

求是 丛书

自由主义批判 与自由理论的重建

——黑格尔政治哲学及其影响



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内 容 摘 要

黑格尔在 19 世纪初进行的自由主义批判,是一种不同于浪漫主义的自由主义之德国式反应,它可视之为启蒙运动与浪漫主义运动业已存在的紧张关系的一种解决,是法国革命后时代一场学术革命实现的标志。黑格尔的自由主义批判,正是 18 世纪后期和 19 世纪早期德国状况的反映。同时,由于自由主义经过从 17 世纪的英国到 18 世纪英国的发展、从英国到法国的发展、从法国到德国的发展,它无论作为一种思想体系,还是作为一种社会制度,其内在矛盾与危机都已得到暴露。黑格尔的自由主义批判,在他自己心中意味着一场彻底的学术革命,意味着对自由主义理论基础中所固有的、通过卢梭、休谟和康德而突出的问题和矛盾的解决。因此,黑格尔对康德的道德自由主义以及由此上溯的英法理论的批判,体现着资产阶级政治哲学的上升和发展。

如果说宣称人拥有自然权利是 17、18 世纪西欧自由主义政治哲学的实质性精神,那么社会契约论则为它提供了概念框架和程序性解释。黑格尔的自由主义批判,既指向自然权

利说,又指向社会契约论。在对自然权利学说的批判中,黑格尔既指出洛克式的经验论研究方法不能论证权利的“必然性”和“普遍性”,它宣称的自然权利只能是“没有形式的内容”;又指出康德、费希特式的先验论研究方法所论证的自然权利是“没有内容的形式”,同样是抽象的,是一种“空虚的形式主义”。而在对社会契约论的批判中,黑格尔既不像历史法学派那样把社会契约看作是一种历史事件来加以反驳与否定,也不像休谟那样以功利主义为立论基础来揭露契约论在逻辑上的混乱。他的批判,首先指向其个人主义的理论基础。在黑格尔看来,个人主义既伪造了个人的本质,也伪造了社会、国家的本质。一个人的自我意识,绝不可能最初作为一个个人而获得,个人、个人权利都不可能先于社会而存在,社会也不是个人简单的集合体。与洛克基于人的自然方面为财产权进行辩护不同,黑格尔提出了财产权的社会概念,认为人的自我和外部世界在自然物体变为人的意志的财产时才相互都变为独立的。在完全改变了在财产权与契约论者所阐述的国家的建立之间那种手段——目的关系的基础上,黑格尔进而把社会契约论与政治经济学联系起来,指陈社会契约论不过是站在政治经济学立场上的“知性”的观点。不仅如此,黑格尔批判自由主义的锋芒所指还包括了其“纯粹知性的结果”。通过对使自由主义政治哲学得到检验的重大事件——法国大革命的深刻分析,黑格尔对17、18世纪欧洲政治哲学遗产作出了一个全面的清理。

在指陈种种形态的自由主义为“抽象观念”的基础上,黑格尔重建了自由理论,成为近代自由理论的集大成者。通过对自我意识的发生学考察,他发现了人的存在的互主体性结

构,确立了人是社会性的人,从而破除了“我思故我在”的近代知识论哲学传统,真正确立起了从康德起开始复兴的实践哲学之基础。在互主体性哲学模式之上,黑格尔建立起一个新的自由概念,这是一个伦理实体的自由的概念,在其中他完成了古代伦理实体与近代道德主体之间的综合。他区分“道德”(Moralität)与“伦理”(Sittlichkeit),强调伦理高于道德,意味着他以“精神”(Geist)之学克服了康德的“心”(Gemüt)学,以伦理性规定赋予自由以非常具体的内容,克服了近代自由概念的空洞性、抽象性。同时,他虽然强调伦理生活具有实体性的关系原则,却给了这个实体概念一个全新的转折,即把实体同时理解为主体。因此,黑格尔伦理实体的自由的概念,相对于古代,他发挥了主体性;相对于近代,他发挥了实体原则。

黑格尔的自由概念完成了历史的、时代的综合,他并把它表现为概念各个环节的辩证发展。从“家庭”经过“市民社会”到“国家”,体现着自由意识的发展,而只有在“国家”中自由理念才真正得到了实现。由“家庭的解体”而出现的市民社会,是一个以特殊性为基本原则的“需要体系”,表示直接或原始伦理精神的解体。但是,市民社会的出现有其必然性,它为自由的完全定义提供着必要但不充分的内容,从中体现出市民社会的辩证法。不尽如此,市民社会的辩证法更在于,市民社会造成了普遍性与特殊性的分离,但是克服这种分离的力量恰恰就在市民社会自身之中。司法、警察、同业公会等等就是中介市民社会与国家的重要环节。作为伦理概念发展进程的“结果”,国家意味着伦理理念变成了现实,国家的现实性就在于它实现了普遍性与特殊性的统一,因而国家体现为政治共同体与个人自由的完满统一,成为国家成员,即获得了自己的

实体性自由。由于每个国家都是一个个别，国家之间的关系犹如市民社会中人与人的关系，这使国家的权利受到限制。作为一个结果，每一个国家最后都成了世界历史的一个环节。这个历史也是自由意识从低级到高级的发展史。历史的目标就是实现一切人都自由的原则，并在社会和国家现实方面取得合理型态，因此，历史的终结也即是自由概念的完成。黑格尔在历史终结论中完成了对近代自由理论的重建，并在这一重建中最终完成了对自由主义的批判。

黑格尔政治哲学的影响是复杂而深远的。他不仅构成自由主义批判的持久资源，也成为自由主义的内部修正、自我批判的重要资源。19世纪后期英国从密尔到牛津唯心主义学派到古典自由主义所进行的修正，他们对社会立法、实现整个社会的福利的重视和对社会义务具有的深刻觉悟，都与德国哲学特别是黑格尔哲学之间有着重要的关联。在两次世界大战之间美国自由主义传统的改变中，黑格尔政治哲学同样产生了重要的影响。这一时期最重要的政治哲学家杜威，正是在把黑格尔主义实用主义化的基础上，才完成了对自由主义的批判与重建。二次大战后，自由主义运动出现了复兴，并发展为新自由主义。无论是社群主义和法兰克福学派的批判理论对新自由主义的批判与挑战，还是新自由主义理论自身的发展，黑格尔政治哲学都发挥了重要的作用。

更为重要的是，由于德国社会特殊的历史发展，排除了“资产阶级”政治哲学继续向前发展的可能性。而被德国资产阶级排除了可能性的黑格尔政治哲学的发展，在德国的无产阶级那里得到了实现。对黑格尔政治哲学的批判，不仅是马克思的政治思想发展而且是他的全部思想发展的转折点。

马克思在分析批判黑格尔政治哲学的时候,揭示出了政治革命的限度,从而把克服市民社会与超越政治解放之间紧密地联系起来。从政治解放到人类解放,是马克思政治思想的主题。这一主题构成 1844 年以后马克思作为中心工作的政治经济学研究的前提和基础,马克思的政治哲学在他的经济学中才得以完成。毫无疑问,马克思是黑格尔政治哲学的真正继承者。

**Critique of Liberalism
and Reconstruction of the Theory
of Liberty**
— *Hegel's Political Philosophy and its
Influence*

Abstract

The critique of liberalism made by Hegel in the early 19th century is the German reflection of liberalism which is different from romanticism. It can be considered a solution to the tension between the Enlightenment and the Romantic Movement, and the manifestation of the academic revolution in the wake of the French Revolution. Hegel's critique of liberalism reflects the condition in Germany in the late 18th century and early 19th century. Liberalism, as an ideological system and a social system, has revealed its inner contradictions and crises after its development in England from the 17th century to the 18th century, from England to France and from France to Germany. Hegel's critique of liberalism means in his mind a rad-

ical academic revolution and the solution of the problems and contradictions which are inherent in the theoretical foundation of liberalism and stuck out by Rousseau, Hume and Kant. Therefore, Hegel's critique of Kant's moral liberalism and, therefrom, the English and French theories signifies the rise and development of bourgeois political philosophy.

If declaring that man has natural rights is the substantial spirit of the liberal political philosophy of the Western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, social contract theory provides it with conceptual frame and procedural explanation. Hegel's critique of liberalism is directed at both the theories of natural rights and social contract. In the critique of natural rights, Hegel points out that Locke's empirical approach could not prove the "inevitability" and "universality" of such a right, the natural right it advocated is but "a content without form"; he also points out that the natural right expounded and proved by Kant and Fichte's transcendental approach is "a form without content", is also abstract, an "empty formalism". In the critique of social contract theory, unlike the historical jurisprudence, Hegel does not refute or negate social contract as a historical event; nor like Hume, Hegel does not reveal the logical confusion on the basis of utilitarianism. His critique is directed first at its indiv-

individualist theoretical foundation. In his view, individualism forges the nature of individual and the nature of society and state. The self-consciousness of man can never be achieved initially by an individual, an individual and his rights can not exist prior to society and society is in no sense a simple combination of individuals. Different from Locke's argument in defence of property right on the basis of man's natural aspect, Hegel's social concept of property right holds that only when natural objects become the property of man's will, can man's self and the outer world be independent of each other. On the basis of completely changing the means-end relationship between property right and state elaborated by contractarians, Hegel integrates social contract theory with political economics and points out that social contract theory is but an "understanding" viewpoint on the stand of political economics. Besides, Hegel's target of criticism includes the "result of pure understanding". Through the profound analysis of the French Revolution — a major event testing the liberal political philosophy — Hegel makes a complete sorting out of the legacy of European political philosophy in the 17th and 18th centuries.

By showing that various types of liberalism are "abstract ideas", Hegel reconstructs the theory of liberalism which becomes an aggregate of modern theories of

liberty. He discovers the intersubjective structure of man's existence and defines that man is social man, thus topples the modern philosophical tradition of epistemology advocating "cogito, ergo sum", and sets up the real foundation for the practical philosophy which begins to revive from Kant. Upon the philosophical pattern of intersubjectivity, Hegel finds a new concept of liberty, a new concept of liberty about ethical substance, in which he accomplishes the synthesis of ancient ethical substance and modern moral subject. He distinguishes "Moralität" from "Sittlichkeit" and stresses that the latter is higher than the former, implying that he surmounts Kant's science of "Gemüt" with the science of "Geist" and endows liberty with very concrete contents by resorting to ethical definition, conquering the empty and abstract character of modern concepts of liberty. Meanwhile, although he emphasizes the principle that ethical life has substantial relationships, he brings about a brand-new transition in this substantial concept — substance should be simultaneously understood as subject. Therefore, when compared with ancient idea, Hegel's concept of liberty about ethical substance elaborates subjectivity, and when compared with modern idea, it elaborates the substantial principle.

Hegel's concept of liberty realizes a historical and

epochal synthesis, he delineates it as the dialectical development of the links in the concept. The process of evolving from "family", via "civil society", to "state" embodies the development of the consciousness of liberty, and the idea of liberty can only be realized in the "state". The civil society sprang from "the disintegration of family" is a "system of needs" with particularity as its basic principle which shows the disintegration of the direct or primitive ethical spirit. However, the emergence of civil society is inevitable, it provides the full definition of liberty with necessary, though inadequate, contents, and demonstrates therefrom the dialectics of civil society. Moreover, the dialectics of civil society is that such a society causes the separation of particularity from universality, and the force to overcome the separation rests in the civil society itself. Judiciary, police and corporation are important links mediating civil society and state. As a "result" of the development of ethical concept, "state" implies that ethical idea becomes real, and the reality of state lies in the fact that it realizes the unification of universality and particularity, so the state manifests itself as the perfect unification of political community and personal liberty, and being a member of a state means the acquisition of one's substantial liberty. As every state is an individuality, the relations among

states resemble that among people in the civil society, and this limits the state's rights. As a result, every state eventually turns out to be a link in the world history. This history is also the history of the development of the idea of liberty from elementary to higher levels. The target of history is to realize the principle that all men are liberal and make the real aspects of society and state acquire reasonable patterns. Therefore, the end of history is also the completion of the concept of liberty. In the theory of the end of history, Hegel accomplishes the reconstruction of modern theory of liberty, and in the reconstruction, he accomplishes finally the critique of liberalism.

The influence of Hegel's political philosophy is complicated and far-reaching. It not only functions as a lasting resource for the critique of liberalism, but also serves as an important resource for the self-modification and self-criticism of liberalism. The modification of classical liberalism made in the 19th century England by John Mill and the Oxford idealist school, their emphasis on the legislation in society and realizing welfare in the whole society, and their deep awareness of social duty have significant connection with German philosophy, especially Hegelian philosophy. Hegel's political philosophy also exerts weighty impact upon the change of the U.S. liberal tradition

between two world wars. It is on the basis of turning Hegelianism into pragmatism that John Dewey, the most prominent political philosopher of that period, completes his critique and reconstruction of liberalism. After World War II, liberalism revives and grows into neo-liberalism. Hegel's political philosophy plays an important role in the critique of and challenge to neo-liberalism brought along by communitarianism and the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, and also in the development of the theory of the neo-liberalism itself.

More important, the specific historical course of the German society forecloses the post-Hegelian "bourgeois" political philosophy of further growth, and Hegelian political philosophy whose expansion possibility was foreclosed by the German bourgeoisie achieves development in German proletariat. The critique of Hegelian political philosophy is not only a turning point of Marx's political thought development, but also that of his entire thought development.

At the time of analysing and criticizing Hegelian political philosophy, Marx brings light to the limit of political revolution, thus integrating the overcome of civil society with the transcendence over political emancipation. Propelling political emancipation forward to human emancipation makes the theme of

Marx's political thought. This theme constitutes the prerequisite and foundation for the study of political economics which is deemed by Marx the center of his work after 1844, and Marx's political philosophy is completed in his study of economics. Undoubtedly, Marx is the true successor to Hegel's political philosophy.