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# 改革方法论

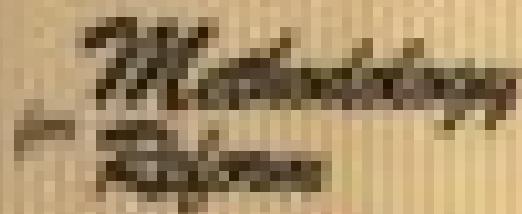
*for Methodology  
Reform*

艾丰 著  
谭振学 英译

山东大学出版社

中国社会科学出版社

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## Methodology for Reform

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# 前 言

## —

在名字叫做“中国”的这个国家，许多人却令人惊异地害怕这个“中”字。如果说谁是“中间派”，这并不是一个好的称呼，与令人憎恶的“骑墙派”已经离得不远了；如果说谁是“中庸之道”、“折衷主义”、“中间道路”，那就是批判的对象了。

“中庸之道”作为封建思想的核心，统治了中国几千年，我们对它重炮猛轰了几十年。然而在取得成效之余，一些人并不了解中庸是什么，却只记住了有一个“中”字可怕。

而今，我却要以“中介论”为主线，写一部哲学著作，似乎是要冒一些风险。

其实我并不是想冒险，甚至连标新立异都不想，



## Preface

### I

In this country named “中国”(China), many people are bafflingly afraid of the Chinese character “中”(middle). Suppose someone were to be considered “middle-of-the-roader”, which is a mean good appellation, that would almost be tantamount to addressing him as a disgusting “hedger”. If one’s behaviours are classified into “中庸之道”(golden mean), “折衷主义”(eclecticism), or “中间道路”(middle course), he would then be the target of criticism.

“Golden mean”, the core of feudal ideology, has been prevailing in China for several thousand years. No doubt it has been attacked by us for several decades. However, the result turns to be that some may not have understood what “golden mean” means, but become trembling any time they see the character “中”(middle).

To me, writing a philosophical work with “Middlism” as its main thread seems to be a little risky.

只是深切地感到一种责任。

## 二

本书写的,都是这些年来我在实际生活中所感受到的,并零零碎碎思考过的问题,出于一种哲学的爱好,我常常喜欢用些名词把它们表达出来,但始终苦于没有找到一条线索把它们串联起来。1992年春天,我有机会到中央党校学习,更幸运的是,在学习期间,正赶上邓小平同志南巡重要谈话发表。这个有伟大历史意义的谈话,极大地解放了中国人民的思想,使我国的改革开放进入了一个新的阶段。党校的学习、探讨气氛也空前地活跃。在那里我又得到教师和同学们的启迪,于是突然有豁然开朗之感,大约只用了半个月的时间,就基本上完成了本书的初稿。写作的时候,常常是写一段和周围的同学讨论一段,他们的鼓励更增加了我的写作兴趣和信心。后来,因为学习结束回到报社,实际工作太多,修改的工作进展反倒没有那么快了,但总算赶在出版社要求的期限内交了卷。

## 三

改革开放以来,我国的经济理论和政治理论可以



But in fact I have never thought of taking risks, not even to stand aloof. Only a strong sense of responsibility propels me on.

## II

What is written in this book is my meditation and reflection on the miscellaneous phenomena of life over the recent years. Being addicted to philosophy, I prefer to express them with some philosophical terms, though I have always felt frustrated for being unable to find something exact to link them together. In 1992, fortunately, I had the chance to enrich myself in the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China through a series of training courses. Just at this time, Deng Xiaoping's Remarks during his Southern Tour were issued, which profoundly emancipate the minds and push further the cause of reform and opening to the outside world into a new stage. The learning and discussions in the Party School was in full swing. I had got many enlightenment from both my teachers and classmates in the school. I did feel to be suddenly enlightened. So I had finished the first draft in about half a month. When one paragraph was finished, I would invite some professors and colleagues for discussion, and their words provided me with fresh insights and the confidence to carry on. But the draft modification turned to be delayed owing to the daily routines when I got back to office from my study. Anyhow, I took the last draw ahead of the date for publication.

## III

We have truly made historic breakthroughs in both economic



说有重大的历史性的突破。这集中表现在中共十四大精辟总结和充分肯定的邓小平同志的建设有中国特色的社会主义理论。如果说党的七大的历史功绩在于它确立了毛泽东思想为全党的指导思想的话,那么,党的十四大的历史功绩就在于它确立了邓小平的建设有中国特色的社会主义理论为当代中国的马克思主义,为我们全党和全国人民在实现现代化的新时期的指导思想。

但是也应该承认,与经济理论、政治理论相比,哲学的活跃和突破都显得不够。也正是为这一点,我们的经济理论、政治理论,我们的路线、方针、政策在贯彻执行的时候,遇到了许多的障碍。因为,哲学涉及的是人们最基本的思维方法。

为什么有的时候有的人不能全面地理解和贯彻党的基本路线?

为什么在一些人那里基本路线的两个基本点总是不能统一起来?

为什么我们对“左”的和右的错误的倾向不能清醒地识别和防范?

为什么担心社会主义和平演变而迈不开改革开放的步伐?

为什么优越的社会主义制度却没有充分表现出



and political theories since the implementation of reform and opening to the outside world policy, which is predominantly manifested through Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and is completely confirmed at the 14th National Congress of The Communist Party of China. Just as the 7th National Congress of the Communist Party of China had established Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding principle for the whole party, the 14th National Congress, to realize the modernization in the new age, had recognized that Deng Xiaoping's theory of constructing socialism with Chinese characteristics is the Marxism of present China, the guiding principle for the people and the Party.

However, it should be admitted that the breakthrough in philosophy has fallen behind compared with economic and political theories. Consequently, we have encountered many difficulties and setbacks in carrying out our lines, guiding principles and policies as philosophy is decisive to people's ways of thinking.

Why do some people sometimes fail to completely understand and carry out the party's basic lines?

Why can't some people unite the two basic points of the basic line all the time?

Why is it unable for us to set a clear distinction and keep away from the wrong tendencies of both "leftism" and "rightism"?

Why are we haunted by the peaceful evolution while the pace of reform and opening up to the world is delayed?

Why doesn't the preponderant socialist system show its inherent vitality?

应有的活力？

为什么新兴的社会制度还会发生后退性的蜕变？

为什么一直强调用唯物辩证法武装头脑的我们，却不断犯唯心论和形而上学的错误？

还有，新的以经济建设为中心的时期，向哲学提出了什么新的需要和要求？

改革的哲学和革命的哲学是否有所不同？

我们的哲学和我们的社会秩序与社会伦理应该怎样衔接？

.....

这些问题其实都需要哲学作出回答和作出哲学的回答。更不用说一些哲学的问题更要从哲学上作出回答。

因此，全面地理解和运用马克思主义哲学基本原理，及时地总结新时期的经验和教训，把它们上升到哲学的高度来加以认识，并由此进一步发展马克思主义哲学，是一个迫切的任务。这是一个重要的任务，但更是一个艰巨的任务，这是需要理论界特别是哲学界来认真做的一件事情。就我个人的理论水平、哲学水平来说，是不敢妄谈此事的。但是“位卑未敢忘忧国”。既然有若干的想法，即使它们是很浅陋的，甚至可能是很错误的，也总想拿将出来，和大家交流交流；即使受



Why does the newly-built socialist system take on retrogressive metamorphosis?

Why do we, who have been insisting on arming our minds with materialist dialectics, make blunders of idealism and metaphysics all the time?

In addition, what new demands have been put forward in the new period when economic construction is taken as the central work?

What is the distinction between reform philosophy and revolutionary philosophy?

In what way can our philosophy and social order be incorporated into the social ethic?

...

In fact, all these questions should be resolved by philosophy, or at least, should be provided with an answer in terms of philosophy. The questions of philosophy also need answers in terms of philosophy.

Therefore, it is urgent for us to understand and utilize the basic principles of Marxist philosophy, summarize the experiences and lessons in the new era, cognize them from the high level of philosophy and further develop Marxist philosophy. It is of great importance though it is tough work. Concerted efforts from theoretic circles, in particular, from the philosophical community, should be made to ponder it over. As to me, I venture to let out my ideas for exchanges and discussion though they might invite attacks from all walks of life. If they can only contribute to the philosophical study, my desires will be fulfilled just as an ancient poet once said, "though my social status stays

到批评,也起码能起一点活跃学术气氛的作用。

#### 四

从现实生活中,我们看到两种需求,那就是全面理解马克思主义哲学的需要,发展马克思主义哲学的需要。

我们知道,任何一个成熟的哲学体系,都是一个庞大的“包罗万象”的体系,世界上的现象都可以从中找到哲学的分析性的答案。但是,也必须看到一个非常值得注意的现象,那就是由于时代的不同,由于时代对哲学的要求不同,当然更由于行为主体的需要不同,人们总是更注意选取符合自己当前要求和现实需要的那一部分,并突出它,发展它。

哲学是世界观,哲学也是方法论。哲学更像是武库。由于“作战”的对象不同,可以从中选取不同的武器。我们的国家,已经由阶级斗争为纲的时期,转变为以经济建设为中心的新时期。我们的党,也已经由一个“造反的党”转变为一个“执政的党”。历史时期的变化,主体地位的变化,要求我们的哲学在坚持马克思主义哲学基本原理的基础上有所变化,有所侧重,有所突破,有所发展。认为任何超出现存马克思



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low, I dare never shrink from the responsibility for the nation."

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#### IV

Undoubtedly it is of great demand to understand Marxist philosophy in an all-round way and develop Marxist philosophy in reality.

As is known, any mature philosophy is a huge and "all-embracing" system, from which all phenomena in the world can be provided with a proper answer. However, we must lay emphasis on the phenomenon worth noticing. Facts show that, owing to the difference of ages, demands for philosophy and behaviors, people often pay more attention to those sectors that accord with the current needs and practical demands. Then, they will give them high priority, and dwell upon them.

Philosophy is concerned about world outlook as well as methodology. It can be easily compared to an arsenal, from which we can select tools according to different "battles". As it is, our country has changed from the age of taking class struggle as the key mission into the new age of taking economic construction as the central task, so has our party from a "rebellion party" into a "party in power". The change of historical period and position of the party, as a result, requires certain changes in philosophy, some breakthroughs and development upon the basic principles of Marxist philosophy. Suppose any fresh ideas different from the statements of Marxist literature were to be degraded as profanity to Marxism, or even as revisionism or opportunism, our thoughts would be bonded and vigorous Marxism would be changed into dead doctrines. Obviously, that is not the way to

主义文献的论述都是对马克思主义的不尊重甚至认为是修正主义或机会主义,只能把我们的思想装套子里,只能使生机勃勃的马克思主义变成僵死的教条。显然,这不是信奉马克思主义,而是败坏马克思主义的声誉,是糟蹋马克思主义。

五

本书取名为《改革方法论》。是否确切,我自己也不是“砸”得很实的。但想来想去,没有更好的名字取代它,就先用它吧。不过要说明几点:

1. 我不是想把整个马克思主义哲学转移到“中介论”的轨道上来,而只是想从一个特定的角度对哲学中的若干问题进行概括,或者说,至多只是想在马克思主义哲学总的武库中添加一种特殊的武器,即针对目前的现实的需要,更多地阐述一种思维方法。

2. “中介论”确实不是中庸哲学,最基本的原因是因为它并不反对斗争,并不认为“中”总是对的,并不认为“不偏不倚”总是对的。它只是对对立面的斗争和统一问题作全面的阐述,而且针对目前的思维方法上的偏颇,更多地从统一的角度,从统一和斗争的关系的角度多做些文章。从表面上看,它更多的是讲



believe in Marxism, but to blaspheme or profane it.

## V

This book is entitled *Methodology for Reform*. As for me, there is no other alternative though I am not sure whether it is exhaustive in covering the content. To make it clearer, I'd like to add a few points here:

1. I do not mean to transfer Marxism to the sphere of "Middlism", but to generalize the issues in philosophy only from a special viewpoint, or to add a special weapon to the arsenal of Marxism, namely, another way of thinking in view of the current and realistic demands.

2. Middlism isn't equal to the doctrine of mean. The basic reason is that it doesn't stand against struggle, and holds the points that "middleness" shall not be always correct, nor shall "the even-handed ideas". It only expatiates the struggle and the unity of the two opposites in an all-around way. Moreover, to counter the biasedness in current thinking methods, stress is put on the unity and the relations between the unity and the struggle. Apparently, it deals with intermediate, but the intermediate thinking possesses two tendencies or circumstances: One is a complete and conciliated intermediate, taking "fence-straddler" as its most essential methodology; the other is regarding the intermediate as one of struggle and as one of proper struggle. This book prefers the latter to the former.

3. In spite of these circumstances, the *Methodology for Reform* doesn't seem to be exhaustive to cover the content of this book. If it is named according to its most prominent charac-



中介,但中介思维本身会有两种倾向或情况:一种是完全的调和的中介,把和稀泥作为最基本的方法论的中介;一种则是把中介作为斗争的中介,或者说是正确斗争的中介。本文所主张的是后者,而不是前者。

3. 即使在这个层次上,“改革方法论”似乎也不能完全概括全书的内容。但任何一个书名,特别是字数不多的书名,要想做到把内容概括无余都是不可能的。因此,我只能从最有特点和最有针对性的角度采取书名,这样,“改革方法论”可能就是一种“最佳选择”了。而这在哲学史上是有先例的。毛泽东同志所写的《实践论》,讲的不仅仅是实践问题,而是整个的认识论问题。但是它的主要特点是强调实践,突出了实践在认识中的地位 and 作用,故把它称为《实践论》。效法马克思主义经典作家的这种做法,我想也是可以的,尽管本书远远不能和《实践论》这样伟大的著作相提并论。

不管怎样,我写这部《改革方法论》是作为一种哲学上的探索而奉献给我的读者的。我愿意接受由此而得到的各种“回报”。

艾 丰

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