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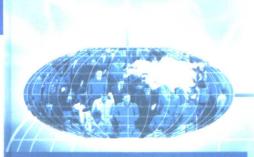
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理论建构·互动模式·个案分析



中国社会研究出版社

中国一束南至学

—— 理論建構·至動模式·但案分析

対宏 著

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王赓武

本书使我想起了一个在经历了深具探索性的发现之旅后抵达 港湾的探险者。本书的作者在大约 13 年前从厦门大学开始他的航 程,以东南亚当代史中的一些常规性课题作为研究对象。到了美 国之后, 他将自己的研究扩展到一个三维空间的领域, 其中印度 尼西亚人对中国的观念、中国对东南亚的政策以及美国对东南亚 的态度成为相互关联的论题。这是一种令人清醒的经历、它向本 书作者展示了旧的研究方法的局限性。他也访问了欧洲、日本和 东南亚。每到一处,他都与全球化的新学术思潮相接触、并逐渐 意识到国家政策与态度阻碍了对复杂的多边关系的了解。无论以 什么词汇来表达——国际的、跨国的、民族的、民族国家的或国 家建设, 包袱都是沉重的, 也不利于许多研究领域的拓展。当他 来到新加坡后,这种感受变得更加明显。在这里,他开始讲授有 关华人的商业组织的课程、尤其是有关它们在现代的调适及其广 泛的跨区域和全球触角。在历史上, 这些模式与机构就从未被局 限于国家的范畴之内。在今天,它们就更不会如此。这样,探险 者抵达了一个新的港口, 稍事停留并评估他的发现。在此, 他阐

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释了一个新的研究范式 (paradigm), 亦即本书的第一篇论文。

在刘宏博十十余年的试验与探索过程中,他证明了自己有能 力从事许多层面的研究与写作。我认为、这些层面在这本文集中 系统地展现出来, 如果人们由后往前来阅读该书的论文的话。换 言之, 如果读者先从第四部分开始, 然后读中间部分, 最后回到 有关"中国一东南亚学"的第一篇论文、那么、人们就会更好地 理解与体会他所关注的问题的层面。同时,它也清楚地展示了本 书作者是如何逐渐地并最终摆脱他早期的常规性分析框架,而后 建构了考察与分析丰富资料的新方法。虽然我自己并没有以这种 顺序来阅读本书、但我意识到——当我读到最后一部分时——如 果我这样做的话,将是多么有益。简言之,他所开始的对菲律宾 和印度尼西亚的结构性分析表明了以国家为基础的研究的优势与 劣势。他不仅显示了自己对这种机构性研究方法的透彻了解,也 深知其局限性。显而易见, 他对这一研究成果感到满意, 并开始 探讨中国与东南亚关系中互动的和多元的特征。在这之后,他感 到足以面对华人经济中持续不断的跨国活动这一课题。到了这 时,朝向跨国视野的转变就理所当然地成为他的新研究的起点。

在本书的第二部分,他仔细考察了印尼对中国革命的反响,比较了众多的政治与知识界领导人(包括苏加诺和普拉穆迪亚·阿南达·杜尔)的观点。这使他得以理解 20 世纪 50 年代印尼人的中国观的基础,并将之与 20 年之后美国人对饱受"文革"摧残之中国的看法相比较。这一研究凸现了不平等的与不稳定的互动关系,它制约了两个完全不同的政治文化对"显著的另一半"(Significant Other)的态度。这也同时揭示了中国是如何有意识地影响外部世界对她的看法。更重要的,他还分析了导致中国外部形象变化的现实事件和客观条件。中国在外部世界的形象至少发生了三个层面的变化:从一个进步的、充满令人羡慕的生机的形象到文化与政治的自我毁灭的形象,最后,是老一辈领导人推

动的系统的经济改革所显现的决心与多样性。毫无疑问,外国观察家对中国的主观的、一厢情愿的看法也随着现实的改变而发生了一些变化。

与这些变化息息相关的是东南亚华人的地位和杰度的转变。 在第三部分的三篇有关华人社会组织的文章中(其中两篇集中考 察新加坡中华总商会及其众多的相关团体), 本书作者印证了华 人及其机构的调适力和灵活性。在第二次世界大战之前, 华人社 团影响广泛,超出了工商贸易领域之外。其中一些最大的团体有 时甚至扮演了地方政府的角色,并得到殖民政府以及中国中央政 府的尊重与认可。在20世纪五六十年代、它们的势力大多被该 地区新兴独立国家的建国进程所削弱:在影响日渐衰落的情况 下,有些社团甚至面临生存的危机。1978 年,中国推行经济改 革。这一巨大的刺激不仅导致海外华人社会组织有选择的复兴。 而且也赋予它们新的角色、去征服日渐全球化的新世界。这里的 关键之处在于、历史悠久、基础雄厚的组织能够把握全球化所带 来的机会,虽然它们并不具备在这种环境下繁荣发展的先天条 件。刘博士完全理解这些变化及其意义。所以, 很自然地, 他对 仍然以国家范畴为局限的现存的分析范式感到不满。这促使他勇 敢地迈向一个新的分析构架、也就是本书第一篇文章中所提出的 "中国—东南亚学"的观点。

这篇文章值得仔细阅读。他并不是向我们提供另一个地理框架。他所更关注的是,如果我们将自己局限于现有的、占主导地位的教学与研究结构之中,我们可能失去我们的研究对象所提供的全新视野。他建议换一个不同的角度,这样我们或许能够把握迄今为止被忽略的联系。为了支持他的论点,他引进了跨国主义(transnationalism)研究中的最新理论。这是一个迅速发展的领域,其目的在于使理论能与我们社会正在经历的全球化步骤相一致。他认为,海外华人调整了自身的视野,以期在新的商业环境

中变得同时具有地方性和全球性。这是非常有说服力的观点。我们需要一个新的理论范式,使我们能够最大限度地利用我们所发现的新变化,这亦得到鲜明的论证。他并没有否定民族国家和多国变数的持续的重要性,也意识到研究同时并存的其他的跨国界、跨区域活动的必要性。他所强调的论点是,为了使将来的研究有所成效,中国一东南亚学的建构能够有助于我们看到通常忽略的领域和观点。

本书可视作一个学者治学历程的标记。他已经找到了一个新的港湾,并重新充实自己,以准备新的远航。像这样一本清楚地记载了作者在研究道路上日渐进步的系列文章汇集,这是罕见的。我在此向读者推荐本书所呈现的知识图景 (intellectual map),它既透彻明了,又令人深思。

Preface

Wang Gungwu

This collection of essays reminds me of an explorer reaching port after a probing voyage of discovery. The author began his journey some 13 years ago in Xiamen University by threading his way through some conventional topics of Southeast Asiancontemporary history. When he arrived in the United States, he broadened his enquiries to cover a three-cornered field in which Indonesian views of China were matched with Chinese policies towards Southeast Asia as well as with American approaches towards the region. That was a sobering experience. It revealed to him the limits he would have to accept if he were to pursue these lines of research any further. He had also visited Europe, Japan and Southeast Asia. Wherever he went, he touched base with the new scholarship on globalization and came to realize that national policies and attitudes were restricting his understanding of the complex issues in all these relationships. Whether couched in international of multinational terms, the national, nation-state, or nation-building, baggage was heavy and discouraged many areas of research. This became even more obvious when he came to Singapore and began to teach about ethnic Chinese business organizations, especially about their modern adaptations and their extensive transregional and global reach. Here are patterns and institutions which have not been confined to national categories in the past, and they certainly could not be so confined now. In this way, the explorer arrived at a new harbor to pause and assess his discovery. He took shelter to sketch out the outlines of the new paradigm that provides the opening essay of this book.

During Dr. Liu's dozen years of trial and exploration, he demonstrated his capacity to write on many levels. I suggest that these levels unfold systematically in this collection if the essays are read more or less from back to front. That is, if one begins with section four before turning to the middle sections, and then finally to his first essay on Sino-Southeast Asian Studies, the layers of his concern would be better appreciated. How the author came finally to peel off his early conventional framework to reach for newer ways of sifting and analyzing the rich materials now available would then become clear. Although I had not myself read them in that order, I came to realize, by the time I reached the last section, how helpful it would have been had I done that. In short, the institutional studies of the Philippines and Indonesia he started with reveal both the strengths and weaknesses of nation-based research. He has shown that he knows that approach well and is also aware of its limitations. He had obviously satisfied himself on that score before tackling the interactive and pluralistic features of China-Southeast Asia relations. After he had done that, he felt ready to confront the invariably cross-border aspects of ethnic Chinese economic activities. By this time, the shift to a transnational perspective had become the logical step forward in his new research.

In the second section, he examines closely the Indonesian response to the Chinese revolution, comparing the views of a wide range of political and intellectual leaders, ranging from Sukarno to Pramoedya Ananta Toer. This leads him to understand what underlies the perceptions of China by Indonesians in the 1950s, and to compare these perceptions with the shifts, twenty years later, in American reactions to a China in the throes of the Cultural Revolution. This study brings out the uneven and unstable interactions that governed the attitudes towards the "Significant Other" in two totally unlike political cultures. It also alerts him to the many ways China had set out deliberately to influence foreign views of China. More significantly, he was also drawn to examine the actual events and the objective conditions which changed the external images of China. There were at least three changes: from an image of progressive impulses and admirable opportunity to one of cultural and political self-destruction and then, finally, to the will and versatility of China 's old leaders to embark on systematic economic reforms. Clearly, there were times when the subjective wishful thinking among the foreign observers underwent change because both substance and reality had indeed altered.

Matching this to a large degree were the shifts in status and attitudes of the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia. The author's three essays on Chinese social organizations in the third section of the book, with two of them focusing on the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce and its numerous constituent bodies, confirm how resilient and adaptable the Chinese and their institutions were. Before the war, the associationa and societies were powerful beyond the areas of trade and industry. The largest among them at times acted as local authorities which both the colonial government and the provincial and central regimes in the China treatde with respect. During the 1950s and 1960s, most of them were weakened by the nation-building conditions of the newly independent states in the region. In the face of diminished roles, some of them could barely survive. Then came the economic opening of mainland China after 1978. The massive stimulus which this provided has led not only to the selective revival of these organizations, but has also given them new roles and new worlds to conquer in a rapidly globalizing world. The key point is that the deep-rooted organizations were predisposed to respond to the kinds of opportunities which this globalization provides, if not specifically designed to thrive under such conditions. Dr. Liu has fully absorbed the significance of these changes. It is, therefore, not surprising that he has become dissatisfied with the existing paradigms still largely bound to national categories. Hence his bold leap for a new analytical tool, the idea of Sino-Southeast Asian Studies, in the first essay of the volume.

This essay deserves to be read carefully. He is not offering yet another geographical frame for us to work with. He is more concerned to demonstrate that, if we confine ourselves to the currently dominant teaching and research structures, we risk missing the fresh insights our subjects have to offer. He suggests another perspective so that we might catch the connections which have so far been neglected. He brings to bear, in support of his argument, some of the latest theoretical offerings in the study of transnationalism, a field now growing by leaps and bounds to keep up with the rate of globalization all societies are experiencing. The case he makes for ethnic Chinese having to adjust their sights to become simultaneously local and global in the new business environment is a very persuasive one. That this needs a new paradigm in order to maximize what we can

learn from recent changes is clear. He does not deny the continuing importance of the national and multi-national parameters, nor the need for concurrent study of other cross-border/cross-regional approaches. The point he stresses is that, for fruitful research in future, a Sino-Southeast Asian construct does provide insights into areas and view-points that we would not normally see.

The collection of essays here has provided markers on one scholar's journey, one that has found a new harbor to reprovision himself for new ventures ahead. It is rare to come across a series of papers that records research progress as clearly as this one. I commend the intellectual map this volume provides as one that is both thought-provoking and illuminating.

自 序

我在我的纬度上却做着候鸟的梦

---舒婷《岛的梦》

从在厦门大学念书的时候起,舒婷就一直是我最喜欢的当代诗人。她的第一本诗集《双桅船》跟着我从厦门到北京到阿姆斯特丹到美国的雅典城、再到新加坡,走遍了大半个地球,跨越了十余个纬度区。自己也说不清是什么缘故,是因为她的诗所显现的迷离与朦胧的风采,还是因为我在她的故乡鹭岛度过了近十个难忘的春秋?不久前,读了王赓武教授为本书所作的序,我才终于顿悟:原来自己总是在茫茫的大海上漂流,而双桅船、风暴、礁石、灯标、港湾——这些都是舒婷诗中永恒的"隐喻与象征"——已经构成了人生与学术的探索之航程中不可或缺的一部分。在每一个不同的纬度上,总会有不同的憧憬与收获;而冬去春来的候鸟,也始终在编织着似乎遥不可及的绿洲之梦。

本书所收入的十四篇论文,写于不同的时间和纬度,但都围绕着几个相关的主题;它们反映了自己在过去数年来对这些学术问题的思考轨迹与不成熟的答案。顺着王赓武教授在本书序言中的思路,第四部分的副标题或许可以称为"在中国学东南亚",

其中的文章大多构思或写于国内、它们关注的主要问题是在民族 国家和东南亚区域范围内国家与社会关系变迁的不同模式。虽然 这似乎与本书所提出的"中国—东南亚学"这一主题并没有明显 的直接关系,但对东南亚本土知识的理解与分析构成了自己从南 洋视野来看中国和海外华人的出发点。所以尽管其中一些观点现 在看起来难免有幼稚之嫌,我仍将之收入本书。第三部分主要探 讨20世纪尤其是近20年来海外华人社会与商业网络的形成与特 征。这是自己应聘到新加坡国立大学(国大)执教后的主要研究 方向。我在此的教学工作集中于三个方面:"东南亚华人"、"海 外华人专题研究"、"东南亚企业家研究"。虽然这些在当时对我 来说都是新的、充满挑战性的课题,但得益于天时地利及国大优 越的研究条件、加之在过去三年多来、自己又有幸应邀参加了十 余次相关的国际学术会议,使我能够较快地进入这些领域,并将 海外华人跨国网络视为中国—东南亚长期互动关系中的一个有机 而重要的组成部分。第二部分则是在荷兰从事研究与在美国撰写 博士论文时所侧重的课题的延伸,试图从外交关系这一传统的领 域之外来探寻跨国与跨区域交往的多层面性与复杂性。而自己有 机会受到美国历史(尤其是20世纪政治史和知识分子史)的系 统训练、也促使我尝试从比较的角度来探讨中国在海外形象的变 迁及其理论与现实含义。本书的导论完稿于两个多月前的南亚次 大陆之旅。它一方面是对主流学术界(包括自己较早时候所遵循 的) 民族国家视野的反思、另一方面也试图阐释一种不同的 (alternative) 分析构架。它远不够全面和成熟; 在目前阶段, 也 还不足以形成一门独立的学术范式。我之所以称之为"中国一东 南亚学"、部分原因是为自己界定与寻找一个新的努力方向(或 者下一个港口),更主要的则是希望起到抛砖引玉的效果,引起 国内外更多同行对这一领域和相关课题的重视。

从总体来讲,这些论文(尤其是近三年来所写的)体现了试

图寻求一种"中观"分析法的尝试,在宏观理论和大叙述(Grand Narrative)与微观实证研究(Empiricism)之间建立一个平衡点。通过这一角度,或许能够在当前西方学术界盛行的"理性选择"(Rational Choice)与渐受质疑的"区域知识"(Area Knowledge)之间找到某种契合与共通之处。从学科的立场来看,这些论文除了反映历史学的基本关怀(对进程与因果关系的探寻),也试图融人政治学、社会学、文化研究和经济学的一些相关概念和理论框架,并在此基础上进行某种跨科际的沟通与整合。至于资料方面,它们综合了中文、印尼一马来文、英文、荷兰文及日文的档案、政府文献、游记、报刊等原始资料,并辅以自己的田野考察和口述历史记载。希望这样或许能够有助于跨学科和跨区域的比较分析。至于这种尝试是否恰当,这些努力是否奏效,还希望读者批评指正。

这些论文多数曾经在海内外发表过,在收入本书时,我做了若干修订,虽然难免还会有些重复之处。去年五六月间,我有幸应邀到北京大学讲学,那里的教师和研究生极富建设性的提问、批评与建议使我重新思考自己的一些观点;这些修正在本书中亦有所体现。此外,一些原文为英文的文章,在改写成中文时,也做了不少增删。除了增加国内学术界的最新成果(包括译著),以使自己的研究心得能够参与国内同行的对话之外,我删除了一些较为繁杂的理论讨论及外文文献资料。如果读者对其中的论题和资料来源有兴趣,或可参阅英文原文以及笔者的其他相关文章。①

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