

# The pros and cons of Confucian values in infrastructure development

## 儒家思想在基础设施发展中的利与弊

### 1. Asian values and the attraction of the Chinese model

Kishore Mahbubani, formerly ambassador of Singapore to the United Nations and currently Director of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore, has written two books that have made him a well-known public figure both in the East and in the West. 前任新加坡驻联合国大使、现任新加坡国立大学李光耀公共政策学院院长基肖尔·马赫布巴尼撰写了两本著作，这两本书使他同时成为东方和西方著名的公众人物。In his concluding chapter, he claims that Asians can indeed think, but that they have failed to do so for too long and that this explains their predicament. The first one, 'Can Asians think?' consists of a collection of articles written in the 1990s and early 2000s where he wonders how it was possible that Asian countries have remained backward compared to the West for several centuries. 第一本书的名字叫做：“亚洲人会思考么？”，其中收录了其自上世纪90年代至今的一系列文章，马赫布巴尼希望能够探讨在几个世纪以来，为何亚洲国家依然落后于西方国家。在这本书的结尾，他指出亚洲人是会思考的，只是长久以来他们忘记了该如何思考，而这也解释了亚洲的困局。But as we all know, the tide is turning. In 2008, his latest book, 'The new Asian Hemisphere; the Irresistible shift of global power to the East' he points out that many Eastern nations have now learned their lessons on modern governance and development from the Western countries. These include a scientific world outlook, a focus on education and rational thought, a pragmatic application of free market economics, the development of stable rule-of-law and strong belief in one's own potential. 但是历史的潮流正在改变。2008年，他在新书《新亚洲半球：权力东移势不可挡》中指出，许多东方国家已经从西方国家的现代政府与发展中获取经验。其中包括科学的世界观，对于教育和理性思维的重视，对自由市场经济的实际应用，不断完善法律制度以及对自身潜力的坚定信念。Equipped with these new 'Western' virtues which they had carefully studied and internalised, Asians could emulate the levels of prosperity Europe and North America had already known for a while, and move on following their own path. Although Mahbubani has repeatedly emphasised that it was not his intention to claim that the East would overtake the West, it has fuelled hope and pride in the East and disbelief and fear in the West. 亚洲人不断地研究和内化这些西方的思想，借鉴欧洲和北美的繁荣之道，并试图开创出自己的道路。尽管马赫布巴尼不断地强调，他的初衷并不是要宣称东方国家会超越西方国家，而是要激发东方的希望和自豪，同时提出西方国家的质疑与恐慌。

And as if an eloquent account of the rapid power shift away from the free world was not yet enough, Mahbubani left out two crucial babies to Westerners were most emotionally attached without which they believed serious civilisation was not possible at all: *democracy and human rights*. 如果说对于权力从自由世界快速转移的解释不够有力，马赫布巴尼又忽视了两个令西方人最为眷恋的信仰，并将其视为文明前提，那

就是民主与人权。Mahbubani's calculated omission of these two individualist values reflected the outcomes of an earlier debate in which his political overlord and name-giver of the school he manages, Lee Kuan Yew, took a firm stance: 'Asian values'. Lee was eager to refute Western criticism to the political system of Singapore and propagated an alternative governance model more in line with 'what Asia needs'. 马赫布巴尼对这两种价值观的遗漏反映在早期的辩论中，在这场辩论中他的政治君主李光耀对“亚洲价值观”持坚定的立场。李光耀竭力驳斥西方对于新加坡政治体系的批评，以及大力推崇治理模式要符合“亚洲的需要”。The Asian financial crisis in 1997 temporarily put paid to Asian self-affirmation and wiped the debate on the merits of Asian values off the table, but Asia's fast recovery from the Asian financial crisis and its ultrafast recovery from the American financial crisis in 2009 brought them back with a vengeance. Since apparently Asian values are there to stay, it might be worthwhile to explore what they actually are. 而爆发于 1997 年的亚洲金融危机暂时地打断了亚洲的自我肯定，人们不再争辩亚洲价值观的优势。然而亚洲从金融危机中迅速复苏，而这种超乎寻常的复苏在 2009 年猛然将人们带回到关于亚洲价值观的讨论中。既然亚洲价值观始终都占有一席之地，那么研究其内涵和本质是十分值得和必要的。Wikipedia has a rather clear-cut, albeit rather Western, definition:

'Asian values was a concept that came into vogue briefly in the 1990s to justify [authoritarian](#) regimes in Asia, predicated on the belief in the existence within [Asian](#) countries of a unique set of institutions and political ideologies which reflected the region's culture and history. (...) Because the proponents of the concept came from different cultural backgrounds, no single definition of the term exists, but typically "Asian values" encompasses some influences of [Confucianism](#), in particular loyalty towards the family, corporation, and nation; the forgoing of personal [freedom](#) for the sake of society's stability and prosperity; the pursuit of academic and technological excellence; and work ethic and [thrift](#).'

在维基百科中对亚洲价值观的定义十分明确，尽管这个定义有些西化：

“亚洲价值观是在 20 世纪 90 年代开始成为人们讨论的话题，当时是为了证明亚洲的威权政体，这种价值观的前提是亚洲国家所特有的制度和政治意识形态，并由此反映出这个国家的文化和历史。(...) 由于概念的提出者们来自不同的文化背景，因此并没有形成统一的定义，然而极具代表性的是“亚洲价值观”的定义都受到了儒学的影响，都着重强调对家庭、组织和国家的忠诚；要牺牲和放弃个人的自由以换取社会的稳定和繁荣；对成为学术和技术精英的追求；以及勤奋和节俭。”

Additional features of Asian values include a preference for social harmony, concern with socio-economic well-being rather than civil liberties, favouring welfare and collective well-being of the community over individual rights, loyalty and respect towards all forms of authority including parents, teachers and government.

亚洲价值观的特征还包括追求社会和谐，在社会经济福祉和公民自由之间更偏重前者，更加注重集体的福利而不是个人的权利，以及对各种形式的权威的尊敬，包括父母，教师和政府。

Although Asia is obviously comprised of more than just territories inspired by Confucianism, it is obvious that Confucian values are predominantly credited for the economic success of (a large share of) this amalgam of Eastern countries. 尽管在亚洲还

有许多其它的思想学派，但很显然儒家思想对大部分东方国家经济上的成功起了主导作用。And yet in China, the cradle of Confucianism, for over a century, Confucianism has been blamed rather than praised for its lack of technological and economic dynamics. During the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Republicans, Communists and Democrats alike, condemned the moral and philosophical heritage of the sage for having made China vulnerable to Western invasion and domination. In Korea and Japan, it was similarly felt that their traditional values had prevented them from honing their developmental skills. They should be disposed of and replaced with modern Western values. 中国是儒家思想诞生的摇篮，但是在过去的一个世纪中，孔子的思想却被人们摒弃，因为其缺乏技术和经济的活力。20 世纪的上半叶，无论是共产党还是民主党派，都将孔圣人的道德与哲学遗产视为中国无法抗衡西方侵略和统治的症结。韩国和日本也同样感到传统的价值观阻挡了其发展的脚步，应该被摒弃并由西方价值观取代。For many decades, several Asian countries have been absorbing several ‘Western values’, giving them a taste, flavour and shape of their own. After having been politically bullied for not having adopting key modern Western values profoundly enough, the time has now come for strong self-reassertion: it is apparently in some combination of Western values and Confucian values that the mystery of development is to be found. 几十年来，许多亚洲国家都在不断吸收“西方价值观”，在不断尝试中形成自己的发展道路。过去政治上的压迫使得亚洲国家并没有获得核心的现代西方价值观，而现在更多的是一种强烈的自我重新实现：很显然，历史发展的奥秘可以从西方价值观与儒家思想的结合中找到答案。

And it is the Western hemisphere that for a long time has disregarded the merits of the latter and is therefore confronted with a host of social, political and economic evils that Asia is impervious to. This argument tends to become all the more powerful when visits to newly arisen global cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore show that these have higher buildings and more modern subway systems than New York, Los Angeles, London, Paris and Rome. 西方世界很长一段时间无视儒家思想的精髓，而自身却疲于应对各种社会、政治和经济的危机，而这些危机却没有渗入到亚洲国家。让这一论点更具有说服力的是新兴国际化大都市的崛起，比如北京、上海、香港、吉隆坡和新加坡，这些城市中高耸的建筑和现代化的地铁系统甚至超过了纽约、洛杉矶、伦敦、巴黎和罗马。Its impact is further enhanced when similar observations seem to apply to slightly smaller world cities of millions in China, such as Dalian, Tianjin, Xiamen, Shenzhen and Guangzhou most of which enjoy world container ports, squeaky clean airports, ultra-modern subway networks with advanced information systems and high-speed railway connections with many, many more terminals and lines to come in the next ten years. Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Singapore had already developed such smooth and shiny facilities before. 而让这种观点更为人们所确信的是，相似的繁荣正发生在中国许多稍小型国际化都市，比如大连、天津、厦门、深圳和广州，这些城市中许多拥有世界级货柜港，无可挑剔的机场设施，超现代化的地铁网络并具备先进的信息系统和高速铁路，形成密如蛛网般的系统，并在下一个十年进一步扩展。日本、韩国、台湾和新加坡则已经完成了这些高水平设施的建设。

Meanwhile, extensions of any types of transport infrastructures in Europe and North America seem to struggle with participatory processes where NIMBY is the main input, where project management advances much more slowly because of misguided cost estimates and projects are plagued by strategic actors that delay or keep on hold implementation by contesting certain aspects to wring out more concessions in their favour. The cities still have largely the same airports, ports, roads, railways and subways as over one hundred years ago, just a bit more rusted, covered with graffiti and without high-tech customer service.同时，在欧洲和北美，任何类型交通基础设施的拓展似乎都在与参与过程做斗争，在这个参与过程中，NIMBY是主要的投入，项目管理的进程总是十分缓慢，原因是误导的成本估算以及项目会受到战略参与者的影响，参与者们试图通过在某些方面的角逐来推迟或掌控实施过程，以竭力实现自身的利益。城市的机场、港口、公路、铁路和地铁几乎与100年前相同，只是更为陈旧，也没有高科技的客户服务。And last but not least, while China has built a dam in the Yangzi river, obviously completing this project in less time and with less finance than estimated and is currently digging a huge canal to guide water from the South to the North against drought, the Dutch nature-given inland waterways which are seen as the most promising environment-friendly hinterland transport connection for the famous Port of Rotterdam has been waiting for proper maintenance and upkeep for decades. 而在中国在扬子江建造了大坝，工程完工的时间要早于预期并且资金实际投入要少于预期估计，目前正在建造一条巨大的运河用于南水北调工程。而荷兰天然形成的内陆运河被视为连接鹿特丹港口最有前景的环保型内陆运输，数十年来一直等待适当的维护和修缮。In 2010, the market share of the widely criticised road freight lorries grows year by year, while that of the inland shippers continues to decline in relative and absolute numbers. 在2010年，备受争议的公路运输货车的市场份额在逐年增加，然而内陆航运的相对份额和绝对份额却在持续减少。

Perhaps there was a time when geographers could think that only New York, London and Tokyo were global cities, and the rest was second or third rank. Were Saskia Sassen's famous book on Global Cities, of which the first edition appeared 1991 and the second in 2001, to appear in 2011, the configuration of the global hierarchies would certainly already have included Shanghai. 也许在历史上有一段时期，地理学家可以认为只有纽约，伦敦和东京是国际化都市，其余的都是二线、三线城市。萨森教授关于国际化城市的著作，在1991年出版了第一版，并在2001年出版第二版，书中指出到2011年国际化城市必然会包括上海。And most likely in the 2021 and 2031 editions, substantially more Asian metropolises would be in her selection. It is not uncommon any more to hear the popular press, demagogic politicians or impatient entrepreneurs call for the adoption of a Chinese decision-making model: fast, progressive and efficient. It is a pity that it is not democratic, but can we not transplant Asian practices to Europe?而到2021年和2031年出版的版本中，更多的亚洲大都市会进入她的选择。我们经常听到某著名媒体，或具有煽动力的政客或失去耐心的企业大力提倡中国的决策制定模式：快速，进步，高效。尽管遗憾的是其中缺少了民主，但我们是否能将亚洲模式完全阻挡在欧洲之外？

## 2. Transplanting Asian values to the West? 将亚洲的价值观移植到西方?

Popular pleas to introduce a fast Chinese model of decision-making are rarely made by those who are familiar with Asian or Confucian values. Envy, wishful thinking and haste are of little help when it comes to transplanting parts of foreign institutional systems that clearly have hierarchical overtones Westerners feel uncomfortable with. 那些急于介绍中国快速决策模式中的人中，很少有人熟知亚洲价值观或儒学价值观。羡慕、一厢情愿和草率都无助于解决移植部分国外行政系统时产生的问题，中国这种带有层级式色彩的模式令西方人感到不满。In fact, Asians have successfully transplanted parts of Civil and Common Law systems, scientific knowledge and technology, certain market economic recipes. But they have managed to keep their own specific practices, because these imports were enmeshed with and embedded in cultural practices consisting of particular values, norms and attitudes that remain somehow 'Asian' or 'Confucian'. 事实上，亚洲人已经成功地移植了部分民法和一般法的法律体系，科学知识与技术，和一些市场经济的模式。但是他们的成功之处是保持其独特的方式进行实践和运用，亚洲人在这些舶来品中嵌入了自身的文化行为，包括特定的价值观，社会规范和态度，也在一定程度上保留了亚洲或儒家的价值观。The task I have taken on for today is to explore what these Confucian values really are, how they influence infrastructure development, planning and decision-making practice, and how they can be assessed in practical and moral terms when it comes to transferring elements of them to institutional systems in Europe and North America. But this can only be done after making a number of cautionary remarks on Confucianism and its impact on Asian societies in general and China in particular. 今天我的主要任务是探求儒家价值观的真谛，理解它们是如何影响了基础设施的发展、计划和决策制定行为，以及当这些思想被引进到欧洲和北美时，如何在实践和道德方面进行评估。而这一切都要真正理解了孔子学说的警示箴言，以及其对亚洲社会特别是对中国的影响之后才能进行。

Firstly, just like nearly all other philosophical and religious systems of thought, Confucianism consists of a variety of semi-connected ideas the importance of which has fluctuated through history. Most current Confucians would agree, for instance, that historically a subservient role of women to men was advocated and considered natural, but that any form of modern Confucian political philosophy would have to take full equality of the sexes as a starting point. 首先，与所有哲学和宗教体系一样，儒家思想包含了多种 **semi-connected ideas**，这些理念随着历史的变迁而不断变化。目前大多数的儒家学派都赞同，从历史上看，女性的从属地位被视为理所当然。但是任何形式的现代儒家政治哲学都以充分的男女平等为出发点。On the other hand, the central role of the family in community life, respect for and gratitude to seniority and authority and the importance of developing civilised and unselfish behaviour towards others through cultivation and self-discipline have to some extent always been essential features of Confucianism and continue to do so. Consequently, any treatise on Confucian values in the year 2010 and beyond will reflect an interpretation and prioritisation of those values that fit the spirit of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. 另外，社会生活中家庭的中心地位，对长辈和权威的尊敬与感恩，强调通过陶冶和自律来实现高尚和对他人的无私

行为，在某种程度上这些始终是儒家思想的精髓。因此，在 2010 年及以后论述儒家价值观，将会反映出对适用于早期 21 世纪的价值观的理解和取舍。

Secondly, even though it is often claimed that the culture of the Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Vietnamese peoples have been profoundly imbued with Confucian values, it has definitely not been the only moral and political philosophy that has impacted them. Alongside it, there were at least two other influential schools of thought. One was Daoism, a more mystical stream of ideas in poems, aphorisms and short stories on finding the True Way for wise men amidst the confusion of flux. The relevance of Daoism to political systems and administrative practices may have been limited; its influence on popular culture, intellectual thought and scientific development in ancient China has been quite substantial. 第二，尽管有学者认为中国人、韩国人、日本人和越南人的文化中都深深地受到了儒家价值观的熏陶，但孔子的思想绝不是影响其文化的唯一道德和政治哲学。还有两个十分具有影响力的学派。一个是道家，其在诗歌、谚语和短文中蕴藏了更为神秘的意识流，帮助智者寻找解决困惑的真正的方法。与道家相关的政治体系和管理实践可能十分有限；但其对古代中国的主流文化，知识和科学发展颇具影响。Another was Legalism, a complex of ideas on administrative tactics aimed to advise emperors, monarchs, rulers and leaders on using regulation and instrumental actions for their political own survival and against real or potential opponents. The latter school has certainly had enormous impact on both the common sense of Chinese people of what it means to be ‘clever’ in daily life and on accepted practices for leaders to order their society and deal with rivals. 另一个是法家学派，在行政手段方面有系统的体系，致力于建议皇帝、统治者和领导者使用制度来实现其政治自身的生存，并制衡现实或潜在的反对者。第二个学派极大地影响了中国人在日常生活中对“才智”的定义，同时也影响了其对领导者管理社会和应对对手行为的认可。It is even claimed that the late Chairman Mao was a great admirer of China’s first emperor Qin Shi Huang. Interestingly, Qin was so skilled in legalism; eventually he successfully practiced it against his own legalist teachers and advisors, with fatal consequences for the victims. 甚至有人指出毛泽东在其晚期的执政生涯中对秦始皇非常崇拜。有趣的是，秦始皇熟知法家思想。最终他成功地将法家之道用于对付自己的老师和顾问，将其置于死地。Also, in the course of history, Confucianism, Daoism and Legalism have mutually influenced each other leading to mixtures and syntheses between these schools. As a result, Confucian influence on current Asian society has been diluted, perhaps the most strongly so in mainland China where the modernist attacks on it in all of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have been more vehement than elsewhere. 在历史的长河中，儒家、道家和法家之间也相互影响，在这些学派之间产生出融合体。而结果是儒家思想对当前亚洲社会的影响被削弱了，或许最明显的是在中国大陆，其在整个 20 世纪受到现代主义的攻击和渗透。

Nevertheless, Confucianism has returned fully centre-stage since the early 1990s in all Far Eastern countries under the guise of ‘Asian values’. Respected Indian-American and Canadian scholars in politics and economics, such as Fareed Zakaria, Amartya Sen and Daniel Bell have picked up the argument and speculated on the veracity of the argumentation and credibility of its positive qualities for economic development. 虽然如

此，从 90 年代初期开始，在“亚洲价值观”的外表下，儒家思想在远东国家全面地回到中心位置。许多在政治和经济界知名的印度裔美国学者以及加拿大学者，如法里德·扎卡里亚，阿码提亚·森和丹尼尔·贝尔都对儒家思想能否积极推动经济发展的而进行思考，并选择了各自的立场。

In fact, Bell has published various works alone and with Asian co-authors in which he explores political and administrative systems of democracy suitable in Confucian societies. These would entail institutional types with higher levels of meritocracy and trust in authorities, more social welfare facilities targeted at groups rather than individuals, a stronger leadership and guiding role of the government vis-a-vis society, a drive towards consensus among political leaders and dominant business groups, a weaker civil society and less pronounced checks and balances in the policy-making process.

事实上，贝尔本人已经出版了一系列著作，同时也和亚洲学者共同探索民主的政治和行政体系在儒家社会中的适用性问题。这可能会需要特定的制度类型，需要更高层次的精英制度和执政当局的信任，针对群体而不是个人的、更多的社会福利设施，政府在社会中具有更为强势的领导力和指导作用，促进政治领袖和起主导作用的企业组织之间达成共识，一个弱势的民间社会以及在政策制定过程中缺少政府间的相互制衡。

The question now is: how can Confucian values relevant to infrastructure development and policy-making best be described?

目前的问题是：如何能够恰当地描述儒家思想中与基础设施发展和政策制定相关的部分？

### 3. The pros and cons of Confucian values 儒家思想中的利与弊

In the philosophical texts currently attributed to Confucius, a few things stand out. Central in his work is a desire for societal order, stability and justice through the promotion of individual morality. If people are properly trained and disciplined, they deeply internalise the right modes of behaviour, moral codes and rituals. 在孔子的哲学典籍中，许多思想流传亘古。他的核心理念是通过对个人伦理的提升而实现整个社会秩序的稳定与公正。如果人们受到适当的教育，那么他们可以深切地将正确的行为规范、伦理和礼数内化于自身。The consequence of such training is that they show loyalty and righteousness even if this is disadvantageous to them; they become superior men that can serve as examples to the rest of society. Or as he himself formulated it in the Analects 2:3:而这种教育和训练的结果是人们会表现出忠诚和认同，即使事情对他们是 不利的；他们会成为优秀的人，成为这个社会的典范。正如孔子在《论语》《为政篇》所讲到得：

'Lead the people with administrative injunctions and keep them orderly with penal law, and they will avoid punishments but will be without a sense of shame. Lead them with excellence and keep them orderly through observing ritual propriety, and they will develop a sense of shame and moreover, will order themselves.'

「道之以政，齐之以刑，民免而无耻；道之以德，齐之以礼，有耻且格。」

Elsewhere, he distinguishes five cardinal virtues: justice, trust, affection, order and propriety. It is only after people have mastered these virtues that they are ready to serve society as truly public persons. 另外，孔子提出 5 个最重要的美德：仁、义、礼、智、信。人们只有在具备了这些美德后，才可以成为对社会有贡献的、真正的人。 Mencius picked up on issues that Confucius had left implicit or undiscussed. Being an idealist, his focus was strongly on the question how people could come to respect and love their peers for the sake of happier families and better societies. 孟子继承了孔子的衣钵，作为一个理想主义者，他致力于探求如何使人们尊敬和热爱自己的同辈，以创造更加幸福的家庭和更加和谐的社会。 According to him, it was primarily through cultivating identification with relevant others, initially next of kin and later on wider humanity, that human goodness could be evoked. The idea shows clear resemblance with what modern neuroscientists find in the development mirror neurons in the brain, as a result of which empathy with fellow humans is boosted. 依孟子所言，首要的是让其他人与自己的理念产生认同，先是亲人后是朋友，然后扩大到社会中的其他人，这样就能唤起整个社会的良知。而这种思想与当代的神经系统科学家在研究大脑镜像神经元时所发现的结果有异曲同工之妙。科学家们发现人类在与同伴交流时，大脑可以产生共鸣。 Confucius wrote his work in an era that according to most renditions of Chinese history was characterised by high social and political volatility, instability, war. Moral perversity, or to put in anachronistic terms, cronyism, nepotism and corruption were rife. Political leaders were often reluctant to listen to ethics consultants as Confucius and Mencius and did not feel they were in need of moral discipline. In their life-time Confucius and Mencius were not particularly influential. This only happened later when their personalities and writings were idealised and served as the main standard for formal education of government bureaucrats. 根据中国的史料记载，孔子所处的时代充满了社会和政治的动荡，伴随着连年的战争。这是一个礼崩乐坏的时代，整个社会道德丧失，政治上任人唯亲、贪污腐败、滥用亲信。政治领导者通常只是勉强听一听如孔子、孟子这样的政治顾问的建议，但并不认为道德规范是必要的。在那时，孔子和孟子的思想并没有太大的影响力。直到后来，他们的品德和著作被政治当局所推崇并作为正规教育的主要标准时，才真正发挥了影响力。

In their eyes, public policy should be seen as an extension of the family household. Households consisted of a certain order where wives served their husbands, children their parents and younger sibling their older siblings, provided the higher party systematically gave the good example. If they tended to make a mistake in the eyes of the lower party, venting one's reservations and reluctance and/or giving an alternative advice was appropriate. But if such well-intentioned advice was ignored, loyalty and obedience were preferred over resistance and self-rule. 在他们眼中，国家的政策应该被视为家庭礼数的延伸。一个家庭要有宗法制度，妻子服侍丈夫，子女孝顺父母，晚辈尊敬长辈，这样形成一个等级式的社会。下级可以犯错误，或者宣泄自己的情绪，或是提出其他的建议。但是如果这些善意的建议被忽略，人们会选择忠诚和服从，而不是坚持自己的原则进行反抗。 Similar rules were to be applied to the wider societal level of the nation. Linguistically speaking, this is less surprising than it seems since the characters for nation are 'guo' (state) and 'jia' (house and family). 在治理国家时也应该沿用这些原则。从语言学角度来讲，如果看到汉语中，国家这个词的写法你就不会惊讶。

“国”代表整个国家，而“家”则代表家庭、家族。国家就是放大的家族。At the level of government policy, a similar practice of comparative hierarchy and obedience was advocated. And likewise, in the course of Confucian-inspired dynastic histories, a tradition of remonstrance of Confucian-trained public officials against unjust imperial interventions developed. Officials were allowed to speak up against policy measures they considered unjust, but the imperial family could go against their advice if it so wished. The extent to which emperors appreciated and respected contrary and dissonant voices rather varied across time and imperial personality, but at least in theory public officials had the right to remonstrance. 从政府政策的角度，也同样主张等级制度和服从观念。因此，在受到儒家思想影响的历朝历代，受过儒学教育的官员一直都对皇帝的决定有自己的见解。官员如果对政策措施有异议，可以提出反对意见。但皇帝可以无视他们的建议。不同朝代的皇帝对于谏言的赏识和接纳程度不同，这与其本人的性格和朝代有关，但至少从理论上讲，官员有反对的权利。In his writings, Mencius mentions that citizens may protest against or even overthrow their rulers if they are submitted to blatantly unjust or irresponsible rule (a bit along the lines of John Locke), but according to me this statement can hardly be used to justify as saying that Mencius was the first Chinese thinker pleading for democracy and rule of law. 孟子在他的书中提到，如果统治者不顾人民的死活，推行暴政，百姓可以反对甚至推翻他们的统治者（这与约翰·洛克的思想有些相似），但在我看来这不足以说明孟子是中国历史上第一位提出民主与法制的思想家。When the role and functioning of the state is viewed as an analogy of the way the family operates, we may conclude that the state society relations are also quite different from those developed in Western political and legal philosophy. Rather than protecting individual citizens from state interference in their private sphere, there is the conception of the state acting as a head of the nation leading the various segments of society to a path following the common good as the main yardstick. 如果国家的作用和功能被类比为家庭的存在方式，那么我们可以说，与西方发达国家的政治和法律哲学相比，中国的国家与社会关系有显著的不同。国家的概念更多的是作为民族的领袖来领导不同的社会部门，形成一个符合共同利益的主要标准，而不是在国家干预其私人领域时维护个人利益。If we take this line of thought literally, this can to some extent be seen as a justification for absolutist rule. Government is the incarnation of the voice understanding, expressing and executing the will of the people, much like Jean-Jacques Rousseau advocated. And given the fact that, at least in a proper Confucian society, ruler, state officials and citizens (though in descending order) have been imbued with righteousness and public-spiritedness and devotion to the nation, these authorities can be relied on to act on behalf of society. 如果按照这个思路从字面来理解，那么在某种程度上来说这也可以作为专制统治的理由。政府应当表达和执行人民的意愿，这更像是卢梭所推崇的。而考虑到在受到儒家思想的社会中，统治者，官僚，然后是人民（尽管是自上而下的等级式排序），他们都具有正直、爱国心和为国奉献的精神，这样的权威当局则可以代表社会的利益行使权利。If we take this line of thought figuratively, some dissensus is possible and will be allowed for, but even so after the dissenter have formulated their points of criticism politely, the ruler is free to follow their advice or not and do what he thinks is best. 如果我们考虑其象征意义，那么不同的意见可能会产生，并且这些分歧也是被允许的。但即便如此，各持己见的人们提出了客气的批评，统治者可以接受或拒

绝他们的建议，并作出自己认为最合适的决定。In this more liberal interpretation of Confucian government, state rule is perhaps not absolutist, but subjected to institutionalised. What matters in policy-making is integration, harmony and authority rather than fragmentation, conflict and equality. 对受到儒家思想影响的政府的解读，其国家的制度可能不是专制的，但一定是制度化的。对政策制定者来说，最重要的是同化，和谐与权威，而不是分歧，冲突与平等。This is a far cry from Anglo Saxon-inspired conceptual system based on curbing state infringement on individual rights, variety of individual preferences needing to be encouraged and accommodated, administrative checks and balances, multi-actor systems, recognising the legitimacy of administrative and societal veto powers, participatory styles of policy-making and cynicism about the existence of a 'common good'.这与从安格鲁撒克逊人的启发中产生的政治体系相距甚远，这种体系是基于遏制国家侵权，鼓励和包容多元化的个人偏好，强调行政体系之间的制衡，多主体参与的系统，承认行政与社会否决权的合法性，参与式的政策制定过程以及对共同利益之存在的嘲讽。To cut a long story short, Confucianism stresses collective rationality over individual rationality, although it is still absolutist in its exertion of power than legalism and communism, because it emphasises the self-discipline that rulers and officials should impose on themselves and does acknowledge the need for resistance under certain conditions. 简而言之，儒家思想强调集体主义胜过个人主义，虽然在权力的行使中，与共产主义相比仍然是专制的，因为他强调统治者和官员应当以身作则，并且要明确地认识到在一些特定的情况下，反对的意见是必要的。If it can be called pluralist at all, the Chinese administrative order emphasises inequality rather than equality among policy actors and on a small variety of large policy actors instead of a large variety of small policy actors. In addition, individual and private sector players fostering private interests is in themselves acceptable, but never should these be considered on a par with or traded off against wider social interests. 中国行政准则在政策参与者中强调不平等胜过平等，更加推崇在众多的政策参与者具有少数的派别，而不是少量的参与者中具有众多的派别。另外，个人和私人部门的参与者追求其私人利益是可以被接受的，但决不能够与更广大的社会利益相提并论或有所冲突。Coalitions in Confucian administrative systems are decidedly more stable and less versatile in Western pluralist ones, but they come at the risk of despotism, if the rulers are not well-bred. In multi-actor systems where all or most actors with a say in a matter are considered relevant, many small actors with distinctly individual rationalities will attempt to forge coalitions with sufficient critical mass to push their preferred options through. These coalitions tend to be more short-lived and calculative than the Confucian ones and depend on the creation of win-win solutions to lead to viable policy outcomes.在儒家行政体系中的联盟更加稳定，但也缺少了西方多元主义中的多样性，如果统治者缺少素养，则要承担者独裁的风险。在多主体参与的体系中，几乎所有的参与者都被认为是相关的，许多实力稍小的参与者带着各自明确的个人目标会尝试着结盟，以此形成强大的利益集团来推动他们的首选方案。这种合作更多的是短期结盟，要比孔子式的结盟更加精明，他们依靠双赢的解决方案来实现可行的政策成果。In the modern debate on the relevance of human rights to Asian societies, forward looking theorists are making attempts to define such rights in more collectivistic ways than is commonly done in Western

societies. 目前有关亚洲社会人权的争论中，前瞻性理论家正在尝试着按照更加集体主义的方式来对这种权利作出定义，而不是单纯遵循西方社会的定义。

According to Randall Peerenboom, translating individual rights into the language of interests generally produces outcomes favouring state action and impinging on individual protections. When one weighs the interests of the individual against the interest of many individuals the community, the state, the many win. 兰德尔·帕伦勃指出，将个人权利通过政治利益的语言来表达时，通常会产生的结果是有利于国家行为并且会侵犯个人的保护。在个人利益与多数人的利益、国家利益之间权衡时，多数人的利益会胜出。In legal philosophy there is in fact, a well known division of the mind on this issue between utilitarianism and Kantianism. Utilitarianists would be ready to sacrifice individual rights if this would enhance the collective utility of the entire society, given the facts that winners can always (partly) compensate losers. Kantianists, applying the Categorical Imperative that humans must always be treated as ends rather than means, would never be able to accept such an infringement if a fundamental right was concerned. 实际上，在法理学中，在功利主义和康德主义之间有一个广为人知的区分。功利主义者认为如果可以提高全社会的集体效用，那么就可以牺牲个人权利，再由胜利者对失败者进行补偿。康德主义，崇尚道德上的无上命令，人类应当被视为目的而不是手段。如果重视一项基本权利，那么对这种权利的侵害是不可接受的。

#### 4. The pros and cons of Confucians values in infrastructure development

儒家价值观在基础设施发展中的利与弊

What is the impact of Confucian values on infrastructure development?

儒家价值观对基础设施的发展有着什么样的影响呢？

To answer this question for the level of the individual and the family, we can borrow from publications on the psychology of the Chinese people, in which field the Hong Kong-based Canadian Michael Bond and his more recent epigones are the best known representatives. 从个人与家庭的层面来回答上面这个问题，我们可以借鉴关于中国人心理学方面的书籍，在这个领域，香港的加拿大籍学者彭迈克和他的追随者们是最广为人知的代表。When it comes to governmental planning and policy-making, much can be learned from various books on the Chinese political system, and from articles and chapters on Chinese spatial planning, city development and decision-making on infrastructure projects. 当谈到政府规划与政策制定时，可以从各种有关中国政治体系的书籍，以及关于在基础设施工程方面的中国空间规划、城市发展与决策制定的文章中懂得很多。

At the level of the individual and family, citizens who have grown up in Confucian societies tend to show a higher level of self-control and restraint both in harming others and in showing dismay when others harm them. These can be considered the consequence of cultivating discipline and self-discipline and higher levels of empathy. 从个人与家庭的层面来看，在儒家思想耳濡目染中成长起来的市民更倾向于表现出一

种较强的自控与约束能力，他们不愿损害他人的利益，而当他人威胁到自己的时候也不会很惶恐。这可以认为是遵守规矩、自律和更高层次的同理心共同作用的结果。Comparatively speaking, apparently Far Easterners are able to endure more and are also more other-oriented than Westerners. Respect for generally recognised authorities and experts is higher, which has an impact on their general reluctance to openly express opinions, especially critical ones, and even more in particular critical ones vis-a-vis authorities. If they are to do so, this would take the shape of personal petitions asking officials for a personal favour to remedy a perceived injustice rather open demonstrations. 相对而言，东方人与西方人相比有着更强的忍耐力，并且更易受他人导向。对于受大众认可的当局与专家则更加敬重，这种敬畏会使得他们不愿公开表明自己的想法，尤其是批评的意见，甚至更不愿与权威者面对面提出自己独有的批判意见。如果打算提出反对意见，他们则更倾向通过个人请愿书的形式，从私人帮忙的角度希望对方修正这个错误，而不是公开进行陈述。When conflict threatens to break out, silent mediation through intermediate parties that both sides trust is the regular to deal with that. Legal procedures are only chosen as a last resort, the positive outcome of which is highly uncertain for various reasons. 当冲突即将爆发时，往往会有双方都信任的中间人出面做出微妙的斡旋，这样的调解是处理这种问题的常规手段。法律程序仅仅是在万不得已时才做出的选择。出于以下原因，正面效果的产生是十分不确定的。First of all, Confucian countries in general and China in particular have a short tradition in rule-of-law or not at all. Neither Confucianism nor any other strand in Chinese philosophy has ever emphasised inherent rights for individuals or legal shields defending them from interventions from and damage caused by leaders or officials. 首先，以中国为代表的受儒家思想影响的国家，法治的历史大都比较短，有的则根本没有。无论是儒学还是任何其他的中国哲学学派均未曾重视个体固有的权利，也未曾重视通过法律来保护自己免受官员或领导者的干预与侵犯。Neither was a dynastic system of imperial rule conducive to the evolution of a class of bourgeois independent citizens that tended to consider their individual property rights as inalienable or government officials as representatives whose political or economic actions they felt free to question. 帝国统治的王朝制度不利于资产阶级公民的产生和演化，资产阶级更加坚信他们个人的财产权是不可剥夺的，并可以自由地向政府官员质询他们的政治或经济举措。Even now there are various mechanisms that seriously limit the independence of the judiciary from the legislative and the executive. One of them is the fact that legal institutions are, like administrative agencies, simply considered implementers of the law, and therefore have no clear mandate to correct public authorities. Another is the required party membership of judges which submits them to a substantial amount of political influence in their verdicts as well as in their career opportunities. 即使现在有各种机制严格地限定了司法机构独立于立法机构和行政机构。其中一种机制是法律机构仅仅被视为法律的实施者，就像是行政机关一样，因此并没有明确的权责来纠正政府当局。另一种机制则是法官需要具备党员资格，这一点使得法官无论在做出判决还是考虑其职业生涯的机会时，都要受到巨大的政治影响。

East Asian citizens clearly have duty fulfilment rather than a rights claiming orientation. Personal sacrifices for the common good are largely accepted, although the levels may be

going down. 东亚的公民无疑有着履行职责的义务，但却不是为了要维护自己的权利。尽管认同的程度可能在不断降低，但为大局而牺牲自我的行为仍是被广泛认可的。This duty orientation is good news for authorities with ambitious development programmes needing land for real estate and transport network development or labour contributions to large-scale campaigns. It puts potential and real losers of such activities out on a limb, because they often acknowledge the social pros of what their authorities are doing, but deplore the negative consequences for themselves and their families.这种义务为导向的行为对于一些官员来说是好消息。这些官员往往有着雄心勃勃的发展计划和项目，正需要土地来开发房地产和交通运输网，或者需要人力来筹办大型活动。这使潜在的与现实中的失败者陷入不利的境地，因为他们常常会认可社会对于官方行为的赞同，但是对于自己的家庭以及自身所遭受的负面影响只能扼腕叹息。

The reasons why elements of the rule-of-law have been introduced in the People's Republic of China in recent decades were fairly instrumental. This was to encourage and accommodate foreign investment from Hong Kong, Taiwan and foreign players familiar with Common Law or Civil Law and give them a feeling of legal security in their operations in China. 那么为什么近几十年来，法治要素不断地被引入到中华人民共和国了呢？因为这是很有利的手段。这曾经是为了鼓励来自于香港、台湾以及熟悉普通法和民法的国外参与者的外来投资，让他们感觉到在中国的经营是有法律保障的。In our own research, we have come across a number of examples where foreign investors in subway construction in large Chinese cities eventually withdrew from projects, because they still found the legal safeguards insufficient and wished not to rely on the strength of personal relations, trust and good will from their Chinese metropolitan clients. 在我们自己的调研中，我们曾发现许多类似的案例：参与中国大型城市地铁建设的国外投资者最终退出了项目，因为他们还是感到中国的法律制度是不健全的，而他们不希望仅仅依靠来自于中国大都市的客户们的个人关系、信任与善意。They may have been right, but in some cases relying on good *contacts* instead of good *contracts* is quite amenable to good business in Asia. Korean authors Chaihahm and Chaibong point to the existence of affective networks among government and business associates in Confucian-inspired organisational environments. 他们或许是正确的，但在一些案例中依靠良好的接洽、沟通能力而不仅仅是一份好的合同，反而更容易做成生意，这一点在亚洲得到了充分的证明。韩国作家韩在凤指出在受儒家思想影响的组织环境中，政府与生意伙伴间的人情网络的确存在。People tend to develop networks of personal friends and acquaintances through their school and business careers; after positive experiences with them they think they can trust them sufficiently and exchange favours with a long-term perspective in mind. This benefits certainly their own careers, but also serves to move decision-making processes when official channels get stuck. 人们倾向于通过学校和职场来发展自己的朋友交际网络；在与其他人的接触产生了积极的正面印象后，他们认为他们可以充分信任这些人，并为了更为长远的计划而与其示好。这对他们自己的职场生涯而言当然有好处，同时当官方的途径走不通时，这种人情效应也发生在决策制定过程。One Chinese word that nearly all Western observers know and fascinates them immensely is '*guanxi*'. Other authors have described the difference between policy-makers between the West and some Far Eastern countries as one of democratic individualists and democratic personalists. 一个令所有西

方观察者都无比着迷的中国词语，那就是‘关系’！其他作家将西方和一些远东国家政策制定者之间的区别，描述为民主个人主义者和人情主义者间的区别。

Democratic individualists tend to look more at official tasks and competencies, encourage initiative even if not promoted by others or superiors and check rules and regulations to see whether their actions are in compliance whether they are judging similar cases in similar ways. 民主个人主义者更倾向于关注官方任务与职能，即使没有被其他人或者领导提升，仍提具有动力来查验规章制度，确定他们的行为是否规范，是否以标准的方法来处理类似的情况。Democratic personalists are likely to think that the group discussion is better, wiser and safer than individual decision-making. Within close-knit circles colleagues, business relations, friends and relatives, decisions made without extensive group consultation will easily be regarded as offensive. 而民主人情主义者则认为团队讨论要比个人决策更好、更明智也更安全。如果只是通过关系较密切的同事网络、业务关系、朋友与亲属等，而不是通过广泛磋商所作出的决策往往会被认为是一种冒犯。This implies that it can take longer before a firm stance is taken, but once there is solid collective support, progress can be made very quickly. The Dutch practice in infrastructure development often shows exactly the opposite pattern: opinions and first moves appear quickly, but solidity is weak and interruptions and changes of heart are frequent. 这意味着需要经过一段很长的时间才可以达成坚定的立场，然而一旦有来自于可靠集体的支持，往往会有显著的进展。荷兰在基础设施建设方面的惯例恰恰是一种完全相反的方式：意见与初步行动会很快形成，但是可靠性较弱，会出现频繁的中断甚至改变主意。

Affective networks as they develop in Confucian countries obviously have pros and cons. Normally the cons are highlighted when Asia is in crisis, as happened after 1997. They lead to tight networks of politicians, bureaucrats and business where investment decisions are not made objectively, but based on doubtful friendships with arbitrary economic and social consequences. 情感网络在儒学国家发展的过程中明显有着利与弊两方面。通常在亚洲出现危机之时，弊端就会显现出来，比如1997年亚洲金融危机。这种弊端造成了政治家、官员与商人之间的关系网极其紧绷，因而做出的投资决策不再客观，而是基于不可信的友谊，随之而来的是武断的经济与政治后果。Japan has been said to be in an economic slum for decades exactly for this reason: too much money was invested in high-tech and high-quality transport networks without robust assessments of their costs and benefits. Chinese road projects we have studied lacked serious safeguards against opportunistic behaviour, while other subway projects such as the Hangzhou subway construction showed fatal safety hazards. In such analyses, crony capitalism, nepotism and corruption is believed to lead to inefficient allocation of financial and other resources. 据说日本持续数十年的经济萧条正是因为如下原因：大量的资金未经过收益支出的正确评估便被投放在了高科技与高端运输网络。我们所研究的中国道路项目缺少对于投机行为的严格防范，而诸如杭州地铁等其他地铁工程，已经造成了重大的安全危害。在这样的分析中，我们认为是权贵资本主义、裙带关系与贪污腐败导致了资金及其他资源的无效配置。Rationalisation and modernisation are urgently recommended to avoid massive overinvestment in facilities nobody needs. However, when Asia thrives and the West is in crisis, as is the case at the moment, a rather different argumentation tends to emerge among observers. 我们迫切地希望通过合理化与现代化

来避免对于无用处的设施的庞大过度投资。然而，正如现在所发生的情况，当亚洲走入繁荣而西方陷入危机之时，在观察者之中出现了一种极其不同的论调。The mutual trust among participants in the decision-making process is praised and seen as valuable ‘social capital’ that reduces the transaction costs of realising big projects. Tough negotiations can be avoided, the drafting of extensive and expensive contracts may be circumvented and monitoring efforts can be kept to a minimum. Social capital is the most effective way to obtain economic and other progress. 决策制定过程中，参与者间的相互信任是有利的，这被视为有价值的‘社会资本’，因为它可以减少完成大型项目的交易成本而事半功倍。这可以避免艰苦的谈判，可以绕开大型、昂贵的合约，也因此无需过多的监督工作。社会资本是取得经济发展与其他进步最有效的方法。Some other subway projects, such as the construction of the Beijing Olympic Lateral and some lines in Shanghai were either finished ahead of schedule, with less than the initially allocated funding or both.另有一些地铁项目曾早于工期完工，或支出小于初期的预算，亦或两者兼而有之，例如北京奥运会侧线与上海某些线路的建设。

The truth may be that affective networks may move in either positive or negative direction, depending on specific circumstances. The anthropologists Alfons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner have distinguished seven cultural dimensions two of which seem to be at play here. 事实上，对于具体问题需要具体分析，情感网络可能有着正反两方面的作用。人类学家阿尔方·特姆彭纳斯和查尔斯·汉普顿-特纳曾比较了七个文化层面，其中两种适用于此处。Western organisational, political and legal systems tend to have *universalistic* features where individuals are dealt with as depersonalised ‘cases’ that have to be decided or ruled on universal or objective grounds. They are not supposed to look at personal or personality aspects of the people involved. 西方组织、政治与法律体系具有如下的普遍特征：个体被认为是去个人化的，必须经由大众的或者客观的依据来对其进行评判或规范。他们不应关注所牵涉人员的个人或个性方面。Decision-makers often separate roles from persons and therefore *specific* in the way they deal with others. They feel less uncomfortable about upsetting private friends by going against their interests in bargaining processes.决策者常常为不同的员工分配不同的任务，这才使得员工有各自特定的工作方式。在交易进程中，他们并未因损害到私密亲友的利益而感到非常不安。Easterners, on the other hand, strongly favour taking personal circumstances into consideration when making decision with or about them. They must be considered *particularistic*, since they value their particular affective relationship with them and are afraid to hurt them personally if there is disharmony between how they privately feel about someone and what they do against them business-wise. The separation between someone’s person and role remain diffuse, or even non-existent.另一方面，东方人在做出涉及到亲友利益的决策时，会强烈地考虑其私人环境。人们一定认为他们是特殊主义的，因为他们珍惜与亲友间的情感关系，而且如果他们私下关于某人的看法与在工作中的想法出现分歧时，往往不愿亲自做出伤害亲友的决策。这种个人与职责间的划界仍在消散，甚至从未存在。

It is possible that some level of ‘Western-style’ procedural structuring such as for open tendering and transparency can make a positive contribution. It is also conceivable, as we shall contend in the final section here, that a Confucian-style re-moralisation and re-

disciplining of officials can bear fruit exactly in times when public clamour about corruption is growing.在一定程度上西方的程序化结构，例如公开招标和透明度有可能达成积极的效果。恰恰当公众愈加地抱怨贪污之时，对于官员们树立儒家道德新风与再约束也有可能产生出期待的效果。Valuable aspects of Confucian ethics have been downplayed for over a century and revitalising awareness of them through education can be meaningful.一个多世纪以来，儒家道德观一直处于轻描淡写之中，通过将其融入到教育，来振兴儒家思想，是十分有意义。

Finally, we can note some vital effects of the public-spiritedness in Confucian societies on the use of land and infrastructure facilities themselves.最后，我们注意到，当涉及到土地及基础设施本身的使用时，儒家社会中的大众精神会产生出十分重要的影响。The first is the collective nature of public facilities. Land is mostly or exclusively public owned. In China, for instance, land is state-owned by law, and only its *usus fructus*, rights to use it, can be leased to private players. This strengthens the position of public authorities vis-a-vis private parties, such as project developers.首当其冲的就是公共设施具有的集体所有制属性。土地完全或者大部分属于公共财产。比如在中国，法律规定土地为国有财产，而只有土地的收益权，使用权，可以出租给私人使用者。相对于项目开发这样的私人当事人而言，这强化了当局者的权威地位。The second is the general, albeit declining, acceptance of high-density housing and infrastructure construction and use among Asian citizens. This is an immense advantage for policy agendas where sustainability ranks high. It makes limiting urban sprawl and energy consumption a whole lot more feasible to achieve.第二就是公众对于高密度房屋与基础设施建设的认可，这种认可在亚洲有所下降。它在高度强调可持续性的政策议程中发挥了巨大的优势，并且把限制城市扩张与能源消耗的可实施性提高了数个层级。Thirdly, the strong state-business relations in all Confucian countries have lead to a flourishing state-led production-oriented growth model, where GNP growth figures were indicators with a pervasive influence on how policy success was defined. The net effect of this phenomenon for the natural environment has been largely negative in Japan in the past and continues to be for large parts of China.第三，在所有儒学国家中，国有企业都受到国家领导，这产生了一个盛行的由国家主导的生产型增长模式，其中GDP的增长数据成为了一个指示器，对评估一项政策成功与否起决定作用。However, in highly developed cities on the East Coast we can observe significant moves towards boosting eco cities and defining hard indicators to measure 'greenness' in city and infrastructure development.然而，在东南沿海高度发达的城市中可以看到，生态城市的发展已经取得瞩目的成就。将城市中的“绿化”程度作为衡量城市及基础设施发展的指示器。In Western eyes, it is the safeguarding of individual property rights, freedom of expression and grass root citizen influence that are left behind in this system. My impression is that quite a few Easterners also see this as a loss, but that the relative weights they give to the various public values are different.在西方人的眼中，中国的社会体系中缺少了保护私人财产权、言论自由权、以及草根阶层的影响力。我认为很多东方人也视其为一种损失，但是他们为多样化的公众价值所带来的相对权重是有

所不同的。The social, economic and environmental benefits are highly valued, while the legal and political costs are regretted but not nearly as much as assertive Western citizens would. As long as governments continue to deliver a sound collective growth-path, the case for dramatic legal and political reform to strengthen individual rights among Confucian citizens is weak. 这种社会、经济与环境效益是极其重要的，人们或许对法律与政治成本会产生些许不足，但这种遗憾却远达不到自信的西方公民所遗憾的程度。只要政府不断制定出适合的集体增长路径，那么为了强化个人权益而在儒学国家进行大刀阔斧的法律与政治改革是不太可行的。

## 5.A modest proposal 一个诚恳的提议

Some would say that the Chinese economic growth is a ‘miracle’ and that the speed of infrastructure development to catch up with mobility growth is too. But miracles are phenomena of which people do not see through the underlying mechanisms. 有人会说中国的经济增长是一个奇迹，同时伴随着流动性增长的基础设施的发展速度也是个奇迹。但是所谓的奇迹是人们没有察觉到的表象背后的机制。As I hope to have pointed out, what is happening in the East is not really a miracle. It can be explained by means of systematic analysis of historically influential philosophical schools, institutional forces and the drives and values of people in their organisation and decision environment. 正如我全文一直想指出的，目前在东方所发生的一切并不完全是个奇迹。这可以通过对以下几个方面进行系统分析来说明：历史上有影响力的哲学学派、体制的力量和推动力，以及人们在组织与决策环境中的价值观。According to leading international political philosophers John Gray and Charles Taylor, cultural differences do *not* originate from the existence of fundamentally different values among countries and regions in the world, but from a different valuation of and prioritisation among them. 根据国际前沿的政治哲学家约翰·格雷和查尔斯·泰勒的观点，文化差异不是源于世界上国家与地区间本质上不同的价值观，而是源于他们之间不同的价值判断和优先级。Seen in that light, differences do not seem that fundamental and unbridgeable any more. Mutual inspiration and learning become feasible, taking various path-dependent starting positions into account. 从这个角度来看，差异似乎不再是本质上的和不可逾越的。考虑到多样化的路径依赖性起点，彼此间的启发与学习变为可能。This line of thought can also be applied to what NGI-scholars use to call ‘public values’. In the Western context, they distinguish for instance public values like affordability, mobility, universal access, reliability, safety, security, sustainability, harmony, transparency, accountability, democracy and legality. 这一思路也适用于NGI学者们对于‘公众价值观’的理解。在西方语境中，他们将公共价值观区分为负担能力、变动性、普遍获得性、可靠性、安全性、保护性、可持续性、和谐度、透明度、职能性、民主与合法性。All of these seem relevant to Confucian societies as well, but there we may want to add speed, geographical distribution, harmony and respect for authority to the selection. These four values, in turn, will be recognised by Dutch or Australian audiences but obtain low weights in evaluations. 以上这些名词看起来与儒家社会也有着些许的

关联，但是在此我们想添上速度、地域分配、和谐和对尊重权威的选择。这四点价值观被荷兰或澳大利亚所认可，但是在评估中却有着较低的权重。

Self-improvement or reform grows more likely and achievable wherever wide gaps are felt between current political and administrative practice and the people's satisfaction. We can give examples for Eastern as well as Western societies. 只要在现行的政治行政举措与人民的满意程度之间产生出了较大的鸿沟，自我提高或改革的可完成性就变得更高。我们可以为东方与西方社会举出相应的例子。In Eastern societies, the loss of cultural heritage is increasingly deplored. In the course of their economic development, only the most outstanding world-class historical monuments have been preserved, but characteristic cityscapes have largely been lost in the urge to construct modernist and productive urban futures. 在东方社会中，文化遗产的流失越来越让人痛心。在东方发展经济的过程中，只有最杰出的世界级的历史古迹被保存了下来，而具有独特风情的城市风光被淹没在现代化建设和生产中。Most probably, new generation of Chinese will come to deplore this, especially after they have seen how much picturesque architecture has still been preserved in Europe. Perhaps higher is not always more beautiful? Respecting and cultivating century-old traditions as well as the places where these are performed is a vital Confucian value. Has it been lost? 最有可能的是，中国的新一代将会谴责这些，尤其当他们亲眼领略到在欧洲保存尚好的如画般的建筑之后。或许更高的建筑并不总是更漂亮的吧？尊重并继承沿袭了百年的传统和建筑，是一种非常重要的儒家价值观。难道已经没有人记得这一点了么？

Another foible is the widespread idea that too many irresponsible officials and business people squander public money in unsavoury business deals and construction projects that cost too much, are never finished or do not fulfil essential safety requirements. A typical Western and probably very wise response would be to improve the procedures, make them more transparent and hold officials politically and legally accountable for their behaviour. 另一个不足之处是有太多不负责任的官员与商人将公款挥霍于那些花费巨大、无法竣工或无法保证基本安全需求的交易与建设。对于这个问题有一种典型的西方式的解决方法，或许比较明智，就是对程序进行改进，使之更透明，并从政治和法律上牵制官员使其对自己的行为负责。However, a typical Confucian answer to this predicament would be to re-establish the importance of moral training and discipline for administrators. If morality is an important liability in current administrative practice in China and many government and business figures fail to observe a balance between collective and self-interest, this should become a key issue in the education system. 然而，针对这一问题的典型的儒家方法是重新强调对于行政人员道德培养和遵从纪律的重要性。如果道德在中国现行的行政举措中占有重要的一席，如果许多政府与商界人士未能遵守集体与个人利益间的平衡，那么这将会成为教育体制中一个关键的议题。This is not to imply that the post-Confucian tradition of conveying scientific knowledge is to be given up (that would be extremely silly), but that those Confucian ideas that resonate well in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century can be built on fruitfully. 这并

并不意味着我们要放弃传授科学知识的后儒家传统（相反，那将会是极其愚蠢的一件事），但是可以卓有成效地树立那些能够在 21 世纪早期发扬光大的儒家思想。

In Western administrative systems, it is not so much that people feel that too many administrative officials are misbehaving to citizens, but that citizens tend to adamantly defend their self-interests and disregard the further consequences of their attitudes on government policy. 在西方的行政制度中，并没有那么多的人觉得有太多的行政官员对公民作出了不当的行为，公民们更倾向于坚定地保护自己的利益。人们并不关心自己的态度会对政府的举措产生怎样的影响。Compared to most Asian countries, Dutch authorities (if they deserve that name at all) have become wildly sclerotic and paralysed in the face of social, political, economic and environmental problems. They are afraid to incur criticism from any policy actor, public or private, and fear citizen voices, especially loud ones, so much that they would rather not move and keep safe. But what admirable and successful government policy has never been realised with no opposition whatsoever. 与大部分亚洲国家相比，荷兰当局（如果他们适合拥有这个称呼）在社会、政治、经济与环境问题面前变得手足无措，麻痹瘫痪。他们害怕招致政策参与者公开或私下的批评，也害怕人民的呼声，尤其害怕那些有影响力的声音。官方甚至恐惧到什么都不敢做，原地踏步来保全自己。但是一项受人赞扬的成功政策的执行，必然会伴随着反对意见。If in China, public officials need to be disciplined, it may be that the Netherlands needs to re-educate its citizens. If the public power of Not In My Backyard groups is so big and the voice of uninformed populism so fearsome that national ministries hold back potentially promising policy initiatives or are prepared to make almost any compromise to other policy actors to have them on board, a sense of common purpose has probably been lost. 假如说中国的公职人员需要遵纪守法，那么恐怕荷兰也需要对公民进行再教育。那些信奉事不关己的团体拥有如此之大的公共权力，而不知情的民粹主义又如此令人生畏，那么国家的内阁就会搁置有潜在前景的政策措施，或者为了笼络政策参与者而做出任何妥协。倘若如此，那么恐怕一种共同的使命感已遭到遗弃。Citizens may have lost sense of why democracy and public participation are valuable, but also why they are vulnerable and how they can be used to promote the common good, whether this be economic growth, long-term environmental sustainability or both. 人们可能已经忘记了为什么民主与公众参与是如此珍贵，也忘记了他们为什么是易受到干扰，并如何被用来提高共同利益，这是否是因为经济增长，还是长期的环境可持续性，亦或兼而有之。

To Western scholars and observers who read Confucius for the first time, he seems hierarchical, conservative, and discriminatory against women, traders, craftsmen and people with low education. They are not wrong, but this only one side of the story. The other side is that he taught people to be empathic with others, identify with the flourishing of higher collectivities and formulate criticism with style instead of bluntness. 对于第一次拜读孔圣人的西方学者与观察者来说，孔子看起来是阶级的、保守的，并且对于女性、商贩、工匠和低学历人群存有歧视。他们并没有误解，但这仅仅是

孔圣人的一方面。另一面则是他教导人们同情他人，提倡与更高集体的繁荣保持一致，并制订了形式上的批判而不是直言进谏。

If dismay about slow progress in infrastructure development in Western societies remains at its currently high level, they may want to consider some self-inspection. They may begin to think that questioning some of their own legal, political, economic and social assumptions is a sign of strength rather than weakness. Their institutional systems, after many decades of success, now appear overly divided, fragmented, fragile and vulnerable to vocal and eloquent selfishness. 如果西方社会缓慢的基础设施建设仍然停留在现在这个水平，那么或许是时候考虑进行自我检讨了。他们可能会慢慢领会到，质疑自己在法律、政治、经济和社会方面的假设，这是一种虚怀若谷的胸襟，而不是示弱的表现。在历经数十年的成功之后，他们的体制系统逐渐变为一种有声的、能言善辩的利己主义，高度分离、分裂而且脆弱。Are large numbers of veto powers really such a clever idea? Is acknowledgement that there is plurality in how political groups define the 'common good' justification enough to dispose of it altogether? What are the moral and social implications of such a fundamental choice? Asking these questions is not to weaken democracy, but to prolong its life.大量的否决权是否真的是一个明智的做法？在界定“共同利益”时，难道真的是有越多的不同的声音，就越有能力来完全解决这个问题？这个基本选择具有怎样的道德与社会意义？对这些问题提出质疑并没有削弱民主制，反而使其得到了延续。

Asians have felt obliged to learn about and from Western values for more than a century. It was painful process, but it has made them stronger. If I am not mistaken, they have come full circle after looking at foreign philosophical schools of thought rather than their own for a while. Confucian ideas may again be of help them solve their problems in the coming decades. 一个多世纪以来，亚洲人一直觉得有必要了解并学习西方价值观。这曾是一个艰苦的历程，但是却让他们变得更强大。如果我没有弄错的话，他们过多地关注于外国哲学派别，却已经很久没有回头看看他们自己的哲学。儒家思想可能会再次成为他们的精神图腾，在未来的几十年帮助人们解决困惑。Mahbubani's embarrassing question 'Can Asians think?' may now be answered in the affirmative. Westerners now face having to answer a different, yet equally embarrassing question: 'Can Westerners feel?' “亚洲人会思考么？”曾是马赫布巴尼所抛出的令人尴尬的问题，现在我们可以给出肯定的回答。西方人现在则面对一个不同的，却也十分尴尬的问题，那就是：‘西方人会感知么？’ For long, they were in position to rely on their scientific and technological powers, and this have benefited them for centuries and has made their ideas and values a big attractor for the world. Unfortunately, overconfidence in their own capabilities and growing attention to what makes individuals special, independent and satisfies their immediate needs has weakened the coherence and binding force of their societies. Perhaps they can learn empathy from Asians they way Asians have learned knowledge from them. 长久以来，他们一直依赖于自身的科技实力，而这也的确使他们受益数百年，他们的思想与价值观主导了整个世界。不幸的是，对于自身资本的过度自信，以及对过度地关注如何满足个人的需求与独立，削弱了社会的连贯性与约束力。或许他们现在可以向亚洲人学习同理心，就像当初亚洲人向他们学习科技知识一样。

The famous Taiwanese philosopher, neo-Confucian traditional and advocate of democracy has said that the difference between Confucianism and main stream Western thought is that Confucianism pays attention to the morally independent existence of the individual (empathy), while Western thought focuses on the cognitively and politically independent existence of the individual. Thus the Chinese tried to develop self-improvement of the mind through individual reflection and Western thought made an effort to set up institutions to ensure that individual rights can be protected in a democratic polity. 台湾著名的哲学家，新儒家学派，同时也是民主的推动者曾说过，儒家思想与西方主流思想间的区别主要在于，儒家思想关注的是存在于个体中道德上的独立性，而西方思想则强调存在于个体中的认知与政治独立性。于是中国人尽其所能通过个人反思而达到思想上的自我提高，西方思想致力于设立机构来确保个人权益可以在民主政策下得到有效保护。But this apparent conflict can be resolved because a morally independent mind can also realise the necessity of a cognitively and politically independent mind. Here I would like to end by saying that the reverse also makes sense: politically independent minds can also grow awareness of the importance of self-improvement through moral reflection. 但是我们可以解决这种明显的冲突，因为道德上独立的思想当然也可以兼容认知与政治的独立思想。在此我想通过一句话来结束我的演讲：政治上独立的思想也可以逐渐认识到通过自我反思而升华自己的重要性。

Thanking the main people that have contributed to who and where I am now. 感谢那些帮助过我并让我能够站在这里的人们。谢谢！