# 以各主要社会思潮的代表人物为中心



# 及朝 其日 比近 较代 研思 究想 的形成

吉林教育出版社

取扱を置せる事業の可能人物力中心



及 類 類 日 比 近 的形成

### 本书由韩国学术振兴财团资助出版

## 朝日近代思想的形成 及其比较研究

---以各主要社会思潮的代表人物为中心

李昌植 著

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### 序 言

### 南开大学历史系教授 曹中屏

历史学向综合性的、跨学科的方向发展似乎已成为当今史学总趋势的一个重要特征。美国的跨学科史学、法国的年鉴派史学、德国的"社会政治史学"和英国"文化主义"马克思主义史学等现代西方主要史学流派都属于此种性质,其中在 20 世纪 70—80 年代重新掀起的比较史学热,特别是跨文化比较研究热当是这方面的突出现象。李昌植先生的新著《朝日近代思想的形成及其比较研究——以各主要社会思潮的代表人物为中心》(以下简称"比较研究")则是我国史学界在这方面的力作。

比较史学,特别是跨文化比较研究,有很多优点,它可以使历史研究突破地区和国别史研究的局限性,但同时难度也很大,因为任何综合性的比较研究,都必须要建立在具体单个学科的研究基础之上,因而不仅要求作者具备广泛的知识,同时也要付出双倍的能量与心血。我与李昌植先生素昧平生,只是应朴文一和姜孟山两位教授之托给他的博士论文写《评议书》才相识的,过去对于他的情况完全不了解,及至读了他的《简历》,方知李昌植先生长期从事比较文化研究,对朝鲜、日本的历史、文化和语言等领域均有很好

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的基础和造诣。但是,要完成对朝鲜和日本的近代思想的比较研究,仅仅具备这些前提条件是远远不够的,作者还必须具有执著的治学态度、孜孜不倦的钻研精神和开拓进取的勇气。显然,作者在这里实践了这些要求和原则。

比较史学不同与一般比较文化学,为避免出现象社会学那样 只作单一因素的比较,它要求学者在掌握丰富史料的条件下在讲 行综合研究的基础上进行比较,而且必须要着眼于比较成套的关 系,其中包括政治、经济、文化等方面。因此,我们所希求的是建立 科学的比较史学,它要求研究者能够始终把对可比性的判断作为 自己研究的前提,在深层次上把握两者在时空条件上的异同的基 础上确定可比性问题,从而作到既避免一般历史哲学理论的程式 化思维定势又避免比较研究的随意性。因为,即使"极为相似的事 情,但在不同的历史环境中出现就引起了完全不同的结果。如果把 这些发展过程中的每一个部分都分别加以研究,然后再把它们加 以比较,我们就会很容易地找到理解这种现象的钥匙;但是,使用 一般历史哲学理论这一把万能钥匙,那是永远达不到这种目的的, 这种历史哲学理论的最大长处就在于它是超历史的。"① 在方法 上,应该作到异中求同与同中求异并重,既从求同中发现事物间矛 盾的普遍性,又从求异中发现事物间矛盾的特殊性,以达到科学地 揭示它们的本质特性和双方内在的本质联系。

① 卡・马克思:〈给"祖国纪事"杂志编辑部的信〉,《马克思恩格斯全集》第 19 卷, 人民出版社 1963 年 12 月版,第 131 页。

"比较研究"是从近代化(Modernization)的视角,围绕近代思想的形成的主题,在朝鲜和日本近代初期的每个时段,各选择一对能够代表当时社会思潮的突出人物,对他们的思想体系、价值趋向及其时代背景进行全方位的剖析、比较,考察两国近代思想形成期的历史演变过程,最终揭示推动各自社会的变化、发展的内在力量的异同,基本上实现了作者设定的"就两国近代化命题"作出"较为客观、公正、合理的解释",从而为我国的朝日近代思想史的比较研究填补了空白。

朝鲜的"卫正斥邪"思想和日本的"后期水户学",是作为两国近代思想萌芽的背景被列入首章首节的,李恒老和藤田幽谷、会泽正志斋分别代表本国社会传统力量,在国家遭受强大外部压力与国内阶级矛盾、统治阶级内部矛盾空前激化的条件下,他们的思想本质都企图"加强和巩固"各自国家"封建社会秩序"。但是,他们的社会和思想背景、国体论、"洋物观"、"御洋论"却不尽相同。如果说曾敲响了日本民族危机的警钟的会泽正志斋的《新论》在日本"进步的近代思想家的影响则更多是负面的。朴圭寿和吉田松阴是最初登上朝鲜和日本历史舞台的近代政治思想家的突出代表,前者的自主"开国"思想和后者的"尊王攘夷"论具有许多共同的本质特征,其中最突出者是他们都继承和发扬了本国实学的优秀传统,均以儒家的王权主义、名分论为依据建立自己的学说,尽管日本的兰学、国学、阳明学对后者也有不小影响。但是,他们所代表的思想在本国近代化方面所发挥的历史作用却迥然不同,前者充其量结

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東了朝鲜的闭锁状态,而后者却引导出近代性质的维新变革。随后 出现的金玉均的"开化"变法思想和高杉晋作的"倒幕"思想的共同 特点是他们都把注视的焦点"转向了'现行体制'和腐败无能的'现 政权'"。在诸多异点中,他们在各自国家思想史中的地位的不同是 很明显的,从朴圭寿的维护旧体制到金玉均的挟持国王结党变法 应该说是一个质的飞跃,而高杉晋作的据藩"倒幕"思想路线不过 是对吉田松阴"伐幕主义"的发展与实践,而且高杉晋作为变革现 体制不惜违抗"藩命"、"府命"和"朝命"的终极目标还是在于落实 "真尊王"的维新。如果说俞吉浚是设计"甲午更张"的"理念的总代 表"的思想家,而大久保利通则主要是早期推行藩政改革、后期巩 固明治政权的政治活动家,尽管他们都属于资产阶级君主立宪派。 不过,前者是一个尚未掌握国家权力的民族改良主义者,要在典型 的半殖民地、半封建社会里,试图通过开明君主的改革来达到富国 强兵;后者是要在已经基本解决了国家政权问题的日本,确立保证 资本主义得以快速发展的"绝对主义"国家体制。最后,标志着两国 近代思想形成的代表人物地徐载弼和福泽谕吉,他们都是倡导"天 赋人权"、"社会契约"论的在野的民主主义者和传统儒学的叛逆 者,《比较研究》认为"如果说前者在一生中自始至终是维护'民权' 的坚定斗士的话,后者则从热烈的民权论者后来变为'国权优先 论'者和侵略主义的对外扩张论者"。

《比较研究》在结论部分从比较文化的视角对全书做了很好的概括,认为两国的近代思想的形成"几乎是同步进行的",近代朝鲜和日本之所以走上完全不同的发展道路,在一定的意义上,不能不

归之于"两国社会的复杂的历史传统惯性"。如果说朝鲜的"朱子学一尊主义"妨碍了"卫正斥邪"儒生领导的义兵运动、东学思想影响的农民运动和独立协会领导的市民运动的"合流",从而成为实现近代化的巨大阻力,那么"儒教在日本与其说是一种宗教毋宁说是一种哲学",因而从未与神道教和佛教尖锐对立,反而对它们的信徒和基督教徒产生深刻影响。① 没有对"思想多元化"传统予以伤害。

毋庸讳言,由于"任何比较只是拿所比较的事物或概念的一个方面或几个方面来比较,而暂时地和有条件地撇开其它方面。"<sup>②</sup> 所以,即使科学的比较史学也有它自身局限性的一面,需要借助其它科学方法加以弥补。自然,《比较研究》一书也不可能完全避免此类不足。但是,这终归是相对性的问题,是美中不足。

本书开了近代思想史比较研究的先河,相信昌植先生今后会 将比较研究的视野扩大到整个东北亚以至更广的领域,相信以他 的学识和精力,必能为发展中国的比较史学作出更大的贡献。

有感于此,是为序。

曹中屏 2000 年 12 月 10 日 于南开园

① [日]森岛通夫著:《透视日本:'兴'与'衰'的怪圈》,中国财政经济出版社 2000 年版,第 65 页。

② (列宁全集)第8卷,第423页。

### **Abstract of Thesis**

(1)

This paper answers the following questions: first, how to interpret the "modernization" and imperialization of Japan as well as colonization of Korea in the modern history of East Asia; second, what is the major factor impeding the "modernization" of Korea; third, how to interpret the global "modernization"?

This paper is divided into three parts: introduction, main body and conclusion.

The first part introduces the trends, purposes, significance, scope, object and methods of this study.

Firstly, it states the significance of "opening up" among China, Korea and Japan in their history and the different developing courses of these three countries after "opening up" as well as the major ideological factors leading to the success of Japanese "modernization" and the failure of Korean "modernization". Secondly, on the basis of the research history of this subject, it points out some restrictions of previous studies

and the necessity of considering Korean history in this study.

The three purposes of this study are :first, according to the formation of modern ideology in Korea and Japan before and after "opening up", it compares the stages of emergence, growth and formation of modern ideology in these two countries and therefore finds out similarities and differences of the two countries in the process of meeting the challenge from the West; second, it analyses the similarities and differences of the two countries in the formation of modern ideology and reveals main internal driving and impeding forces, especially, the internal causes of the failure of Korean "modernization", third, through researching into ideological evolution, it reveals the process of the social development and changes and then interprets the so-called "modernization" in a objective, just and reasonable way.

The significance of this study lies in: first, comparative studies of this subject enables us to understand more deeply and correctly the objective law of the historical development of one side or two sides; second, this study enables us to eliminate the prejudice and misunderstanding among nations and countries and to promote the exchange and friendship among nations and countries and therefore to realize mutual prosperity and development.

The part of study scope and objective states why the formation process of modern ideology in the two countries is divided into three stages of closing, pre-opening and post-opening and states the features of these three stages as well as the reasons of taking the representatives of the main social ideological trends of each stage as comparative objectives of this study. The part of study methods introduces the main research methodology of comparative studies on the ideological history and then indicates the main reasons of adopting the methods of sequence of ideas comparison and historical analysis in this study.

The main body has three chapters.

The first chapter which has three sections expounds the initial response of the ideological fields of Korea and Japan to overall impact from the West before "opening up" and it also states the early "opening up" ideas of these two countries after breaking away from the frame of antiforeignism.

The first section provides the background of ideological circles of the two countries. Throughcomparing Lee Hunglo's idea of protectionism and antiforeignism and Aizawa Kaishisai's(会泽正志齐) idea of Post-Mido(水户), it finds out that they are same in "nation-wide antiforeign policy", but different in social

and ideological basis for carrying out antiforeign policy.

The second section, through comparing Park Kyusu's idea of "opening up without China" and Yoshida Syoin's (吉田松阴) "king-honoring and antiforeignism", finds out that they have same attitudes towards collapse of optimism of "antiforeignism", appearance of "western ideology", statement of "opening up and making peace by marriage with imperial family", sense of crisis for "internal affairs", but have different attitudes towards confucianism and current regime. It also states the reasons of these similarities and differences.

By means of longitudinal studies, it also lists and states the ideas of Park Kyusu and Lee Hanglo as well as Yoshida Syoin and Aizawa Kaishisai. It finds out that the external impact and contact with the external world accounts for the fact that the former's ideas are more advanced than the latter's.

The second chapter states the attitudes of the early thinkers of the two countries towards the strong western capitalist forces and the corrupt and incompetent feudal government.

By comparing Kim ()kkyun's idea of "Karbsin (甲申) reform" and Takasugi Sinsaku's (高杉晋作) idea of "antitokukawa(幕府)", the first section points out that they are same in denying confucianism and current regime as well as in •10•

approving western system and ideology, but they are different in the ideas of monarch, populace and political reforms.

By comparing Yu Kilchoon's idea of "karbo(甲午) reform" and Ooku Boritu's(大久保利通)idea of "absolutism", the second section explains that they are same in carrying forward "updown" political reforms, introducing modern western system and ideology and advocating "freedom and equality" and "promotion of civil rights", but different in their attitudes towards the rights of monarch and confucianism.

By means of longitudinal studies, through comparing the ideas of Kim Okkyun and Takasugi Sinsaku, it clarifies the change and development of the modern ideology of the two countries after "opening up". After contact with the western countries, Kim Okkyun and Takasugi Sinsaku both realize that their own countries are greatly different from the West not only in arms and equipment but also in general national power. Through comparing the ideas of Yu Kilchoon and Ooku Boritu, it confirms the further maturity of the modern ideology of the two countries. The differences of political reforms between Kim Okkyun and Yu Kilchoon lie in the fact that the former prefers traditional "cabinet system" while the latter prefers modern "cabinet conference system". The differences between Takasugi

Sinsaku and Ooku Boritu lie in the fact that the former holds the idea of "anti-confucianism and anti-tokukawa" while the latter holds the idea of autocratic "absolutism".

The third chapter expounds the formation of modern ideology of the two countries after "opening up".

Comparison Seo Zaepil's idea of "independent union" and Hukuzawa Yukichi's (福泽渝吉) idea of "Meiji enlightenment" confirms the followings: first, the formation of the modern ideology of the two scholars is influenced by the modern ideological trends of the West; seconds, they both have negative attitudes towards "rights of monarch" and current social system and they both emphasize the civil rights for resistance against tyranny; thire, they both, according to the western idea of "innate human rights" and modern idea of parliamentarism, advocate the idea of democracy; fourth, based on the western idea of "social charter", they both agree to carry out modern legal system; fifth, they both launch a strong attack on confucianism; sixth, though Hukuzawa Yukichi betrayed the democracy, the idea of modern free democracy put forward by them is showing its stronge1r vitality.

The conclusion is made in three aspects.

Firstly, formation of the modern ideology of the two • 12 •

countries took place at the same time both in terms of time and contents; Secondly, obstruction of the traditional culture, especially tradition ideology, mainly accounts for the failure of Korean "modernization". Therefore, it is concluded that Zhuzi (朱子) Theory is the main bock of social reforms of modern Korea;

Thirdly, based on the global "modernization" this paper resarches into the universality and particularity of Korean "modernization" and indicates the diversification of "modesnization" in different countries.

### (I)

This paper puts forward the following new ideas: first, by comparing the ideas of the representatives of the main social ideological trends in Korea and Japan before and after "opening up", this paper makes intiative macroscupic and microscopic studies on the forming process modern ideology in Korea and Japan, especially in Japan; second, it adopts initiatively the method of comparing ideological history by which it makes comparative studies on the whole forming process of modern ideology of the two countries and finds out their similarities and differences; third; by comparative analysis of similarities and differences in the forming process of modern ideology of the two countries, it