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ZhengzhiZiyou*

*Hannah ArendtZhengzhiZiyouSixiangYanjiu*

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——汉娜·阿伦特政治自由思想研究

曾祥耿 著

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## 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

行动、沉思与政治自由：汉娜·阿伦特政治自由思想研究 / 曾祥耿著. —南昌：江西人民出版社，2017.2

ISBN 978-7-210-09190-5

I. ①行… II. ①曾… III. ①阿伦特(Arendt, Hannah 1906-1975)—自由—政治思想—思想评论 IV. ①B712.59 ②D081

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2017)第 041381 号

## 行动、沉思与政治自由：汉娜·阿伦特政治自由思想研究

曾祥耿 著

责任编辑：徐明德 饶 芬

书籍设计：同异文化传媒

出 版：江西人民出版社

发 行：各地新华书店

地 址：江西省南昌市三经路 47 号附 1 号

编辑部电话：0791-86898965

发行部电话：0791-86898801

邮 编：330006

网 址：www.jxp-ph.com

E-mail: gjzx999@126.com

2017 年 2 月第 1 版 2017 年 2 月第 1 次印刷

开 本：880×1230 毫米 1/32

印 张：9.625

字 数：235 千字

ISBN 978-7-210-09190-5

赣版权登字—01—2017—188

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定 价：38.00 元

承 印 厂：虎彩印艺股份有限公司

赣人版图书凡属印刷、装订错误，请随时向承印厂调换

## 摘 要

行动和沉思是人类特有的活动方式;它们不仅使人类摆脱自然界的束缚,而且体现出人类活动的主体性和复数性。在古希腊时代,行动与沉思就是哲学家们关注的重要问题;时至今日,它们越来越受到人们的关注。阿伦特依据古希腊思想家们的诠释,将行动和沉思上升到理论体系层面,分别总结出具体的内容,并把它们置放到自己的政治自由思想研究中,用政治自由这一主线连接了行动理论和沉思理论,实现了从“行动”到“沉思”的理论延伸,形成一个完整的结构。

阿伦特立足于古希腊罗马政治哲学思想,通过对传统的细致梳理和分析,以人类自身的活动境况和条件作为理论研究的切入点,深入审视现代政治问题。阿伦特依据人们所创造的事物的持久性(或不朽性)程度不同,严格区分了人类的三种活动,即劳动、工作和行动。“劳动”的本质属性确认了它所面临的、所产生的是自然界,“工作”所面对的是一个无意义的过程和要素系统的技艺性世界,“行动”不借他物中介而直接与他人进行交往活动,形成了一个属人的政治性世界。在此基础上,阿伦特划分了公共领域和私人领域,并从中勾画出衔接二者的社会领域;这三个不同的领域呈现出人类不同的自由状况。这些相互衔接的内容形成了她的行动理论。

在古希腊人的日常生活中,政治生活只是其中的一种,跟它并列的还有理论生活,中世纪时期的思想家把这两种生活翻译为积极生活和沉思生活。阿伦特认为,尽管沉思的对象并不是当下就存在的

具体实物,沉思不是为了人类世界的具体建设,在大多数的时间中对人类社会的帮助不大,但“思考具有政治的重要性”。这促使她将积极生活与沉思生活连接起来,以此寻求政治自由。首先,阿伦特指出沉思活动超越世间万物的有限性和可见性,是寻求事物的原因和原理、求知普遍性和必然性的理论活动,既立足于现实,又趋向于完美;并强调了由行动转向沉思的主客观原因。其次,阿伦特阐明沉思包括思维、意志和判断三部分内容。思维作为把对象从预定中抽离出来的活动,为意志和判断准备了活动的对象,处于一种基础性地位;意志是个人完全自主的能力,能塑造完全自主的人格,面向未来,并呈现为目的本身;判断使沉思者到达公共领域,接触到具体的政治事务,充分表达出沉思中的政治功能。最后,面对沉思所具有的隐匿性和主观性等一系列性质,阿伦特对其赋予了明确的时间定位,采用“无栅栏的沉思”方式,寻求沉思之间、沉思与行动之间的交流途径,表达了沉思的永恒性、自由性和政治性,最终实现由“行动”到“沉思”的理论延伸。

在阐明行动理论和沉思理论中蕴涵的政治意义之后,阿伦特梳理了从古希腊到近现代政治自由的发展与走向,分析了其中政治与哲学关系的变更而致使原先真正的政治走向自己的反面,出现了虚假政治。引发虚假政治的是现代科技发展的负面效应、原子式个人的大量涌现、极权主义的产生、政治中充满伪善与谎言、意识形态恐怖对公民人格的破坏和毁灭等。面对虚假政治,阿伦特返回到古希腊时期的“政治”含义界定,将政治与自由联结在一起,在政治活动中体现出自由。在此基础上,人们将自己的意见展现在共同活动空间中,借助言谈与行动自由地参与公共事务。至此,阿伦特通过对政治

活动的主体、政治存在的空间、政治讨论的范围、政治承担的责任等进行阐释,指出政治与社会的区别,希望恢复公共领域,重建“真正政治”,实现政治自由理想。在批判与重建中,阿伦特厘清了政治自由的关联要素,并表达出其应有之义。

在与马克思的哲学碰撞过程中,阿伦特根据自己政治自由思想的需要裁剪马克思的理论学说。她认为,一方面,马克思突破传统思维方式,从原先仅仅停留在理论阐释的框架中解脱出来,转向现实的政治历史领域,去关注人们无法摆脱的那种困境,从而挑战并终结了西方哲学传统,实现了哲学功能由沉思到实践行动的转向;另一方面,马克思理论与传统理论又具有发展的延续性和同质性。鉴于这种理解,阿伦特接受了马克思关于政治自由问题的思想,借用马克思政治哲学中的词汇来表达自己的理论。从方法论的角度来看,作为非马克思主义者的阿伦特在理解马克思理论时,凸显出与西方马克思主义迥然不同的特色:在理论定位上,她从整个西方传统政治思想的历史框架中理解马克思政治思想;在批判方法上,她对资本主义采取了排斥性批判,比马克思以及西方马克思主义者更为激进;在内容阐释上,她将政治自由作为衡量马克思理论的标准,从自由与必然性之间的关系中寻求完美的政治理念。然而,她没有深入全面地分析马克思政治理论,往往从单一角度的理解来阐述马克思具有多层次的概念,导致她的政治思想中存在着诸多的缺陷。从具体理论来看,阿伦特与马克思两位思想家的政治自由思想在表面上有着诸多相似之处,然而究其实质,这些理论中的劳动观、空间领域和理论目标三个方面有着截然不同的性质,从而显示出阿伦特政治自由思想片面、静态和空想的局限性。

总之,本书基于马克思主义的立场,采用文本阅读法、比较分析法和批判反思法,紧紧抓住政治自由这一主线,从行动与沉思的范畴入手,具体阐释阿伦特政治自由思想的内涵和意义,并将其置放于马克思主义语境下进行评析,揭示出她的理论特色和局限性,探讨这一思想在当代社会发展过程中的现实价值。

关键词:阿伦特 马克思 行动 沉思 政治自由

## ABSTRACT

Both of action and contemplation are the unique patterns behavioral of the human beings. They not only make human get rid of the bondage of nature, but also embody the subjectivity and plurality of human activity. Action and contemplation are the key issues that philosophers focuses on in ancient Greece, and so far they have been to be concerned by more and more people. According to the interpretation of ancient Greek thinkers, Arendt raises the action and contemplation to the level of theoretical systems and sums up the specific contents, which are put into her own theory of political freedom. She connects the action theories and the contemplation theories with the theory of political freedom and achieves an extension of the theory from the "Action" to "Contemplation", which forms a complete structure.

Basing on the political philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome, Arendt takes the situation and conditions of human beings as the starting point of theoretical research and examines deeply the modern political problems by combing and analyzing the traditional theory carefully. Basing on the degree of persistence (or immortality) of man - made objects, Arendt distinguishes strictly among the three kinds of human activities, namely, labour, work and action. The essential attribute of labor requires that labor access to and produce the natural world. The object of work is a technology world of meaningless processes and elements system. Action engages direct interaction with others without an intermediar-



y, and it has formed a personal political world. On this basis, Arendt partitions the public or private spheres, from which outlined the social sphere linking the two areas. The distinction among these three areas expresses the different degrees of freedom of the human condition. These interrelated views gradually form her theories of action.

Bios politikos is one of the daily life in ancient Greece, together with Bios politikos. The thinkers of the Middle Ages translated these two kinds of life into Vita activa and Vita contemplative. Arendt thinks that the object of meditation is not a specific kind which currently exists, and meditation is not for the concrete construction of the human world, which helps little to human society in most of the time. However, "meditation has political importance". It promotes Arendt to link Bios theoretikos and Bios politikos so as to search the political freedom. First, Arendt points out that the meditation is beyond the limitation and visibility of everything. Meditation is a theoretical activity that finds the reasons and principles, and universality and necessity of things. It is not only based on reality, but also tends to perfection. Arendt stresses the subjective and objective factors for the shift from action to contemplation. Second, Arendt explains that meditation includes three contents: thinking, will and judgment. Thinking is a kind of activity that the object is drawn away from the intended objectives. It provides the objects of activities to will and judgment, and it is in a basic position. Will is completely autonomous capacity of individuals, and it can create autonomous personality completely. It is future - oriented, and it shows the purpose. Judge makes thinkers reach the public domain and get access to specific political affairs. It fully expresses the political function in contemplation. Fi-

nally, Arendt gives it a clear time position and the manner of “thinking without banister”, for a series of nature in contemplation, such as freedom, hidden and subjective, etc. She looks for the means of communication between meditations, and between contemplation and action. She expresses the eternity, freedom, and political of contemplation, and finally realizes theory extension from “action” to “contemplation”.

Arendt combs the development and direction of political freedom from ancient Greece to modern after her explaining the political significance which is hidden in action theory and meditation theory. She analyzes that the original real politics becomes the opposite of itself because of the changed relationship between the politics and philosophy. It leads to the emergence of false politics in human life. There are many reasons for false politics, such as the negative effects of modern science and technology development, a large number of atomic individuals, the emergence of totalitarianism, hypocrisy and lies fully in politics, the damage and destruction of civil personality by terror of ideology, and so on. Arendt returns to the “politics” meaning in ancient Greece when she sees the false political. She connects politics with freedom to express their freedom in political activities. On the basis, people express their views in a common space, and they participate freely in public affairs through conversation and action. Therefore, Arendt points out the distinction between political and social, and she hopes that human can rehabilitate public domain and reconstruct “real politics” to achieve the ideal of political freedom after she analyzes the subject of political activities, the space of political existence, the scope of political discussion, and the political responsibility, etc. Arendt illustrates the relevant elements of political freedom in cri-

tique and reconstruction and expresses the essence of its meaning.

Arendt cuts Marx's theory in accordance with the political freedom theory of her own needs when she collides Marx in philosophy. She thinks that Marx broke the traditional way of thinking on one hand. He frees himself from the framework in the original theoretical interpretation and returns to the realistic field of the political history. And then, he pays close attention to the plight which people still can not get rid of. He challenges and ends the western philosophical tradition, and realizes the turning of philosophy functions from contemplation to practical action. On the other hand, there are developing continuity and homogeneity in Marxist theory and the traditional theory. Arendt accepts some theories of Marx's political freedom, and she expresses her own theories through the vocabulary of Marx's political philosophy. As a non - Marxist, Arendt shows different characteristics in her explaining Marx's theory when she compares with the Western Marxist from the view of methodology. She explains Marx's political theory in historical framework of western traditional political thought by the theoretical position. She criticizes exclusively capitalism by critical method, and it is more radical with her method than Marx's and Western Marxist's. She regards the political freedom as the standard of measuring Marxist theory, and searches the perfect political philosophy from freedom and necessity when explaining the content. However, she usually elaborates multi - level concept of Marx by single understanding without analyzing Marx's political theory deeply and comprehensively, which leads to many defects in her political thought. There are many similarities on the surface in political free thought between Arendt and Marx from the view of specific theories. In fact, how-

ever, there is qualitative difference among their labour view, space field and theoretical goals. It shows the limitations of one – sided, static and utopian in Arendt's thought of political freedom.

In short, on the basis of Marxism, the dissertation adopts the methods of reading texts, comparative analysis and critical reflection by firmly grasping the main line of political freedom to explain specifically the meaning and significance in Arendt's political free thought from the basic categories such as action and contemplation. Meanwhile, the dissertation evaluates her political free thought with the context of Marxism, reveals the characteristics and limitations of her thought, and explores the practical value of the thought during the developing process in contemporary society.

Key words: Arendt; Marx; Action; Contemplation; Political freedom

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## 导 论

### 一、阿伦特的理论概述

汉娜·阿伦特(1906—1975),一位在政治灾难影响下由哲学、神学思考转向政治思考,自认为没有撰写任何政治哲学著作,不喜欢“政治哲学家”称谓而被公认是著名政治哲学家的思想家;她的理论因思想深邃、逻辑独特、目标完美而显得独特和富有原创性。与众多西方重要的政治思想家一样,阿伦特亲身经历了20世纪诸多政治灾难,并对这一系列政治问题做出反思,从而产生了有关政治、哲学、历史等方面的大量著作。西方学术界第一个系统研究阿伦特的学者玛格雷特·卡诺凡指出:“政治思想的整个议程都是由她(阿伦特——笔者注)对世纪中叶的政治灾难的反思决定的。”<sup>①</sup>然而,与众不同

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<sup>①</sup> Margaret Canovan. *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 7.