

多元文化背景下的

民族国家建构

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Nation – state building in the context of multicultural

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序

近几年来，政治学理论关于民主、平等、公平、正义、认同理论的研究成果迭出。谈认同理论就离不开民族国家这一主题，民族国家作为当今世界最基本的国家形态、世界体系的基本单元，其建构问题一直是政治学、民族学、民族政治学研究的热点问题，对民族国家的研究无论在理论、实践中都有重要意义。对民族国家建构的研究，尤其从政治科学的角度，并综合理论和实践进行分析的研究，仍然是当前民族国家研究的一个薄弱环节。关于民族国家建构的研究，国内外学者的研究无论在广度上还是深度上都取得了一定的成果，但是，现有的研究成果，几乎都是从历史学、民族学的视角进行考察的，探寻民族国家的发展历程和分析其发展模式，或者从民族主义的视角来进行宏观考察，从多元文化主义这一角度来分析民族国家建构的研究成果则不多见。

民族国家建构是一个漫长的历史过程，不可能一蹴而就，也不可能一劳永逸。虽然有学者预言 21 世纪将是族群不复存在的时代，民族国家也终将被终结，取而代之的将是全球化背景下的公民社会。然而，随着冷战结束带来的国际形势突变，全球性的第三次民族主义浪潮和宗教复兴运动掀起了新的高潮。从苏联、南斯拉夫的解体，及各国民族分裂势力引发的各类族群矛盾和暴力恐怖案件可以看出，民族国家建构问题对当今世

界的影响也许比历史上任何一个时期都更加深入。在当前多元文化的社会背景下，民族国家建构是一个极具挑战性的主题，不仅关系到如何保持一个国家的稳定与统一，也关系到如何建立一个公平正义的社会。就如作者所指出的：“族群和文化多元化的社会现实决定了民族国家建构必然是一个长期的过程，在建构的过程中将会不可避免地遇到各种困难，如果不通过民主的族群整合方式而采取强制同化的措施，不承认和尊重族群差异就会引发国家权力合法性危机。”

作为西方普世主义的自由主义，其始终是与民族主义、帝国主义联系在一起的，自由主义学者一直致力于把少数民族整合进主体民族之中，这一族际整合过程被视为经济高速发展和国家政治一体化所必需的。在这一价值判断之下，他们普遍认为族群的利益诉求是可以忽视的，企图通过民族同质性来保证政治统治的合法性，他们的主张彰显“不平等”与“同质化”，认为族群意识会受市场、阶级等因素的影响而渐渐淡化，最终具有血缘、政治特征的族群共同体将会被整合进国家或国际框架之中。基于自由主义理论基础上的族群政策，试图通过宪政制度、公民身份等措施来构建国家认同，但由于忽视了族群文化、族群平等，这些政策都遭到了少数民族不同程度的抵制，成效可谓喜忧参半。

多元文化已经成为世界上大多数国家社会发展的必然趋势，文化的多样性与公民身份之间的张力，使得各国认识到了差异公民身份的重要性。国家政权的合法性问题是世界上多族群国家在维护国家统一、稳定时要妥善解决的根本性问题。多元文

化主义是自西方自由主义、保守主义、社群主义之后出现的一种新思潮，主要是以寻求多族群共存为主要内容的政治思想和政策实践。为了更好地探究民族国家在多元文化的背景下如何保持政治一体与文化多元的和谐，以加拿大作为考察对象是很有针对性的。加拿大作为一个典型的多元文化国家，多元文化主义政治思潮在这个国度得以产生和发展，使得加拿大成为世界上第一个实行多元文化主义政策的国家，并通过立法为属于不同文化身份族群提供了追求平等、差异、生存权等权利，独特的、包容的公民身份。虽然学界对这一政策的评价褒贬不一，但加拿大为了维护国家统一、民族团结所做的努力和尝试是值得我们去研究的，有利于我们更好地理解多元文化主义思想，并为我们国家处理民族国家建构中的各种矛盾提供借鉴。

我认为张寅选择了一个关于民族国家研究中迄今还较少做过系统、深入研究而又难度很大、很有挑战性的课题，体现了青年学者用于探索政治学基础问题和现实中重大问题的勇气，也充分显示了他在这一问题上取得的成绩。《多元文化背景下的民族国家建构》这一著作由云南人民出版社出版，这是张寅在民族政治学研究方面取得的一项令人欣慰的成果。虽然作者在这个领域中还没有发表很多著作，但我相信他的这本著作会引起学界的关注。

可以说，从多元文化主义的视角来分析民族国家建构问题是比较新颖的，通过探讨国家认同与族群认同的内在联系，在理论与实践相结合的基础上，作者分析了民族国家建构如何处理国家认同与族群认同、政治一体与文化多元之间的关系。作

者对国外政治学、民族学界的前沿理论和观点理解准确，对民族国家建构问题的阐述比较完整、透彻，抓住了当前国际上研究民族国家建构问题的核心，如“族群认同”、“公民身份”等等；在写作中逻辑清晰，思路开阔，语言流畅，从多元文化主义的视域提出了实现民族一体化的具体主张，所提出的见解独到，并发人深省。但对民族国家研究中一些重要、具体问题的研究不够深入，诚望作者进一步开拓进取，再做新的贡献。

王彩波

2014年3月13日

前 言

民族国家作为当今世界最基本的国家形态、世界体系的基本单元，其建构问题一直是政治学、民族政治学研究的主题，无论在理论上、现实中都具有重要意义。特别在当前多元文化的背景下，民族国家建构是一个极具挑战性的主题，不仅关系到如何保持一个国家的稳定与统一，也关系到如何建立一个公平正义的社会。多元文化背景下的民族国家建构问题是世界上任何一个民族国家都面临的根本性问题，它指的是现代民族国家在族群文化多元的背景下为了实现民族一体化这个目标，如何在民主的政治理念指导下，通过一系列族群政策、措施和制度安排来促进国家的整合，最终实现国家政治、经济、文化上一体化的过程。

在民族国家建构的过程中，具体的族群政策经历了一个由不平等到平等、由不民主到民主的发展过程，经历了从种族歧视政策、民族同化政策到多元文化主义政策的变化。在族群和文化多元的情况下，只有符合时代要求的族群政策才能实现民族一体化这个建构目标。民族国家建构必须处理好文化多元与政治一体、族群认同与国家认同之间的关系，西方学者总结了传统自由主义理论关于协调国家与族群关系主张的各种弊端，从而提出了多元文化主义这一政治理念。多元文化主义主张一种“异中求同”的方式来协调国家和族群之间的关系，从实现社会正义的角度，强调以一种民主、平等的方法来处理族群问题，这种政治理念满足了现代民主国家实现民族一体化的要求，

是一种人类时代进步的表现。

多元文化主义在对文化与族群多样性社会现实分析的基础上，论证了少数族群权利的正当性，也就是表明了多元文化主义对处理族群与文化多样性的倾向与原则，即多元文化主义具有正义性、平等性、差异性、包容性等特征。由于民族国家建构与族群自我发展之间存在着内在的张力，多元文化主义认为只有在保持文化多元的基础上，通过一种民主、包容的族群政策给予少数族群差异的公民身份，才能协调好由民族国家建构引发的族群矛盾与冲突。多元文化主义所主张的这种差异公民身份也就是要给予少数族群特殊的权利，具体来说要求给予少数族群自治的权利、建立起协商民主为基础的特殊代表制、提出了多元族群权与补偿措施、提倡多元文化的公民教育，希望通过这些具体措施来协调好国家一体化和族群自我发展之间的矛盾，同时通过满足少数族群的正当权利要求，来改变目前不平等的社会现实，企图解决群体权利与社会公正这个政治哲学研究的难题。

为了协调民族国家建构中国家和族群之间的矛盾，在多元文化主义政治思想的影响下，加拿大成为第一个实行多元文化主义政策的国家。只有通过具体的政治实践的考察，我们才能衡量多元文化主义对民族国家处理族群和文化多元问题所具有的价值，加拿大作为一个文化多元的多族群国家，也是第一个实行多元文化主义政策的国家无疑是最合适的研究对象。就目前来说加拿大多元文化主义政策总体上是成功的，所以，在族群和文化多元的背景下，只有通过民主的、平等的族群政策，才能在维护国家权力合法性的基础上实现民族一体化的建构目标，协调好国家和族群之间的矛盾，处理好国家认同与族群认同之间的关系、文化多元与政治一体之间的关系。通过加拿大

民族国家建构的实践我们可以看到多元文化主义对维护国家统一、政治稳定、促进族群融合所起的积极作用，同时多元文化主义引发的负面效果同样值得我们深思。通过对多元文化主义理论和实践层面的分析，可以更清楚地认识到多元文化主义的利弊，即对于民族国家建构而言多元文化主义究竟能否促进国家一体化，从而可以超越学者们在理论上对多元文化主义的纷争，并为其他国家的民族一体化提供更为完善的理论和政策方面的指导。

多元文化主义针对族群之间文化上的差异，要求自由社会应该正视少数族群与主流族群之间的差异，给予少数族群差异的权利以保证其平等的地位，并且要承认和尊重其文化上的差异，希望通过这种差异的公民身份来强化国家认同。国家认同的重要性就在于它是国家统治合法性的基础、协调国家和族群关系的关键因素、民族国家构建的核心问题。这种希望通过肯定“差异性”来促进和谐地进行民族国家建构、实现社会正义的“异中求和”政治理念，其合理性和先进性值得我们肯定，但多元文化主义也有明显的缺陷，这就是它在一定程度上忽视了“统一性”，即忽视了共同文化这种文化纽带在民族国家建构中的重要。而国家认同的强化离不开差异的公民身份这种政治纽带，也不能离开共同的民族文化这种文化纽带，二者是缺一不可的。

所以，在研究民族国家建构的价值理念和路径选择时，从多元文化主义理论的角度加以分析，探讨如何民主、平等的协调族群认同与国家认同、文化多元和国家一体的关系，对于各民族国家处理国内族群矛盾和冲突，保持国家的政治稳定和领土完整，最终实现民族国家建构的一体化目标具有积极的作用。从理论上说，必须要协调好族群认同与国家认同之间的关系，

文化多元与政治一体之间的关系，这就需要族群政策从民族主义取向向国家主义取向的转变，发挥公民社会在协调国家与民族之间关系中的作用，承认族群的特殊权利以实现社会的真正平等，强化国家认同以应对国家权力合法性的弱化，发挥国家的主导作用对民族主义加以利用，通过公民教育强化公民身份的政治纽带作用。具体来说，民族国家必须采取多元一体的格局来作为族群整合的路径，通过建构多族群国家国家民族的形成、巩固多族群国家的民主政治制度、提高多族群国家的经济发展水平、促进多族群国家统一文化的产生来实现。

因此，通过研究多元文化主义对族群和文化多元背景下民族国家建构问题的探讨，可以对其他民族国家在民族建构过程中保持国家统一与政治稳定、实现国家一体化提出有益的理论指导。多元文化主义的启示就是在民族国家建构过程中，需要把文化多样性与政治一体化、族群认同与国家认同之间的关系协调好，把“文化多元”与“政治一体”二者结合起来，既尊重多元文化又兼顾政治上的统一。对于中国来说，可以为如何协调国家与族群之间的关系提供有益借鉴，能进一步完善和丰富我国少数民族区域自治政策与“一国两制”基本国策，最终实现国家政治、经济、文化一体化的建构目标。总之，需要采取国家主义的价值取向充分满足族群的诉求，并发挥国家的主导作用来强化国家认同，把多元一体的格局作为族群整合的路径，协调好文化多元与政治一体之间的关系，不仅是实现建立一个公平正义社会的需要，也是实现民族国家建构一体化目标的要求。

Abstract

Title: Nation – state building in the context of multicultural

Nation – state as the basic shape of State in the world, and the basic unit of the world system nowadays, the Nation – state building is the key subject of political science and ethnic politics, which is of great significance not only in theory, but also in reality. Especially in the current context of cultural pluralism, the Nation – state building is a challenging topic, not only related to how to maintain a country's stability and unity, but also to how to establish a fair and just society. Nation – state building in the context of multicultural is the fundamental problem, that a Nation – state anywhere in the world has confronted with. The Nation – state building refers to modern Nation – state in the context of ethnic and cultural diversity, in order to achieve the goal of national integration, how to promote national integration under the political ideas of democracy, and through a series of ethnic policies, measures and institutional arrangements, which ultimately to realize the political, economic, and cultural integration process in a polyethnic State.

In the process of Nation – state building, the specific ethnic policies have undergone a process of inequality to equality, undemocratic to democratic, through the change from racial discrimination policy, assimilation policy to Multiculturalism policy. In the circumstances of ethno – cultural diversity, only the ethnic policy require-

ments of the times could achieve the goal of ethnic integration. Nation – state building must deal with the relationship between cultural pluralism and political integration, and the relationship between ethnic identity and national identity. Western scholars proposed a political philosophy called Multiculturalism through the summary of various disadvantages of coordination of the relations between State and ethnic groups of traditional Liberalism. Multiculturalism has brought up a political idea called “Seeking Harmony through Difference”, which provides a new choice for the Nation – state to achieve social justice and to coordinate the contradiction between State and ethnic groups, emphasizes to deal with the ethnic issues in a democracy and equal way. These political ideology has satisfied the requirement of national integration of modern democratic countries, and also displayed the progress of human era.

Multiculturalism has analyzed the social reality of cultural and ethnic diversity, based on which Multiculturalism has demonstrated the legitimacy of minority rights that shows the principles and the tendency in dealing with ethnic and cultural diversity of Multiculturalism, also shows justice, equality, difference, tolerance and other characteristics of multiculturalism. Because there is an inherent tension between Nation – state building and the self – development of ethnic groups, Multiculturalism considers that only on the basis of maintaining cultural diversity, through a democratic, inclusive ethnic policies which allowed different citizenship could coordinate the ethnic contradiction and conflict caused by Nation – state building. These different citizenship advocated by Multiculturalism is to give minority groups special rights. Specifically, its request to give mi-

nority groups autonomy rights, to establish special representation based on consultative democracy, to set up polyethnic rights and compensation measures, and to implement the multicultural civic education. Multiculturalists hope that through these specific measures by meeting the legitimate claims of ethnic minorities and changing the current social reality of inequality could coordinate the contradiction among national integration and self – development of ethnic groups, and solve the difficult problem of community rights and social justice of political philosophy.

In order to coordinate the contradiction between State and ethnic groups in the process of Nation – state building, Canada became the first country to implement multiculturalism policies under the influence of political ideology of multiculturalism. Only through the study of specific political practice, we can measure the value of Multiculturalism to deal with the problem of ethnic and cultural diversity. Canada as a polyethnic country, also the first to implement the Multiculturalism policy is undoubtedly the most appropriate object to study. For now, Canadian Multiculturalism policy is successful in general. Therefore, in the context of ethnic and cultural diversity, in order to maintain the legitimacy of State power, only through democratic and equal ethnic policies could achieve the objective of national integration, coordinate the contradiction between State and ethnic groups, deal with the relationship between national identity and ethnic identity, cultural pluralism and political integration. Through the practice of Multiculturalism in the Nation – state building of Canada, we can see the positive effects that to maintain national unity and political stability, to promote ethnic harmony, at the same

time, the negative effects caused by Multiculturalism also worth consideration. Through the analysis of Multiculturalism in theory and in practice, can be more clear to the pros and cons that is whether Multiculturalism could promote national integration for the purpose of Nation – state building. Thus, we can go beyond the theoretical disputes on Multiculturalism, and provide more complete national integration theory and policy guidance to other countries.

For the cultural differences between ethnic groups, a free society should regard the difference between the majority and the minority as normal, in order to give the minority different rights to ensure their equal status, and to recognize and respect their cultural differences, wishing to strengthen national identity through these different citizenship. The importance of national identity is that it is the foundation of national legitimacy, the key factor to coordinate the relations between State and ethnic group, and the core issue of Nation – state building. These political ideology hopes to enforce Nation – state building and social justice in a harmonious way by admitting the “difference”, we must acknowledge its rationality and advancement, but Multiculturalism also has obvious defects that it ignores the “unity” to some extent, which means neglecting the significance of common culture as a cultural band in Nation – state building. To enhance National identity, different citizenship as a political band cannot be abandoned, a common national culture is also needed, both are indispensable.

Therefore, form a theoretical point of Multiculturalism to analyze the value and path of Nation – state building, to explore a democratic and equal way to coordinate relations between ethnic identity

and national identity, also the relations between cultural pluralism and political integration, which could play a positive role for each Nation – state to handle the ethnic conflict and to maintain the political stability and territorial integrity, and eventually to achieve the goal of integration. In theory, we must coordinate the relations between ethnic identity and national identity, cultural pluralism and political integration, which requires ethnic policies changing from the nationalist orientation to the national orientation; enhancing the effectiveness of civil society to coordinate the relations between State and ethnic group; admitting the special rights of ethnic groups in order to achieve true social equality; strengthening national identity in response to the weakening of the legitimacy of State power; playing a leading role of State to make use of nationalism; strengthening the role of citizenship which is a political band through civic education. Specifically, Nation – state must take the pattern to achieve the goal of Nation – state building which called the integrated framework that could keep a harmonious relation between plural cultures and political unity to integrate ethnic groups, through the formation of a nation; consolidation of democratic political system; improvement of economic development; generation of common cultural in any polyethnic State.

As a result, a useful theoretical guidance can be found for other Nation – state to maintain national unity and political stability, to achieve national integration, by studying the research made by Multiculturalism of Nation – state building in the context of ethnic and culture diversity. The enlightenment of Multiculturalism is that in the process of Nation – state building, we must coordinate the relations

between cultural diversity and political integration, ethnic identity and national identity by putting “cultural diversity” and “political integration” together, respecting for cultural pluralism and take into account both the political unification. For China, these could provide a useful reference for China to coordinate the relations between Nation – state and ethnic group, could further improve and enrich the ethnic regional autonomy and the basic national policy of “one nation two systems”, and realize the Nation – state building target finally that political, economic and cultural integration. In short, we need to adopt Nationalistic orientation to fully meet the demands of ethnic groups, and let State play a leading role to strengthen national identity, take the integrated framework that could keep a harmonious relation between plural cultures and political unity. Coordinate the relationship between cultural pluralism and political integration is not only the need to achieve a fair and just society, but also the request to achieve the integration goals of Nation – state building.