

 中国社会科学院重点学科建设工程丛书 · 民族学人类学系列

Inter-ethno-national Politics and Nation-state

族际政治与 现代民族国家

M 中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所 王建娥 陈建樾 等著



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总 序

中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所是一个多学科、综合性的研究机构。从学科的设置和专业方向来看，包括了马克思主义研究、历史学、语言学、民族学、社会文化人类学、经济学、宗教学、文献学、政治学、法学、国际关系、影视人类学、民俗学、古文字学等，还包括蒙古学、藏学、突厥学等专门的学问。这些学科和专业方向的多样化构成了研究所的多学科、综合性特点，而这些学科的研究对象则是人类社会民族现象及其发展规律，着重于对不同历史阶段和不同含义的民族共同体（people、ethnos、nationality、nation、ethnic group）及其互动关系的研究，显示了研究所诸多学科的共同指向。研究所以民族学和人类学冠名的目的是为多学科建构一个共同的学术平台，在研究对象统一性的基础上实现多学科的互补与整合，在多学科的视野中建立综合性研究优势，增强中国民族学和人类学的学科性发展。

人类社会的民族现象及其所伴生的民族问题，是人类社会最普遍、最复杂、最长久、也是最重要的话题之一。中国是世界上古代文明延续不断的东方国度，也是统一的多民族国家。在数千年的发展进程中，多民族的互动关系不仅是历朝历代最突出的社会现象之一，而且也是统一的多民族国家形成和不断发展的重要动能。因此，中国几千年来的民族现象和各民族的互动关系，为

我们解读人类社会的民族现象及其规律性运动提供了一个相当完整的古代模式。就中国先秦文献中所记载的“五方之民”说——“凡居民材，必因天地寒暖燥湿，广谷大川异制，民生其间者异俗；刚柔、轻重、迟速异齐，五味异和，器械异制，衣服异宜。修其教不易其俗，齐其政不易其宜。中国戎夷，五方之民，皆有性也，不可推移。东方曰夷，被发文身，有不火食者矣；南方曰蛮，雕题交趾，有不火食者矣；西方曰戎，被发衣皮，有不粒食者矣；北方曰狄，衣羽毛穴居，有不粒食者矣；中国、夷、蛮、戎、狄，皆有安居、和味、宜服、利用、背器；五方之民，言语不通，嗜欲不同；达其志、通其欲，东方曰寄，南方曰象，西方曰狄鞮，北方曰译。”（《礼记·王制》）——可谓中国最早具有民族志意义的记录。它所提示的内涵，对我们今天认识和理解民族现象也是启迪颇多的。例如，构成民族特征的文化差异的自然基础是生态环境，即在“天地寒暖燥湿”、“广谷大川”等不同生态环境中生存的人类群体“皆随地以资其生”所表现的“异俗”，“五方之民”在民居、饮食、服饰、工具、器物等方面的“异制”，不同的语言、不同的价值观念及其相互沟通的中介（翻译）等。其中也包括了处理“五方之民”互动关系的古代政治智慧，即“修其教不易其俗，齐其政不易其宜”。可以说，中国是一个有民族学传统且民族学资源十分丰富的国家。

古往今来、时过境迁，今天的中国已经自立于世界民族之林，正在为实现中华民族的伟大复兴推进中国特色社会主义现代化进程。这一进程正在展示现代民族过程的发展前景，它同样会对现代人类社会的民族现象及其发展前景提供一种范式，也就是中国解决民族问题的成功例证。当然，我国正处于社会主义初级阶段的发展进程中，在解决民族问题方面我们不仅面对着中国 56 个民族共同

发展繁荣的历史重任，而且也面对着全球化时代多民族的大千世界。无论是内政治理，还是融入国际社会，广义的民族问题仍旧是我们需要高度重视的课题。当代中国民族问题的基本特征和普遍反应是经济文化的发展问题，这是由当代中国社会所处的发展阶段及其基本矛盾所决定的。同时，我们也面对着一些棘手的问题，如“台独”问题、达赖集团问题、“东突”势力和国际恐怖主义问题，以及世界范围和周边国家民族问题的交互影响。这两个方面的问题为我们提出了责无旁贷的研究任务。履行这一职责需要我们付出多方面的艰辛努力，其中学科建设是最重要的保障。

科学化是学科建设题中之义，任何一门学科只能在科学化的过程中实现发展。中国的学术传统源远流长，也形成了诸多学科性的研究领域。近代以来，随着西学东渐，中国的学术事业在不断吸收西方科学规范的过程中逐步形成了现代学科的分化，其中民族学、人类学也取得了很大程度的发展。自 20 世纪 70 年代末中国改革开放以来，中国的哲学社会科学事业在与世界学术领域交流互动的过程中取得了新的发展和显著的成就，哲学社会科学在认识世界、传承文明、创新理论、咨政育人、服务社会等方面的不可替代作用，得到了党和国家的充分肯定。但是，能否充分地发挥哲学社会科学各学科的这种作用，涉及诸多因素，而学科建设所包含的指导思想、基本概念和范畴、学科理论、研究方法和学术规范等方面的内容是具有重要意义的。体现这些基本要素的研究成果，不仅对推进学科建设至关重要，而且也是繁荣发展哲学社会科学事业不可或缺的内在条件。中国社会科学院重点学科建设工程的启动，是进一步繁荣发展哲学社会科学事业的重要举措，我所推出中国社会科学院重点学科建设工程丛书·民族学人类学系列是贯彻落实这一重要举措做出的一种尝试。

如上所述，我所是一个多学科、综合性的研究机构，经过学科调整和研究室重组，所内的大部分学科都纳入了重点学科建设工程，如民族理论、民族历史、民族语言、语音学和计算语言学、民族学（社会文化人类学）、世界民族和诸多专业方向。因此，这套丛书的出版及其所关涉的研究内容也体现了多学科的特点。这套丛书根据基础研究和应用研究并重的学科建设要求，或以学科或以专题反映我所科研人员新近的研究成果。根据中国社会科学院重点学科建设工程的协议要求，在今后几年中我所列入工程范围的学科和专业方向将完成一系列具有重要理论价值和现实意义的研究课题，而这套丛书则主要反映这一过程中的阶段性学术成果。

2003年，我国获得了2008年国际人类学民族学世界大会的举办权，这对中国的民族学和人类学以及广义的民族研究事业来说是一次重大的发展机遇，也是与来自世界各国的民族学家、人类学家进行广泛对话和空前交流的机会。同时，这也意味着挑战。我们不仅需要展现中国各民族的现代发展成就，而且需要在民族学、人类学研究方面推出一批批引人注目的高水平研究成果。因此，加强民族学、人类学的学科建设，整合传统民族研究的学科性资源，做好充分的学术准备是今后几年我国民族学、人类学界的重要任务。从这个意义上说，这套丛书的陆续出版在一定程度上也将体现我所在迎接这次世界大会进行的学术准备。

在此，我们非常感谢社会科学文献出版社对这套丛书的出版给予大力支持和真诚帮助，也期待着广大读者给予关注和指正。

中国社会科学院民族学与人类学研究所所长

郝时远

2004年6月

Foreword of the Series

The Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is a multi - disciplinary and comprehensive research institution. In terms of disciplinary arrangement, the institute covers Marxist studies, history, linguistics, ethnology, socio - cultural anthropology, economics, religion, historical records, politics, law, international relations, video anthropology, folklore, and ancient scripts, as well as some special learning like Mongol studies, Tibetology and Turk studies. The disciplinary diversification forms the multi - disciplinary, comprehensive feature of the institute. All these disciplines have one thing in common, that is, they all study *minzu* (a general word in Chinese for people, ethnos, nationality, nation and ethnic group) phenomenon and their evolutionary law in the human society, with the emphasis on *minzu* communities in different historical stages and with different meanings, as well as on the interaction between various *minzu*. The institute is named with the term of ethnology and anthropology for the purpose to build a common academic platform for all disciplines it involves, to realize the mutual complementarity and integration of all the disciplines, to form the

advantage of the comprehensive studies, and to foster the development of ethnology and anthropology in China.

The *minzu* phenomenon and the problems resulting from the phenomenon have been among the most widespread, most complicated, most prolonged and most important subjects in the human society. China is an Oriental country with an ancient civilization that never discontinued. Also, it is a unitary country with ethnic plurality. In the course of several thousand years, the ethnic interaction was not only a social highlight in each historical dynasty, but also a motivator for the formation and continuous development of a unitary country with ethnic plurality. So, the *minzu* phenomenon and ethnic interaction in China's long history of several thousand years provide us with a full ancient model for understanding the *minzu* phenomenon and their law in the human society.

In China's Pre - Qin historical literature, there is a term of "*wu fang zhi min*", literally, five - direction peoples. It comes from the following paragraph:

The material used for shelter must vary with different climate, cold or warm, dry or moist, and with different topography, such as wide valley or large river. And people living in different environment have different customs. They may have different character, behaving way, dieting habit, instruments and clothes. It is proper to civilize the people without changing their customs and to improve their administrative system without changing those suitable to them. *Wu fang zhi min* (people inhabiting five directions), either in

middle plain or in frontier, all have their own character, which can not be transformed. People in the east, known as *Yi*, grow long hair hanging down over the neck and have tattoos, and some of them have their food without cooking. People in the south, known as *Man*, tattoo their foreheads and cross their feet when sleeping, and some of them have their food without cooking. People in the west, known as *Rong*, grow long hair hanging down over the neck and wear pelt, and some of them do not have grain as their food. People in the north, known as *Di*, wear feather and live in caves, and some of them do not have grain as their food. Both people in middle plain and the *Yi*, *Man*, *Rong* and *Di* have their own shelter, diet, dress, instruments and carriers. The people in five directions can not understand each other and may have different desires. The way to make each other's ideas and desires understood is called *ji* in the east, *xiang* in the south, *didi* in the west and *yi* in the north. (cited from *Liji*, an ancient Chinese book.)

This may be regarded as the earliest record with ethnographical sense in China.

The citation suggests a lot for us to understand today's *minzu* phenomenon. For one thing, the cultural difference that usually constitutes the ethnic feature has its natural foundation in ecological environment. Human groups living in different ecological environment, like different climate (cold or warm, dry or moist) and topography (wide valley or large river), all depend upon their local resources and thus may have different customs. As mentioned above, the people in five directions varied in shelter, diet, dress and

instrument, and people speaking different languages with different values can be communicated only through the medium of translation. Also, here is displayed the ancient political wisdom to deal with the relations of the people in five directions, namely, to civilize the people without changing their customs and to improve their administrative system without changing those suitable to them. So it shows that China is country with ethnological tradition and rich ethnographical resources.

Now, old time has passed and the situation has changed. Today, as an independent member of the international community, China is promoting the modernization with Chinese characteristics in order to realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. This development has revealed the prospect of the modern *minzu* process. And at the same time, it will also provide a pattern, that is, the successful example in which China deals with the *minzu* problem, for the *minzu* phenomenon and their evolution of the human society in the modern time. Of course, China still remains at the initial stage of socialism. So far as the *minzu* problem is concerned, we are now facing not only the historical task of common development and prosperity for the 56 nationalities in China, but also the ethnically plural, complicated world in the time of globalization.

The ethnic problem in broad sense still remains to be a subject to which we should pay much attention, either in the management of internal affairs or in the merging to the international community. In contemporary China, the fundamental feature of or the widespread response to the ethnic problem is how to promote the economic and

cultural development. This is determined by the current developmental stage as well as the fundamental contradiction of the contemporary Chinese society. At the same time, we are confronted with certain difficult problems, such as Taiwan's attempt for "independence", the problem of the Dalai clique, the issue of "East Turkistan", the international terrorism, as well as the influence of ethnic problems both in our neighboring countries and all over the world in general. The problems in the two larger respects put forth our duty - bound tasks for research. To perform this duty, we should make our effort in many aspects, among which, disciplinary construction serves as the most important guarantee.

Disciplinary construction calls for scientific spirit, only with which can a discipline realize its development. China has its academic traditions of long standing, and a number of academic domains developed in the history. Since the influence of the Western learning went eastward, Western norm of science has been introduced and the disciplinary division in modern sense gradually came into being in China. And it is just in this process that ethnology and anthropology acquired development to large extent. Since the late 1970s when China began to take reforms and open to the outside world, new development and remarkable achievement have been made in China's philosophy and social sciences through the exchange with foreign academia. The Party and the State highly appreciate the irreplaceable role of philosophy and social sciences in understanding the world, passing on civilization, innovating the theory, consulting for government and educating the young, and serving the society.

However, the full play of the role of philosophy and social sciences involves many factors. And in this respect, disciplinary construction is of importance, such as in the guiding thought, fundamental concepts and categories, disciplinary theories, research methods and academic norm. The research achievements that represent these fundamental factors will not only be of vital importance in promotion of disciplinary construction, but also make up the indispensable inherent conditions for prospering and fostering philosophy and social sciences. The launch of the construction project for prior disciplines at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is a significant move for further prospering and fostering philosophy and social sciences. And the Series of the Construction Project for Prior Disciplines at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences our institute has put out is just an attempt to carry out the significant move.

As mentioned above, our institute is a multi - disciplinary and comprehensive research institution. Since the discipline adjustment and research department restructuring, most disciplines in the institute, such as ethnic theory, ethnic history, ethnic linguistics, phonetics and computational linguistics, ethnology (socio - cultural anthropology) and world ethnic - national studies, have been brought into the construction project for prior disciplines. So, the series and the content involved reflect the feature of multi - disciplines, too. Placing emphasis both on basic and applied studies, the series reflects recent research achievements either in the unit of a discipline or in a special topic. In accordance

with the requirement from the agreement on the construction project for prior disciplines at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, our institute will complete in the next few years a series of research projects both with important theoretical value and actual significance. So, the series mainly reflects the academic products at the current phase.

In 2003, China succeeded in bidding for the host for the 2008 Conference of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES). This will be a significant developmental opportunity, not only to China's ethnology and anthropology, but to ethno - national studies in general as well. Also, it will be an opportunity of widespread dialogue and unprecedented exchange with ethnologists and anthropologists from various countries in the world. At the same time, however, it means a challenge. We need to exhibit the developmental achievements of the nationalities in China, and moreover, we need to exhibit plenty of striking research achievements with a high level. Therefore, it will be the important task of China's ethnology and anthropology in the next few years to strengthen the disciplinary construction, integrate the disciplinary resources of traditional ethno - national studies, and make full academic preparation. In this sense, the publication of the series in succession can be regarded to some extent as the academic preparation made by our institute for the coming congress of IUAES.

Finally, we appreciate very much the vigorous support and sincere assistance of the Social Sciences Literature Press to the

publication of the series. And we also expect the attention and criticism from the readers.

HAO SHIYUAN

Director

Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

June 2004

前言：族际政治研究的 视野和目标

王建娥 陈建樾

民族(nation)是现代世界最普遍、最错综复杂的共同体现象，民族主义是现代世界最强大、最具动员力量的意识形态，它可以调动人类内心深处最强烈的情感，让千百万人之为之抛洒热血奉献生命，谱写人类精神的华美乐章；也可以把这种强烈情感转变为最残忍、最疯狂的野蛮行为，制造出惨绝人寰的人性悲剧。20世纪由于各种民族主义所引起的族际冲突、族际战争、种族清洗和种族屠杀等一系列的历史悲剧，暴露出不同形式的民族问题之间在内容和本质上的相似和一致，暴露出在不同表象后面隐藏的内在的逻辑统一以及世界体系结构危机的症结所在，与此同时，也把从一个世界性角度全面理解当代社会民族现象，在种族文化多样性社会创造出一种既有统一性又有包容性、适合各种族文化背景的个人和群体共同生存发展的政治空间和保障机制的问题，严峻地推向了社会科学研究的理论前沿。《族际政治与现代民族国家》一书，就是我们对这一历史要求的回应，是我们从现代世界体系的整体视野中理解和解释民族现象和民族关系、探讨改造现存民族国家观念和制

度、建立一种能够保证各民族有效参与民主政治、保证移民和少数民族群体的利益和要求在社会决策过程中被倾听、被考虑的族际政治理论的尝试和努力。

一 世界体系：理解民族问题的角度与背景

民族是一种历史现象，它在一定的历史时间中存在，从其所处的历史时代中获得它自身的内涵。在历史上任何阶段，民族的行为和民族之间的关系都不是孤立的、表面的、偶然的，它存在于一定的历史结构中，受这种结构性力量的支配和制约。这种结构性力量，渗入民族生活的所有方面，制约着民族自身的生存、文化的发展，建立在民族肌体上的制度法律政治结构的形态，以及民族与外部的交往关系。人们往往习惯于从经济、政治、文化的角度论述制约当代世界各种行为和关系的力量，讨论世界的政治体系、经济体系以及制约国家间关系的国际体系，但却很少从这些利益与关系的本体即民族的角度论述制约各种行为的力量。事实上，现代世界的基本组成单位是民族（nation）。民族是人的结合，是在一个特定的地域上居住、形成共同社会生活、共同法律制度、共同利害关系和共同心理素质的人结成的人类共同体，是各种利益的实际载体，现代世界的种种矛盾都体现在民族这个载体身上，而国家只是建立在民族肌体上的政治上层建筑，是民族的组织和权力机构，在民族之间彼此的交往中代表本民族的利益和主权。现代世界的政治、经济秩序正是建立在各个民族载体基础之上的。作为世界体系最基本的组成单位，民族国家将其地域上所有的人都纳入其司法行政领域，在对不同历史文化传统地