

民族認同與公民社會：以兩岸的發展為例

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民族認同與公民社會： 以兩岸的發展為例

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本文初稿以《兩岸民族的認同與前景》為題，曾發表於2002年7月中國青島，由中國社會科學院台灣研究所等主辦「第十一屆海峽兩岸關係」學術研討會論文，2007年經修訂增補後投稿。感謝研討會之諸多教授與本刊兩位匿名審查人的細緻寶貴意見，本文已做了修正與補充。

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摘要

台灣與中國分居海峽兩岸，絕大部分人民有相同的血緣、文化與風俗習慣，如此都是促成凝聚民族認同的「原生論」與「生物心理論」的有力憑藉。但是百年來兩岸的民族認同卻產生微妙的變化，其原因為何？耐人尋味。本文從歷史角度加以反思，本文認為主政者的保守思想與政策偏失，例如，兩岸的正統之爭、割讓台灣予日本、「228事變」、國、共兩黨把持政權長期專政，以及因「文化大革命」、「六四事件」的屠殺與鬥爭，這些因素都無法提供民族成員產生認同，更別論一個共同體的功能是在提供其成員安全、發展和自由的機制，在這些負面的歷史因素下，「原生論」的民族主義其作用力是有限的。

在體系結構方面，從世界體系理論的角度而言，一百多年來台灣社會在政經結構的發展，已經走出邊陲與次邊陲而邁向世界經濟自由、政治民主的核心地位之一，1950年以後，全球冷戰結構的對立，台灣與中國分屬不同的陣營，促使台灣走向「建構論」與「結構論」分離式的民族認同與國家建構。但是國際現實主義的「一個中國」政策，以及近20多年中國改革開放的成就，對臺灣財經的磁吸效應，如此，又產生對台灣民族認同的壓力與拉力。最後本文以Appadurai的5種全球化的景觀圖像，以及建構兩岸發展「公民社會」，實現了類似於梁啟超的「新民論」，亦即具有自由意識的「新臺灣人」與「新中國人」的「公民社會」形成時，相信當有助於兩岸化對抗為對話，以和平取代戰爭，追求民族的「共善」才有可能一步一步到來。

關鍵詞：原生論、建構論、結構論、民族認同、公民社會、國家圖像。

***National Identities and Civil Society:
The Development of the Two Sides across the
Taiwan Strait***

Abstract

Most of the people inhabiting in Taiwan and Mainland China share the same blood, culture, and customs. This is a firm ground for primordialism and biopsycologicalism, both of which help the formation of one national identity. However, we are curious why there has been a slight change in the national identity across the Strait. This essay gives a reflection on the history. In terms of history, there are the governor's conservativeness and faulty policies, such as the fight for orthodoxy, the cession of Taiwan to Japan, and “the 228 incident.” The KMT had and the Communist Party still has long and dictating political power. Along with the Chinese Cultural Revolution and the slaughter in June Fourth Tiananmen Square Protests, these factors all deepened the difficulties to form a unified identification among members of a nation, let alone to form a community to provide its member safety, development, and freedom. Under these obstructing history factors, the function of nationalism in the view of primordialism is quite limited.

In terms of a country's system, Taiwan has made progress in building economical and political structure within its society and walked out from

peripheral (semi-peripheral) area to the core place in world's democracy and competitive economy. After 1950, the confronting positions of Taiwan and China during cold war led to Taiwan's national identity and construction in the view of constructivism and structuralism. With realistic view of “one China” policy around the world, plus the success of Chinese's reform and open policy in the past twenty years, China has been an attraction for Taiwanese investors, which imposes pressure and drawing effect for Taiwanese national identity. In the last part, the essay introduces Appadurai's five globalized landscapes and tries to construct a civil society across the strait. It seems to realize the thinking of Liang Chi-chao's “New Citizenship” , that is, the civil society constructed by liberal “new Taiwanese” and “new Chinese” . With the belief that this will serve as a model for ethical Chinese to turn conflicts into conversation, and war into peace, it is only possible that the pursuit of “common good” for the nation can finally be realized.

Keywords : primordialism, constructivism, structuralism, national identity, civil society, national scapes.