

继承·突破·超越

——20世纪80、90年代军旅小说论

徐亚东 著



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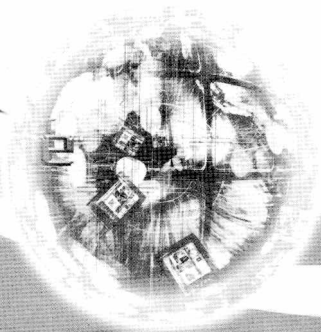
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序 言

樊 星

亚东的博士论文即将出版，他希望我为他的书写个序。我当然乐意。

亚东一直对军旅文学情有独钟。我记得他的硕士论文就是研究当代军旅文学的。十多年过后，他仍然将自己博士论文的选题定在了对当代军旅文学的深入研究上。由此可见他性格与气质的一斑。

我相信，在研究者的选题和他的气质之间，常常是有一种命定的联系的。一个人在众多的课题中，为什么独独选中了这一个？尤其是当这个课题显得有点“冷门”的时候。其中应该是有一种命定的联系的。我与亚东相识已久。后来，他考上了博士研究生，接触就更多了。在相处的日子里，我就觉得他的性格中有相当突出的军人气质：为人耿直，性情率真，说话也一板一眼的。有时聊天，谈到他的故乡，他会很自然地谈起他故乡（河南镇平）出过的一个著名新四军将领——彭雪枫，谈故乡一直流传的关于彭将军的英雄传说；读文学作品，他也喜欢读军旅文学，有时聊起读书来，他谈到的有些作品常常不那么有名，但他仍然谈得十分投入，也可见他涉猎之广、研究之深。因此我有时会想到，如果不是走上了文学研究的道路，如果可以重新选择人生的道路，亚东会不会成为一名军人？如果是那样，我相信他也会是一名好军人的。

在当代文学的格局中，军旅文学虽然成就突出，却一直是处在比较边缘的位置。虽然许多当代文学的教材中有军旅文学的内容，但就我所知，由于种种原因，除了军事院校以外，许多高校中文系

的本科和研究生课程中，是不大讲军旅文学的。课时有限，加上这个课题的边缘性，都使得军旅文学在普通高校的教学已经渐渐销声匿迹。另一方面，我也注意到有些名噪一时的军旅文学评论家也不知为什么渐渐淡出了文坛。是因为今天的军旅文学已经不那么景气了？可与此形成鲜明对照的，是近年来关于战争和军旅生活的小说、电影、电视剧的名作不断、佳片迭出，经常产生着一波又一波的“轰动效应”——从《激情燃烧的岁月》、《亮剑》、《八路军》、《长征》到《历史的天空》、《士兵突击》、《狼毒花》、《集结号》、《圣天门口》、《我是我的神》……这些“轰动效应”显示了时代的需要、大众的渴求。这一对比，耐人寻思：我们的军旅文学研究应该如何出新？

战争与和平，是永恒的文学主题。战争是残酷的，可人性中的英雄主义豪情、集体主义精神和充满了牺牲与痛苦的悲剧情怀，也常常是在战争中才得到了淋漓尽致的展现。也许，这就是为什么人类一面诅咒着战争、一面又常常情不自禁地缅怀战争，特别是缅怀战争中的英雄气概、牺牲精神、悲剧情怀的原因所在吧。我有时想，谈到20世纪90年代以来的文学和文化思潮，一般的概括常常是“世俗化”，这样的说法固然言之有理，但毕竟太简单化了。有“世俗化”的浪潮，就有反“世俗化”的波涛。当“世俗化”的浪潮表达了当代人对于烦恼人生的咀嚼与叹息时，反“世俗化”的波涛则唤回了人们对于英雄气概、牺牲精神、悲剧情怀的深情追忆。我觉得，20世纪90年代以来，“历史题材小说”和“历史题材电视剧”（这样的小说和电视剧常常以塑造历史上的英雄人物、描写波澜壮阔的战争场面为特色）、“军旅小说”与“军旅影视”的畅销与热映、热播，就体现了反“世俗化”的时代主题。虽然，伴随着这一热潮，报刊上常常可以看到叫好的快评，但系统的、有创见的厚重学术成果，显然并不多见。也正是在这个意义上，亚东的这部论文显得难能可贵。

作者的视野是开阔的——他在充分吸收已有相关研究成果的基

础上，有进一步的拓展：文中将革命历史战争叙事和国民党抗日和民间抗日的战争叙事整合在一起进行研究，就颇有新意；对虚拟战争的新叙事特点的分析，也是独出机杼的（我记得这一部分作为单篇论文发表以后，曾被人民大学“复印报刊资料”全文转载过）；关于20世纪90年代的英雄叙事与20世纪80年代英雄叙事的不同分析，以及关于“军旅小说如何走向深化、超越”的思考，也都体现了作者在长期关注军旅文学的发展、反复琢磨有关课题方面的独到心得。这一切，都使本书在当代军旅文学的研究中新见迭出，具有独特的理论意义。

另一方面，我也觉得关于当代军旅文学的研究还有新的拓展空间：例如中国的军旅文学与外国相关文学的比较研究。在本书的结尾，亚东已点到了中国的军旅文学缺少《战争与和平》那样的史诗的明显缺憾。由此深入下去，还有一些课题是有待展开研究的，譬如《西线轶事》明显借鉴了前苏联的名篇《这里的黎明静悄悄……》，可为什么读来就觉得不如后者那么舒展、那么令人回肠荡气？中国军旅作家在学习外国军旅文学方面，有哪些突破？还存在有哪些距离？那些距离又说明了什么？此外，关于“农家军歌”，我觉得也可以继续开掘下去的。中国的军人多出身农家，因此，他们身上就不可避免地打上了“农民性”的烙印。这里，需要强调的是，“农民性”在这里不是个贬义词。在我看来，无论是《红日》中的石东根，还是《汉家女》中的主人公，或是《狼毒花》中的常发和《亮剑》中的李云龙，抑或是《士兵突击》中的许三多，他们的言行举止间，都充满了中国农民特有的一些品格：时而朴拙，时而狡黠（这里也绝非贬义），时而浪漫，时而悲壮……其丰富的情感、多变的面孔、复杂的性格、感人的事迹，都显示了“农民性”的高深莫测！只有了解了这“农民性”，才能了解中国的“国民性”；只有了解了这“农民性”，也才能深入了解中国的军人和战争……这些问题，也是我现在正在琢磨的。如此说来，和平年代里的“农家军歌”是可以在“农民性”的文化视野

中有新的开掘空间的。

不知不觉间，新世纪的头一个十年又快成为历史了。这十年间的军旅文学发展又有了哪些新的特质？这些新的特质具有怎样的文学意义与文化底蕴？这些课题已经摆在了每一个喜爱、关注、研究军旅文学的同道的面前。我期待着亚东能在完成繁重的教学和行政工作之余，将已经开了个好头的这项研究继续写下去。我相信他是有这个能力的。

是为序。

2009年2月17日上午匆匆于武汉大学

内 容 摘 要

本书从战争观、英雄性和悲剧性三个理论视角，透视、析理 20 世纪八九十年代的中国军旅小说的发展及演变，并紧紧围绕创作主体现代意识的觉醒和强化这一中心，论证 20 世纪八九十年代军旅小说的超越性特征，以期为当代军旅小说的进一步发展提供借鉴和参照。

绪论首先界定了军旅小说的概念，指出军旅小说是由战争小说与和平军营小说两个部分构成，并界定了战争小说与和平军营小说的内涵。其次，简要地论述了八九十年代的军旅小说创作，由于创作主体现代意识的强化，战争小说创作，在战争认知上，表现出向战争本体性审美转化的超越性的特征；在英雄性开掘上，人性和世俗性因素的融入，使军旅小说的英雄形象塑造表现出由神性向平凡性转化，以及去英雄性的超越性特征；在悲剧性方面，突破了既往军旅小说悲剧性缺失的创作态势，并展开悲剧性探索。最后，总结了八九十年代军旅小说研究的现状，指出其研究成就，以及缺乏对其进行系统性观照、研究的不足，在此基础之上，确立从战争观、英雄性和悲剧性三个理论视点，对八九十年代的军旅小说进行整体研究的思路。

第一章在总结五六十年代军旅小说创作成就和局限的基础上，结合八九十年代军旅小说的创作实绩，对军旅小说创作发展、演进作历时性的考察。80 年代军旅小说创作，由于受文学外部和内部因素的影响，出现了勃兴、繁荣的局面。在战争小说创作上，南线战争小说创作在继承传统的基础之上，突破既往的创作规范，于战

争与社会政治层面上，表现当代军人的英雄主义和爱国主义精神。尤其在战争与人性、人道主义等层面上的叙事而体现出带有萌芽性的战争本体性认知特征，以及英雄性与悲剧性的战争叙事。革命历史战争叙事，突破革命历史观和战争观的规范，出现国民党抗日和民间抗日的战争叙事，并在战争叙事中，对战争暴力本质的进行更具广度和深度的探索，体现出鲜明的战争本体性认知特征，出现了悲剧性的战争叙事。和平军营小说创作则在军营生活的多层面叙事中，开掘和平时期的军人价值，表现军人的英雄性。90年代，尽管军旅小说走向低潮，军旅小说创作，无论是南线战争还是革命历史战争，在战争认知、英雄性等方面都表现出探索的新特征，而且，还出现了虚拟战争的新的战争叙事。和平军营小说出现了表现农民军人和职业军人生存现状的“农家军歌”和“职业军人”创作。八九十年代的军旅小说创作，由于创作主体现代审美意识的强化而使军旅小说体现出现代性的审美品格。

第二章以战争观为理论视点，考察八九十年代的战争小说创作。分四个部分：一是析理三种战争观的特质。中国古代战争认知的伦理型特质；无产阶级战争观强调革命战争的正义/非正义性质、革命暴力的合法性和人民战争思想等战争认知特质；西方古代战争本体性认知和20世纪以降的反战争的战争认知特质。二是透视描写当代南线战争的战争叙事和战争认知特征。80年代中期以前的南线战争小说，一方面，作家由于受时代和自我战争审美意识等因素的影响，其南线战争创作仍然表现出革命战争观的认知特征。另一方面，虽然出现了从人性、人道主义视角进入南线战争的战争叙事，但审美旨归仍然没有逾出革命战争观的限阈。80年代中期至90年代，南线战争小说创作以战争对战争个体心理和人性伤害来揭示战争的暴力本质而体现出西方本体性战争认知的特征。三是考察表现革命历史战争的战争叙事和战争认知特征。革命历史战争创作首先必须面临着对革命历史的认知问题。由于革命历史观统摄作用地位的破解，革命历史战争创作不仅开掘了新的题材域——国民

党抗日和民间抗日的战争叙事，而且还深入革命历史的内部，表现革命斗争的严酷性。在战争认知上，从三个层面展开对战争本体的探索，体现出鲜明的战争本体认知特征：（1）直接描绘战争的血腥暴力场面，透视战争的本体性特质。（2）表现战争对参战双方士兵，尤其是对敌方士兵人性的异化，并揭示造成其人性扭曲的文化因素，因而，不仅体现出对战争暴力本质的追问，而且还表现出深度的人道主义情怀。（3）表现战争对人的主体性力量的激发，以及表现战争技艺和战争智慧，由此，从另一个层面抵达对战争本质的探索。四是在古代虚拟战争叙事中，反思中国古代战争观对战争认知的合理性和有效性。在模拟战争和未来战争叙事中，描绘高科技条件下新的战争形态和慈化武器的出现对战争暴力本质的消解，以及表现人的主体性力量在高技术战争中的作用。

第三章在考察中国传统英雄话语、革命英雄话语和西方英雄话语英雄性特质的基础上，探讨八九十年代军旅小说创作的英雄性叙事与表现。中国传统英雄话语的英雄性特质体现在两个层面：一是英雄主体勇敢、刚毅、传奇性（超人的智慧、超拔的武艺）等主体人格力量；二是重义轻利、爱国敬民和侠义性等崇高的人格道德力量。革命英雄话语的英雄性特质则突出地表现为阶级性、党性、人民性的内涵，而人性因素则被削弱。西方传统英雄话语的英雄性特质主要表现在英雄为自由和自我价值的实现而凸显出的主体人格力量，缺乏中国传统英雄性的道德人格力量。自20世纪始，西方英雄话语表现出反英雄性的特质。南线战争小说的英雄性叙事与表现，一方面突破了革命英雄话语的规约，还原英雄的人性因素，另一方面也体现出传统英雄性和革命英雄性的特质，同时也出现了去英雄性的叙事。革命历史战争小说，在英雄人性因素的还原中，则从文化的层面上开掘英雄的人性内涵而体现出深化的特征。尤其是90年代的英雄性叙事，受90年代现实社会文化语境的影响，其英雄形象不仅表现出世俗化的特征，而且还表现出向传统英雄话语和革命英雄话语回归的鲜明特征。和平军营小说的英雄性叙事，大多

在人与自然、军人的多重角色冲突和商品大潮中，表现当代军人的牺牲精神。而“职业军人”的英雄性叙事，则在职业军人的理想和职业精神与非战争和军内现实矛盾的冲突上，表现职业军人的精神品格。特别是“农家军歌”，从文化的视角烛照农民军人身上农业文明的“根性”而体现出去英雄性的特征。

第四章在梳理、总结西方悲剧话语和中国悲剧话语的悲剧性内涵基础之上，考察八九十年代的军旅小说的悲剧性探索。南线战争小说，一方面在军人与军内旧的观念传统的冲突、战争反人道性的层面上，透视军人的悲剧性命运，表现出崇高悲剧的悲剧性特征。革命历史战争小说则在战争中，战争个体与战争、人与人、人自身性格的矛盾冲突中，表现人的悲剧性生存状态，因而体现出命运悲剧和性格悲剧的悲剧性特征。同时，还通过战争中女性的悲剧性命运叙事，表现战争对女性的伤害，由此追问战争的暴力性本质。在和平军营小说的悲剧性叙事中，“农家军歌”则在农业文明与现代社会（军营文化）的对立冲突上，表现农民军人的悲剧性存在命运，体现出马克思主义悲剧观的悲剧性特质，而且还彰显出“国民性”批判的文化力度。“职业军人”军营生活的叙事，则在职业军人的职业理想与军内现实的矛盾冲突上，表现他们无法施展理想、抱负的英雄末路的悲剧性存在境况。

余论部分，一方面从史诗性出发，考察八九十年代战争小说创作史诗性创作，认为八九十年代的战争小说创作史诗性的匮乏。另一方面认为八九十年代的军旅小说依然面临深化的问题，并指出深化的具体路径。

Abstract

From the three theoretical perspectives of war outlook, heroism, and tragicalness, this dissertation examines, analyzes, and sorts out the development and evolution of the Chinese military fiction in the 1980s and 1990s, and expounds the transcending feature of it by focusing on the awakening and intensification of writing subject's modern consciousness, attempting to provide beneficial references for the further development of the contemporary military fiction.

The Introduction, first of all, gives a definition of the military fiction, pointing out that it consists of fiction of war and fiction of military camp in the peaceful period, and defines the connotation of the two types of fiction. Then this part discusses briefly the military fiction in the 1980s and 1990s, stating that, in terms of war cognition, the military fiction maintains the transcending characteristic of shifting to military ontological aesthetics due to the intensification of the modern awareness of the writing subjects; in terms of the portrayal of the heroic figures, the military fiction maintains the transcending characteristic of the shift from divinity to humanity, and of de-heroicity due to the fusion of humanity and secularity; in terms of tragicalness, the military fiction breaks through the lack of exploration of the tragicalness of the former military fiction, and launches exploration of the tragicalness. Finally, this part summarizes the status quo of the military fiction studies in the 1980s and 1990s, and points out the achievements as well as the inadequacy of

lack of systematic examination of it. Based on the above analysis, this dissertation attempts to study the military fiction in the 1980s and 1990s in an overall manner, from the three theoretical perspectives of war outlook, heroism, and tragicalness.

Based on the summarization of the artistic achievements as well as the limitations of the military fiction in the 1950s and 1960s, considering the artistic achievements of that in the 1980s and 1990s, Chapter One carries out a chronological examination of the development and evolution of the military fiction. Influenced by both the external and internal literary factors, the military fiction in the 1980s has taken on a burgeoning and prosperous aspect. Carrying on the artistic tradition, and breaking through the literary norm in the past, the military fiction about the War on Vietnam in Self-defense, depicts the heroic and patriotic spirit of the contemporary armymen from the perspective of war and society and politics. The narratives from the perspective of war and humanity and humanism, particularly, display the burgeoning feature of ontological military cognition, and de-heroicity and tragicalness. Breaking through the norm of revolutionary historical and military outlook, the narratives of the revolutionary history, also depict the Japanese-resisting stories of the Guomindang and the folk. The narratives of the revolutionary history carry out a comprehensive and in-depth investigation of the violent essence of the war, and manifest distinctive feature of ontological military cognition, and have launched tragical military narrative. The fiction of military camp in the peaceful period depicts the value of the armymen, and expresses their heroism in the multifaceted narratives of the camp life. In the 1990s, although the military fiction was at a low tide, yet new features emerged in terms of cognition and heroism in the craftsmanship of it, and at the same time, new narratives of fictitious war have emerged. The literary writings of the "peasants-soldiers fiction" and

“career army men”, depicting the life of the peasants-soldiers and career army men respectively, have emerged. The military fiction in the 1980s and 1990s began to maintain modern aesthetic characteristics due to the intensification of the aesthetic awareness of the writing subjects.

Chapter Two examines the military fiction in the 1980s and 1990s from the perspective of war outlook. It is divided into four sections. Section One analyzes and sorts out the characteristics of the three types of outlook on war: the feature of ethical military cognition in ancient China; the feature that emphasizes the justice/injustice of the revolutionary war, the legality of revolutionary violence, and the thinking of people's war of the proletariat; the ancient ontological cognitive feature and the anti-war cognitive feature of the western countries since the beginning of the twentieth century. Section Two examines the essence of the narratives and military cognitive features of the military fiction about The War on Vietnam in Self-defense from an in-depth perspective. The literary creation about The War on Vietnam in Self-defense before the mid-eighties, maintained the cognitive feature of revolutionary war, due to the influence of the times and military aesthetic awareness upon writers on the one hand, and on the other hand, though narratives from the perspective of the humanity and humanism emerged, yet the aesthetic criteria didn't break through the range of revolutionary war outlook. In the mid-eighties and 1990s, the military fiction about The War on Vietnam in Self-defense maintained the feature of the western ontological cognition by revealing the violent essence of the war through depicting the harm of the war done to the psychology and humanity of the individual. Section Three examines the narratives and military cognitive features of the military fiction about revolutionary history. The cognition of the revolutionary history is the foremost thing of the literary creation about revolutionary historical war. Due to the collapse of the domination of the revolutionary historical outlook, the literary

creation about revolutionary historical war not only opens a new field in subject matter—the narratives of anti-Japanese stories of the Guomindang and the folk, but also probes into the revolutionary history and depicts the harshness of the revolutionary struggle. The military cognition maintains distinctive ontological feature by exploring the military ontology from three aspects. Firstly, it describes the bloody violence on the battlefield directly, and probes into the ontological characteristic of the war; secondly, by depicting the alienation of the war on the soldiers of both sides, especially the enemy soldiers, and revealing the cultural factors that have caused the distortion of the soldiers' humanity, it not only inquires the violent essence of the war, but also maintains humanistic feelings; and thirdly, by depicting the stimulation of the war on the subjective power of the individual and military skills and wisdom, it explores the essence of the war from another dimension. Section Four is about ancient fictitious military narrative and narratives of simulated war and future war. The ancient fictitious military narrative reflects the rationality and effectiveness of the ancient Chinese military outlook to the military cognition. The narratives of simulated war and future war describe the new patterns of war under the condition of high-tech, and the harmless weapon's deconstruction of the violent essence of the war, and depict the role the individuals have played in the high-tech war.

Based on the examination of the heroic characteristic of the Chinese traditional heroic discourse, revolutionary heroic discourse, and western heroic discourse, Chapter Three discusses the heroic narrative and expressions of the military fiction in the 1980s and 1990s. The heroic feature of the Chinese traditional heroic discourse lies in the following two aspects: the heroes' personality such as braveness, resoluteness, and legendary color (remarkable wisdom, extraordinary skills) etc.; and the lofty personality and morality such as esteeming justice and belittling

profit, loving one's motherland and respecting people, and chivalrousness etc. The heroic feature of the revolutionary heroic discourse lies in the class, Party, and the masses consciousness, and the weakening of the humanistic factors. The heroic feature of the western traditional heroic discourse lies mainly in the heroes' personality in achieving freedom and self-value, and in the lack of moral and personal power of the Chinese traditional discourse. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the western heroic discourse has maintained anti-heroic feature. The heroic discourse of the military fiction about The War on Vietnam in Self-defense breaks through the norms of revolutionary heroic discourse and restores the humanistic factors to the heroes on the one hand, and on the other hand, it maintains the characteristic of traditional and revolutionary heroicism and de-heroicity. The military fiction of the revolutionary history deepens by exploring the humanistic connotation from the cultural perspective, and by restoring the heroes' humanistic factors. It's worth to note that the heroes in the heroic discourse of the 1990s maintain not only secular feature, but also the distinctive feature of returning to traditional heroic discourse and revolutionary heroic discourse. The heroic discourse of the military camp in the peaceful period reflects the sacrificing spirit of contemporary army men in the conflict between the multifaceted roles of man and nature and soldier, and in the commercial tide. While the heroic discourse of the career army men depicts the spiritual quality of the career army men in the conflict between the career army men's ideal, professional spirit and non-war and the practical contradictions in the army. The "peasants-soldiers fiction" maintains the feature of de-heroism by examining the "inherent weaknesses" of agricultural civilization embodied in the peasants-soldiers.

Based on the sorting and summarization of the tragical connotation of the western tragic discourse and the Chinese tragic discourse, Chapter

Four examines the tragical exploration of the military fiction in the 1980s and 1990s. The military fiction about The War on Vietnam in Self-defense maintains the sublime tragic characteristics by examining the army-men's tragic fate from an in-depth perspective in the conflict between the army-men and the old tradition, and revealing the anti-humanism of the war. The military fiction of the revolutionary history maintains the tragic characteristics of fate tragedy and personality tragedy by depicting man's existence condition in the conflict between the individual soldier and the war, man and man, and man and himself during the war-time. At the same time, it inquires the violent essence of the war by revealing the harm of the war done to women in the narratives of women's tragic fate in times of war. As to the tragic discourse of the military fiction of the army camp in the peaceful period, by depicting the tragic fate of the peasants-soldiers in the conflict between the agricultural and modern civilization, the "peasants-soldiers fiction" maintains the tragic feature of Marxist tragical outlook on the one hand, and on the other hand, displays the cultural critique of the national weaknesses; while the narratives of the military camp of the career army-men, depict the tragic living situation of the career army-men in which they could not realize and give full play of their ideals and aspirations, in the conflict between the career army-men's ideals and the reality in the army.

The remaining part examines the epic creation of the military fiction in the 1980s and 1990s, pointing out its shortage of epicalness on the one hand; and on the other hand, argues that the military fiction in the 1980s and 1990s still needs deepening, and puts forward the corresponding ways to deepen it.