存在的实际问题。

2. 植木枝盛的研究

植木枝盛（1857-1892）是自由民权运动在理论和实践两方面的领导者。他的自由民权思想在明治前期处于重要地位。同时他深入群众，通过演说开启民智，在短暂的35岁生涯里，所作公共演说多达500余次。下面探讨一下，这位重要的思想家是如何被研究和评价的。

2.1. 研究目的

植木研究的第一人是铃木安藏。据铃木自述，1936年5月29日，他为调

19. 色川大吉《色川大吉著作集1 新編明治精神史》筑摩書房，1995年，547页。

20. 色川大吉《自由民権》岩波書店，1981年。

查自由民权有关资料，第一次访问了高知县²¹。这也是他与植木枝盛最初的邂逅。继铃木之后，研究者林茂（1912-1987）赴高知调查了有关资料。目前日本国会图书馆所藏《植木枝盛文书》（《宪政史编纂会收集文书》所收），基本是他们调查的资料汇总起来的。

铃木和林所共同关心的是植木的宪法思想。林很早就发表了论文〈植木枝盛的宪法私案与所谓立志社案的起草〉²²。铃木自身是宪法学者，二战后与高野岩三郎（1871-1949）等组织了宪法研究会。1945年12月该会发表了《宪法草案要纲》²³。其后铃木一直作为护宪派人士活动。家永三郎（1913-2002）认为这部《宪法草案要纲》与“枝盛的宪法草案相符之处甚多”²⁴。不难想见，铃木等人从植木枝盛起草的《日本国国宪案》（1881年）中受到很多启发。而且可大致认为，他们的植木研究首先是从宪法方面的问题入手的。战后铃木的研究重点逐渐转移到宪法学理论方面，他此后没有投入太多精力到植木研究中去。

据铃木的回忆²⁵，诺曼（E. Herbert. Norman, 1909-1957）在执笔《日本近代国家的诞生》²⁶一书时，曾受到铃木等的批评，认为他书中“关于自由民权的部分所用的资料不充分”，此后诺曼对自由民权思想更加着力考察，对于当时仅在部分学者之间“刚弄清楚全貌的植木枝盛和大井宪太郎等”，诺曼也开始了研究。由此可见，有关植木枝盛以及自由民权思想等内容，是经由铃木等介绍给诺曼的。此后诺曼又将其介绍给了驻扎日本的美国占领军方面。据铃木讲，大概在1948年春天的“GHQ与民政局及民间情报局联合举行的新闻发布会上”，“GHQ声明”里说，“真正的民主主义日本，正像伟大的民主主义思想家植木枝盛在很早以前所主张的那样”。可见，此前由诺曼介绍给

21. 铃木安藏〈植木枝盛論稿補遺〉《立正大学教养部纪要》7，立正大学教养部，1974年3月，2页。

22. 林茂〈植木枝盛の憲法私案と所謂立志社案の起草〉《国家学会雑誌》51卷9号，東京大学大学院法学政治学研究科，1937年9月。

23. 吉川弘文館編集部編《誰でも読める日本近代史年表》吉川弘文館，2008年。

24. 家永三郎《植木枝盛研究》岩波書店，1960年，694页。

25. 鈴木安藏〈植木枝盛の人民主權論〉《法学志林》47（1），法政大学法学志林協會，1949年7月。引自明治史料研究連絡会編《民権論からナショナリズムへ》御茶の水書房，1957年，84-85页。

26. 原著*Japan's Emergence as a Modern State: Political and Economic Problems of the Meiji Period.* 1940。

GHQ（即联合国最高司令官总司令部）的有关植木的知识，再度经由 GHQ 介绍给了日本各界。很多人因此知道了植木的存在。铃木说，此前日本各界对植木是不甚了解的。

战后植木枝盛研究的集大成者家永三郎，他开始植木研究的动机之一，我想也和铃木一样，是出于对宪法问题的关心。家永想要通过植木研究，来证明《日本国宪法》的正当性。1946年11月3日发布的《日本国宪法》，“以主权在民、和平主义、基本人权的尊重为基调”²⁷。但在“逆流”时期，此宪法很可能被保守政治家们否定掉，此时，包括家永在内的民主主义者拥护《日本国宪法》，加入到了知识的战斗中。

当时对《日本国宪法》的批判中，有认为该宪法不具备“日本民族真正的民族意志”和“具体体现民族信念”等条件²⁸。对此，家永的主张是这样的：《日本国宪法》的内容与“明治10年代民间的私拟宪法惊人地相似，（中略）尤其与枝盛的私拟宪法在构想上之一致，到了让人惊叹的地步。”（家永1960，696页）。对家永来说，《日本国宪法》虽然在形式上是被美国“强加过来的宪法”（家永1960，695页）。但其精神与明治前期的自由民权运动孕育出的思想是相通的。自由民权思想既然是“民族意志”“民族信念”中产生出来的“日本本土的民主主义”，那么自由民权思想的存在，也就间接地证明了《日本国宪法》与“民族意志”、“民族信念”是一致的。

众所周知，植木起草的《日本国国宪案》规定了“人民的抵抗权和革命权”，采取了“人民主权说的立场”，重视“地方自治”²⁹，在自由民权期的私拟宪法中是特别杰出的。由此可见，家永的植木研究的一个意图，就是通过揭示植木的宪法思想与《日本国宪法》的一致性，证明《日本国宪法》的正当性。

2.2. 家永以前的植木研究

综上所述，战后不久植木枝盛开始受到关注。铃木安藏在战后不久编辑

27. 《日本国語大辞典》第二版，小学館，2000-2002年。

28. 宪法调查会的大石义雄(1903-1991)的发言，家永三郎著《植木枝盛研究》（注24），705页。

29. 《日本国語大辞典》第二版，小学館，2000-2002年。

出版了植木的著作³⁰。在此书的解说中铃木评价植木说，“在有组织的运动中，他的行动符合政治实践的要求；而且他为运动从理论上指引方向，像他这样的人是罕见的”（铃木 1948，13-14 页）。铃木给与植木的评价，甚至比大井宪太郎（1843-1922）、中江兆民（1847-1901）更高。

铃木之后，植木研究的具体情况如何呢？家永三郎说，“在言论被最大限度允许自由的占领初期的几年内，除铃木将他二战前的研究积累发表出来外，基本没有新的枝盛研究成果发表”（家永 1960，10 页）。家永说，枝盛研究“转移到继承铃木研究业绩的战后派更年轻一代人手中，出现新动向”，是在“权力对思想的统制开始复活，使得已觉醒的国民根据自己的实感自觉到了民主主义危机的时候，即进入所谓逆流时期以后的现象”（家永 1960，10 页）。家永所说的“逆流”，是从“1948 年的占领政策转变开始的，1951 年后开始具有系统性”³¹。

调查一下植木研究的文献，其情况大致与家永所说相符。那么植木研究为什么要等到进入“逆流”时期才活跃起来呢？

占领最初‘民主主义’的流行，仅仅停留在与占领军发放的食品无甚差异的‘配给的自由’状态。而美国及其傀儡政权一旦企图将‘配给’的自由和民主主义从国民那里夺回去的时候，国民中才迸发出热情来，要使自由和民主主义成为自己的东西并保留下去。于是，保卫和平与民主主义的国民运动以各种形式开展起来。这时候，他们想要从祖辈们的民主主义精神中汲取激励和教训的热情也越来越高。作为日本民主主义传统重要一环的枝盛的业绩，才再次被认识到。（家永 1960，10 页）

可见，植木被重新发掘的过程，与前述高岛通敏所说的战后民主主义的兴起是一致的。也就是说，战后民主主义在追溯自身的民主主义传统的过程中，重新展开了对植木枝盛的研究。

此时期的植木研究中，对他的评价可谓褒贬不一。服部辩之助³²（1904-

30. 《言論自由論 勃爾鄂を殺す》（注 6）。

31. 《日本大百科全書》小学館，1994年。

32. 服部弁之助〈植木枝盛の個人主義思想〉《早稲田大学教育学部学術研究 人文・社会・自然》7号，早稲田大学教育会，1958年10月。

1981)称赞植木的思想是“明治初期稀有的‘个人主义’思想”(服部1958,67页)。而对植木持批判态度的研究者如色川大吉³³,在他1956年的论文中却说,“土地革命才是资产阶级民主革命的中心问题”,自由党解党前后的“各起义”具有“农民斗争的性质”,是“土地革命的萌芽”。色川认为植木对这些农民斗争缺乏理解。他批判植木“站在富农、富商等资产阶级立场上理解农民”。并将此看做“明治前半期资产阶级地主的阶级性局限”(色川1956,39页)。

小山仁示³⁴(1931-2012)虽然认为植木“非常快速的形成了纯度很高的革命思想”(小山1959,276页),但其思想存在“致命的缺陷”,即是过于“理想主义的、非现实的、主观的”。原因在于植木的思想不是源于“日常的生活体验,而是通过灌输进来的欧美近代思想,参加运动的”。小山批评了植木这种“知识人的态度”。他认为植木的思想直到最后都是在“资产阶级民主主义”框架内的。小山本人很重视“以地方农村的富农层为中心的在村潮流”(小山1959,280页),他认为植木没有理解“在村潮流的作用”(小山1959,282页),因此对植木进行了强烈的批判。此外小山还指出,植木缺乏“农民革命的思想”和“经济解放的具体计划”(小山1959,284-285页)。小山批判植木,却对他认为站在“没落农民的立场”(小山1959,286页)上的大井宪太郎大加赞赏。

可见,不论是色川还是小山,他们都是从阶级的角度出发去讨论植木的。对于学界这种过于重视阶级的研究方法,家永三郎指出了其不足之处,

最近学界的动向,倾向于对枝盛的意义不给以高度评价。这是出于对民主主义运动的大众基础这一问题进行反省,从而形成的严厉的批判式考察。(中略)从其评价的内容,可以看到公式主义战略论的影子,即只急于将民主主义运动还原为阶级因素。(中略)最近日本所处的历史条件,到了应该进行更广泛、更灵活地开展民主主义斗争的阶段,仅从阶级的

33. 色川大吉〈家永三郎著《革命思想の先駆者》とその方法について〉《歴史学研究》194号,青木書店,1956年4月。此书评是针对家永三郎著《革命思想の先駆者——植木枝盛の人と思想》(岩波書店,1955年)所写。家永的此著作在观点和方法上都与之后的著作《植木枝盛研究》(注24)一脉相通。故在此暂不对这部著作进行讨论。关于家永的植木研究,将在后面详细展开。

34. 小山仁示〈植木枝盛の思想の特質〉《史泉》(16,17)関西大学史学地理学会,1959年12月。此论文随后被收入住谷悦治等編《講座 日本社会思想史1明治社会思想の形成》(芳賀書店,1969年)。题目改为〈自由民権と植木枝盛の思想〉(虽少许修改,主旨基本不变)。

观点来把握，对于这样的斗争来说是远不够的。（家永 1960，12 页）

家永的著作《植木枝盛研究》企图克服学界的这种“公式主义”倾向，他不仅限于用阶级的观点去探讨植木的思想，而是全面地阐明了植木的思想和行动，通过详实的史料分析论证了植木思想的价值和意义。

2.3. 家永的研究方法

家永对植木的把握具有一定的特点。比如他常说到“近似”这个词。他不仅认为植木的宪法草案与《日本国宪法》之间存在“近似”，还认为两宪法背后的时代背景也“酷似”。在他看来，在战后的思想界，“明治宪法=教育敕语体制下的正统思想丧失了权威，出现了一种思想的真空状态”。这与“民权运动失败前的明治前半期的思想状况酷似”（家永 1960，694 页）。这里所说的“真空状态”，是指以前的价值体系被否定（家永称之为“旧的桎梏被解开”），新的价值体系尚未形成的状态。家永将这种“真空状态”看作是自由民权思想发生的“历史条件”，对此极为重视（家永 1960，118 页）。二战后直到《日本国宪法》发布为止的时期，与《明治帝国宪法》（1889 年 2 月 11 日）发布以前的时期相似，宪法问题被允许自由议论。家永将日本历史上的这两个时代重叠起来观察，将战后民主主义定位为自由民权思想的继承者，籍此再次确认了日本的民主主义的传统。

但是以上研究视角也导致了这样一种研究方法，即以战后民主主义的理想为标准，来论定自由民权期思想的成败。家永之所以对植木思想评价甚高，是因为植木思想里面的“人民主权说、抵抗权、革命权的主张”（家永 1960，105 页）。这些内容与战后民主主义奋斗的目标是一致的。

此外，家永的植木研究还包含了他独特的视角。他说自己的工作是在发掘植木思想中“客体形象化了的一面”（家永 1960，675 页）。“客体形象化”是指什么？根据家永的看法，“思想”具有两个方面，一是“思想家个人的主体性”，二是“客体形象化”的内容。后者指“脱离个人精神领域的社会性存在”，是“民族的乃至人类的文化遗产”（家永 1960，681 页）。家永要探讨的正是这个

层面上的植木“思想”。

家永将二战后国民“宪法意识”的高涨，看作是植木的“抵抗权主张”的实现，家永认为两者的关系“让人感觉到历史的必然性”（家永 1960, 708 页）。也就是说在他看来，植木的“抵抗权”理论被二战后的护宪运动继承，是一种必然的历史趋势。

家永所说的“客体形象化”的思想，和“历史必然性”等，我想一定程度上是在讲思想的普遍性。从他的这种立场出发，如果一种思想成为“社会性存在”，其必然具有超越时空的有效性。在家永的想法里面，历史前一阶段没有充分得到实践的正确思想，在后来的时代中必然被实现。因此家永主张对植木思想中优秀的一面给予“永远不朽的评价”（家永 1960, 708 页）。

家永对思想家的另一个评价标准是“论理的彻底性”（家永 1960, 679 页）。这也与他所追求的思想的普遍性有一定联系。家永以“论理的彻底性”作为衡量标准，由此认为大正民主主义时期的民主主义者吉野作造（1878-1933）和美浓部达吉（1873-1948）的思想，从“理论上讲，与枝盛的思想以及社会主义者所代表的民权派立场等相比，不可否认明显地后退了”（家永 1960, 693 页）。家永的著作《植木枝盛研究》出版已过了半世纪之久，现在看来，将“论理的彻底性”作为评价思想家的标准，这种方法有其局限性。这种做法很可能过度地抬高了植木的思想，而又过度贬低了其他的思想家（如吉野和美浓部等）。

家永要探讨植木思想的普遍性、论理的彻底性，这本身是一件很有意义的工作。不过，此种视角容易导致对植木思想的历史性重视不足的问题³⁵。家永的著作，对植木思想的形成过程（变化和转变等），以及当时的历史潮流（人物、事件、舆论）给植木带来的影响等问题，没有充分的加以讨论³⁶。

此外，虽然植木思想的高度已广为人知，但植木是怎样达到这样的思想

35. 色川大吉在论文〈家永三郎著《革命思想の先駆者》とその方法について〉（注33）中，谈到家永的研究方法时说，“家永只去探讨枝盛在各时期的各阶段的思想中，诸矛盾的同一性和普遍性的方面，对于诸矛盾的斗争性、特殊性（历史性）的方面，完全没有探讨或者探讨得很不充分”。色川的这一批判对于《革命的思想的先驱者》延长线上的、基本是从同样立场写成的《植木枝盛研究》，也可说是有效的。

36. 向井健（生卒年不详）在论文〈明治9年の養子論争と植木枝盛〉（《法学研究》29（7），慶応義塾大学法学研究会，1956年7月）中，强调了研究植木思想形成过程的意义，认为家永著《革命思想の先駆者》“只是在静的层面上进行了考察，只有采用动态的方法，才能探索其思想流动变化的一面”（63页）。

高度的呢？家永对这个问题的回答也显不足。明治 10 年代前后大量出现的翻译书籍给了植木很大影响。植木是怎样接受这些西方思想的？他是怎样将其与东亚的传统思想（日本国学、神道、佛教、儒学等思想）进行整合，开创自己的新思想的？这些问题对于当代的我们依然很有意义。并且植木留下了大量的资料，便于我们去探究这些问题。也许对于战后初期的家永来说，这些问题和他当时的关心点相距较远，所以他没有充分去探讨。

此外，在家永的视野中，植木思想是与“封建思想”的对决中产生的。这也是他不将植木思想放在历史中去看的一个原因。家永说，

欲将日本导向古典资产阶级民主主义体制的自由民权思想，与欲确立天皇制君权主义国家机构的藩阀政府的政策，二者作为相反的两极严峻地对峙着。结局是前者的败北、后者的胜利。以明治宪法和教育敕语为象征的天皇制国家主义，确保了其作为新正统思想的权威性。枝盛的思想可以说在这个对抗中处于其中一极的极限位置，并展示了其论理的根限形态。从这种意义上来讲，他在日本历史上极其重大的思想决战中，扮演了其中一极的第一人的角色。（家永 1960，681 页）

按照家永的说法，代表民主主义方向的“自由民权思想”，与代表“天皇制国家主义”的“新正统思想”，二者是对立的关系。家永所说的“正统思想”，他也称其为“封建时代以来的正统政治意识”、“封建思想”、“传统的正统思想”（家永 1960，682-683 页），可见他指的是过去时代占统治地位的思想。在家永的构图中，“新正统思想”是封建思想的延续和继承，是他所痛斥的。而植木思想恰是站在其对立面上的，因此家永着力刻画了其先进性与革命性。但是家永的这一研究方法，却有可能导致植木思想中包含的诸多传统思想元素，以及来自植木的武士身份的思想元素被忽视。

2.4. 家永的继承者

家永的大作《植木枝盛研究》出版后，植木枝盛作为思想家开始受到广泛关注。但是研究界对他的评价不一，有人极其推崇他的思想，有人对他提出了尖锐的批评。

高阜彻郎（1939-）在1969年的论文³⁷中，称植木为“革命的民主主义思想家”（高阜1969，11页）、并称赞他的思想是“自由民权论的极致”、“真正的民主主义”（高阜1969，56页）。他对于植木起草的《日本国国宪案》，更极言其是“民主主义的”宪法，“有的部分甚至比现行宪法更彻底”（高阜1969，26-27页）。他还对植木“重视人权的立场”（高阜1969，29页）、“以抵抗权、革命权为支柱的革命民主主义思想”（高阜1969，32页）、“无政府主义倾向”（高阜1969，41页）、“世界连邦政府构想”（高阜1969，44页）给予了高度评价。高阜将植木思想定位为“日本的民主主义思想过渡到社会主义思想的桥梁”（高阜1969，51页）。高阜说自己的植木研究，目的是要在自己所处的时代，发展“当今革命思想的最大任务”之一的、“作为抵抗权、革命权原理的”民主主义思想（高阜1969，55页）。

宫川透（1927-1999）在其著作《自由民权思想与日本的浪漫主义》³⁸中也说，植木“将明晰、透彻的抵抗权与革命权原理，编写进宪法草案的条文中，没有别人能做到这一点”。他认为虽然植木思想具有“观念的思辨性”、“理念纯粹性”，“缺乏对现实形势的认识”，存在着“与现实脱节”等问题，但“维新后短短数年内，经过迷茫、探索和钻研的过程，一位日本的年轻知识人，能够达到这样的思想、理论高度”，还是应给与高度认可”。他还说“即便在今天，我们日本人也还是在与植木所到达的理论高度相差很远的地点彷徨着”（宫川等1971，44-45页）。

松永昌三（1932-）³⁹也对植木起草的《日本国国宪案》评价甚高，他认为尤其是“抵抗权、武装权、革命权诸条”，在“日本宪法思想史上找不到其他例子”。这些内容反映了植木“卓越的人权感觉”。松永对此非常重视（松永

37. 高阜彻郎〈植木枝盛——自由民権思想の極致〉小山仁示编《明治国家への反逆》芳賀書店，1969年。

38. 宫川透、土方和雄《自由民権思想と日本のロマン主義》青木書店，1971年。

39. 松永昌三《中江兆民と植木枝盛》清水書院，1972年。

1972, 94 页)。

井田辉敏(1930-)在论文〈明治前期的‘抵抗权’思想〉⁴⁰中,将福泽谕吉与植木枝盛并称为“代表当时抵抗权思想的双璧”(井田1982, 7 页)。但他对福泽的抵抗权思想多有批判,却认为植木的抵抗权思想“其耀眼的特殊光芒令人惊叹”(井田1982, 38 页)。井田还说植木的“反权力意志具有惊人的坚韧性”(井田1982, 44 页)。

2.5. 对植木的批判

远山茂树⁴¹(1914-2011)也认可家永所强调的植木思想的意义,但他提出了一个问题,即植木的“思想与行动,以及思想内部”存在矛盾。他认为这是因为植木的理论是“从现实中提取思想的通道被封闭了的单向行驶的思考”(远山1961, 29 页)。也就是说植木的思想不是来自于现实的经验的提炼,而是来自于抽象思考。

高木郁朗(1939-)⁴²认为植木“将‘民权’定位于与‘国家’对抗的关系之中,这一点触及到了民主主义的核心”。显示了“民主主义思想的最高水准”。但植木思想存在“小资本家出身的理论家的局限”,他认为植木“本能地意识到了直接生产者的权利,但不具有将其上升到理性层面的经济理论”。原因是植木“不具备社会结构、生产关系方面的认识和实践”(高木1970, 135-136 页)。高木对此表示十分遗憾。

学者铃木安藏曾在二战前为植木枝盛研究的史料收集做出贡献,并于二战后不久出版了植木的著作,对其思想给予了高度评价。但他在1974年的论文⁴³中却说,作为自由民权运动“左派理论”的植木思想,“与法国革命等提

40. 井田輝敏〈明治前期の‘抵抗権’思想——福沢諭吉と植木枝盛を中心として〉《北九州大学法政論集》10(1, 2), 北九州大学法学会, 1982年11月。

41. 遠山茂樹〈家永三郎著《植木枝盛研究》〉《历史評論》127, 校倉書房, 1961年3月。

42. 高木郁朗〈中江兆民と植木枝盛——日本における社会思想の源流〉《唯物史観》8, 十月社, 1970年2月。

43. 鈴木安藏〈植木枝盛論稿補遺〉《立正大学教養部紀要》7, 立正大学教養部, 1974年3月。

出的理论性的人民主权论、共和制论相比，显得不彻底”。他批判植木“在民主革命的实践中，作为政治组织的指导者，其力量和业绩都很不足”。铃木认为这是植木的“个人资质”和日本“民权运动的软弱”造成的（铃木 1974, 1 页）。

土方和雄（1928-2003）在他 1975 年的论文⁴⁴中说，考察植木思想的“负面”是有价值的。他指出植木缺乏“现状分析的观点和经济学知识”。他还说，“自由党覆灭”以后，植木的身上存在一种“对政治的虚无主义和心情上的真空状态”。而且植木的“思考方法方面的问题”是，“对历史进步持有的乐观主义”，那“太单纯”了。他的“人间至上主义”思想最终导致了“自我神化”问题。植木的思想因为具有这两个“缺陷”，他不具备“通过否定性契机使现实与理论相互换流的辩证法”（土方 1975, 133-134 页）。

大江志乃夫（1928-2009）在 1978 年的论文⁴⁵中，对一直以来作为世界平和思想被给与高度评价的植木的著作《无上政法论》提出批判，认为植木“过小估计了民族解放的力量”。他认为这是植木“作为急进的资产阶级民主主义者，对待民族解放问题时的局限”（大江 1978, 164 页）。

稻田雅洋（1943-）在 1979 年的论文⁴⁶中也提出要关注植木思想的“负面”（稻田 1979, 252 页）。他说，植木思想的很多内容都停留在“观念的世界”，在“架构制度和秩序的方向”上存在不足。因此植木在“现实的行动方面才会轻易的追随现状”（稻田 1979, 301 页）。稻田批判植木的“思想与行动存在背离”（稻田 1979, 322 页），植木的身上还存在“与反省无缘的自我绝对化倾向”（稻田 1979, 26 页）。稻田认为这些源于植木的“性格特质”，即“理论崇拜”、“非组织的性格”（稻田 1979, 272-273 页）。稻田还指出，植木思想的上述问题，也反映在他与“民众”接触的方式上面，植木虽然高度评价“民众起义”，却没有重视“民众思想的宝贵成果”（稻田 1979, 335 页）。

44. 土方和雄〈植木枝盛——人民主権の主張〉朝日ジャーナル編集部編《日本の思想家上》朝日新聞社，1975年。

45. 大江志乃夫〈植木枝盛——自由民権運動の實踐の理論家〉松島栄一等編《進歩と革命の思想——日本編》，新日本出版社，1978年。

46. 稻田雅洋〈植木枝盛〉《近代日本の思想 1》有斐閣，1979年。

2.6. 植木研究的新角度

松本三之介（1926-）1968年的论文〈植木枝盛——透徹の個人観念〉⁴⁷，其视角与此前的研究有所不同。松本也对植木的“将国家看做手段的思想、人民主权思想”做了高度评价。但他认为植木之所以具有这样的思想是因为“植木心中的独立的个人形象，以及他的先行于所有人际关系和社会秩序的个人观念”（松本1968，146页）。松本认为这恰好体现了植木的独特之处。松本认为植木的“天赋人权观念、国家观以及抵抗权思想”的根本，是他的强有力的“个人观念”（松本1968，148页）。这一说法，确实抓住了植木思想的本质特征。

宫城公子（1937-）在1986年的论文⁴⁸中，提出应该探索植木思想中的“欧化与本土的系谱”（宫城1986，45页）。宫城着重探索了植木思想中“本土”的部分，指出了植木的自由民权思想受到了“儒教、佛教、老庄等各种在来思想”的影响（宫城1986，42页），尤其是“唯心论式的天人合一思想”与植木的“精神自由”思想之间存在着“亲和性”（宫城1986，44页）。宫城提出的探讨植木受到的欧美系思想和传统思想的影响，这一研究方法，对于进一步深入了解植木思想是非常必要和有效的。

米原謙（1948-）的著作《植木枝盛——民権青年の自己表現》⁴⁹写于1992年，继家永三郎的《植木枝盛研究》之后，这是第二本植木研究的专著。米原关心的问题有两个：第一是继承稻田雅洋的研究，分析植木性格方面的问题。米原援引埃里克森⁵⁰的“Identity概念”，分析了植木的“幼儿期体验”与他的“特异性格形成”之间关系。并进一步分析了“与天皇同一化”的过程对植木的思想的影响。米原关心的第二个问题是“枝盛的思想形成过程中传统思想所起的作用”（米原1992，iii页）。米原为植木研究提出了新的课题，他的问题意识有助于植木研究的深化。由于米原的该书篇幅较小，很多问题未能详细展开，给我们留下了很大的探索余地。

47. 松本三之介〈植木枝盛——透徹した個人の観念〉《展望》114，筑摩書房，1968年6月。

48. 宫城公子〈吾無国自由存処是我郷里〉《甲南大学紀要 文学編》63，1986年。

49. 米原謙《植木枝盛——民権青年の自己表現》中央公論社，1992年。

50. Erik Homburger Erikson（1902-1994）美国发达心理学学者，精神分析师。

结语

在战后的自由民权运动研究中，马克思主义唯物史观的普遍影响，导致了以下三个层面的问题。第一，研究界普遍从阶级的观点出发去探讨问题，对所谓资产阶级和地主阶级在斗争中所起的理论、实践两方面的领导作用，明显评价不足。这是有悖于历史事实的。第二，由于马克思主义认为经济基础决定上层建筑，战后学界普遍侧重于经济基础的研究，忽略了被马克思主义认为是属于上层建筑领域的思想的研究。第三，也是问题最严重的一点，用马克思主义的价值标准去裁判历史，面对历史时，取其所需，舍其所恶。丸山真男在1961年的论文〈关于思想史的方法〉⁵¹中，批判了这样的研究方法：“以现在取得的成果为标准去裁判过去，或者用根据现在的印象形成的价值基准，来装点过去”（丸山1992，384页）。在战后民主主义对自由民权运动的研究中，随处可见丸山所批判的这种研究方法。在这里，历史本身是怎样的，已经退居到了次要地位。

由于以上问题，战后的自由民权研究可说是偏重地方史、民众史、运动史的。而民权思想的研究却显得不足。今后，我们有必要进一步研究自由民权思想本身及其历史基础。井上清在1948年的论文〈自由民权运动〉⁵²中，提出应该重视“自由民权的前史”（井上1948，24页），将其源头上溯到幕末，乃至更久远的近世时期，来探讨其形成的历史基础。后藤靖所重视的日本“自生的思维方法”，实际上也是说要重视自由民权的思想基础。本来，自由民权思想不单是西方自由民权思想的复制，它是具有日本特色的。其特色是由日本的历史和传统融入其中形成的。因此，如果进一步研究自由民权思想是如何继承传统思想的，又是以怎样的方式吸纳西方思想的，这对于今天的我们仍不失为一个非常有意义的探讨，也可为自由民权研究带来新的成果。这也就是宫城公子所说的自由民权思想中“欧化与本土”要素的分析。

关于这一点，植木枝盛是个很好的研究对象。他留下了大量关于其生活和思想的记录，有助于我们弄清楚自由民权思想的形成过程。目前为止的植

51. 丸山真男〈思想史の考え方について〉武田清子编《思想史の方法と対象——日本と西欧》创文社，1961年。本文引自丸山真男《忠誠と反逆》（筑摩书房，1992年）。

52. 参照注13。

木研究，虽然对植木的评价褒贬不一，但研究方法却很类似：将植木思想看做是一件已完成的作品，或高度评价其思想的彻底、普遍性；或批评其思想与现实、及大众运动的脱节。这些研究抓住了植木思想的很多特征，却不能告诉我们植木的思想是怎样产生和发展的？其对日本的传统思想是如何继承的，对西方的自由民权思想是如何接受的？植木所经历的重大历史事件、所接触的思想家和政客们，对他产生了怎样的影响？植木的很多的想法在当代看来是非常卓越的，而在他的时代为何不被接受？以上这些问题，都与历史有关。只有我们深入到植木生活的时代中去，深入到植木的思想世界里，才能够对这些问题给出答案。

通过分析战后民主主义对自由民权以及植木枝盛的研究的情况，可以看到，我们所要重视的思想，应该是存在于其所属时代的活生生的东西，而不是一些刻板的概念和逻辑。因此，如何历史地去看待思想，如何书写不忽略思想的历史，这两个问题对于思想史研究，我想是非常重要的。

「人文アジア—冷戦構造下の文と芸に対する再認識」国際シンポジウム
プログラム

主催：華東師範大学思勉人文高等研究院 東京大学総合文化研究科
共催：華東師範大学批評理論研究センター 東京大学批評理論研究センター

2014年3月6日

華東師範大学 閔行キャンパス 教師之家

参加者登録、チェックイン

18:00 歓迎パーティ（場所、レストラン 教師之家）

2014年3月7日-8日

華東師範大学閔行キャンパス 人文楼 5303

Day 1

8:50-9:00 オープニングセレモニー

司会：倪文尖教授 (Ni Wenjian, 華東師範大学)

開会の辞

羅崗教授 (Luo Ggang 華東師範大学)

石井剛 准教授 (東京大学)

第一セッション：9:00-10:30 司会者：那希芳

コメンテーター：黄鋭杰、川村覚文

神戸和佳子 (UTCP・RA)：Why Do Children Write?: A Study of Life Essay Education
in Japan

王宇平 (Wang Yuping 上海交通大学)：「新中国文芸」の海外における空間：
冷戦構造下の香港左派映画の試論——香港左派映画『阿Q正伝』を中心に

10:30-10:45 コーヒーブレーク

第二セッション：10:45-12:15 司会者：李静

コメンテーター：杉谷幸太、王宇平、劉佳

黄蕾 (Huang Lei 華東師範大学)：「江南道路」と「真実性」原則の確立—『春蚕』を読み直して

星野太 (UTCP 助教)：Aesthetics and Politics in Jean-François Lyotard: Avant-Garde, Capitalism and the Sublime

陳琦 (Chen Qi 華東師範大学)：中国スパイ映画の命名沿革を論じる

12:30-13:30 昼食 (レストラン 秋実閣)

第三セッション：14:00-15:30 司会者：王宇平

コメンテーター：井出健太郎、林凌、王琮

黄銳杰 (Huang Ruijie 北京大学)：郷土世界の「国家」イメージ—偽満洲国と梁山丁の『緑の谷』

馬場智一 (CPAG 助教)：The paths to the universal: Imamichi and Levinas in 1957 at Tioumliline

杉谷幸太 (UTCP・RA)：Takeuchi Yoshimi on War Responsibility

15:30-15:45 コーヒーブレーク

第四セッション：15:45-17:35 司会者：川村覚文

コメンテーター：神戸和佳子、李静、黄銳杰

那希芳 (UTCP・RA)：戦後民主主義における「自由民権運動」の検討について
王琮 (Wang Qiong 同済大学)：「傷痕文学」思潮にみる現代国家の主體的再建およびその限界

林凌(Lin Ling 復旦大学)：「史詩」として完成される抒情——リアリズム作家汪曾祺

18:00 夕食 (レストラン 秋実閣)

Day 2

第五セッション：8:30-10:00 司会者：杉谷幸太

コメンテーター：井出健太郎、那希芳、王大可

川村 覚文 (UTCP・PD 研究員)：Between Kyoto School and Marxism: A Consideration of the Trajectory of Yanagida Kenjūrō

李静 (Li Jing 華東師範大学)：「技術革新」の可能性と不可能性—新中国における労働者階級の形成及び衰退

李芸 (Li Yi 華東師範大学)：「社会主義都市」としての「上海」と空間の再生産

10:00-10:15 コーヒーブレイク

第六セッション：10:15-11:45 司会者：陳琦

コメンテーター：黄蕾、馬場智一、李芸

井出健太郎 (UTCP・RA)：Poetic of History: The question of “historicity” in wartime and postwar Japanese Literary Criticism

王大可 (Wang Dake 華東師範大学)：歴史における郷村と個人—『創業史』を読み直す

劉佳 (Liu Jia 華東師範大学)：歴史の「終結」した処の絶響—『涂自強の個人的奮闘』について

11:45 総合討論および閉会式

12:30 送別昼食会 (レストラン 秋実閣)

《人文亚洲：反思冷战结构下的文与艺》国际学术研讨会 议程

主办：华东师范大学思勉人文高等研究院 东京大学综合文化研究科

承办：华东师范大学批评理论研究中心 东京大学批评理论研究中心

2014年3月6日

华东师范大学闵行校区教师之家

与会者报道、入住

18:00 欢迎晚宴（教师之家餐厅）

2014年3月7日-8日

华东师范大学闵行校区人文楼 5303

Day 1

开幕式：8:50-9:00 主持人：倪文尖教授（华东师范大学）

致词

罗岗教授（华东师范大学）

石井刚 教授（东京大学）

第一场：9:00-10:30 主持人：那希芳 评论人：黄锐杰 川村觉文

神户和佳子（UTCP 研究助手）：Why Do Children Write?: A Study of Life Essay
Education in Japan

王宇平（上海交通大学）：“新中国文艺”的海外空间：试论冷战格局中的香港左派电影——以香港左派影片《阿Q正传》为中心的讨论

10:30-10:45 茶歇

第二场：10:45-12:15 主持人：李静 评论人：杉谷幸太 王宇平 刘佳

黄蕾（华东师范大学）：“江南道路”与“真实性”原则的确立——重读《春蚕》
星野太（UTCP 助教）：Aesthetics and Politics in Jean-François Lyotard: Avant-Garde, Capitalism and the Sublime

陈琦（华东师范大学）：论中国谍战影像的命名沿革

12:30-13:30 工作午餐（秋实阁餐厅）

第三场：14:00-15:30 主持人：王宇平 评论人：井出健太郎 林凌 王琼

黄锐杰（北京大学）：乡土世界的“国家”想象——伪满洲国与梁山丁的《绿色的谷》

马场智一（CPAG助教）：The paths to the universal: Imamichi and Levinas in 1957 at Tioumliline

杉谷幸太（UTCP 研究助手）：Takeuchi Yoshimi on War Responsibility

15:30-15:45 茶歇

第四场：15:45-17:35 主持人：川村觉文 评论人：神户和佳子 李静 黄锐杰

那希芳（UTCP 研究助手）：“战后”民主主义时期对于明治时代“自由民权运动”理解的特征

王琼（同济大学）：论“伤痕文学”思潮中现代国家主体的重建及其限度

林凌（复旦大学）：抒情作为史诗的完成——现实主义作家汪曾祺

18:00 工作晚餐（秋实阁餐厅）

Day 2

第五场：8:30-10:00 主持人：杉谷幸太 评论人：井出健太郎 那希芳 王大可

川村觉文（UTCP研究员）：Between Kyoto School and Marxism: A Consideration of the Trajectory of Yanagida Kenjūrō

李静（华东师范大学）：“技术革新”的可能与不可能：新中国工人阶级的形成与消解

李芸（华东师范大学）：作为“社会主义城市”的“上海”与空间的再生产

10:00-10:15 茶歇

第六场：10:15-11:45 主持人：陈琦 评论人：黄蕾 马场智一 李芸

井出健太郎（UTCP研究助手）：Poetic of History: The question of “historicity” in wartime and postwar Japanese Literary Criticism

王大可（华东师范大学）：历史中的乡村和个人——重读《创业史》

刘佳（华东师范大学）：历史“终结”处的绝响——有关《涂自强的个人奋斗》

11:45 综合讨论暨闭幕式

12:30 欢送午宴（秋实阁餐厅）

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