

晚清報界大辯論及其影響

曹青 (Qing Cao)

英國杜倫大學現代語言文化學院副教授

School of Modern Languages and Cultures, Durham University, UK

漢學研究中心獎助學人

發生於 1905-1907 年間《新民叢報》與《民報》之間關於改良與革命的大辯論，通常被認作是保守勢力對進步的革命力量之最後抵抗。這種闡釋是中華民國與中華人民共和國歷史敘述的重要組成部分，以突出革命對現代中國之進步意義。然而現代性本身的複雜性及辛亥以來的社會政治的劇烈震盪使這一說法值得商榷。本文以「社會有機論」為視角對大辯論的「現代性」話語進行考察，梳理論戰中所謂「建設現代中國」話語的語言特徵，並討論大辯論對二十世紀中國關於國家與社會主流話語的影響。

本文以語料庫為基礎，對大辯論的 16 篇關鍵論戰文章（共 231,781 字）進行實證統計分析，得出初步結論。認為論戰雙方對中國傳統文化的迴避與對現實理性分析的缺乏導致社會改革方案失去現實依據。這種由「失語」而產生的「失據」令真正意義上的保守主義在中國失去生存基礎，從而使傳統與現代之間發生剛性斷裂，並催生激進性社會變革傾向。具體而言，這種斷裂表現在外來價值觀與本土社會現實之間的嚴重脫節，使思想之「毛」脫離現實之「皮」而烏托邦化。激進革命可以看作是中國精英集體焦慮的一種表象，表明在現代化進程中精英們無法實現精神世界、現實世界與情感世界的統一融合。激進改造現實的衝動將烏托邦與革命結合起來，雖無助於集體焦慮的消解，而助長了國家主義的情懷。我的演講列舉《新青年》（近三百萬字）與《人民日報》（逾十億字）大

數據，展示晚清報界論戰中倡導的「國家」與「革命」話語在20世紀中的強勢擴展，與「國民」話語的衰落，表明了「社會」與「國家」在二十世紀此消彼長的歷史總趨勢。

Late Qing Press Debate and Its Impact on Modern China

The late Qing press debate between the monarchist periodical *Xinmin congbao* and the revolutionary *Minbao* in 1905–1907 is often seen as the last conservative resistance against the inevitable progressive revolution that inaugurates Chinese modern state in the 1911 Xinhai Revolution. Such an interpretation constitutes the integrative part of the broad revolutionary narrative of the Chinese modern state and politics in both Republican and PRC periods that highlight the progressive nature of revolutions. However, the controversial nature of modernity and post-Xinhai sociopolitical turmoil throughout the 20th century complicate such an interpretation.

Drawing on the idea of organic society, this study examines the discourse of modernity as constructed in the press debate. It aims to delineate the linguistic features of the specific imaginings of what it takes to bring modernity to China, and considers the possible impact of the debate on discourses about Chinese society and state. Assisted by corpus-based analysis, the study identifies the negation of Chinese practices and institutions as contributing to a radicalised discourse. It argues that the loss of anchorage in lived experiences erodes the basis of conservatism as a counterbalancing force of social change. The discursive negation constitutes a critical rupture in Chinese modernity. As the broken link between social values and practice, the rupture spawns a utopian

imagining of a future China. Revolution as an extreme form of radicalism is symptomatic of the underlying anxieties of the Chinese collective self that struggles to achieve intellectual and emotional integrity in the pursuit of modernity.

The study is based on a critical analysis of 16 key articles (231,781 characters) of the debate, applying the corpus analysis software WordSmith Tools. In the presentation, I will also show the broad trajectory of key terms of the debate in the post-Xinhai eras using the *New Youth* (1915-1926, 2.95 million Characters) and the *People's Daily* (1946-2012, 1,702,968 articles, over 1 billion characters) as two examples. The contour of these key terms indicates the strong expansion of the term 'state' and 'revolution' but the decline of the term 'guomin'. It symbolises the shrinking society and magnifying state in the process of modernisation.

主講人介紹：

曹青 (Qing Cao)，英國籍，英國杜倫大學現代語言文化學院副教授。曹教授主要研究領域為中國現代政治話語及中西方文化互動，特別關注中西之間的文化形象問題。本年獲得漢學研究中心「外籍學人來臺研究漢學獎助」，來臺研究主題為「晚清激進主義語言研究：1905-1907年《民報》與《新民叢報》大辯論基於數據庫的批評話語分析」本次演講的主題即是他晚清民初報界研究的一部分。此研究亦受到英國藝術與人文研究基金 (UK Arts and Humanities Research Council 'Open World Research Initiative', 2016-2020) 的資助。