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PERSPECTIVES

China and the World

Journal of the Overseas Young Chinese Forum

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From the Editors

In 1900, Liang Qichao wrote his famous essay “The Youth of China” (*Shaonian Zhongguo Shuo*). As a major thinker and reformer striving to synthesize Chinese traditions with Western ideas, Liang urged his contemporaries to envision China as a “youthful” nation—a nation of vibrant and creative people who devote themselves to bettering the lives of future generations. Ninety-nine years later, the Overseas Young Chinese Forum (OYCF), a “young Chinese” forum, was established in North America. OYCF members are united by a common desire to understand China better, to see China develop, and to contribute to its long-term development in “the OYCF way.” So, what is “the OYCF way”? In June 2006, Lei GUANG, President of OYCF, made a keynote speech at The 1990 Institute’s annual banquet. In the speech, he systematically outlined the history, activities, and values of OYCF, and how the OYCF way can contribute to a vibrant and youthful China.

Why do both Liang Qichao and OYCF members believe that a youthful China is worth pursuing? Because there was an age-old China, a China with ponderous historical legacies. Jie LI, a New York-based author and literary critic, in his new book told us how those legacies may have shaped our thinking and behavior today. This unpublished book manuscript is titled *The Cold Landscape of Chinese Culture*. We have the privilege to publish Chapter Two of this book in this issue and the next issue. In this chapter, LI demonstrates that Zhou Gong’s ideology built over three thousand years ago had an in-depth impact on reforms in China in the past century.

Those reforms are still going on, in politics, economy, and culture. For instance, political reform in the countryside has created a new situation, in which rural residents have begun to develop a sense of citizenship, asking for their rights as citizens, for the first time in thousands of years. Dongtao QI’s book review introduces us to a seminal research on this issue. Economically, the Chinese government has to manage China’s economic growth in the context of globalization. As our longtime contributor Jin CHEN points out in her interview with the renowned economist, Professor Martin Feldstein, China not only needs to handle its excess production capacity and promote innovation at home, but also must negotiate and cooperate with other countries in foreign markets.

Culturally, there is also a fundamental transformation

编辑寄语

1900年，在那个多事的世纪之交，梁启超写下了著名的《少年中国说》。这位毕生致力于整合中国传统与西方思想的大思想家和改革家，在文中号召他的国人，把中国构想为一个“少年的”国度——一个充满活力和创造力的民族，一个为万世谋幸福的民族。九十九年之后，海外中国青年论坛（OYCF），一个“少年中国人”的论坛，在北美诞生了。OYCF成员拥有一个共同的心愿：更好地了解中国，关注中国的发展，并希望OYCF能以自己的独特之路或方式为中国的长期发展作出贡献。那么，什么是OYCF之路呢？2006年6月，OYCF主席光磊在一九九十年学社年度晚宴上的主题演讲，为我们系统阐释了OYCF的历史、活动和价值观，并告诉我们OYCF之路将如何为建设一个充满青春活力的中国做出贡献。

为什么梁启超和OYCF的成员都相信一个年青的中国是值得追求的呢？因为我们曾经有过一个古老的中国，一个承载着沉重历史遗产的中国。旅美作家和文艺批评家李劫在其新书中揭示了这些古老的遗产会如何影响我们今天的思维和行为。这部题为《中国文化冷风景》的书稿尚未出版。我们很荣幸地得到作者的允许，在本期和下期刊出该书的第二章，以飨读者。在这一章中，作者剖析了三千年前周公的意识形态建构如何深深影响了近一个世纪以来中国的改革进程。

这些改革现在还在进行，包括在政治领域、经济领域和文化领域的改革。例如，农村基层的政治改革已经造就一个新的局面：数千年来，农民们第一次开始具有了公民意识，并开始寻求作为公民的权利。祁冬涛的书评给我们介绍了一部在这个领域的最新研究。在经济领域，中国政府不得不努力在一个全球化的背景下管理经济增长。正如我们的资深撰稿人陈晋在她对著名经济学家马丁·菲尔斯坦教授的访谈中指出的，中国不仅要在国内处理生产能力过剩和促进创新，还要在国际市场上与其他国家谈判和合作。

在文化领域，今天的中国也在经历

going on in today's China. This year's OYCF Annual Meeting dealt with "Cultural Production and Consumption in Contemporary China." The meeting was held on the beautiful campus of University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in coordination with the Michigan China Fellows, and was co-sponsored by the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan. In this issue, we publish a special report from the meeting that summarizes the presentations and discussions, as well as some feedbacks from the participants.

Another article in this issue on the topic of culture is Ling ZHANG's movie critique. It invites us to explore one set of interrelated notions in the Chinese culture: sexuality, gender role, and family bonds. She showed us that Ang Lee's mastery of complex emotional and sexual relationships in *Brokeback Mountain* can be traced back to one of his early works about Chinese culture - *The Wedding Banquet*.

Finally, Xiaobin HE and Weiwei SHEN report their experience of teaching Quantitative Research Methods at Wuhan University, which was supported by an OYCF-Gregory C. and Paula K. Chow Teaching Fellowship.

As always, we hope you enjoy this issue of *Perspectives* and warmly welcome your comments, suggestions and manuscript submissions.

Wish you all a wonderful summer!

Wei SHAN
Executive Editor

一场深刻的变迁。今年的 OYCF 年会探讨了当代中国的文化生产和消费。年会在密歇根大学美丽的安娜堡校园里举行，由密大中国研究中心联合主办，密歇根中国学社协办。本期发表这次年会中的演讲和讨论的摘要，并附上一些与会者对会议及参会经历的评论。

本期中另一篇讨论文化问题的文章是张冷的影评。该文探讨了中国文化的一个方面：性、性别角色和家庭纽带。作者告诉我们，李安导演在《断背山》中对复杂情感和性关系的把握，可以追溯到他早期一部关于中国文化的影片《喜宴》。

最后，本期还发表了何晓斌和沈伟伟在武汉大学讲授计量研究方法论的教学报告。这次教学活动是由 OYCF 及邹至庄夫妇教学基金资助的。

我们一如既往地希望您能喜欢我们这一期《视角》，并欢迎您给我们寄来您的评论、建议和稿件。

祝夏季愉快！

单 伟
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The OYCF Way

Keynote Speech at The 1990 Institute's 16th Annual Banquet¹

Lei GUANG

President, Overseas Young Chinese Forum

Dear Chairman C.B. Sung, President Hang-Sheng Cheng, members of The 1990 Institute and honored guests:

Thank you for inviting me to your annual banquet. I am honored to be given this opportunity to introduce to you our great organization: the Overseas Young Chinese Forum.

In April of this year, the OYCF completed seven years of operation. Over this seven-year period, OYCF has grown from a small forum of mostly graduate students from the East Coast—we now jokingly call them our “founding brothers and sisters”—to a large national, even international, organization made up of students, scholars and non-academic professionals.

At present, OYCF members live, work and study all across the United States, from New York to California, from Massachusetts to Michigan, to Texas, to Washington, D.C. A good number of the OYCF members have gone to other places, such as Singapore, Hong Kong, or returned to mainland China after finishing their studies in the U.S. Wherever they are, and whatever they do, OYCF members are united by a common desire to understand China better, to see China develop, and to promote positive changes in China that will benefit us all. We wish China well. And we hope to contribute to its long-term development in the OYCF way.

So, what IS the OYCF way? Before I answer this very important question, let me provide a brief overview of our history and the current range of activities we engage in. The evolution of our organization, and the work we do, reflect some of the fundamental values we at OYCF hold as important to the future development of the Forum.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE OYCF HISTORY

As I mentioned earlier, the OYCF started out as a forum for a new generation of Chinese students in this country, especially those who specialize in the study of humanities and social sciences. The forum was intended for these students “to exchange views on social, economic, political and cultural issues concerning China and to develop common aspirations through regular discussions.” I took this last sentence from the preamble to the OYCF bylaws that were written at the OYCF's inaugural meeting in 1999. It was precisely this mix of a strong desire for intellectual exchange and a deeply-felt urge to better understand China that motivated the forty-some like-minded students and friends to gather in Concord, New Hampshire to talk, to learn, and to exchange views on abstract ideas and their relevance (or the lack thereof) for China.

¹ Delivered on June 16, 2006, in Burlingame, California.

The Concord meeting started the process of setting up a permanent organization which later became the OYCF. The relationship between OYCF and The 1990 Institute goes back to the very beginning. Since then, we have received continued encouragement and support from several active 1990 Institute members, such as C.B. Sung and his wife Beulah, Stephen Lee, Billy Lee, C.J. Huang and Katherine Xu and her husband Jiong Ma. Additionally, several OYCF members have been invited to join the board of the Institute. OYCF is also honored to have both C.B. and Hang-Sheng on its advisory board.

The Concord meeting established several core values that later OYCF members would abide by in planning and organizing future activities. Among these values are: (1) a commitment to China and to the welfare of the Chinese people; (2) a desire for self-education, not self-promotion—my talk today is the most blatant bit of self-promotion we have done so far; and (3) a willingness to engage in metaphysical, seemingly aimless debates over ideas (what we call in Chinese 务虚, *wuxu*) rather than in practical pursuits such as networking for business or career advancement for the participants.

Desiring self-education and going after ideas rather than tangible material benefits reflected the youthful idealism of the students. These values have shaped many of our activities. To this day the OYCF puts a premium on “disinterested” learning, and on the flourishing of ideas. Since 1999, the OYCF has initiated a number of projects aimed at sharing and disseminating ideas. The original English edition of OYCF’s journal, “Perspectives,” was set up with such a purpose in mind. In 2001, we launched a Chinese edition of the journal to facilitate the exchange of ideas between people in China and the overseas Chinese. In 2002, the OYCF and The 1990 Institute started a pilot fellowship program to support policy-oriented research on China. In 2003, we signed an agreement with a major university press in China to publish a series of Chinese-language books on law and economics. Just last year, we started collecting papers from our annual meeting to publish them as a special OYCF volume. Active OYCF members host local salons that engage interesting speakers on a wide variety of topics.

But OYCF did not stop at these ideational endeavors. OYCF members also want to make a difference in the real world. In fact, almost as soon as it was established, the OYCF had acquired an action orientation. Our members started going to China in 2000 to teach short-term courses on such practical subjects as corporate law and securities regulation. Over the years, we have attracted major outside funding for our short-term teaching programs. We have received two consecutive Ford Foundation grants for teaching since 2002. At various times we have also received funding from other institutions and individuals, including several people in this audience. In 2004, Professor Gregory Chow, a world-renowned economist from Princeton, made an endowment of \$200,000 in support of the OYCF’s teaching program. With these resources, not only have we expanded our offerings, but we begin to involve students, scholars and working professionals worldwide, and send them to places less traveled by foreign experts.

Now I have talked about how OYCF got started, and how it has evolved as an organization that is interested both in the intellectual production of ideas, and in the teaching of practical knowledge and skills. Along the way, something else has changed that shapes the OYCF as a unique “connective” organization for students, scholars and working professionals from different localities and age cohorts. I am referring to the demographic change that inevitably occurs. Seven years after the initial Concord meeting, successive OYCF cohorts have graduated from school, started families, and moved on to real jobs in industry, in academia, in government, and in

non-profit organizations.

The OYCF members are a particularly mobile group, both geographically from one locality to another, and professionally from entry-level jobs to senior and more responsible positions. The Forum is the one constant that connects them to each other and to the organization. Several of the founding members, for example, remain very active in various OYCF programs today. Many still contribute to our publishing programs and return to the annual meetings as panelists, discussants and ordinary participants whenever they can. In the meantime, we go out of our way to connect with the academy, seeking counsel in the running of our teaching and research programs. We never cease to work among students. Many students came to know about the OYCF through activities in OYCF affiliated student groups on their campuses. Several advanced graduate students now play important leadership roles in various OYCF programs, as I will shortly mention.

As a result, partly because of demographic change and partly because of our conscious efforts, OYCF has become a complex and dynamic organization that connects people from different regions, across diverse fields of work and academic disciplines, and spanning different age cohorts. This is one key difference between the OYCF and other professional, academic, friendship, or campus student associations. Each of these different groups that make up the OYCF has something to contribute to the organization. We intend to exploit this unique combination of talents as we move forward toward new milestones.

OYCF'S CURRENT ACTIVITIES

OK, enough about the history and evolution of the OYCF as an organization. Let me now turn to our current activities and highlight a few programs that OYCF members now work on. If you look at the brochure at your seat, you will find a list of key programs currently under way at OYCF. I would like to highlight a few under three headings: the OYCF teaching programs, our research and publication programs and the OYCF annual meeting.

First, the OYCF debuted its teaching programs in 2000 with a two-year commitment to teach a series of short courses on American corporate law at Renmin University.

The success of these early teaching programs brought more and stable funding to the OYCF in this area after 2002. With more funding, we are able to expand course offerings to other public policy or social science areas, including sociology, economics, education, political philosophy and history, in addition to law. We make a special effort to identify areas where there is a shortage of experts in China. To the extent possible, we also encourage proposals that would bring fellows to lesser-known universities in the inland provinces. In the past two years, our teaching fellows have taught at universities in Hainan, Sichuan, Shanxi, Shaanxi, and Tibet, in addition to the more popular destinations on China's eastern coast. For the next year, we will dedicate at least one teaching fellowship for China's western region.

OYCF teaching is not just about delivering the content of specified courses. There is much that goes on outside of the classroom. Besides classroom instruction, OYCF fellows hold frequent discussion sessions, interact with local faculty, go to lunch with students, chat with them about life and work in China and in the U.S., and pass on tips to those interested in pursuing graduate studies in the U.S. These are the sorts of informal interaction that are often missing in a typical foreign teaching program. As it often turns out, learning is a two-way street. Many OYCF fellows comment

that teaching in China made them become more aware of their own pedagogical styles, and that they learn more about the goings-on in China with its various reform initiatives.

Sitting in the audience is Lu Zheng, our board director in charge of teaching programs. Since 2002, Lu has worked closely with the OYCF leadership on the teaching fellowship program. Because of their efforts, short-term teaching programs are now a mainstay of OYCF activities. I invite you to browse our website and read those teaching reports filed by our teaching fellows. I have always been struck by the level of commitment and seriousness they bring to their assignments.

Last year, we awarded a total of ten teaching fellowships, five supported by the Ford Foundation grant and another five by the OYCF-Gregory C. and Paula K. Chow endowment. For the coming year, we plan to award an equal number of fellowships. New guidelines for the teaching fellowship application have just been uploaded on our website a few days ago. I hope you can help spread the word and recruit responsible teaching fellows.

A second area of OYCF activities focuses on publishing and research. Here I want to highlight our on-line journal “Perspectives.” It is now in its eighth year of publication. As of this month, we have published 54 issues (32 issues in English, 22 issues in Chinese), with over 300 articles. The journal’s continuous publication gives true meaning to the word “Forum” that appears in the name of our organization. Under the able leadership of OYCF editors, present today are Yan Li and Feng Liang, “Perspectives” has become an intellectual home for all of us: its readers, writers, and the rank and file OYCF members.

We are very proud of the work our editors and contributors have done. Because of their efforts, the on-line journal has become a lively forum for the analysis of a wide range of subjects that are of interest to our members and the larger Chinese community. Even if you just browse the most recent issue, you get a sense of the range, the depth and the timeliness of these articles.

A journal is only as good as its editors and contributors. As the journal enters its eighth year of publication, its co-editors will continue to innovate in style, format and content. Here I invite you, distinguished members and guests of The 1990 Institute, to contribute to “Perspectives”—as long as, that is, your submission passes muster with our discerning and VERY judgmental editors.

Besides the journal, we have also initiated a few other research and publishing programs. In 2002, the OYCF and The 1990 Institute established a joint research program, which has awarded four research grants so far. This program is currently under review by both sides. I want to take this opportunity to thank The 1990 Institute for its tremendous support of OYCF. We value and enjoy the cooperative relationship we currently have with the Institute.

Recently, we have also started a program to publish a special OYCF volume, in Chinese, based on each year’s conference papers. The first such volume is scheduled to be published in Hong Kong later this year. It will consist of 16 articles on rural issues facing China, all but one of which was presented at the OYCF annual meeting. Along with me, two other co-editors of the special volume, Dongtao Qi and Hao Zou, are present today.

In the meantime, the OYCF has an agreement with the Shanghai Institute of Law and Economics to jointly organize the writing of a series of books on law and economics to be published by the Chinese University of Politics and Law Press in Beijing. As of today, six books

have already been published, and more are in the pipeline.

Finally, on OYCF's current activities, let me say a few words about our annual meeting. In many ways, the annual meeting is now the centerpiece of OYCF activities. The Memorial Day weekend gathering used to be called a "retreat" for a very good reason: the long weekend provides a much-needed break for the OYCF members from work, study, and household chores so they can reconnect with each other and come to listen, talk and debate on issues related to China. There was certainly the expectation of leisurely conversations and play time. Gradually, however, the retreat has descended, some say deteriorated, into a "meeting" because members would spend most of their time inside conference halls rather than outside playing.

One upside of the retreat turning into a meeting, of course, is that we have greatly raised the level of intellectual discussion. As I said in my thank-you message to this year's speakers and discussants, their performance far exceeded our expectations. This year's meeting, as was the case with our last meeting, establishes the OYCF as a premier forum for serious engagement with China-related issues.

You can find out more about our annual meeting from our website (www.oycf.org), from the initial call-for-paper announcements, to the conference program and summary of panel discussions. Here are the testimonials from several people who have spoken at our most recent conference:

The first one is from Dorothy Solinger, who is a professor of political science at UC Irvine and a co-sponsor of the conference. She sent me a quick e-mail just hours after the conference.

I've just come back from the conference and—what a BIG success!!! It is obvious that you and your co-organizers put in a great deal of work and the payoff was enormous! The papers were of a very high quality and many people participated with great enthusiasm and interest.... It was truly a wonderful experience to watch graduate students, faculty, and various kinds of professionals discuss the topics related to social class, whether they came from China, Hong Kong or Taiwan. That people from China got an opportunity to air their views in such a forum was especially heart-warming.

Another UC Irvine professor, sociologist Feng Wang, has this to say about the meeting:

[T]he conference provided scholars like me an excellent opportunity to engage and to focus on a most timely issue, and it provided rare opportunities for young professionals and bright graduate students to present their work, and to engage face to face with scholars from all over the country, indeed all over the world. I left the conference feeling that that was the best-run and most educational weekend conference I had ever attended.

An equally glowing assessment came from Professor Dingxin Zhao, a sociologist from the University of Chicago:

[T]he conference has attracted many leading China scholars and the brightest graduate students in the field. In terms of the quality of the papers presented and the depth of the discussions generated, this conference surpassed most professional conferences that I have attended. Thank you for organizing such a successful event and inviting me to be part of it.

Our final testimonial is from this year's youngest student participant. Diana Fu is a recent graduate from the University of Minnesota, my alma mater, who was just recently chosen as a Rhodes Scholar. She will start her post-graduate studies in development at Oxford this fall. She wrote:

OYCF is vibrant, brilliant, and exceedingly stimulating....Unlike the mega-conferences, the intimate size of OYCF allows for a small network of like-minded scholars to debate cutting-edge issues in a variety of disciplines under an overarching theme. I feel immensely fortunate to have been invited to this conference. I will carry this experience with me to Oxford and beyond.

Our annual meeting has become increasingly complex. Its success depends on coordinated efforts by many people at the OYCF. We rely on the OYCF network of scholars, professionals and students to recommend speakers; we depend on volunteers 100 percent to handle all the logistics of the meeting, from arranging accommodation to airport pickups. The OYCF is at its best when we all work together to make things happen. In spite of us dropping the word "retreat," I am happy to say, in addition to the intense intellectual discussion, there is still that spirit of playfulness, of eagerness for random conversation, of youthful excess of sitting up all night talking while still making it to the early morning sessions next day.

The annual meeting is not the only occasion for OYCF members to gather and exchange ideas. More frequently, OYCF members meet in local salons or campus organizations affiliated with the Forum. Here in the Bay area, two student organizations—ChinaRains at Stanford and Berkeley China Review—host some of the best discussion sessions on China with visiting scholars and local speakers. The Michigan China Fellows is another such fine student-run organization. From Washington, D.C. to Hong Kong, OYCF members also get together and hold local salon discussions on topics that interest them. As you can see, the OYCF is a both horizontally and vertically connective organization. It connects today's students with each other, and them with yesterday's students who now work in various professions.

THE OYCF WAY

Let me come back to the question I posed in the beginning: "What is the OYCF way?"

At our most recent annual meeting, I asked many participants to give me one word or phrase that he or she thinks captures what the OYCF is all about. In the meantime, I e-mailed all our board members and posed the same question. Below is a list of words that OYCF members have come up that they think best describe who we are, what we do and how we do things. These are not the results of a scientific survey, but I think they capture the spirit of the OYCF. Many of these words or phrases were given to me in Chinese, so I will do my best to render them into English.

Here are the seven most commonly-mentioned values the OYCF members embrace:

1. 中国关怀 (*zhongguo guanhuai*, Commitment to China): As I have already mentioned, the OYCF members have an emotional commitment to China and an intellectual commitment to values and actions that we hope will benefit all Chinese.
2. 自我教育 (*ziwo jiaoyu*, Self-Education): This value goes back to our founding meeting. Self-education, or self-cultivation may be a Confucian value, but we readily embrace it

- because it is only when we know what we don't know that we can start asking questions and exploring solutions.
3. 志愿精神 (*zhiyuan jingshen*, Voluntarism): OYCF depends on volunteers. The OYCF is a miserly organization...anything that the OYCF takes on is at a maximally minimum cost because we have such a great team of volunteers. We depend on individual and institutional donations in running all our programs. Our overhead cost for running all of them is practically zero, a great testament to the volunteer spirit of all members!
 4. 务虚务实 (*wuxu wushi*, Grounded Idealism): At OYCF, we value idealism and encourage the pursuit of both ideas and ideals. At the same time, we take concrete steps to make things happen, from sponsoring teaching trips to pursuing various publication plans.
 5. 开放论坛 (*kaifang luntan*, Open Forum): OYCF is an open forum. We welcome the airing of different views even when we as an organization do not endorse them. Openness of the Forum also means transparency of all our activities.
 6. 跨科跨业 (*kuake kuaye*, Interdisciplinary and Cross-Sectoral): OYCF is an inter-disciplinary forum, and our members come from all kinds of educational backgrounds, including various fields of humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, and engineering. It connects students, scholars and professionals, people at different stages of their studies and careers to one organization.
 7. 新生不息 (*xinsheng buxi*, Constant Renewal): To renew ourselves, the OYCF must remain relevant to the student community, and actively seek new members and identify future OYCF leaders.

So OYCF is an organization with at least three levels of identity. First, its long-term mission: self-education, and a commitment to China's development and prosperity. Second, its soul: voluntarism, grounded work, and idealism. Finally, its inclusiveness and dynamism: it brings together people from different academic and professional background, including non-ethnic-Chinese who are interested in China, and connects with new generations of students and youths so that, collectively, we can move the Forum forward.

Finally, I can't end this presentation without making one final comment on the Y word in OYCF, that is, what makes us a YOUNG Chinese forum. The way that I see it, the word "young" certainly connotes more than just biological age.

Several days ago, just before I came to San Francisco, I received an email from Wei Shan, a new OYCF board member. He was struck by the youthful vibrancy of the most recent meeting, and he said that the occasion reminded him of an essay he read many years ago when he was a middle school student in China. So he sent a copy of the essay for me to read. It was written by Liang Qichao, in 1900, entitled "The Youth of China" (少年中国说, *shaonian zhongguo shuo*).

Liang, as we all know, was a major thinker and reformer in China at the turn of the 20th century. Throughout his life, he struggled to reconcile Chinese values with western ideas, and to achieve a new synthesis on the basis of which we could build a new, strong, and prosperous China. In "The Youth of China," he invited his readers, who were really Chinese of all ages, not just the young people, to start re-imagining China as a "youthful" nation—a nation of vibrant and youthful people.

He urged his contemporaries not to dwell on China's past and its age-old empire. Instead, he said, start envisioning a new China, a young China, a nation of young Chinese who are creative and forward-looking, not shackled by anachronistic traditions and who devote themselves to bettering the lives of future generations. In this sense, we are all *young* Chinese.

Thank you again for your time, and for your long-time support of the Overseas Young Chinese Forum.

OYCF 之路

一九九〇学社第十六届年度晚宴上的主题演讲¹

光 磊

海外中国青年论坛主席

尊敬的沈坚白理事长、程杭生会长、1990 学社成员、各位嘉宾：

感谢你们邀请我参加贵社的年度晚宴。我很荣幸能有这样一个机会向在座的各位介绍让我引以为荣的“海外中国青年论坛”（Overseas Young Chinese Forum，以下简称 OYCF）。

迄今为止，OYCF 已经走过了七个年头。在这七年里，OYCF 由当初一个主要以美东留学生为主的小型社团（我们戏称那批最早的学生成员为我们的“建坛兄姊”）发展成一个成员遍及美国和世界各地的大型组织。我们的成员包括许多从中国到海外学习、工作的留学生、学者、以及其他专业人士。

目前，OYCF 成员遍布全美各地。从纽约到加州，从马萨诸塞到密西根，从得克萨斯到华盛顿特区，到处都有 OYCF 成员生活、工作和学习的身影。我们中还有相当一部份成员移居香港、新加坡，或者在美完成学业后回到中国大陆。无论 OYCF 成员现在生活在哪里，从事何种职业，我们都紧密地团结在一起，这是因为我们都拥有一个共同的心愿：希望更多地了解中国，希望看到中国发展，并努力促成中国积极的变化，以有益于全体中国人。我们希望 OYCF 能以自己的独特之路或方式为中国的长期发展作出贡献。

那么，什么是 OYCF 之路呢？在回答这个重要问题之前，请允许我先简单回顾一下 OYCF 的发展历史和现阶段的一些主要活动。OYCF 的历史和我们现在从事的工作反映了论坛成员的一些基本价值认同，而这些价值观将决定论坛未来的发展方向。

海外中国青年论坛的历史

正如我刚才所提到的，OYCF 最初是一个在九十年代由新一代中国留美学生发起的论坛。这些学生主要学习人文学科或社会科学，所以论坛最初的宗旨是为这些学生提供一个交流思想的平台。论坛的初衷是为了让大家能“就有关中国的社会、经济、政治和文化方面的问题交流观点，并通过经常性的讨论形成共同的理想。”这句引文摘自 OYCF 章程的序言，它起草于 1999 年的论坛创立大会。1999 年，正是这种希望在思想上得到交流，在内心深处加强对中国的了解的渴望使四十多位志趣相投的朋友在新罕布什尔州的康科德市聚会。他们当年在康市一起交谈、学习和探讨各种思想和心得，交流各自关于这些思想对中国适用性的看法。

从康市的聚会起步，我们开始组建一个长期性的组织，这个组织后来就成为 OYCF（海外中国青年论坛）。我们和 1990 学社的关系从 OYCF 最初组建时就开始了。长期以来，我们得到了众多 1990 学社会员的帮助，特别是沈坚白先生和夫人 Beulah，以及 Stephen Lee, Billy Lee, C.J. Huang, 徐玉和马炯等人的鼓励和支持。另外，数位 OYCF 成员还受邀加入了 1990 学社理事会，OYCF 也很荣幸地邀请到了程杭生和沈坚白两位 1990 学社的领导人加入我们的顾问委员会。

¹ 2006 年 6 月 16 日，美国旧金山。

康市聚会也形成了 OYCF 成员后来在计划和组织活动时遵循的一些核心价值观, 它们包括 1) 关怀中国和关心中国人的福祉; 2) 渴望自我教育, 而不是自我鼓吹(我今天的演说大概是我们迄今为止所做过的最不加掩饰的一次自我吹嘘了); 3) 追求务虚和思想层面的交流和辩论, 而不是为了谋求成员的职业发展或商业往来。

中国关怀、自我教育、务虚而不“务实”, 这些核心理念反映了青年学生的理想, 它们也决定了我们活动的形式与方法。长期以来, OYCF 一直重视非功利性的学习和思想交流。自 1999 年起, 我们组织了一系列活动, 促进中国和海外青年的思想交流和传播。我们的网上杂志《视角》英文版当初就是为了配合这一需要而创办的。在 2001 年, 我们又推出《视角》中文版。2002 年, OYCF 和 1990 学社合作, 设立了一个研究基金, 旨在鼓励有关中国的政策性研究。2003 年我们和国内一家大学出版社签订了合同, 协助出版一套中文版的法律经济丛书。从 2005 年开始, 我们开始将 OYCF 年会上宣读的论文汇编成册, 专辑发行。除此之外, 诸多的 OYCF 成员还在各地组织沙龙, 邀请嘉宾就广泛的议题发表见解。

OYCF 并没有停留在这些思想层面的努力上。我们的成员也希望在实务上有所作为。OYCF 从创立那一天起就鼓励会员把对中国的关怀落实到行动。从 2000 年起, 我们众多的成员开始到中国进行短期教学, 最初课程涉及公司法和证券法等实用专业, 以后又扩大到其他人文和社科领域。近几年来我们的短期支教项目受到了许多个人和机构的资助。自 2002 年起我们连续两次获得福特基金会的专项资助。除福特基金会外, 我们还得到过其他机构和个人的捐助, 好几位在座的人士都曾经慷慨解囊。著名经济学家、普林斯顿大学退休教授邹至庄 (Gregory Chow) 先生和他的夫人在 2004 年捐赠 20 万美元, 用以支持 OYCF 的短期教学项目。我们得到这些资金后增加了教学科目, 并开始有针对性地选派我们的支教人员到外国专家较少涉足的边远地区支援教学。

我刚才讲了 OYCF 的发起, 以及它如何发展成一个既关注思想的交流和传播, 又注重传授实用知识与技能的组织。随着时间的推移, 众多的 OYCF 成员走出校门开始工作, OYCF 于是逐渐变成一个独特的联络学生、学者和专业人士的跨区域、跨年龄段的组织。这些变化当然缘于 OYCF 成员年龄结构上的变化。自 1999 年康市聚会以来, 一批又一批的 OYCF 成员从学校毕业, 建立了家庭, 开始在各行各业、学术机构、政府和非盈利性组织工作。

OYCF 成员在地理和职业上流动性很大。他们在事业上不断发展, 从东海岸到中西部, 从美国到中国, 论坛成了 OYCF 成员之间保持联系的纽带。好几位 OYCF 的创始成员现在仍然在为 OYCF 的各个项目奔忙。他们只要有时间都尽量为我们撰稿, 担当支教项目的评委, 参加 OYCF 的年会并参与年会的组织和讨论。同时, 我们努力扩大与学术界的联系, 就我们的教学和研究项目征求他们的意见。作为一个起源于留学生的团体, 我们也从未停止过在留学生中的工作。很多学生从一些学校的 OYCF 友好团体那里了解到 OYCF, 更有一批又一批在校学生在校学生在 OYCF 担任重要的领导工作 (我稍后会介绍他们)。

正因为 OYCF 成员年龄结构的变化和我们的主观努力, OYCF 现在已经成为了一个富有生机和活力、联系着多个群体的一个组织。它把不同地区、不同学科和行业, 以及不同年龄段的人们联系在一起。这一点也是 OYCF 与其它专业性、学术性、联谊性或校园学生团体的主要区别。组成 OYCF 的每个群体对本组织都有独特的贡献, 我们在论坛未来的发展过程中将进一步利用 OYCF 独特的人才组合的优势。

OYCF 目前的活动

下面请允许我介绍一下 OYCF 目前从事的一些主要活动和项目。在座的各位可以看一下 OYCF 简介, 上面列出 OYCF 正在进行的一些项目。我在这里重点介绍以下三个项目: OYCF 支教项目, 研究与出版项目, 以及 OYCF 年会。

首先,我来介绍一下 OYCF 的支教项目:我们的支教项目开始于 2000 年,当时几位 OYCF 会员到中国人民大学讲授美国公司法等短期课程,历时两年。由于早期教学项目的成功,2002 年之后,OYCF 有了更多并且稳定的资金来源。这些资金使我们可以将教学科目扩展到法律以外的其他领域,包括社会学、经济学、教育学、政治学、哲学和历史。我们特别注意那些人才稀缺的专业和科目,鼓励申请者到内地省份和普通院校去授课,因为那里最需要我们去传播前沿的知识。在过去的两年里,除东部沿海等发达地区之外,我们的教员还在海南、四川、山西、陕西和西藏等地的大学授过课。下一年我们还将为西部边远地区提供至少一个支教名额。

OYCF 支教人员不仅仅局限于在课堂上授课,他们的影响还延伸到教室之外。OYCF 教学人员经常组织讨论,与当地教师交流,与学生们共进午餐,介绍中美两国的工作、学习情况,还向有兴趣到美国读书的同学介绍留学经验。一般的外国专家支教往往缺少这类非正式的交流,而这正是 OYCF 支教项目在中国吸引很多学生的原因之一。对支教者来说,他们也体会到“教学相长”这个词的含义。很多 OYCF 支教者表示,中国之行不仅能帮助他们更好地了解自己的教学风格,而且使他们有机会亲身体验中国正在发生的巨大变化。

斯坦福大学的郑路同学是负责我们教学项目的理事,他现在观众席就坐。他自 2002 年起就积极参与并组织 OYCF 的活动,特别是利用大量课余时间组织支教项目。正是由于他和 OYCF 其他会员的努力,短期支教项目现在已成为 OYCF 影响力最大的活动之一。我邀请诸位有机会到我们的网站上看一看,读读我们的支教者撰写的教学汇报。我本人常常被他们对这项工作的奉献和认真所感动。

去年我们总共颁发了十份助教金,其中五份由福特基金会资助,另外五份由 OYCF-邹至庄夫妇(OYCF-Gregory C. and Paula K. Chow)助教基金提供。我们明年计划提供同样数量的资助金。就在几天前,我们刚刚在网站上登出新一轮助教金的申请方法。我希望在座各位能帮助我们传播这个消息,帮助我们招到合格的支教人员。

OYCF 的第二项主要活动是研究和出版。今天我想强调一下我们的网络期刊《视角》。今年是《视角》发刊的第八个年头。到本月(2006 年 6 月)为止,《视角》杂志共出版五十四期(三十二期英文版和二十二期中文版),发表三百多篇文章。《视角》期刊的持续出版使 OYCF 名称中“论坛”一词名副其实。因为编辑们的辛勤工作(今天在座的有斯坦福大学的李艳和加州伯克利大学的梁丰),《视角》现在已经成了作者、读者和 OYCF 会员共享的精神家园。

我们为各位编辑和作者的工作深感骄傲。由于他们的努力,我们这份网络期刊成了一个活跃的论坛,在网上我们经常能读到对大家感兴趣的话题的讨论和分析。你只要浏览一下我们最新一期的内容,你就会对《视角》文章的广度、深度和时效性佩服不已。

一份期刊质量的高低取决于它的编辑和撰稿人的水平。随着《视角》进入第八个年头,我们的编辑人员明年(2007 年)将在期刊的风格、形式和内容上继续创新。在此,我邀请尊敬的 1990 学社成员和在座的各位嘉宾为《视角》撰稿。当然,您的稿件同样要通过我们那些挑剔的编辑们的审阅。

除了《视角》期刊,我们还发起了其它的研究和出版项目。2002 年,OYCF 与 1990 学社联合设立了一个研究基金,迄今为止我们一共资助了四个研究项目。现在我们双方对这一联合项目正在进行评审。我想借此机会感谢 1990 学社对 OYCF 的大力支持,我们珍惜与贵社的合作。

最近我们还开始了另一个出版项目,那就是将 OYCF 年会论文集集出版(中文版)。我很高兴地告诉大家,OYCF 年会论文第一辑将于今年(2006)底在香港出版,它包括十六篇由国内外知名学者和在校研究生撰写的关于中国农村问题的论文。除一篇外,其他所

有辑入的论文均在 OYCF 2005 年年会上宣读。除我以外，这本论文集另外两位编辑也在座，他们是斯坦福大学的祁冬涛和华盛顿互惠银行的邹浩。

同时，OYCF 还和上海法律与经济研究所达成协议，协助和组织编写一套法律和经济丛书，由中国政法大学出版社出版。这套丛书迄今已经出版六本，还有多本正在撰写之中。

最后，请允许我简单介绍一下我们的年会，因为它是 OYCF 活动的一个重要组成部分。从某种意义上来说，OYCF 年会始终是论坛的一项核心活动。我们把它定在每年五月的最后一个周末，也即美国传统的 Memorial Day 纪念日周末。最初我们把这项一年一度的聚会称为“休闲聚会”（“retreat”），因为这是个长周末，OYCF 成员正好借此机会小憩，放下工作、学习和家务聚在一起聆听、交谈或者辩论有关中国的问题。当初我们很多人肯定是被度假的诱惑所吸引，但慢慢地，休闲的成分淡化了，或者就像我们有些会员说的，休闲聚会“退化”成学术年会，因为大家发现参与年会的人大部分时间都花在会议厅里面，而不是户外！

OYCF 年会于是由休闲聚会渐渐演变成更为严肃的学术会议。这些变化的一个好处就是我们极大地提高了学术讨论的水平。正如我在给今年年会的与会嘉宾和学者们的感谢信中所说，他们的学术讨论水准又一次超出了我们的预期。和 2005 年年会一样，今年刚刚结束的关于中国阶级/阶层分析的年会使得 OYCF 成为一个严肃的、高水平的中国问题论坛。

在我们的网站上您可以找到更多关于年会的信息，它包括最初的论文征集通知、会议议程和小组讨论总结。我这里还有几份参加最近一次年会的几位演讲者发来的与会感言。

第一封信来自加州大学尔湾分校政治学系教授 Dorothy Solinger。她所领导的该校亚洲研究中心是本次会议的共同主办方。她向来以快速的电邮出名，在会议结束后几个小时，她就给我发了一封简短的电子邮件。她说：

“我刚刚从会上回来，会议成功极了！！你们显然对会议筹划精密，你们的努力获得了巨大的成功！会上宣读的论文质量非常高，与会者热情和兴趣都极高... 来自中国大陆、香港和台湾的研究生、教授和各行各业的专业人士在一起讨论有关社会阶层的问题，这真是一个美妙的经历。大陆来的学者能够通过这个论坛表达他们的思想尤其令人觉得欣慰。”

另外一位该校教授、社会学家王丰写道：

“...这个会议为我这样的学者提供了一个极好的机会来参与并关注一个非常新的课题的研究。它为年轻的专业人士和优秀的研究生提供了少有的机会来宣读他们的论文，并和来自全国甚至全世界的学者面对面交流。我觉得在我出席过的周末会议中，这次会议组织得最好，而且我获益最大。”

社会学家、芝加哥大学教授赵鼎新也给予了同样热情洋溢的评价：

“... 这次会议吸引了很多中国研究领域的权威学者和最优秀的研究生。至于宣读的论文质量和讨论的深度，这次会议超过了我所参加过的大多数的学术会议。感谢你们组织了一次如此成功的活动并邀请我参加。”

我最后要读的一段话来自于本次会议最年轻的学生发言人 Diana Fu。Diana 刚刚毕业于明尼苏达大学（也是我的母校），并获选成为本年度罗德学者（Rhodes Scholar）。她将于今年秋天开始在牛津大学攻读发展学方面的研究生学位。她写道：

“OYCF 是一个极棒、而又充满活力和激励人的组织……OYCF 的小型年会和那些超大型的学术会议也不一样。它让一小群志趣相投的学者欢聚一堂，在一个主题下从各个学科来讨论各种前沿性的问题。我对能被邀请参加这个会议感到莫大的荣幸。我将会把我的这次体验带到牛津和我未来的生活和学习之中。”

我们年会的议程和组织变得越来越复杂，它的成功离不开 OYCF 很多人的协作和努力。OYCF 的学者、专业人士和学生向我们推荐年会演讲者，我们百分之百地依靠志愿者处理与开会有关的各项后勤工作，比如会议选址、安排住宿、机场接机等。OYCF 好就好在我们的成员为一个共同目标齐心协力。尽管我们不再用“休闲”这个词来形容我们的年会，但我仍然很高兴地说，紧张的学术讨论并没有冲淡我们的娱乐精神和我们闲聊的热望，通宵聊天也没有影响我们的年轻人第二天继续投入到热烈的会议讨论中！

我还想指出的是，年会并不是 OYCF 成员见面交流的唯一机会。更多的时间，OYCF 成员们在当地沙龙或者其他校园组织中相聚。在旧金山湾区，两个学生社团——斯坦福大学的 ChinaRains 和加州伯克利大学的 Berkeley China Review 就经常邀请中国访问学者和当地学者演讲，并组织一些有关中国问题的精彩讨论。密歇根大学的 Michigan China Fellows 在组织这些活动方面也同样地优秀。在华盛顿特区和香港，OYCF 成员们也常常聚在一起，组织他们感兴趣的专题沙龙。你们现在知道，OYCF 是一个既有横向地理联系又有纵向学科联系的组织，它把海内外学生、学者和专业人士有效地团结在一起。

OYCF 之路

现在让我回到演讲一开头提的问题：什么是 OYCF 之路？

在刚刚过去的年会上，我让很多与会者想一个他们认为最能概括 OYCF 精神的词或词组。同时，我也把同样的问题发给了 OYCF 理事会的各位理事。下面我要列出的就是 OYCF 会员们认为最能概括论坛性质、任务和价值观的这样一组词，这组词并非科学调查的结果，但是我想它们抓住了 OYCF 的精髓。会员们发给我时大多数是用中文，我在这里尽量把他们译成合适的英文：

OYCF 成员提及最多的这组词反映了我们共同的价值观，我称之为 OYCF 之路：

1. 中国关怀 (Commitment to China)：如前所说，OYCF 成员在情感上关注中国，并执著追求有利于中国人的行动和价值。
2. 自我教育 (Self-education)：这一价值源于 OYCF 的创立。自我教育或修身也许是一种儒家思想，我们乐于接受它，因为一个人只有知道自己无知的时候才能开始提出问题，并探寻解决方案。
3. 志愿精神 (Voluntarism)：OYCF 离不开志愿者。OYCF 其实是一个很“吝啬”的组织。因为有一个出色的志愿者团队，我们举办的任何活动都能最大限度地费用减至最小。我们依靠个人和团体的捐款，而举办活动的管理费用几乎为零，这就是我们全体会员志愿精神的最好证明！
4. 务虚务实 (Grounded idealism)：OYCF 推崇理想主义，鼓励思想的交流和讨论。同时我们也脚踏实地的做实事，比如支教、年会和出版等项目。
5. 开放论坛 (Open forum)：OYCF 是一个开放的论坛。即使我们作为一个组织不认同某些主张，我们也欢迎大家表达不同的观点。开放论坛还意味着我们所有的活动都透明、公开。

6. 跨科跨业 (Interdisciplinary and cross-sectoral) : OYCF 是一个跨学科的论坛, 我们的成员有着各式各样的教育背景, 包括人文、社会科学、自然科学等。OYCF 致力于加强学生、学者和专业人士间的联系。
7. 新生不息 (Constant renewal) : 为了自我更新, OYCF 必须与留学生群体保持联系, 保证他们的参与, 积极发展新会员, 以及在他们中间遴选未来的 OYCF 领导者。

综上所述, OYCF 是一个至少拥有三重特性的组织: 第一, 它的长期使命是自我教育与关怀中国的发展与繁荣; 第二, 它的灵魂是志愿精神, 务实又务虚; 第三, 它有包容性与活力。它把不同教育和专业背景的人们 (包括对中国感兴趣的非华裔人士) 联系在一起, 并促进他们与新生代学生和青年朋友的交流与合作, 共同推动 OYCF 前进。

最后, 在我结束今天的讲话之前, 我一定要提一下 OYCF 中的字母 “Y” 所代表的含义。也就是说, 是什么使得我们这个组织成为一个 “青年” 中国人的论坛。在我看来, “青年” 一词的含义远远超出生理年龄上的本义。

就在几天前, 在我动身来旧金山之前, 我收到了一封 OYCF 理事会新成员单伟同学发来的电子邮件。他有感于最近一次年会的青春活力, 说年会使他想起了很多年前, 当他还是中学生的时侯读过的一篇文章。他把那篇文章发给我看, 文章的作者是梁启超, 写于 1900 年, 题目是《少年中国说》。

我们在座的都知道, 梁启超是中国 20 世纪初的一个主要思想家和改革家。他穷其一生, 寻求中国价值观与西方思想的契合点, 希望在一个新的合成基础上建立一个崭新的、强大和繁荣的中国。在《少年中国说》中, 他呼吁他的读者们, 也就是当时所有年龄段的中国人, 不仅仅是青年人, 发挥想象, 将中国构想为一个年轻的 “少年” 国家, 一个充满活力的 “少年” 人的国家。他鼓励他的同胞们不要去固守中国的过去和她的大帝国的历史, 而是去开始构想一个新的中国、一个年轻的中国、一个不被封建枷锁禁锢、富有创造性和前瞻性的少年中国。我们要致力于这样的一个年轻中国, 为后代谋求幸福。从这个意义上说, 我们都是青年中国人。

再次感谢你们给我这个发言的机会。感谢你们对海外中国青年论坛的长期不懈的支持!

(李素、陈家林译, 光磊审校定稿)

周公建制的历史意味和人文影响（上）

Zhou Gong's Institution Building: Its Historical Import and Humanistic Impact (Part 1)

Jie LI

（李 劫）

[编者按] 本文为作者未出版书稿《中国文化冷风景》的第二章的前半部分。该章后半部分将在本刊下期续出。该书从一个独特的角度展示了中国古代思想对近现代历史的影响。作者考察了商周之交意识形态的变迁，剖析了这场变迁对近百年来政治思想和政治改革的影响。在本期刊登的章节中，作者分析了在武王灭商之后，周公如何建立起一个全新的大一统的政治话语系统。

[Editor's Note] This is the first half of Chapter Two of the author's unpublished manuscript *The Cold Landscape of Chinese Culture*. The second half of the chapter will be published in the next issue. This book reveals how the ancient Chinese thoughts have influenced the modern history of China. The author examines the ideological transformation when Zhou Dynasty replaced Shang Dynasty in around 11th century B.C., and how that shift has had an impact on China's political thought and political reforms in the past century. The part published in this issue is focused on how Zhou Gong, one of the major founders of Zhou Dynasty, established a unified new political discourse after the collapse of Shang Dynasty.

被《汉书·艺文志》列为杂家的《淮南子》，是一部趣书。淮南王刘安显然比他曾祖父刘邦文雅多了。几代王子王孙的传下来，少了许多流氓气，多了一股公子哥儿式的玩票热情。作为一个文化人，刘安是相当肤浅的。不仅对老子的《道德经》一知半解，还时不时地会被孔儒观念所左右。作为一个史家，刘安的《淮南子》远远及不上《史记》那么规模浩大，那么井井有条，可说是散漫随意，杂乱无章；并且还不是自己的独创，而是纠集一批门客做成的玩票之作。但文化票友也有文化票友的长处，就是没有功利心，没有野心，没有司马迁那种要做大圣人的急切和紧迫。《淮南子》的写作心态相当放松。正是这样的放松，无意间道出了司马迁道不出的历史细节。比如，有关周公，司马迁是完全仰视的，就像文化大革命中的中国老百姓敬仰毛泽东；而刘安及其门客虽然也很把周公当回事，却没有像司马迁那样毕恭毕敬，就像文化大革命以后的中国老百姓谈论毛泽东。《淮南子》因此提供了《史记》绝对提供不了的角度和细节，写出了栩栩如生的周公形象。

故道可道者，非常道也。周公事文王也，行无专制，事无由己，身若不胜衣，言若不出口，有奉持于文王，洞洞属属，而将不能，恐失之，可谓能子矣。武王崩，成王幼少。周公继文王之业，履天子之籍，听天下之政，平夷狄之乱，诛管、蔡之罪，负宸而朝诸侯，诛赏制断，无所顾问，感动天地，声慑四海，可谓能武矣。成王既壮，周公属籍致政，北面委质而臣事之，请而后为，复而后行，无擅恣之志，无伐矜之色，可谓能臣矣。故一人之身而三变者，所以应时矣。

——《淮南子·汜论》

以周公的事功立德来论证老子之道，实在太不专业，充其量不过文化票友的水平。但是有关周公的一生三变，却写得玲珑剔透，其生动，其准确，足以让《史记》塑造的周公形象黯然失色。

二十世纪经历过社会主义中国的读者，读完这段文字，一定会想起周恩来。尤其是周公奉侍乃父文王一段，“行无专制，事无由己，身若不胜衣，言若不出口，有奉持于文王，洞洞属属，而将不能，恐失之”，几乎就是周恩来追随毛泽东的公元前西岐版。假如可以按照西方人文学者卡西尔那样把人称之为文化动物的话，那么周公乃是中国历史上顶尖级的政治动物。能屈能伸，能高能矮，能上能下，能左能右；能做他人助手，也能独挡一面，主持大局；满面含笑，威而不露；平易近人，摄人魂魄。这类人物是天生的演员，每时每刻都在某个特定的角色里。专业演员进入角色有时还需要用头脑思考一下，这类人物却仿佛一出娘胎就落在上苍指定的角色里，投入到了不加思索的地步。

周公这样的人物可不是五百年出一个，就历史记载而言，几千年来，最像周公的，也就是周恩来。从周公到周恩来这几千年的光阴里，在形象上类似周公的有三国时代的诸葛亮，在事功上接近周公的有清朝同治中兴栋梁曾国藩。汉末的曹操曾经想学“周公吐哺，天下归心”，可此君吐哺的胸怀后来也只有曾国藩可及，天下归心却无从说起。一场赤壁之战，让他心灰意冷。

即便是周恩来，也没有学到周公的全部本事。周恩来只不过一介演员，不具备做编导的天赋。而周公既是演员，又是编导。演和编之间，在文字上仅一字之差，在境界上却是天壤之别。因此，有关周公此人，除了周恩来式的操作能力，还得加上列宁式的理想主义狂人气质。

周恩来当然也是理想主义者，据说临终前还在哼唱《国际歌》。但周恩来骨子里是个非常务实的操作者，不具备列宁式的想像力。这是周恩来不得不仰仗毛泽东的地方。毛泽东有想像力，但不是列宁式的书生气，而是刘邦式的，朱元璋式的，其中混杂着太多的草根性和流氓气。相比之下，斯大林是个毫无想像力的高加索流氓，集中了俄罗斯人最为负面从而最为丑陋的品性。

列宁的代表作是《国家与革命》。在那部极其疯狂却又极富逻辑性、思路非常清晰的著作里，列宁设计了整个二十世纪以实现共产主义为名的暴力革命蓝图。相比之下，希特勒的《我的奋斗》只有疯狂，没有条理。列宁不啻是苏维埃的缔造者，更是二十世纪中叶的欧洲恐怖主义的祖师爷。那些欧洲恐怖主义分子，大都是非常有头脑有文化的左翼青年。这跟中国历史上聚啸山林的草寇截然不同。

周公当然没有写出《国家与革命》那么极具逻辑性的政治纲领，但他在一个个诰令里体现出来的，也同样是设计者才具有的了然而胸，全局在握。比如《康诰》所记载的周公形象和对其弟康叔姬封的那番教导，一面强调“丕显考文王”，即发扬光大其父文王的文治德政，一面十分自信地声称“天乃大命文王”，好比共产党人高唱《国际歌》时坚信共产主义一定会实现一样。

惟三月哉生魄，周公初基作新大邑于东国洛，四方民大和会。侯、甸、男、采、卫、百工、播民，和见士于周。周公咸勤，乃洪大诰治。王若曰：“孟侯，朕其弟，小子封。惟乃丕显考文王，克明德慎罚；不敢侮齔寡，庸庸，祗祗，威威，显民，用肇造我区夏，越我一、二邦以修我西土。惟时怙冒，闻于上帝，帝休，天乃大命文王。殪戎殷，诞受厥命，越厥邦民，惟时叙，乃寡兄勛。肆汝小子封在兹东土。”

王曰：“呜呼！封，汝念哉！今民将在祗遘乃文考，绍闻衣德言。往敷求于殷先哲王用保义民，汝丕远惟商者成人宅心知训。别求闻由古先哲王用康保民。宏于天，若德，裕乃身不废在王命！”

——《尚书·康诰》

周公如此这般的自信，在《梓材》所录的演讲中更为突出。

“今王惟曰：先王既勤用明德，怀为夹，庶邦享作，兄弟方来。亦既用明德，后式典集，庶邦丕享。皇天既付中国民越厥疆土于先王，肆王惟德用，和怙先后为迷民，用怙先王受命。已！若兹监，惟曰欲至于万年，惟王子子子孙孙永保民。”

——《尚书·梓材》

“惟曰欲至于万年，惟王子子子孙孙永保民。”周公此言，与文化大革命中的中国民众几乎听厌了的“永保红色江山万年长”，“红色江山，千秋万代，永不变色”一类言词之相像，不过文言和白话的区别而已。周公阴魂，千年不散。人们可以说，这是一种对江山对权力的贪婪，也可以说，这是一种信念上的极度坚定。政治家和政客的差异，也许就在于信念的有无上。就像艺术家会为某种色彩、某段旋律而疯狂，政治家通常为了自己的信念而不顾一切。列宁的十月革命不顾一切，周公建制也同样不顾一切。

周公姬旦确实是个人物。孔子像个小女人狂爱大丈夫那样的膜拜周公，并非毫无来由。除了口口声声先考文王，周公内心深处不以其他任何人为然。比起其兄姬发，周公没有姬发那种“妇人之仁”；而比起军师姜尚，周公又有姜尚所不具备的治人先治心的本事。这里再引一段《淮南子》的记载。

昔太公望、周公旦受封而相见。太公问周公曰：“何以治鲁？”周公曰：“尊尊亲亲。”太公曰：“鲁从此弱矣。”周公问太公曰：“何以治齐？”太公曰：“举贤而上功。”周公曰：“后世必有劫杀之君。”其后，齐日以大，至于霸，二十四世而田氏代之；鲁日以削，至三十二世而亡。故《易》曰：“履霜，坚冰至。”圣人之见终始微言。

——《淮南子·齐俗训》

即便是不像司马迁那么仰望周公的刘安一伙，也对周公佩服得五体投地：

昔武王执戈秉钺以伐纣胜殷，持笏杖笏以临朝。武王既没，殷民叛之。周公践东宫，履乘石，摄天子之位，负宸而朝诸侯，放蔡叔，诛管叔，克殷残商，祀文王于明堂，七年而致政成王。夫武王先武而后文，非意变也，以应时也；周公放兄诛弟，非不仁也，以匡乱也。

——《淮南子·齐俗训》

但周公也有周公的克星。比如伯夷叔齐，比如箕子或者后来的老子。周公可以征服天下，让孔子那样的小可怜爱得死去活来；周公却征服不了伯夷叔齐，更不用说面对箕子的尴尬。而后来的老子，整个一部《道德经》，有关政治哲学方面的论述，几乎全都是指向周公的针贬。当年伯夷叔齐和箕子他们没有对周公说出的话，全都由老子明明白白地说了出来。“无为而治”针对的是周公的有为而治，有备而来；“小国寡民”针对的是周公的中央集权大一统。正如周公建制为中央集权作俑，老子的小国寡民乃是历史上最早的以汉语文字表达出来的联邦政治思想。任何话语，抽掉语境就会变成莫名其妙的废话。几千年来，人们为什么始终没有真正读懂小国寡民一说，就是因为不明白此说的语境是什么。周公建制是老子小国寡民说的历史语境。读老子《道德经》首先要读懂商周之交，读懂周公建制。反过来说，读懂商周之交又以真正理解《道德经》为前提。

正如列宁主义是被一个世纪的鲜血所解构的，周公的专制集权是被三千年的苦难所动摇的。也许是看出了历史的这种命运，伯夷叔齐断然出走，箕子对姬发说完“洪范九畴”悄然离去。即便是后来的老子，写完《道德经》之后，也骑着青牛默默地出关远逝。

至圣无言。中国历史上的圣人，精妙思想尽在不言之中。因为许多圣言，一说便俗。箕子不愿当面指责武王不知其非，伯夷叔齐也是到了在山里之后才不无悲怆地唱出他们的非议。圣人说话总是相当的留有余地，不愿落入俗套。人们听懂了就听懂了，听不懂的，也就只好永远听不懂。武王姬发肯定是听懂了，否则不会产生进山筑宫隐退的念头。周公

姬旦也听懂了箕子的意思，要不然他不会赶紧劝告兄长，不得如此作想。听不懂的只是孔子以后的中国人，尤其是中国文化人，他们几乎全都被孔子给搞糊涂了，不管是信奉儒教的还是不信奉的。老子作《道德经》，本意可能在于不让中国人全都被孔子搞糊涂。几千年过去，中国知识分子照样糊涂，即便是“五四”新文化的领袖们，都不知道老子在说些什么。他们只知道打倒孔家店，不知道孔家店的真正店主是谁，也不知道孔家店是建筑在什么样的地基上。

这与其说是周公太伟大，与其说是圣人们太圣贤，不如说是后来的中国人太退化。在春秋时代的文化精英当中，孔子乃是个平常无奇的人物。孔丘之所以成丘，或者说，孔子这块平地之所以变成了高山，是因为中国人尤其是中国文化人的惊人退化。商周之交的这段历史，也是因为中国文化人的退化，被一代又一代的孔儒刻意尘封，最后竟成秘密。汉儒比之于孔儒，已经低了一大截；及至宋儒，更是成了僵硬的腐儒，开启了儒教吃人的历史，死人窒息活人的历史。翻开历史一查，并不是一开始就写着吃人二字的。商周之交，虽然胜负分明，但由文字构成的历史，还没有开始吃人。历史以话语的方式威胁活人、吞噬灵魂，始于孔子。孔子修订《诗》、《书》和编著春秋，把历史关进了儒家的囚笼。

与周公被孔儒作了高大全化的拔高相反，纣王被他们钉死在耻辱柱上。《尚书》经过孔子之手，留下的篇什中，几乎看不到纣王的言论，也看不到纣王身边几名重臣商容比干们的言论。唯有记载商纣王朝动静的二篇，是《西伯戡黎》和《微子》，其中只记载了纣王的一句话：呜呼！我生不有命在天？撇开其对话的语境，听上去好像是个傻瓜的哀叹。

西伯既戡黎，祖伊恐，奔告于王。曰：“天子！天既讫我殷命。格人元龟，罔敢知吉。非先王不相我后人，惟王淫戏用自绝。故天弃我，不有康食。不虞天性，不迪率典。今我民罔弗欲丧，曰：‘天曷不降威？’大命不挚，今王其如台？”王曰：“呜呼！我生不有命在天？”祖伊反曰：“呜呼！乃罪多，参在上，乃能责命于天？殷之即丧，指乃功，不无戮于尔邦！”

——《尚书·西伯戡黎》

从祖伊的陈说里，有关纣王到底做了什么错事，唯有“淫戏用自绝”一语。其它全是祖伊的评论，而不是例举的事实。至于纣王如何个淫戏，则在《微子》中有印证：

微子若曰：“父师、少师！殷其弗或乱正四方。我祖底遂陈于上，我用沈酗于酒，用乱败厥德于下。殷罔不小大好草窃奸宄。卿士师师非度。凡有辜罪，乃罔恒获，小民方兴，相为敌仇。今殷其沦丧，若涉大水，其无津涯。殷遂丧，越至于今！”曰：“父师、少师，我其发出狂？吾家老逊于荒？今尔无指告，予颠隤，若之何其？”父师若曰：“王子！天毒降灾荒殷邦，方兴沈酗于酒，乃罔畏畏，俾其耆长旧有位人。今殷民乃攘窃神祇之牺牲牲用以容，将食无灾。降监殷民，用义仇斂，召敌仇不怠。罪合于一，多瘠罔诏。商今其有灾，我兴受其败；商其沦丧，我罔为臣仆。诏王子出，迪我旧云刻子。王子弗出，我乃颠隤。自靖，人自献于先王，我不顾，行遁。”

——《尚书·微子》

仔细阅读微子对纣王的指控，除了微子的夸大其辞，基本上与武王姬发的《太誓》和《牧誓》相同。只是姬发着重于纣王的相信妇人，微子着重于纣王“沈酗于酒”。说到底，乃酒色而已。假如殷商的祖伊之谏和微子之言，还不足为证，那么周公在分析商纣被灭的教训时，总不会有所讳言，替纣王掩饰什么吧。请看周公在嘱咐康叔时提及的商纣教训：

我闻亦惟曰：“在今后嗣王，酣，身厥命，罔显于民祇，保越怨不易。诞惟厥纵，淫泆于非彝，用燕丧威仪，民罔不唏（此古字且以音代）伤心。惟荒腆于酒，不惟自息乃逸，厥心疾很，不克畏死。辜在商邑，越殷国灭，无罹。弗惟德馨香祀，登闻于天；诞惟民怨，庶群自酒，腥闻在上。故天降丧于殷，罔爱于殷，惟逸。天非虐，惟民自速辜。”

——《尚书·酒诰》

周公从胜利者的角度强调，商纣的灭亡，“辜在商邑，越殷国灭，无罹。”而商纣的错误则在于“惟荒腆于酒”，纣王喝酒喝得连死得不害怕，“不惟自息乃逸，厥心疾很，不克畏死。”

当年武王伐纣时，还曾指责过纣王对妇人的过度信任。及至周公论纣，纣王的主要错误却仅在于喝酒了，不仅自己喝，也让底下的所有大臣都一起喝，“庶群自酒，腥闻在上”，喝得酒气冲天。注意，是酒气冲天，不是杀气冲天。此处，“惟荒腆于酒”的一个“惟”字，非同小可。就算不能解释为纣王的罪过仅仅在于喝酒，至少也应该解释为主要在于喝酒。周公对商纣灭亡的教训总结，与微子对纣王的抱怨完全吻合，全都集中在喝酒上面，只是微子说得更加夸张罢了。

周公的这个“惟”字，无意间又推翻了其兄长姬发对纣王的指控。虽然姬发也不过是指控纣王过度相信妇人，过度讨好妇人，而不是过度放纵于女色。姬发的指控，也可以从祖伊和微子的言论中得到证实，因为他们二个都没有提及纣王如何沉湎于女色。祖伊“惟王淫戏用自绝”的“淫”字，应该是过度的意思，而不是淫乱的意思。所谓过度，联系到微子和周公的话，其实就是指饮酒过度。祖伊的“惟”字与周公的“惟”字正好互相印证。再退一步说，就算祖伊不便当面指责纣王耽于女色，那么微子不应有些忌讳。但微子也没有提及纣王在女色上如何如何。可见，纣王确实是像武王指控的那样，仅仅相信妇女，取悦妇女而已。

祖伊和微子的角度，是很不相同的。祖伊是担心西伯进犯，殷商却毫不备战。所谓淫戏自绝，真正的意思是，面临可能发生的进犯，殷商却沉浸在享乐当中，一点都不当回事。祖伊最感不安的，与其说是殷商的朝政，不如说是“格人元龟，罔敢知吉”，亦即占卜得知了不吉之兆。从《尚书·洪范》中箕子提到的释疑方式上，可知当时的人们，把占卜得知的天意，看得非常重要。就连周公说服诸侯攻打反抗他的武庚和康蔡二叔时，都以他占得吉卦作为首要说辞。从祖伊整段话的语气上可以看出，“故天弃我”以下一段，其实含有假设之意，亦即假如老天弃我殷商，然后将会如何如何。也是因为这样的假设，纣王会回答他，“呜呼！我生不有命在天？”意即，咦，老天不是保佑我殷商的么？怎么突然就不吉祥了呢？然后祖伊才反诘纣王，不要责难老天，从而将话题转到殷商的朝政上。可惜的是，纣王如何应答，《尚书》没有了记载。

相比之下，微子担心的与其说是殷商的存亡，不如说是他自己的出路。微子说这番话的时候，形势显然比祖伊劝告时要危急多了。虽然慌乱之下，言辞夸张，但也确实可能岌岌可危。比起祖伊的出于公心，微子是自私的。作为纣王的大哥，当初没能接班称王因而心中不太舒服，当在情理之中。一旦大难临头，不愿同甘共苦，也情有可原。至于危急关头准备逃跑，明说就是了，没有必要装模作样地询问他人，以致让后人会怀疑他之所以把殷商说得一团漆黑，是不是含有为自己开脱的原因。人性上的弱点完全可以理解，再说当时也没有汉奸的概念。只是从结果上看，微子把自己从毁灭中拯救出来一举是成功的。正是微子与殷商的这种离心离德，周公在杀了武王选中的殷商后继者武庚之后，才会把封地转赐给了微子。比起武庚得了封地照样反抗的宁死不屈，微子却在老天舍弃殷商之前，就把殷商给抛弃掉了。微子背殷商向西岐的政治倾向，自然给他本人带来了莫大的好处。不仅当时得到了周公的赏赐，五百年后又得到了孔子的青睐，把他和少师师父的对话，完整地保留了下来。

祖伊，微子，周公三者，各自的角度不同，但对纣王作出的批评和指控却是大同小异。祖伊和周公还不约而同地使用一个“惟”字，强调了纣王的喝酒。他们可能谁也不会想到，他们的指控连同他们使用的那个“惟”字，会推翻一千年以后的司马迁所作的《史记》和孔安国作传的伪古文尚书。纣王除了相信妇人，在朝歌开了喝酒享乐的风气，其它种种罪名，全都是司马迁和伪尚书制作者捏造的。

假如仔细对照一下二十五篇伪古文尚书，可以发现，伪书制作者不是出自一个人之手，而是先后经过了不同的人，前赴后继地制作伪书，一作再作。伪造的《泰誓》，跟司马迁在《史记》中引用的《太誓》，相差之大，全然是风马牛不相及。而伪书在《武成》一篇上的作伪，却十分奇妙地照抄了司马迁的《史记》。司马迁在《史记》中说：

己而命召公释箕子之囚。命毕公释百姓之囚，表商容之闾。命南宫括散鹿台之财，发钜桥之粟，以振贫弱萌隶。命南宫括、史佚展九鼎保玉。命闾夭封比干之墓。

——《史记·周本纪》

伪书的《武成》篇里也跟着说：

释箕子囚，封比干墓，式商容闾。散鹿台之财，发钜桥之粟，大赉于四海，而万姓悦服。

——伪古文尚书《武成》

伪书在《泰誓》中捏造纣王罪名的时候，与司马迁是相当有出入的。司马迁说纣王：“好酒淫乐，嬖於妇人。爱妲己……百姓怨望而诸侯有畔者，於是纣乃重刑辟，有砲格之法……怱怒，杀之，而醢九侯。鄂侯争之彊，辨之疾，并脯鄂侯。”（见诸《史记·殷本纪》）而伪书却指控纣王说：“今商王受，弗敬上天，降灾下民。沈湎冒色，敢行暴虐，罪人以族，官人以世，惟宫室、台榭、陂池、侈服，以残害于尔万姓。焚炙忠良，剝剔孕妇。”（见诸伪古文尚书《泰誓》上）以及“今商王受，狎侮五常，荒怠弗敬。自绝于天，结怨于民。斫朝涉之胫，剖贤人之心……”（见诸伪古文尚书《泰誓》下）。司马迁在捏造纣王罪名时，想像力还没有抵达“焚炙忠良，剝剔孕妇”和“斫朝涉之胫，剖贤人之心”，而伪书的制作者在罗织纣王罪名时，又没有想到让纣王做“砲格之法”，没有想到诸如让纣王杀了鄂侯之女、再将其肉喂其父之类的恐怖细节。从伪书和《史记》之间的这种起先不一致、后来又变得一致起来的配合上，可以看出，伪书的制作者当中，有和司马迁同时或者稍后而不知道《史记》的，有在司马迁之后读到了司马迁《史记》的。让后来的伪书制作者感到尴尬的是，他们只能改变伪书的内容，无法改变《史记》里的细节。一如司马迁只能捏造细节，却不敢伪造《尚书》一样。否则，他们完全可以干脆把伪书的《泰誓》替换掉《史记》里引用的《誓书》，以便保持一致。当然了，他们假如那么做，同时还得把伪书里的《汤诰》替换掉《史记》里的《汤诰》，因为这两个《汤诰》也是截然不同的。伪书的《汤诰》出自孔安国的古文本，而司马迁引用的《汤诰》，按照他本人在《史记·儒林传》中的有关陈述，应该是源自伏生所收藏的今文本《尚书》。

汤既黜夏命，复归于亳，作《汤诰》。王归自克夏，至于亳，诞告万方。王曰：“嗟！尔万方有众，明听予一人诰。惟皇上帝，降衷于下民。若有恒性，克绥厥猷惟后。夏王灭德作威，以敷虐于尔万方百姓。尔万方百姓，罹其凶害，弗忍荼毒，并告无辜于上下神祇。天道福善祸淫，降灾于夏，以彰厥罪。肆台小子，将天命明威，不敢赦。敢用玄牡，敢昭告于上天神后，请罪有夏。聿求元圣，与之戮力，以与尔有众请命。上天孚佑下民，罪人黜伏，天命弗僭，贲若草木，兆民允殖。俾予一人辑宁尔邦家，兹朕未知获戾于上下，栗栗危惧，若将隕于深渊。凡我造邦，无従匪彝，无即慝淫，各守尔典，以承天休。尔有善，朕弗敢蔽；罪当朕躬，弗敢自救，惟简在上帝之心。其尔万方有罪，在予一人；予一人有罪，无以尔万方。呜呼！尚克时忱，乃亦有终。”

——伪古文尚书《汤诰》

既黜夏命，还亳，作汤诰：“维三月，王自至於东郊。告诸侯群后：‘毋不有功于民，勤力乃事。予乃大罚殛女，毋予怨。’曰：‘古禹、皋陶久劳于外，其有功乎民，民乃有安。东为江，北为济，西为河，南为淮，四渎已修，万民乃有居。后稷降播，农殖百穀。三公咸有功于民，故后有立。蚩尤与其大夫作乱百姓，帝乃弗予，有状。先王言不可不勉。’曰：‘不道，毋之在国，女毋我怨。’”

——今文本《尚书·汤诰》，转引自《史记·殷本纪》

在二个版本的《汤诰》中，不仅成汤说话的对象不同，伪书里是“诞告万方”，今文本《尚书》的《汤诰》却是“告诸侯群后”，内容更是天地之别。原来的《汤诰》只不过以蚩尤为例，解释自己为何“纣夏命”，而伪书却极其夸张地数落夏王“灭德作威”，百姓“弗忍荼毒”。伪书对付夏王的欲加之罪不患无词与其对付纣王的手法完全一样，言辞及其所加罪名也是大同小异，只是在罪状上没有说夏王剖腹挖心罢了。至于司马迁写到夏王时，倒是没有像他写纣王时大加鞭笞，只是简单地说了句“当是时，夏桀为虐政淫荒，而诸侯昆吾氏为乱。”（见诸《史记·殷本纪》）因为在司马迁所看到的今文本《汤诰》里，成汤并没有说夏王犯了什么弥天大罪，所以司马迁不敢过于放肆地捏造。

澄清了殷商臣子王子和周朝的武王周公针对商纣所共同指控的过失主要在于酒色之后，需要提出的一个疑问乃是，为什么周公在后来的诰书里，不再像武王那样，把纣王的罪名定在相信妇人上，而是改成了“惟荒腆于酒”？难道说，武王不在乎纣王喝酒，周公不在乎纣王相信妇人？或者是在伐纣之前，武王周公他们都认定纣王的罪名应该定于“惟妇言是用”，以此激励将士打仗；而打下朝歌之后，又改定为“惟荒腆于酒”，以此禁止将士喝酒？抑或是，在打下朝歌之后，经过一番调查研究，尤其是听取了诸如前朝大臣祖伊和前朝王子微子的意见后，周朝的最高决策者决定把纣王的罪名由武王说的“惟妇言是用”改为周公说的“惟荒腆于酒”？

不知古往今来的历史学家们有没有想过这个问题。应该没有。相信他们只消仔细想一想，就会恍然大悟：纣王的罪名之所以由“惟妇言是用”改为“惟荒腆于酒”，是因为在武王打下朝歌之后，发生了什么事情。那事情不仅跟妇女有关，而且还足以让周公不再好意思把纣王的相信妇人和取悦妇人作为其主要罪名，甚至连提都不敢提了。这不是周公不再在乎纣王对妇女的态度，而是周朝的胜利者们对殷商的妇女做了远比相信妇女和取悦妇女更加恶劣、恶劣到无法启齿的事情。

在《伊里亚特》里，荷马没有细写特洛伊城被攻陷之后，城内妇女们的情形如何。然而，在欧里庇得斯的著名戏剧《特洛伊妇女》里，后人却看到了失去男人保护的妇女儿童，为了城邦的失败承担了什么样的悲惨命运。难道说，被攻陷的朝歌城里的妇女们，能够逃脱那样的命运？不要说从武王的二篇《誓》里，可以看出来自西岐的男人们是如何的嫉妒朝歌城里的殷商男人，即便是从司马迁的《史记》以及后来的《封神演义》里对殷商女子的贬斥甚至写成狐狸精的疯狂仇恨来看，得胜的男人怎么可能放过那些婀娜风流却又极其无助的殷商女子。这是周公绝对说不出口的事情。作为这种说不出口的一个例证，就是他不得不把纣王的罪名，由“惟妇言是用”改成了“惟荒腆于酒”。中国历史上的圣人无言或者圣人不言，原本就具有许多种功能，其中一种功能，就是绝口不提让自己尴尬的事情。

这又得说到中国和古希腊的不同之处。在古希腊，荷马没有写到的事情，会有戏剧家写出来。而在中国，继周公讳莫如深之后，是孔子的刻意掩饰，然后又是司马迁的绝对偏袒，所以，殷商女子的冤屈就像后来历朝历代因触犯了礼教而被绑在石头上沉到河底的无数中国女子一样，永远不为人知了。因为自孔子到司马迁、乃至以后历代中国文人和史家，不仅缺乏荷马式的公正，而且还不具备欧里庇得斯式的悲悯。

这是一场什么样的惨案！从各方面的指控来看，纣王其实不过是让自己同时也让臣民们活得痛快些，朝歌城里，男男女女，谁都可以饮酒高歌，载歌载舞，自由相爱，享受生活。假如这也要遭受指责，那么只能说指责者是出于嫉妒。假如这理当被人嫉妒，那么那样的嫉妒是按照特定的道德观念和阴暗心理抵达的。或者说，这是由特殊材料做成的嫉妒：没有人性的道德和仇恨他人欢乐的阴暗。武王周公及其率领的将士们如此嫉妒，孔子及其信徒们如此嫉妒，司马迁和孔安国也如此嫉妒；历代的中国道家们如此嫉妒，《封神演义》的制作者及其一代又一代狂热的中国读者也如此嫉妒。这样的嫉妒，这样的扭曲，本来只是西岐姬家的特色，结果经由商周之交那场罪恶透顶的战争，变成了中国人的传统。

相信当时的纣王，是无论如何想不通姬家为什么如此兴师动众来灭掉朝歌的。殷商人喝酒，朝歌人恋爱，跟西岐人有什么相干？也是这样的不可思议，当祖伊大惊小怪地跑来告诉纣王，不要再喝酒、不要再沉缅于恋爱时，纣王很不以为然地以“我生不有命在天”答之。纣王的意思，是叫祖伊不要大惊小怪。西伯吞并周遭小国也罢，伐黎也罢，都是西伯在作孽，跟殷商不相干。以纣王的观念，西岐不至于会闹到打到朝歌来的地步，因为殷商王朝没做什么得罪西岐的事情。在这段祖伊和纣王的对话中，继祖伊说了“殷之即丧，指乃功，不无戮于尔邦！”之后，纣王应该有一番回应的，但不知为什么，突然中断。不知是在流传当中散失了，还是被孔子或者其他什么人故意删去了。相信这段消失了的纣王回应，完全可以解释纣王为什么不以为然，为什么不西伯那么猖狂地吞并周遭小国所动。就算纣王错估了形势，那也只能证明纣王天真善良，西伯阴险狡猾。司马迁的《史记》倒是披露过西伯如何密谋殷商的。

周西伯昌之脱羸里归，与吕尚阴谋修德以倾商政，其事多兵权与奇计，故后世之言兵及周之阴权皆宗太公为本谋。周西伯政平，及断虞芮之讼，而诗人称西伯受命曰文王。伐崇、密须、犬夷，大作丰邑。天下三分，其二归周者，太公之谋计居多。

——《史记·齐太公世家》

相比于纣王的安之如素，西伯姬昌活跃得不行。尽管司马迁尽量把阴谋推到太公姜尚头上，“天下三分，其二归周者，太公之谋计居多”；但毕竟是西伯在与吕尚（亦即姜尚）“阴谋修德以倾商政”，姜尚不过一介军师而已。当今的美国二度征讨伊拉克的萨达姆政权，至少可以籍口萨达姆有过公开威胁美国、公开支持恐怖分子的言行。可是从《尚书》的记载来看，纣王可是一句坏话都没说过西岐。臣子来告诉他西岐如何如何，他还照样不以为然，不为所动。这可能不仅是殷商没有任何对不起西岐的地方，而且还可能西伯姬昌对纣王作过什么承诺或者保证：西岐绝不侵犯殷商。否则，《尚书·西伯戡黎》一篇根本说不通，为什么纣王会面对西伯的吞并行为如此的无动于衷。纣王不可能只是感叹一声，就把祖伊打发掉了。即便从这声感叹上，也可以看出，纣王面对属下提意见的态度，是相当温和的。绝对不存在司马迁在《史记》里说的那种蛮横，用砲格之法对付异见者。从纣王的这种温和态度上，也可以推断出，即便箕子或者比干真的跟纣王产生过什么分歧，也不会被囚、甚至被杀。

有关武王伐纣的正义性，后人并非毫不怀疑，而且司马迁也如实记载过这样的怀疑：

清河王太傅轅固生者，齐人也。以治诗，孝景时为博士。与黄生争论景帝前。黄生曰：“汤武非受命，乃弑也。”轅固生曰：“不然。夫桀纣虐乱，天下之心皆归汤武，汤武与天下之心而诛桀纣，桀纣之民不为之使而归汤武，汤武不得已而立，非受命为何？”黄生曰：“冠虽敝，必加於首；履虽新，必关於足。何者，上下之分也。今桀纣虽失道，然君上也；汤武虽圣，臣下也。夫主有失行，臣下不能正言匡过以尊天子，反因过而诛之，代立践南面，非弑而何也？”轅固生曰：“必若所云，是高帝代秦即天子之位，非邪？”於是景帝曰：“食肉不食马肝，不为不知味；言学者无言汤武受命，不为愚。”遂罢。是後学者莫敢明受命放杀者。

——《史记·儒林传》

从这场争论中可以看出，在司马迁的《史记》面世之前，文人从《尚书》中得到的历史信息还没有《史记》问世后的人们那么偏颇。争论双方虽然都深受儒家影响，就连质疑汤武的一方，都以君臣关系的不可颠倒来指责汤武的犯上，但至少表明了那时候的文人，对汤武之于桀纣的讨伐究竟有多少合法性，是将信将疑的。孔子在《尚书》修订上所花的力气再大，毕竟难以删改得干干净净。当然，从这场讨论中也可以看出来，汉朝的儒生在人文素质上远远不如春秋时代。孟子在君王面前谈论王道可谓趾高气扬，意气风发，而这些汉儒在帝王面前论史，却一个比一个低声下气。以君臣关系来质疑汤武，已具不无讨好帝王之嫌。谁知反驳方竟然会把争论扯到当朝政权的合法性上去，从而十分巧妙地当场拍

马溜须，逗引皇帝说出无言汤武受命不为愚的话来。

事实上，武王伐纣，岂止只是犯上？从西伯的阴谋策划，到武王的杜撰罪名，再到周公以胜利者的姿态得意洋洋地随意改编罪名，实施专制统治，期间根本看不出有任何正义性可言。整个过程倒是很像伊索寓言中的“狼和小羊”的故事。为了吃掉小羊，地处上游的狼硬说身处下游的小羊把水弄脏了。吃掉小羊之后，狼又说，其实小羊不是把水弄脏了，而是把水弄混了，充满了酒腥味，“腥闻在上”。五百年之后，孔子修订了狼的指责，又神不知鬼不觉地改变了羊的位置。再过了五百年，司马迁和伪尚书的制作者们，索性把狼吃羊的故事改写成了羊对狼的讨伐。由于纣王在形象上的力大无穷，曾经有过托梁的记录，做成恶狼正合适。至于纣王人情味十足的那一面，全部变成酒色荒淫的写照，然后再从荒淫引申出暴虐凶恶。

其实，只消还原纣王的形象，就可以看出，这场讨伐之于殷商，实在是欺人太甚。在殷商没有招惹西岐的前提下，西岐继吞并其它小国之后，贪心不足蛇吞象似地侵入朝歌，颠覆了殷商。正是因为这样的欺人太甚，伯夷叔齐才会断然拒绝认同周朝；也正是因为这样的欺人太甚，箕子在武王拜访之际，拒绝谈论殷商有什么过错。更是因为这样的欺人太甚，致使纣王之子武庚会拼死反抗周公统治，甚至连周公的二个兄弟都站到武庚一边，反抗自己家族，反抗自家王朝。虽然反抗终至失败，但殷民并没有因此屈服。试想，一直自由惯了的男女，怎么忍受得了周公的专制统治？西岐的“阴谋修德”之德，并非是合乎人性的道德，而是为政治所左右的道德，而是为建立和维护专制统治而设的道德，骨子里很不人道，从而是极不道德的。

由于史实的被删改，后人无法读到详细的殷民反抗情景，从而只能将此付阙。好莱坞曾经有部假设性的影片，叫做《血色黎明》(Red Dawn)。该片假设第三次世界大战爆发，美国一些地区被苏联侵占，民众为此自行组织起来，反抗专制统治。该片虽属冷战产物，但为自由惯了的人民如何反抗专制提供了不无生动的样本。反抗苏联占领军的美国人将自己的命名为“FAP”，亦即“自由美国人民”(Free American People)。相信当年反抗周公的殷民，也曾把自己叫做自由殷民。比起被周公专制以及后来的孔儒道德所扭曲的中国民众，当年的殷民绝对具有自由的素质，就像《山海经》里所描述的始源中国人形象那样，英勇无畏，坚强不屈。一个人身心是否健康，生命状态是否自由，从脸上的表情、眼中的眼神里，都可以看出来。大凡自由的男女走在路上，通常是面带微笑，充满自信，神情自若；而被专制扭曲的男女走在路上，难免会显得形容委琐，东张西望，战战兢兢，全然一付毫无安全感的无助和无告，时时刻刻地盼望着救世主突然降临。

当今的人们也许会很奇怪，所谓汉人，身体何以如此紧张，何以如此不擅歌舞？一个美国黑人少女，只要一听到音乐，身体就会自动摇摆起来。可是一般汉族少女，尤其是在大陆长大的，无论音乐如何动人，身体就是放松不了。究其原因，汉人其实并不是本来就是这付样子的。假如没有武王伐纣，后来的汉人就应该像当年朝歌城里的男女一样，身心自然，能歌善舞。想要喝酒就喝酒，想要恋爱就恋爱，而不会在生命的本然面前装模作样，非礼勿视，非礼勿动。

由此可以想见，当年的武王周公，灭掉了一个什么样的城市，消灭了一种什么样的中国人。历史的这个转折，虽然有命运的因素在内，但绝对没有什么可以值得称颂的。

历史有时十分诡异。历史很少按照人性的意愿生成，而总是像个不守规矩的玩家，不按牌理出牌。历史的如此胡闹，致使按照概念和逻辑来阅读历史变得十分可疑。马克思当年撰写《资本论》的一个最大盲点，就在于他认为资本的生成既是历史的又是逻辑的，从而导致列宁在《国家与革命》中，将疯狂的革命诉诸了逻辑的演绎。事实上，逻辑从来没有主宰过历史。或者说，历史从来就不是逻辑的。就此而言，古希腊悲剧家索福克勒斯远比西方近现代文化史上的哲学家和思想家要深刻得多。在索氏的悲剧里，通常是命运、而不是逻辑在悄悄地左右着历史的非理性进程。面对历史，戏剧比哲学的优越在于，戏剧可以假设，而哲学只注重逻辑的合理性，只知道逻辑前提，不以假设为然。

毋庸置疑，历史，是不能假设的。但假设历史却是一种极为有效的历史阅读，远比逻辑式的阅读或者概念式的阅读要清晰得多。

假设一九四九年以后，毛泽东像打下朝歌的武王姬发那样早早逝世，或者随斯大林同时归西，那么中国二十世纪下半叶的历史就完全是另外一付面目了。四九年以后，没有毛泽东的中国，很可能是周公式的周恩来主政。这应该是最为理想的一个主政者。车间主任式的邓小平主持建设，奸商型的刘少奇主管对外贸易，以造船不如买船、买船不如租船那样的精明强干与西方发达国家打交道。以刘少奇的奸商头脑，对付夏洛克式的美国商人，应该没有问题，彼此会谈得非常融洽，并且最终总是各得其所。以周恩来的圆通，既不会得罪苏联，也不会为了金日成而向美国人开战。他会在两个超级大国之间玩弄鹬蚌相争渔翁得利的游戏。至于周恩来他们信奉什么主义，那是根本无关紧要的。只要这样的假设成真，大陆的中国人就真的有福了。当然了，他们在有福的同时又可能会像被国民党背景的新儒家弄得浑浑噩噩的台湾人那样，在国际舞台上总是分不清东南西北。须知，心智通常是被恶被苦难、而不是被善被幸福所打开的。由于毛泽东一意孤行地把恶人做到底，结果把大陆的中国人从地狱里锻炼了出来，变得一个比一个强悍，一个比一个狡猾。大陆人玩起政治来，不要说台湾人，就连美国人都不是对手。与毛泽东过招和与蒋介石过招，就好比一个在天上飞，一个在地上爬。

与四九年以后的毛泽东并没有马上归西相反，打下朝歌的姬发却没过几年就驾崩了。从人性的角度来说，历史总是让该死的不死，让不该死的早早死去。假设姬发不死，那么有周就可能会成为又一个殷商，就像成汤接替了夏桀，却并没有改变前朝的典章制度。

从政治斗争的情理上说，姬发不死，对于周公姬旦来说，乃是其当政的最大障碍。假如姬发不死，甚至姬旦先死，那么历史上的周公其人也就不能成立了。这不仅是权力斗争意义上的一山不容二虎，而更是治国方针上的南辕北辙，由此导致的二种完全不同的历史方向。就此而言，姬发拜访箕子，绝对不是件小事，对于姬氏家族来说，不啻一场地震。

从周公在后来的诰书中一再提及其父文王来看，周公的治国方针，应该是文王定下的。司马迁的《史记》为了突出文王姬昌的圣者形象，对于姬昌如何有志于天下的种种细节，讳莫如深。要不是司马迁在《齐太公世家》里无意中透露姬昌与姜尚的密谋，后人会误以为有周的天下真的就像司马迁在《周本纪》中说的那样，是姬昌以神明般的德行感召得来的。

西伯曰文王，遵后稷、公刘之业，则古公、公季之法，笃仁，敬老，慈少。礼下贤者，日中不暇食以待士，士以此多归之。西伯阴行善，诸侯皆来决平。於是虞、芮之人有狱不能决，乃如周。入界，耕者皆让畔，民俗皆让长。虞、芮之人未见西伯，皆惭，相谓曰：“吾所争，周人所耻，何往为，祇取辱耳。”遂还，俱让而去。诸侯闻之，曰“西伯盖受命之君”。

——《史记·周本纪》

司马迁不仅写了一个君子国，而且还让诸侯们被这个君子国感召得，恨不得马上把自己的国家交给姬昌算了。假如姬昌真有如此本事，那么还需要辛辛苦苦地不停地讨伐吞并他国么？司马迁自己都承认，“西伯阴行善，诸侯皆来决平。”也就是说，姬昌乃暗中行善，行得并不光明正大。行善是为了收买人心，以此掩盖其不断的征战，不停地侵吞别人的国土，一如司马迁自己在后文描述的那样：

明年，伐犬戎。明年，伐密须。明年，败耆国。……明年，伐邠。明年，伐崇侯虎。而作丰邑，自岐下而徙都丰。明年，西伯崩，子发立，是为武王。

——《史记·周本纪》

一年又一年，年年岁岁在打仗，每年都打下一个国家，一直忙乎到驾崩。然后儿子姬发继位后，继续打仗，扫平天下。姬家是如此的不可一世。姬昌又是如此的野心勃勃。可

司马迁却还硬要朝他脸上贴金，甚至不惜编造“西伯乃献洛西之地，以请纣去砲格之刑”的荒唐故事。虽然历史不是逻辑的，但司马迁写史也太没有逻辑了。而且司马迁总是写着写着，就忘了自己前面编了些什么。一面在写西伯如何的打仗，一面会自相矛盾地编造伯夷叔齐去投奔西伯的细节。假如这二位贤士是姜尚那样的谋士，急不可待地投奔姬昌倒也在情理之中。偏偏这二位是痛恨战争的和平人士，怎么可能去投奔一个年年岁岁在打仗的君主？就算不是写历史，而只是写小说，这样的情节也编得很不专业。更何况，姬家的攻打朝歌，不是到了姬发才突然产生的念头，而是早在姬发的曾祖父古公，就已经开始在酝酿的伟大事业。姬发的父亲姬昌，早在幼年时代，就被其祖父看中，定为姬家将来得天下的栋梁。

古公曰：“我世当有兴者，其在昌乎？”长子太伯、虞仲知古公欲立季历以传昌，乃二人亡如荆蛮，文身断发，以让季历。

——《史记·周本纪》

为了让姬昌成为接班人，他的二位伯父不得不逃离祖国，到荒蛮之地另行谋生。姬氏家族的早已有志于天下，于此可见一斑。虽然讨纣战争直到姬发才实施，但夺取天下的蓝图，却早在古公就开始构画了。姬氏家族为此付出了整整四代人的努力。可见，武王伐纣，早就在姬家一代接一代的圣主们的筹划之中，根本不是因为纣王有什么过错，就像狼要吃羊一样，本性使之然也。纣王的大臣祖伊为什么会在西伯戡黎之后那么忧心如焚，就因为他从中看出了姬家的野心，从而为殷商不在备战状态中而着急。平心而论，虽然司马迁像孔子一样，煞费苦心地为姬家掩饰、编造各种细节为姬家开脱，但毕竟没有孔子老辣，时不时地会一不小心，就说漏了嘴，透露了姬家打天下的真相。孔子可没有像司马迁这么幼稚，在孔子删定的《尚书》里，有关姬昌几乎是一片空白，唯有在《西伯戡黎》中，似乎是很不经意地透出一句“西伯既戡黎”，真是微言大义到家了。

从姬氏家族的有志于天下，再去反观姬昌的推演八卦，就可以理解其真正意图，在于窥探未来能否得手，而不像《史记》说的那样，不过是“盖益易之八卦为六十四卦。”就像赌徒喜欢算命，夺天下者十分留意自己能否成事在天。窥测天意不仅是三千年前的时尚，即便到了毛泽东打江山，都有请高人预测的传闻，以致其御林军之所以命名为“8341”，至今都是个让人津津乐道之谜。

从姬昌的种种行迹，诸如与军师姜尚密谋、推演八卦、不断地征战，可以想见，对姬家执掌天下之后该如何治理，不会不留下遗嘱，至少在生前曾经与儿子们商谈过。把八卦推演成六十四卦，就算那样的推演不过是举一反三式的智力游戏，至少也可以证明，推演者的心智有多么慎密。从后来姬旦的一再提到父王旨意证明，姬旦的以德治天下，确实是始于姬昌。否则，姬旦没有必要那么一而再、再而三地高举父王，表明自己不过是执行父王的旨意而已。除非姬昌生前只跟姬发和姬旦二个密谈，其他几个儿子都不知就里，姬旦因此可以在死无对证的前提下，肆无忌惮地假传父旨。但这种可能性几乎不存在。因为姬昌没有必要向儿子们隐瞒自己的政治理想。

假如姬旦所执行的治国方针是姬昌早就定下的，那么姬发的拜访箕子，就意味着对其父亲的无言背叛。姬发的这个举动，不是孤立的。姬发打下朝歌之后，一连串的举措，都是互相呼应、有内在逻辑可寻的。除了向箕子请教治国方针，尚有刀枪入库马放南山的放弃暴力，将殷商的封地封给纣王之子武庚，同时又将二个弟弟封在武庚旁边，几乎每一个举措，都带有姬发本人的鲜明印记；几乎每一个举措，后来都被姬旦所推翻。这其中的奥妙，这其中的深长意味，不要说史家，就是小说家都能看出来。更不用说，打下朝歌后的姬发，内心并不平静。

当年的成汤，仅仅是放逐了夏桀，就已经颇有歉意，而这在姬发却更是变本加利，灭了殷商不算，还杀了纣王。虽然伯夷叔齐的劝谏可能出自司马迁的编造，但姬发在当时也并不是没有丝毫舆论压力的。那样的压力很可能同时会激发其内在的良心压力。在这双重

的压力之下，姬发违背父亲生前的意愿，按照良心而不是按照姬氏家族的利益，做出一系列举措，乃是在情理之中的。可惜的只是，司马迁没有按照历史人物的内心世界，而是按照自己的道德标准，胡乱编造姬发打下朝歌后的行善积德。其中，“散鹿台之财，发钜桥之粟”之类的描写，几乎把姬发写成了陈胜吴广式的农民领袖。司马迁编故事也不想想一千年前的君王，哪里会像汉朝的暴发户那样敛财聚粟。数百年传下来的王朝君主，繁荣昌盛的朝歌都市，纣王需要敛什么财聚什么粟？再说，在那个混沌年代，不要说富有的君王，就是一般的黎民百姓，其私有观念对比起后来的华夏子孙，也可说相当淡薄。遍览《尚书》中所有对纣王的非议，没有一句关涉对钱财的看重和对货物的贪婪。司马迁真是在以汉朝的小人之心，度一千年前的君主之腹。不知司马迁如此写史，究竟是真糊涂呢，还是在装糊涂，以此搅乱读者的视线，掩盖打下朝歌之后、在姬发和姬旦之间可能爆发过的冲突，甚至在整个姬氏兄弟之间产生的分歧和分裂。

姬发的拜访箕子，在客观上是对父王姬昌的政治原则的某种挑战。对此，姬旦绝对不会看不明白，绝对不会无动于衷。这就好比假设毛泽东在建国之后，马上去造访美国总统杜鲁门，请教治国方略。此举一定会让党内所有同志、其他所有共产党国家，大惊失色。可是，这么重大的事件在姬家内部引起了什么样的反响，在被孔子修订过的《尚书》里，竟然不见有任何记载。唯一透露出一点姬家内部事务的，乃是那篇令人难以捉摸的《金縢》。

武王有疾，周公作《金縢》。既克商二年，王有疾，弗豫。二公曰：“我其为王穆卜。”周公曰：“未可以戚我先王？”公乃自以为功，为三坛同墀。为坛于南方，北面，周公立焉。植璧秉珪，乃告太王、王季、文王。史乃册，祝曰：“惟尔元孙某，遘厉虐疾。若尔三王是有丕子之责于天，以旦代某之身。予仁若考能，多材多艺，能事鬼神。乃元孙不若旦多材多艺，不能事鬼神。乃命于帝庭，敷佑四方，用能定尔子孙于下地。四方之民罔不祗畏。呜呼！无坠天之降宝命，我先王亦永有依归。今我即命于元龟，尔之许我，我其以璧与珪归俟尔命；尔不许我，我乃屏璧与珪。”乃卜三龟，一习吉。启籥见书，乃并是吉。公曰：“体！王其罔害。予小子新命于三王，惟永终是图；兹攸俟，能念予一人。”公归，乃纳册于金縢之匮中。王翼日乃瘳。武王既丧，管叔及其群弟乃流言于国，曰：“公将不利于孺子。”周公乃告二公曰：“我之弗辟，我无以告我先王。”周公居东二年，则罪人斯得。于后，公乃为诗以贻王，名之曰《鸛鸣》。王亦未敢诮公。秋，大熟，未获，天大雷电以风，禾尽偃，大木斯拔，邦人大恐。王与大夫尽弁以启金縢之书，乃得周公所自以为功代武王之说。二公及王乃问诸史与百执事。对曰：“信。噫！公命我勿敢言。”王执书以泣，曰：“其勿穆卜！昔公勤劳王家，惟予冲人弗及知。今天动威以彰周公之德，惟朕小子其新逆，我国家礼亦宜之。”王出郊，天乃雨，反风，禾则尽起。二公命邦人凡大木所偃，尽起而筑之。岁则大熟。

——《尚书·金縢》

姬旦如此装神弄鬼的表演，三千年后的周恩来也同样做得出来。据一些知情者的回忆录透露，周恩来得知毛泽东生病，会紧张得大小便失禁。至于究竟是害怕，还是难以置信的激动，只有当事者自己最清楚了。这在周公也同样如此。周公是真的不希望武王驾崩么？假如周公无心于兄长的生死，不会那么煞有介事地去占卜。听其自然就是了。周公的占卜，表明他实在是太在乎姬发的生死了。就像其父姬昌，当年那么认真地推演八卦，并非真的意在把八卦变成六十四卦，而是想知道姬家最后能不能得天下。姬旦的占卜，从情理上说，是想知道姬发到底会不会死。至于请求鬼神允许以其身代其兄，只能说是做戏罢了。以姬旦的聪明，岂能不知生死有命的道理？姬发死后，姬家二个兄弟起来造反，表面上的理由是“公将不利于孺子”，真正的原因却是他们根本就不信任姬旦。而姬旦后来的重起兵戈、镇压异见、压制殷民、以父王的名义推行与姬发相左的治国方针等等，又恰好证明了，姬家这两兄弟的怀疑并不是毫无缘由的。至于姬旦在后来的诰书里，几乎从来不提姬发，而总是把文王姬昌挂在嘴，更是证明了姬旦当初的所谓以身代兄，是多么的虚伪和做作。既然对王兄的生命如此看重，为何王兄驾崩后一字不提王兄的业绩和王兄的遗志？姬发病重，

姬旦到底紧张什么？是紧张姬发快要死去？还是紧张姬发不死？答案应该是很清楚的。

（未完。下期续完）

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The Undesired Female Beauty and Seduction

-- The Female Body Caught between a Gay couple and Generational Gap in Ang Lee's Film *The Wedding Banquet*

无人欣赏的女性美与诱惑：李安电影《喜宴》中困在男同性恋情侣与代 沟之间的女性身体

Ling ZHANG

(张 泠)

【ABSTRACT】 With his more recent work *Brokeback Mountain* (2005) winning the Academy Award and garnering pop culture's attention, director Ang Lee has made a name for himself as one daring to explore complex emotional and sexual relationships. While much media frenzy was paid to the homosexual content of *Brokeback*, many have pointed to its strenuous exploration of the female characters' emotional struggles. This article looks back into Lee's cinematic career and examines an earlier example where sexual frustration, gender role-play and cultural expectation similarly converged in the female body.

【内容提要】 随着《断背山》赢得奥斯卡奖，并引起大众文化界的关注，李安导演树立起善于揭示复杂情感和性关系的名声。尽管媒体在热烈地讨论《断背山》中的同性恋内容，许多人留意到该片努力探索了女性角色的情感斗争。本文通过剖析李安的一部早期作品，指出早在《喜筵》这部影片中，性挫折、性角色扮演和文化预期就已经合一在女性的身体上了。

In prevalent feminist theories about classical Hollywood film, the female body is perceived as the object of male desire and gaze, either from the male characters or spectators. These concepts may describe films constructed in terms of binary gender relations more easily, but in Ang Lee's film *The Wedding Banquet*, the heroine Wei-wei's body is neglected by her male counterparts, Wai-tung and Simon, a homosexual couple. Ironically, her body is more appreciated by Wai-tung's father Mr. Gao for its reproductive function. In *The Wedding Banquet*, the construction of sexuality and gender power relations is nuanced, and female erotic power and reproductive power are interlocked. In this article, I intend to discuss how Wei-wei's body can be contextualized in the relationship with the gay couple (Wai-tung and Simon) and with Wei-tung's parents; how the female body's value and function are represented in the film. The erotic and seductive power of Wei-wei's body is spurned and repressed in a male homosexual filmic context, while it can still evoke visual pleasure for the heterosexual male spectators; however, the reproductive power of her body is validated, and Wei-wei's body is commodified. The female body in *The Wedding Banquet* moves across transgenerational, transsexual and transcultural boundaries, vacillates between resistance and compromise, and modifies the sense of self.

WEI-WEI'S BODY AS EROTIC AND SEDUCTIVE POWER

The erotic power of Wei-wei's body is highlighted in her first scene. As an illegal immigrant from Mainland China and an impecunious modern abstract painter, Wei-wei is stuck in contradictory conditions of inferior social status and lofty artistic ambitions. As an artist in the early-1990s China, she represents the Western-influenced, individualistic and sexually liberal women, in defiance of long-term sexual repression and Chinese tradition. During "a sensationalized and sexualized moment" (Dariotis and Fung, 204) in her shabby and over-heated apartment, Wei-wei's sweaty neck and arms, her curvy hair, the Taiwanese romantic song playing in the background, the water she uses to cool herself, and the alcohol she drinks, all suggest desire. She wears no bra and talks in carefree manners. As Mary Anne Doane points out, "Female sexuality is spread out over the body, signified by all of its parts. And it is the very non-localizability of this sexuality which defines her as a proper 'other' to the man whose sex is in place, a reassurance of mastery and control." (Doane, 103) Though Doane delineates the power structure within the binaristic categories of male and female; that descriptions can also explain Wai-tung's composed reaction to Wei-wei's seduction. As a homosexual man, Wai-tung's sexual preference plays an important role here.

Wei-wei emanates erotic and seductive power to Wai-tung, the handsome and socially powerful gay man, and unrealistically expects that her own sexuality could influence his sexual orientation. She moves close to Wai-tung when he is trying to open the window in her apartment; she weeps in Wai-tung's arms, fingers caressing his neck and hair. The flirtation is mingled with a little utilitarian purpose, as she is hoping that the landlord would treat the beautiful and hapless tenant better. Wei-wei's unrestrained sexuality constitutes a danger, not only to the stable homosexual relation between Wai-tung and Simon, but also to the narrative structure. The balance is interrupted and changes predicted. At the same time, the danger also becomes the impetus of the narrative.

As a narrative twist, Wei-wei moves in Simon and Wai-tung's apartment. Her body seems to be disciplined and domesticated in the middle-class domestic space, suggested by distinct dressing styles. Her clothes are less revealing than in earlier scenes, usually long-sleeve shirts, conservative dress or short-sleeve T shirt, with solemn colors such as dark blue and white. She wears her hair in braids or pigtail, and is not overtly seductive. This is intensified after Wai-tung's parents have come and Wei-wei's "wife" status legitimized. Her sexuality becomes repressed and withdrawn. When Wei-wei first decides to have an abortion, she wears a dress which reveals her neck and arms, implying that she is relieved and would return to her true self. After she changes her mind and decides to keep the baby, she dresses back in dark blue long-sleeve shirt. Only when she is painting, she is again the unfettered artist, wearing blue T-shirt and without bras, the object that restricts, disciplines and beautifies the female body to the male taste.

Wei-wei's newly found identity as a "daughter-in-law" reinforces her domestication. She has to play a dutiful and obedient wife and family member, and pretends to cook in the kitchen, with Simon's clandestine help. As Mary Ann Doane claims, the "visual space is continually being outlined, territorialized, and divided along sexual lines. Women have not only the specific space which is their allotment (the home, the kitchen) but a relation to space which is assigned to them. And it is this relation which is ultimately more oppressive—because it covers, controls, secures, oversees in advance all possibilities." (Doane, 204) Therefore, Wei-wei's body is restrained to the kitchen which she doesn't belong to, and her erotic power is diminished.

Although a desexualized sham wife, Wei-wei attempts to influence Wai-tung's sexual preference again after she finds out about her pregnancy during a sushi dinner. The same night, after the shower, Wei-wei stares at her own naked body in the mirror and intends to rekindle her sexual relationship with Wai-tung, probably also to establish a stable parental relation for the sake of the unborn baby. Wei-wei again deploys her erotic power. Wearing a translucent short silky nightgown, she gets into the bedroom which she shares with Wai-tung, fans her half-naked shapely body, and rubs body lotion on her thighs. While doing these, she glances at Wai-tung, pretending to be inadvertent. The seduction of Wai-tung fails; Wei-wei is disappointed and weeps. She tells Mrs. Gao, "at first, I hoped the same thing", when the latter expresses her hope for Wai-tung returning to "normal/heterosexual" again.

Wei-wei's erotic and sexual female body doesn't attract Wai-tung, but the heterosexual male spectators can get voyeuristic pleasure through gazing at the "objectified" female body, as many feminist theorists have analyzed. Straight male spectators will also get the pleasure in the wedding banquet scenes, which are discussed next.

WEI-WEI'S BODY AS SPECTACLE IN THE TRADITIONAL CHINESE WEDDING BANQUET

As the centerpiece of the film, the hilarious wedding banquet becomes an ideal and ironic occasion to relieve the sexual repression of Chinese people; consequently, the bride's ornamented body plays an important role here, with pearls, red coral pin, bracelet, make-up, white bridal gown and exotic red Chi-Pao gown. In Mary Anne Doane's opinion, jewelry, ornamentation, and clothing designed to connote the "Otherness" of the Oriental, was an untruly fetishism of the exotic object and capitulates to the seductive force of visual pleasure (Doane, 178). The beauty of the bride even touches the gay groom for a moment. Both the spectators of the film and male guests within the film can observe Wei-wei, the glamorous bride, through Wai-tung's point of view, and achieve a secure relation with the fetishized object by identifying with Wai-tung's point of view. Therefore, Wei-wei becomes the object of desire of the heterosexual men except fake "husband" Wai-tung and his partner Simon. Some of the male guests kiss her face, harass her, and force her to drink and play sex-related games. In a sense, Wei-wei's fetishized body is deprived of private and inviolable power and belongs to other male guests, so they can share her beauty with the groom; the indecent activities are forbidden in other public circumstances. As Ang Lee comments to a befuddled American guest, "you are witnessing the results of 5000 years of sexual repression".

The guests also bring "the old glorious tradition" -- "nao dong fang" ("disturbing the bridal chamber"). They invade the private space of the bridal suite and force the newlyweds to display their intimacy publicly¹, to achieve voyeurism and arouse erotic imagination. The "nao dong fang" causes transgression and the confusing of public and private spaces, as Shengmei Ma notes, "Only a Bakhtinian interpretation of the wedding banquet as a carnivalesque transgression suffices to account for the extravaganza" (Ma, 198). It also foretells Wei-wei and Wai-tung's bodily transgression.

Challenging stereotypes of Asian American men (usually represented as feminized), Wei-tung represents a masculine and patriarchal figure. Seduced by Wei-wei, Wai-tung violates his sexual orientation and impregnates her. This complicates and deteriorates the triangular relationship among Wei-wei, Wai-Tung and Simon. In the end, an unborn child simplistically bonds

¹ This observation was originally made by Professor Alison McKee of University of Iowa.

them together, solves Wai-tung and Simon's identity crisis and stabilizes the triangle. Although it contradicts Gwendolyn Audrey Foster's explanation of the female body in a heterosexual construction, "the female body is tied to the tracks, bound and gagged, held captive, in order to maintain existing gender conditions, to define masculinity and femininity" (Foster, 6), Wei-wei's body does maintain and reinforce binary gendered stereotypes, because body relation also reveals the socially constructed power relations.

FEMALE BODY AS COMMODITY

The commodification of the female body is demonstrated in Marxist perspective by feminist theorists such as Linda Williams (Williams, 1989). Although in different contexts, Wei-wei's body in *The Wedding Banquet* is literally commodified, and her sexual power and social power are intertwined. Victimized by her sexual desire for a male companion and by her difficult social situation, Wei-wei exchanges her body for legal status and stable social status, and her body is consumed and exploited, with her cooperation and participation.

Wei-wei's sexuality has to be separated from the bodily function of reproductive power, as Mary Ann Doane claims: "Sexuality can only take form in a dissociation of subjectivity from the bodily function, but the concept of a bodily function is necessary in the explanation as, precisely, a support" (Doane, 169). When Wei-wei possesses sexual power, single and free-spirited, she is socially powerless; she has no job, no money and no legal status. While she carries the baby of the Gao family, her sexual power is lost to the pregnancy, but she gains social power as a mother-to-be and artist-to-be.

In the film, many details emphasize Wei-wei's expected reproductive power. In the airport, through Mr. Gao's tracking point of view shot, Wei-wei's body is scrutinized and displayed. Mr. Gao is satisfied, "she will make lots of babies". During the wedding ceremony, fertility rituals are accentuated. Wei-wei the bride drinks lotus soup "for a quick first son"; people ask a little boy to jump on the bed so that the newlyweds "would make a little boy like him". For older generation Chinese women like Mrs. Gao, the function of women's body is to give birth and preserve the family name, and "husband and the children are the most important" in her life. However, for young women like Wei-wei, the function of body is to enjoy sexual pleasure and fulfill desire. As the film implies, Wei-wei compromises, and would return to the conventional role as a mother, but she would not be completely trapped in the role and sacrifice her career ambitions, and wouldn't lose her sexual power and the sense of independence. Although exactly how all this is going to work out is a little vague in Lee's film.

In the final scene of the film, Wei-wei, Wai-tung and Simon are framed as an affectionate trinity and return gazes as resistance to "the objectification process; there is, in a sense, Othering by the Other" (Foster, 21). The "Other" could be racial, ethnical, or sexual oriented, while the special relation among them provides identification and defiance to the orthodox prejudice.

During the film, Wei-wei negotiates the erotic, seductive and reproductive power of her body in a transgenerational, transsexual and cross-cultural filmic contexts. Although she cannot avoid her body being commodified in a patriarchal (though not heterosexual) social order, she achieves her interior and social transformation and resists being a property of patriarchy. However, her body is manipulated to fulfill the patriarchal quest of familial immortality. As for whether the representation of Wei-wei's body in the film confirms or challenges the stereotypes of Asian American women in American films, the topic deserves further observations and analysis.

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张泠，如今就读于加州州立大学圣何塞分校的戏剧艺术硕士班，将于2007年秋季在芝加哥大学的电影与媒体研究专业攻读博士学位。

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An Interview with Professor Martin Feldstein

专访马丁·菲尔斯坦教授

[Abstract] In this interview, Prof. Feldstein first comments on policy prescriptions for the U.S. dollar. He suggests pursuing a policy that keeps the U.S. inflation rate low and purchasing power high. He then moves on to discuss the roles that China and the U.S. each play in foreign markets, suggesting that China should, in coordination with other Asian countries, intervene less in the foreign market. He then argues that it is important for China to successfully stimulate its own domestic demand and become less reliant on export-led growth. In addition, he shares his view on China's excess production capacity, innovation promotion, potential uses of foreign reserves in specific, and the Chinese, Japanese and the European economies in general.

[内容提要] 在这次采访中，菲尔斯坦教授首先评论了美元货币政策。他建议寻求使美国通胀率低、购买力强的政策。接着，他讨论了中国和美国在外贸市场中的角色，建议中国应该和其他亚洲国家合作，减少干预外贸市场。他认为，刺激国内需求，减少对出口导向增长的依赖，对中国来说至关重要。另外，他还对中国的过剩生产能力，对创新的鼓励，对外汇储备的利用，以及中国、美国和欧洲的总体的经济问题发表了看法。

Time: November 21, 2006

时间: 二〇〇六年十一月二十一日

Interviewee: Professor Martin Feldstein: Professor of Economics at Harvard University, President of National Bureau of Economic Research, and Former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under President Reagan.

被采访人: 马丁·菲尔斯坦教授，哈佛大学经济学教授，美国国家经济研究局主席，前里根总统经济顾问委员会主席

Interviewer: Jin Chen. She holds a Master of Arts Degree in Regional Studies-East Asia from Harvard University, and works as a special reporter based in Boston for *Caijing* Magazine.

采访人: 陈晋，哈佛大学东亚区域研究硕士，现为《财经》杂志驻波士顿记者

Q: I learned from *Caijing* that they interviewed you two years ago about the U.S. and the world economy, the U.S. fiscal policy, the U.S. current account balance and the prospects of the dollar. These remain hot issues today, and we hope to learn your views about them.

A: Good. I can answer these questions.

Q: Let's start with your policy prescriptions on the dollar. You have advocated a strong dollar at home and a competitive dollar abroad (according to your article in *Wall Street Journal*, April 28, 2006) which means a higher interest rate at home to control inflation (a cooling effect on growth) and a depreciating dollar abroad to stimulate U.S. exports and weaken U.S. imports in order to sustain U.S. aggregate demand (to counterbalance the cooling effect of rising interest rate). Is the U.S. economy more sensitive to the Fed's interest rate change or more sensitive to the change of the dollar's value abroad? Whichever effect takes place first and whichever change takes place faster will directly impact the probability of the U.S. falling into a recession if your policy

prescriptions are implemented.

A: The last time I argued for tightening interest rates was a couple of months ago. Since then, we have seen the housing market weakening, savings rate going up,--and the third quarter GDP was weak. So for all of these reasons, it looks less appropriate to raise interest rate now than a few months ago.

On the other hand, the inflation problem is, at best, mixed now. The price numbers look pretty good; energy prices have come down; but almost all the wage numbers, depending on which particular numbers you use, show that wages are rising at 5-6% compared with one year ago. If that's real, that's going to produce inflation numbers which the Fed is not going to be happy with. At this point, it's not surprising that the Fed is just watching and waiting. That is appropriate. That's the short-run monetary policy outlook.

The piece that you referred to, that talks about a strong dollar at home and a competitive dollar abroad, is not about very short-run policy, but a kind of general prescription for what the Federal Reserve and the government ought to be doing and saying. In fact, it focuses on inflation. In practice, the government doesn't do anything to strengthen the dollar other than talk about how nice it is to have a strong dollar. But there is really no intervention policy and no use of monetary policy to respond to a declining dollar.

The administration has been saying, since Robert Rubin (former Treasury Secretary under President Bill Clinton) and maybe before him, that a strong dollar is good for America. That gives people in financial markets the impression that a strong dollar is U.S. government policy. Since most countries do intervene in foreign exchange markets, it gives an impression that the U.S. will intervene and does intervene. If you're a financial investor, you don't want to bet that the dollar's going to come down because you've heard from the Secretary about a strong dollar. But in fact, that is not an operational policy for the U.S. We have intervened very little in the foreign exchange market since the Clinton years; and we intervened in both directions.

What I really want the Fed and the government to do is to clarify what a strong dollar means. Of course, people confuse the dollar and the flag. American people's patriotic feeling may be hurt if you pick up a headline and it says, "The U.S. currency's beaten down." But in fact, what really matters is the purchasing power of their currency. This is an economy that is mostly domestic. We import only about 15 percent of our GDP. What people really care about is the overall price level. So what I was arguing for was to pursue a policy that kept inflation rate low and the purchasing power of the currency high. I didn't mean to stop the correction in the exchange rate that is going to be necessary if we're going to shrink our trade deficit.

"A strong dollar at home and a competitive dollar abroad" is also a communication prescription. Don't confuse the market by talking about a strong dollar – what you really mean is low inflation at home and a willingness to see the dollar adjust. How can the treasury secretary, several times in a row, say "we want the RMB to appreciate relative to the dollar," but "we want a strong dollar?" I think what they should say is that "we want the dollar to maintain its strength – its purchasing power – at home." This can be done at the same time while having necessary adjustment in the exchange rate to shrink the trade deficit. If the journalists say, "the dollar's beaten down," that's OK as long as inflation at home is low.

In the same article that you referred to, I talked about the 1980s when there was a very big depreciation in the dollar but there was very little inflation. The overall price level rose more slowly in 1985-1986 than in the previous couple of years. So you can have both (a depreciating dollar and a low inflation).

Q: Was the big drop of the dollar in the 1980s brought about by the Plaza Accord of 1985, which was engineered by the US Treasury Department?

A: The history books would certainly say so (the Plaza Accord brought down the dollar), but if you look at a chart of trade-weighted value of the dollar, it came down since January 1985. The Plaza Accord took place in September 1985. It is true that relative to the Yen, there was a big drop of the dollar, but on the overall trade-weighted basis, not much happened relative to the European currencies. What happened then was that the dollar was coming down before the Plaza Accord. James Baker, Treasury Secretary at that time, took credit for it rather than having people say, “Your currency’s beaten down.”

My colleague, Professor Dick Cooper, has a paper in which he shows that when currency falls, finance ministers get fired. It’s a wonderful paper. You can see why finance ministers don’t want their currencies to fall. Mike Blumenthal, an economist by training, taught economics at Princeton. He acted like an economist when he was the treasury secretary (in the Carter Administration). The dollar plummeted and he was fired. In contrast, James Baker was very clever. He used to say, “If you, Europeans, don’t strengthen your economy so that our trade deficit shrinks, the dollar will fall.” That got interpreted as saying, “I (Mr. Baker) would lower the dollar.” But that’s not what he meant. He meant that if the trade deficit keeps getting larger, market forces would cause the dollar to fall. But he put it in a way that avoids Dick Cooper’s problem. If the dollar falls, he’s punishing those bad people over there (the Europeans), not that the market would punish him. I never discussed it with Baker, but I think the Plaza Accord fits in that mode. The falling dollar is something that was already happening

The situation in Asia now is different. The Chinese have been intervening. Over \$1 trillion reserve is evidence of it. They’re going to do less intervention and let the RMB appreciate. The question is how fast. If it only appreciates 3 or 4 percent, given everything that’s going on now, they may find themselves with another \$100 billion by the end of the year. I think they’re developing confidence that they can stimulate domestic demand so that even if their exports fall, they can allow a stronger RMB.

The Chinese don’t want to have the Koreans take their market, or the Thais to take their market. So I can see them sitting down with their neighbors, saying, “It’s inevitable that the dollar has fallen relative to Asian currencies, and we need to deal with it in a coordinated way. We, the Chinese, will move, but we expect you (other Asian countries) to cooperate and not let your currencies fall relative to ours.” That’s why I suggested a kind of Asian Plaza Accord for Asia. I’m not suggesting any policy intervention by the U.S.

Q: So you’re not saying that the U.S. should intervene in the foreign exchange market, but rather the Chinese should intervene less, and to do it in a coordinated way with other Asian countries.

A: Yes, exactly. So it’s a very pro-market position – to reduce intervention, not to create intervention.

Q: Are you for international cooperation then?

A: How can one be against international cooperation? But I don’t think you’ll get much out of it. All these G7 meetings and other lovely platforms in which the US would say, “We’ll reduce our budget deficits,” and the Europeans would say “We’ll grow faster.” But nothing much would happen. From the U.S. point of view, the Treasury Secretary can promise everything, but he can’t deliver, because he’s got Congress to deal with at home. He can only say, “We’ll make the best efforts to do this, but I can’t promise; I have to go home and consult 650 people on the Hill.”

But on the other hand, if you ask, “Could China, Korea, and Japan cooperate?” the answer is yes because China is such a big player in their economic lives – the Chinese are the big buyer of this processing trade and the center of long-term investments. If China said to its neighbors, “let’s do this,” things would happen.

Q: What gives you the confidence that the Chinese will be able to succeed in stimulating their domestic demand, and become less reliant on export-led growth?

A: They’ve got a lot of levers to pull. They can do lots of things. Some of them can be government demand, such as building schools and hospitals, and hiring more people to provide healthcare. It is true that there are only so many highways and airports one can build, but so far China doesn’t provide enough education and healthcare, especially rural education and healthcare. The Chinese government can spend some money doing these things.

The mortgage down payment rules for home purchases can be relaxed to make it easier for people to purchase homes. Credit card business has just got underway, which will make money circulate faster.

People are saving a lot in China as you know. The national savings rate is over 40 percent. A lot of it is business savings as well as household savings. People there are not confident about social security or health insurance; they’re concerned about their children’s educational costs. If these things were improved, people wouldn’t save so much.

The US is on the other extreme. We have no savings, because people say, “Why save? I’ve got pensions from the government and my employer. I’ve got health insurance. I have to pay a little bit, like \$10 co-pay for doctor visit, but I don’t have to build a large cash reserve.”

Q: What do you think the Chinese should do about their problem of excess capacity? They feel that they have to export to the international market, because they’ve got so much excess production capacity. Overcapacity is one of the major reasons that the Chinese leadership has been encouraging Chinese enterprises to “go abroad” even when these companies do not yet possess core technologies of their own; they’re mainly fighting a price war to gain market share with low-cost labor.

A: They may export TVs and refrigerators. That’s fine. But the rate of their export growth has to slow down. It’s probably going to be a combination of reduction in exports and a shift of production to domestic demands. As the middle class grows rapidly, as the urban residents get richer, the demand for these household durables will grow. So they’ll sell more domestically. Maybe they’ve overbuilt for some products, and they’ll have to lower prices for these products in order to clear their inventories. But that shouldn’t be a problem.

Q: The Chinese leadership has been actively promoting innovation, technological upgrading and an overall economic structural adjustment, away from energy/resource intensive manufacturing industries to more value-added, higher technology-content industries. Do you have any advice on how to achieve this goal more effectively?

A: I suppose that there are two components for this. One is science-based education. China seems to do very well on this regard, and has trained lots of technical people. The other is the entrepreneurial side of it. If you look at where technical innovation comes from in the U.S., it’s not from large companies like General Electric, but a couple of young guys who just graduated from Stanford, set up a shop, made a new product, and sold it to General Electric. I don’t know how easy this process is in China; I don’t know what the barriers are, or the related institutional infrastructures in China.

Q: What's your view on the short-term prospects of the Japanese economy? Do you think it's going to pick up next year?

A: They seem to be. It's hard to know for sure. Their data are lousy. But every Japanese that I talk with, whether they are businessmen or economists, seems convinced that domestic demand is coming back; exports are good; long-term interest rates are rising.

Q: With your views on the Chinese economy, the Japanese economy and the European economy, do you think that the rest of the world can handle the consequences of a significantly depreciated dollar, a diminishing US trade deficit and a rising interest rate? What are the probabilities that a world recession can be avoided if your policy suggestions are implemented? Your article, entitled "Europe has to face the threat of America's trade deficit," (*Wall Street Journal*, August 2, 2006) talked about the policy adjustments that Europe has to make now in order to avoid a hard hit by a depreciating dollar and a shrinking U.S. trade deficit. Apart from all the inertia with changing the regulations of the European labor and product markets, the separation of monetary and fiscal responsibilities in Europe poses a structural challenge to simultaneous expansionary monetary and fiscal policies now.

A: I think that other countries will have to adjust their policies. I think that the Chinese understand that very well. They need to increase domestic demand as their export surpluses shrink. The Europeans haven't quite come to accept that yet. They say, "We don't have a trade surplus, so we don't have a problem. We are not part of your problem. Leave us alone." But the market won't leave them alone. If the US imports less, it's going to import less from Europe as well as from Asia. So the Europeans need to be thinking about this fact that they will need to stimulate their aggregate demand.

Everybody understands it. It's a question of whether they believe the external forces require them to move. If they delay, the dollar can repeat what happened in the 1980s. There is a question of timing and whether the Europeans would act fast enough. Everything happens with a lag. If the dollar falls, it doesn't turn around the trade balance overnight. It takes time. If you move your interest rate or fiscal policy, they don't have impact overnight either. The Europeans are watching. They see their trade surpluses are beginning to shrink, and they'll have to start to stimulate their domestic economies.

Q: Everything is a question of timing. If the timing is wrong, the world can go into a recession.

A: It can. But there isn't a fundamental problem or a lack of understanding, so I'm optimistic. We had a little recession a couple of years ago, but it was so mild that people hardly remember it took place. There wasn't a fundamental imbalance that would require very tight monetary policy as it did in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, when there was a double-digit inflation.

Q: What's your view on "the twin deficits?"

A: In the 1980s, "the twin deficits" were the story of the day. Household savings and corporate savings were quite strong. It was the large government "dis-savings" that dragged down national savings, and that contributed to the trade deficit.

Right now, the fiscal deficit is relatively small and shrinking, less than 2 percent of the GDP. The real problem is not "twin deficits," but low national saving. The fundamental problem is low national saving at a time when you want to invest. It forces you to bring funds from the rest of the world. In the 1980s, the low national saving was caused by the budget deficit. Now it is caused by the fact that the household savings are actually negative.

Q: This figure of negative household savings is calculated as the residual of subtracting expenditures from disposable personal income. Expenditures include education and household durables (cars and refrigerators and so on), which some people argue should be considered as investment rather than consumption; so should research and development by the government. This reclassification, according to them, will bring up American savings to a rather big positive figure.

A: R&D by the government is a very small fraction of government budget. Yes, you can reclassify these things in a different way, but it depends on the questions you're asking. If you're concerned about trade balance--trade balance is determined by the difference between saving and investment. Reclassification will raise both savings and investment simultaneously by the same amount; the difference won't change at all. In terms of future standards of living, it gets tricky. If a refrigerator is classified as an investment, what about health expenditures? They can also be argued as investments, to the extent that your health lasts. The national accountants have to draw a line.

The question of whether we have saved enough depends on the framework in which you're asking. If you're asking if Americans are preparing adequately for their old age, then you want to look at their wealth. One definition of saving is the change of wealth. On that basis, with the house prices up, or the stock market up, people have gotten a lot wealthier; indeed that is why they're not doing as much saving in terms of tightening their belt and consuming less. But that (wealth increase through house appreciation and stock appreciation) doesn't help the trade imbalance; it doesn't help finance construction, equipment and things that raise productivity. So each of these things has a different angle to it.

Q: China's foreign reserves have exceeded \$1 trillion this year. Do you have any advice about how to use it, or how to best invest it?

A: That's a big problem. One aspect of it is that where the Chinese would like to be. You might say that you want a well-diversified portfolio. But they're so big that moving away from dollars into euros and yen could bring bigger movements in the currency than they want. So there are two separate questions. One is where they would like to be; the other is whether they can get there without destabilizing the exchange rates.

They have made it clear that 100 percent in dollars doesn't make any sense. Now they have about two thirds of their investment in dollars. Whether they should put more into euros or into yen is a difficult question. They must know that they'll lose money on their dollar investments relative to euro investment. They're going to make a redistribution that is appropriate to them.

Q: Against all odds – the tragedy of September 11th, the messy and costly Iraq war – the U.S. economy has been doing quite well over the last five years or so, with relatively low inflation, low interest rate, no rising taxes, healthy employment situation and good economic growth. Do you agree that the Chinese, and other Asian countries to a less extent, have been indirectly financing the costly war by massively purchasing US treasury bills, which has allowed relatively low U.S. interest rates, no tax increases, and good economic growth in the U.S.? Shouldn't American consumers be grateful to the Chinese for enjoying relatively good-quality (price-adjusted) Chinese exports at quite low prices, which in turn contribute to the low inflation and low interest rates in the U.S.?

A: It is certainly true that the Chinese demands for dollar bonds, along with the oil producing countries' (the OPEC and Russia) demands, have kept the U.S. long-term interest rates down. That's not the only reason for the low interest rates in the U.S. The fact that people aren't worried

about inflation has kept rates down. There are people who would bet on a recession. That keeps the rates down. There is no single view of the world. There are many factors which have contributed to the low interest rates. There is an interesting study at the NBER (National Bureau of Economic Research), which estimates that the U.S. long-term rates are about 100 basis points lower because of foreign buildup of dollar reserves.

It is true that the Chinese buildup of dollar reserves has positive effects on the U.S. economy, but it also has an effect of causing us to accumulate this large imbalance that eventually we have to come out of. Right now it feels good – we’re getting all these goods that we haven’t paid for – we should be grateful for that. But of course we’ll have to pay it back at some point. The older generation should be grateful, but the younger generation should not.

Q: What’s your view on the Chinese interest rate reform? Do you think they can afford it with your broad definition of Chinese national debt, which includes unfunded pensions--the total amounts to over 60% of GDP according to your paper?

A: I think the Chinese central bank (the PBOC) is on the right path to liberalize interest rates. Their national debt is very manageable. Pension is a whole separate issue.

Q: Right now the Federal Funds rate is 5.25 percent. Would you give your views on any rate change for next year?

A: No, I wouldn’t forecast interest rate.

Q: With Democrats in both houses in Capitol Hill, what would you expect to happen to the fiscal situation?

A: Not much. I don’t expect much to happen in the next couple of years. You may know how much I dislike budget deficits, but right now, it’s quite calm.

Q: Thank you very much for your time.

A: You’re welcome.

Book Review: *Rightful Resistance in Rural China* by Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li

书评：欧博文、李连江著《乡村中国的依法抗争》

Dongtao QI

(祁冬涛)

Students of contemporary Chinese rural politics may already be familiar with the term “rightful resistance” – a term invented by long term research partners Kevin O’Brien and Lianjiang Li, to characterize Chinese villagers’ collective resistance in the post-Mao period. It is a great pleasure to read their new book, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China*, which summarizes their decade-long work on this topic and attempts to speak to the Western literature of contentious politics with Chinese examples.

The book provides a systematic study of the origins, dynamics and consequences of various resistance cases in contemporary rural China and strikes one with its deep and sound understanding of these cases. Particularly, readers may find the chapter on Tactical Escalation very informative. It both describes the three variants of Chinese villagers’ direct action—publicizing a policy, demanding a dialogue and face-to-face defiance—and discusses their origins and implications.

Chinese readers may also be inspired by the last two chapters discussing the outcomes and implications of widespread and escalating rightful resistance. The authors affirm these cases’ positive impact on policy implementation, resistance activists, wider communities, villagers’ sense of citizenship and even political changes at the national level. The book’s appendix may be especially attractive to students who, like this reviewer, once conducted limited fieldwork with a smaller group of resistance leaders in rural China, but failed to discover many of their general characteristics. With fieldwork and survey data, the appendix statistically answers the question: who leads rightful resistance in contemporary rural China?

Unlike their previous work, in this book O’Brien and Li devote substantial effort towards an important theoretical goal – creating a unique niche for the concept of “rightful resistance” within the Western popular literature on contentious politics. The authors seem to believe that this terminology may become not only a specific term that characterizes Chinese villagers’ collective action, but also a term applicable to cases in other times and places. The authors hope that it could become useful for both China specialists and students of general contentious politics. Without a doubt the book makes a broad and successful survey of contentious politics literature and shows the strong connections of rural China’s rightful resistance to that literature. But the unique attributes of rightful resistance described in the book are unable to create practical distinctions between rightful resistance and non-rightful resistance.

While reading the book, you may want to try applying the analytical framework of rightful resistance to some collective action cases familiar to you, and see if you feel confident in categorizing them as rightful resistance, rather than as other established categories (i.e., non-rightful resistance) mentioned in the book, such as social movement, everyday resistance, extra-

institutional political participation, war of position, critique within the hegemony, consentful contention, and so on. I tried but failed and then noticed that there are too many overlaps and commonalities between the concept of rightful resistance and these previously established terms. Not surprisingly, I finally concluded that almost every resistance case, no matter what name you give it, is rightful.

(O'Brien, Kevin J., Lianjiang Li, 2006, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China*, NY: Cambridge University Press.)

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祁冬涛是美国斯坦福大学社会学系博士候选人。

Cultural Production and Consumption in Contemporary China

The Ninth OYCF Annual Meeting Summary

当代中国的文化生产与消费

第九届 OYCF 年会会议摘要

[Editor's Note] The Overseas Young Chinese Forum (OYCF), the publisher of *Perspectives*, held its 9th annual meeting on May 25-27, 2007, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The meeting was co-sponsored by the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan, and in coordination with the Michigan China Fellows. About sixty scholars, students, and professionals attended the meeting. The theme of the meeting was the scenes of China's cultural production, consumption and transformation in the era of reform, with topics ranging from the political and economic conditions of cultural production, to the roles of art and culture in identity-formation, nation-building and social activism, and to the personal and social experiences they shape in contemporary China. There were six panels. As usual, discussants of each panel have written the following summaries of presentations and discussions. At the end, we include some feedback from participants about their experiences at the meeting.

[编者按] 本刊出版者，海外中国青年论坛，于 2007 年 5 月 25 日至 27 日在密歇根大学安娜堡校区召开了第九届年会。这次会议由密大中国研究中心联合主办，密歇根中国学社协办。大约六十多名学者、学生和专业人士出席了会议。会议的主题是中国改革时期文化的生产、消费和转型。题目包括文化生产的政治经济条件，艺术、文化与身份建构，民族建立与社会活动主义，以及以上因素所影响的个人和社会经历。会议总共分为六个讨论小组。每一组的主持人记录了会议演讲和讨论的摘要。本期发表这些摘要，并附上一些与会者对会议及参会经历的评论。

PANEL ONE: THE SHOW BIZ

(Speakers: Hong YIN, Zhaohui ZENG; Discussant: Zhiwei XIAO)

The speakers on this panel are Hong Yin, Professor and Associate Dean of Journalism at Tsinghua University, and Zhaohui Zeng, a post-doctoral researcher at Duke University. The discussant is Zhiwei Xiao, Associate Professor of History at California State University-San Marcos.

This panel featured two speakers, both insiders of China's media industry. In his "state of the field" address, Professor Hong Yin discussed the problems in Chinese film production, distribution and exhibition. Among other things, Professor Yin observed that the concern over Hollywood's taking a disproportionate amount of box office receipts from the China market led to a strategy to concentrate capital investment in a few mega domestic productions headed by star directors. This strategy, while effective in helping native industry to gain an upper hand in market share, does damage to the healthy growth of the Chinese film industry. Critical resources are siphoned off from low-profile film productions, exhibition schedules and programming. Mega productions take priority at the expense of the rest of the industry's output. At times, there may be unfair political intervention on behalf of strategic film projects. But Professor Yin also pointed

out some bright spots: the number of film productions has been increasing steadily in the past two decades, audiences are returning to the movie theaters, and the overall production quality and competitiveness vis-à-vis foreign imports have been improving. The rich statistics Professor Yin cited lend support to a more optimistic view of the future of China's film industry.

Following Professor Yin's talk, Zhaohui Zeng discussed the trends in Chinese television programs. His specific focus is on the China Central Television (CCTV), which in many ways, is the trendsetter for the rest of the country. Zeng noted an overall liberalization in CCTV's programming, particularly in the areas of variety shows, sports programs and entertainment programs, but he also stressed the continuous political pressure and intervention from the government over sensitive issues in news reporting and investigative journalism. Zeng shared a number of anecdotes with the audience to illustrate his points.

PANEL TWO: LITERATURE AND MUSIC

(Speakers: Joseph LAM, Kun TIAN, Geng LI; Discussants: Minjuan WANG, Gang LIU)

The speakers on this panel are Joseph Lam, Professor and Chair of Musicology from the University of Michigan, Geng Li, an economist with the Federal Reserve, and Ms. Kun Tian, a doctoral candidate from the University of Pittsburgh. Discussants are Minjuan Wang, Associate Professor of Educational Technology at San Diego State University, and Gang Liu, Ph.D. student at the University of Michigan.

Professor Lam's talk addressed the complex issue of the features, ideologies and practices of Chinese music in an era of globalization as well as its relation to the formation of Chinese subjectivities and meanings. Using Dr. Lau Chorwah's guqin performance, a commercialized rendition of a traditional Chinese folk song by the Twelve Girls Band, and a symphony composed by Tan Dun commemorating Hong Kong's return to China as examples, Professor Lam vividly demonstrated how globalized Chinese music practitioners, implementing and manipulating traditional and 20th century Chinese music ideologies, generated and negotiated Chinese subjectivities and meanings with their musical works. Professor Lam suggested that only by investigating into the sonic embodiment of the Chinese values, memories, temporalities, and sites in these musical performances, could the Chineseness in the globalized Chinese music be identified and critiqued. And only with penetrating critiques could overseas Chinese scholars hope to understand and contribute to the past, present, and future of globalized Chinese music.

Tian presented about the evolution of the "new" Chinese poem. The development of the new Chinese poem aligned with the modernization of China and was therefore influenced by drastic political and economic changes. In her presentation, Miss Tian discussed four important stages that the new Chinese poem went through since the beginning of the 20th century: (1) "baby steps", (2) the Mao Zedong era, (3) the "Meng Long" poems, and (4) contemporary poems since 1990. Representative poems in the "baby steps" stage include *Lan Hua Cao* by Hu Shi, *Nu Shen* by Guo Moruo, and *Ding Xiang* by Xu Zhimo. During the Chairman Mao Era, poems were heavily influenced by political movements. The content was uplifting but full of "big" political themes. The poetry of the "Meng Long" stage, which emerged at the end of the 1970s, marked the maturity and a new milestone of the new poem. Main authors included Bei Dao, Gu Cheng, and Shu Ting. Their poems were distinctly different from the poems of the past and were filled with self-expressions and personal views on life, love, philosophy, and the world. Tian believes that the new poem blossomed during the "Meng Long" period. However, starting in the 1990s, the new poem went into a "recession." The quality of poems has dropped; and there are more writers

than readers. Tian asked the audience to reflect on possible underlying factors—does the rapid development of the market economy in China threaten the development of poetry? Does the people's love for material things trump their spiritual needs for poetry?

Li's paper was a summary of an ongoing research project. It provides a conceptual framework and theoretical modeling tools to study the welfare dynamics of readers and writers during the boom of Internet publications. Li first notes that the last ten years have seen a rapid increase in the publication of novels, prose, and other personal writings on the Chinese internet. Most of these publications have been created by amateur writers who would otherwise have no or a trivial chance of having their work published in journals of novels or literature. Parallel to the rise of these publications and authors is the growth of readership on the Internet. Then Li sets up a model to study the welfare consequences from the perspectives of both the writers and the readers. Li takes an equilibrium approach that focuses on the interaction between writers and readers who have different objectives. Among the key assumptions is the idea that readers care about the quality and taste of the material they read, while the writers care about whether their writing tastes can be satisfied and about how large their readership is. Limited by the complexity of the model, Li has not achieved a closed-form solution. However, a simple comparative-static comparison yields some interesting relationships.

PANEL THREE: THE NEW VISUALITY

(Speakers: Yanli CHEN, Chi ZHANG, Yue ZHANG; Discussants: Lihong LIU, Sida LIU)

The speakers on this panel are Yanli Chen, Ph.D. candidate in art and architecture at the University of Pittsburgh, Chi Zhang, Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Yale University, and Yue Zhang, Ph.D. candidate in political science at Princeton University. The discussants are Lihong Liu, graduate student in art history at the University of Michigan, and Sida Liu, Ph.D. candidate in sociology at the University of Chicago.

Yanli Chen's presentation, "Art at the Crossroads: the 1980s Chinese Art Practices," and Chi Zhang's presentation, "Space, Community and Artist Identity in Post-89 Beijing," are chronologically and intellectually connected. Chen's presentation focused on artistic practice at the end of the 1970s to 1980s, while Zhang's concentrated on the artist community from the 1990s to the present. The authors sequentially offered a vivid portrayal of production and consumption of avant-garde and contemporary Chinese art, particularly at the crossroad of post-Mao society and in the era of globalization. While both Chen and Zhang were concerned with the issue of artistic autonomy in post-socialist realism, their approaches were complementary to each other and led to a potential dialogue. Chen showed the tension between artists as individuals and art institutions, as well as the process by which artists challenged institutional authority in regards to political publicity and exhibition censorship. In comparison, Zhang investigated the artist community, which is situated in a larger social space, both physically and symbolically.

The discussant posed one question to each author. For Chen's presentation, the question was whether the Western modernism appeals to the Chinese because of the Chinese artists' cultural nostalgia after the long break occupied by socialist realism. In other words, can we see the relation between modernism and tradition of Chinese art through the Western agency? For Zhang's presentation the discussant asked whether most contemporary Chinese artists, who have gained autonomy and been apart from the Chinese political system, were, in turn, registered in the international political system in order to satisfy the Westerner's imagination of modern Chinese

society.

Yue Zhang's presentation, titled "Symbolic Urban Preservation in Beijing, 2000-2005," addressed an important phenomenon in urban development that has implications for both the visibility and social change in contemporary Chinese cities. The presentation focuses on the somewhat ironic spatial transformation in the Old City of Beijing since the early 1990s. On the one hand, a large amount of historic neighborhoods have been demolished and replaced with high-end residential or commercial districts; on the other hand, preservation projects are carried out to restore historic monuments or revitalize historic districts. The co-existence of these two images, as Zhang convincingly showed, turns urban preservation in Beijing into icon-making, which restores 'fake' historic monuments but destroys authentic urban texture.

The discussant provided two comments on Zhang's presentation. First, while the dynamics of urban preservation seem to be explained by two existing theories in American urban studies, the underlying logic of symbolic preservation is in fact a general pattern in China's reform since the late 1970s, in which the state's legitimacy has consistently been predicated on economic growth and opening-up to the outside world. Second, while the explicit goal of urban preservation is to preserve the architecture, an equally important aspect is to maintain the unique way of life of the urban residents. The latter aspect should be given more emphasis in both this research project and urban studies in general. Following the discussant's comments, the audience engaged in a heated debate on the issue of whether the way of life in Old Beijing should be preserved in the era of globalization. The audience also raised the question of how the interests of different groups, including the emerging middle class, have been influenced in this urban transition.

PANEL FOUR: CINEMA AND POSTSOCIALIST MODERNITY

(Speakers: Shuqin CUI, Jason MCGRATH; Discussants: Duan WU, Liang LUO)

The speakers on this panel are Shuqin Cui, Professor at Bowdoin College and Jason McGrath, Assistant Professor of modern Chinese literature and film at University of Minnesota-Twin Cities. The discussants are Duan Wu, an Attorney from Boston and Liang Luo, Lecturer of Asian Languages and Culture at University of Michigan.

Professor Cui opened the first panel on the second day of the meeting with an analysis on Lu Chuan's film *Kekexili: Mountain Patrol* (2004) through several angles. First, from a gender studies perspective, Professor Cui argued that the land of Kekexili, a remote area in Tibet and the antelopes portrayed in the movie, can be viewed as gendered others in a male-dominated cinematic context. Second, Professor Cui commented on the challenge, posed by the duality constructed in the film, to official ideology and conventional dichotomies, including our conceptualizations of hero/villain and majority/minority. For example, the protagonist and narrator of the film, a young journalist from Beijing, identifies himself as half-Tibetan and half-Chinese as he meets hard-working peasants that turned into poachers. These poachers and the volunteer patrolmen are situated similarly at the social-economic margins, and both are locals relying on the Tibetan Plateau for a living. Professor Cui also analyzed the artistic style of the film, especially its documentary flavor.

During the discussion session after the presentation, questions were raised as to the subject matter's uniqueness in comparison to animal poaching reported and filmed over other parts of the world (Africa, Southeast Asia, etc.), and Professor Cui elaborated on the ethnic conflicts in the locale where the filming took place.

The second speaker in this panel was Professor Jason McGrath. As part of his presentation, He gave a provocative introduction to his book *Postsocialist Modernity in China: Cinema, Literature, and Criticism in the Market Age*, forthcoming from Stanford University Press. He argued that not only have the forces of marketization resulted in a new cultural logic in China, but that this development is part of a global condition that he terms *postsocialist modernity* and must be understood in the context of the history of the *global capitalist system*, which not only transforms China but also is thereby transformed. He described China's market transition as from *heteronomy* (literally, subject to the rule of another power) to *autonomy* in his written paper, further articulating it as a transition from "heteronomy of the state" to "heteronomy of the market" in his actual presentation. His caution against an "intrinsically positive" image of the newfound *autonomy* in a market-driven China is of particular interest to those of us concerned about the changing state-market dynamics in China.

An engaging discussion followed Professor McGrath's presentation. Two sets of terms attracted particular attention. One is "postsocialist," as in Professor McGrath's presentation and in the title of this panel. One member of the audience doubted the validity of using postsocialist to describe contemporary China, while Professor McGrath responded by highlighting Postsocialist as a global condition, one which forms an integral part of global capitalist modernity. A second set of terms, "heteronomy" versus "autonomy," raised interesting questions about the state and market dynamics in contemporary China. Some members of the audience were not fully convinced by Professor McGrath's articulation of a transition from "heteronomy of the state" to "heteronomy of the market." Their insistence on the power of the state in contemporary Chinese culture and economy reminds us about the not-so clear-cut division between the state and the market.

PANEL FIVE: GLOBALIZATION, CONTESTATION, AND CONSUMERISM

(Speakers: Min ZHANG, Jianhua ZHAO; Discussants: John ZINDA, Weijian XUAN)

The speakers on this panel are Min Zhang, Ph.D. candidate at Harvard University and Jianhua Zhao, Ph.D. candidate at University of Pittsburgh. The discussants are John Zinda, a graduate student in Chinese Studies and Political Science at University of Michigan, and Weijian Xuan, an MBA student at University of Michigan.

Min Zhang presented an analysis of the self-conscious construction of the consumption class and used Starbucks in China as a compelling case study. Overall, this paper attempts to reveal some fundamental reasons for the distinct localized image of Starbucks, which has become a way to draw boundaries between group identities.

In the current world economy, it is hard to find cases in which multinational firms turns the culture differences into competitive advantages. Starbucks in China is truly an exception. One of the major points that Min made in the paper is that Starbucks has become commercialized private space: "people stay at cafés as strangers to protect their personal life", Min writes.

The presentation starts with a theoretical grounding by tracing back to the paradigm of food research in the global context. It then offers evidences and answers to questions such as why McDonald's and Starbucks create very different localized image, what contributes to the success of the consumption class or "a sense of distinction", etc. This research provides a very insightful analysis that helps readers to understand the phenomenon of localized globalization as well as the construction of the social consumption class.

Jianhua Zhao's paper "Designing for the Sake of Art or for the Market?--The Cultural Economy of Fashion Design in China" studies the state of a commercial art, namely, fashion design, in China. Portraying through two prominent Chinese fashion designers' strategies to make a name for themselves in a market largely defined by established Western genres, Zhao argues that Chinese artists are hardly the copycat many critics have accused them of being. Rather, facing the challenge of a late entry into a globalizing fashion market, Chinese designers have shown originality both in their designs and in their business models. Mr. Yuan has established a line under his name that produces relatively inexpensive accessories for more famous fashion lines, opening a niche for his business in the high-end market. Ms. Ye, on the other hand, contracts her work out to clothing manufacturers, maintaining control over her creative output while sacrificing personal name recognition. Yuan's overriding concern for marketability has shaped his business model, while Ye's emphasis on artistic quality has dictated her design-shop approach. These two examples showcase the complex ways in which local and global factors intertwine as Chinese designers move into the globalizing fashion industry. They also illustrate the often-tricky relationship between the artistic and commercial aspects of fashion production.

At the conference, Zhao's paper brought up several questions regarding creativity in a global market. For example, a question was raised as to whether this phenomenon is unique to China or whether similar local and individual adaptations of a medium dominated by western paradigms can be found in other places, such as Bollywood cinema. Similar to Min Zhang's paper from the same panel, Zhao's paper depicts the development of new identities as educated and upwardly mobile groups—both the producers and the consumers of fashion—engage a globalizing market economy. These depictions are important but the paper fails to touch on the implications of these developing class identities in an increasingly stratified China as well as ways similar market processes are affecting other groups of people. As Jianhua Zhao shows, the development of locally rooted, market-driven identities and their accompanying creative strategies can lead to meaningful exceptions in western hegemony that is often disguised as globalization.

PANEL SIX: SCRUTINIZING ZHANG YIMOU AND HIS FILMS

(Speakers: Jie LI, Kang LIAO; Discussants: Lei GUANG, Junling MA)

The speakers on this panel are Jie Li, a freelance writer and literary critic from New York, and Kang Liao, a lecturer who teaches Chinese in the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California. The Discussants are Lei Guang, Associate Professor of Political Science at San Diego State University, and Junling Ma, an attorney from Los Angeles.

The last panel scrutinizes Zhang Yimou, one of the best known film directors in China today, and his rich cornucopia of movies. The first speaker is Kang Liao. He presented a largely sympathetic interpretation of Zhang Yimou's controversial 2002 film "Hero," focusing on the aesthetic perfection of the movie, including its cinematography, creative use of color, fine acting and exquisite music. Contrary to widespread criticisms, Liao does not see the movie as Zhang Yimou's attempt as a nod to authoritarianism. Rather, he believes that the film at most presents a positive view of Emperor Qin's capability, and it does not attempt to justify the Emperor's action as "virtuous" in any ethical sense. If anything, Liao points out, the film's depiction of a cruel, dark, lonely and depressed figure in Emperor Qin contrasts sharply with that of an impassionate, colorful, bright and free-spirited assassins (侠客). Liao also hypothesizes that the director may well have intended to create a tragedy in the classic sense, in that the assassins' sacrifice gave rise not to a peaceful world but to atrocity and brutal rule of Emperor Qin.

The second speaker, Jie Li, a renowned writer and literary and cultural critic now living in New York, examined Hero and Zhang Yimou's movies in a historical and cultural context. To Li, the movie *To Live*, the epic illustrating the resilience of ordinary Chinese folks throughout upheavals in 20th century Chinese politics, represents the peak of Zhang Yimou's movie career and also a turning point, after it won the Grand Prize at the 1994 Cannes Film Festival but was banned in China. To avoid being banished, Zhang Yimou made a conscious decision to give up directing movies that reflect social reality. Henceforward, his movies exhibit an escapist's tendency in his aiming for commercial success and catering to the Oscar vote. His trilogy of action movies, *Hero*, *House of Flying Daggers* and *Curse of the Golden Flowers* show Zhang Yimou's efforts to please the authoritarian and international commercial interest. To Li, they embody intolerable cynicism, faked and soulless heroism and Chinese cultural hooliganism. Li also questions the originality of *Hero*, and traces its narrative style and use of fabric to three movie classics: Akira Kurosawa's *Ran* and *Rashomon* (黑泽明的《乱》和《罗生门》), and Wong Kar-wai's *Ashes of Time* (王家卫的《东邪西毒》). Li thus mourns the fall of an aspiring master in Zhang Yimou as a first-rate craftsmanship in directing and cinematography, and he calls for more self reflection, soul searching, free spirit and independent thinking in the Chinese intellectual community.

PARTICIPANT COMMENTS

This year's meeting again establishes OYCF as a premium forum for serious engagement with China-related issues. Below are some testimonials from several people who have spoken at the meeting:

Congratulations and thank you for a successful and meaningful conference! I was most delighted to see so many young Chinese scholars gathered in Ann Arbor, sharing the latest fruits of their research, and building intellectual and social bridges. As a scholar, I felt energized by their informative reports and revealing analyses of the China that is transforming in front of our eyes. As a Chinese-American, I was touched by their efforts to remember China's past and to prepare for her future...

---Joseph Lam, Professor of Musicology and Director of the Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments, University of Michigan.

I returned to Brunswick, Maine, but still indulged in the beautiful memories of the forum...The attraction of the forum lies in its interdisciplinary approach to the central theme of "cultural production and consumption." I learned a great deal from the presentations that took art, music, fashion, architecture, and even food/drink to examine the thesis of cultural production/consumption...Another profound attraction of the forum is the organization itself...We frequently attend conferences, but no one would pick you up at the airport and offered you shampoo/conditioner. I was thinking during those two days, what an excellent group of young people that have come under the banner of OYCF!

---Shuqin Cui, Associate Professor and Director of Chinese Studies, Bowdoin College.

So many conferences have too many panels and/or not enough time for real exchange of ideas, but OYCF allows for an extended and meaningful discussion of issues of vital interest to scholars of China...The experience left me with a heightened appreciation of just how much overseas young Chinese scholars are contributing to academic discourse in North America today, a contribution which is sure to grow further in the future as the

extremely talented scholars such as those in OYCF go on to become leaders in their fields and mentors for future generations of Chinese students in American universities...the conference left me feeling very confident about the strength of Chinese studies in the American academy today...

---Jason McGrath, Assistant Professor of Asian Languages and Literature, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities.

The OYCF annual conference is an excellent venue for scholarship in the China field. I am most impressed by the long-standing commitment and dedication of the conference organizers and sponsors. The friendly and supportive atmosphere at the conference makes the gathering all the more pleasant.

---Jianhua Zhao, Ph.D candidate in Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh.

This past OYCF meetings is a great success in many aspects. It is a well-organized event by a highly motivated team. From the conference planning to the logistic coordination, it is enormous multi-months effort. The speakers are from diverse background and the topics are very interesting...I also love the social time a lot, which left me with friends and memorable moments.

---Weijian Xuan, MBA student, University of Michigan.

Teaching Quantitative Research Methods at Wuhan University

在武汉大学讲授定量研究方法

Xiaobin HE and Weiwei SHEN

(何晓斌、沈伟伟)

Under the support of an OYCF-Ford teaching fellowship, we taught a course called “Introduction to Quantitative Research Methods in Social Sciences” in the Sociology Department at Wuhan University during the winter break (December 8-29, 2006).

PREPARATION AND ON-SITE MODIFICATION

Among courses supported by OYCF teaching fellowships so far, ours was the first on research methods in social sciences. The uniqueness of this course is that the difficulty of the materials is highly dependent on students’ previous training in research methods and statistical theories, which means that we would have to adjust the course level dynamically according to students’ background and their learning progress. We originally designed this course for advanced undergraduate students in the Sociology Department at Wuhan University, planning to provide 20 hours of theoretical lectures and 20 hours of hands-on sessions in the computer lab. However, shortly before we left for China, we learned that the Sociology Department made our course a 3-unit required course for the first-year master’s and doctoral students based on their need in research methods training, and that due to the capacity of the computer lab, enrollment would be limited to graduate students. In the end, forty graduate students enrolled in this course (the maximum capacity of the lab was 40).

The teaching plan was slightly changed when we had direct communication with students in the class. The course was aiming at teaching students how to systematically and rigorously analyze quantitative data and how to write an academic paper based on quantitative data analysis. The original course design had been based on our judgment on the need of sociology students in China. The final outcome showed that our judgment was largely correct, but we overestimated their training in quantitative research. The students were very diverse in their background, most of them with little background in statistics courses or statistical software. We modified the syllabus accordingly, reducing the theoretical part and focusing more on the computer application. We also extended the lab sessions to 40 hours (making a total of 60 hours of class time) to allow more interaction with students.

TEACHING THE COURSE

The course was composed of three parts: statistical theory (such as T-test, chi-square test, correlation, hypothesis testing, OLS estimation), the application of the theory with computer-assisted statistical softwares SPSS and STATA (including SPSS syntax and STATA commands for univariate statistics, ANOVA, linear and logistic regressions), and writing papers with computer analysis results (e.g., how to present statistical results clearly and effectively with tables and figures and how to interpret and write about the results). Theory was necessary in our course but not our major focus. Our main target was to teach students how to systematically and

scientifically analyze real social science data, and how to write an academic paper using quantitative results. We have benefited from this approach in our training in American graduate schools, and would like to pass this onto students in China.

The course was intensive both for students and us. Classes met every day from 8:00 am to 11:00 am in the computer lab. In addition to regular meetings, students were required to complete two assignments and a final project based on statistical analyses of the quantitative data of their choice. In order to pass the course, students needed to work very hard after class.

The work for us instructors was intensive and challenging as well. Although the lectures were in Chinese, we had to find a simple way to explain the complicated statistical theory and interpret the statistical programs with more comprehensible examples in the limited time we had. We also needed to work on the data and write a detailed program every afternoon for the class next day, and present the program step by step to the students during class.

Multimedia assistance played an important role in our teaching. Thanks to the newly established multimedia lab in the department, we were able to use power point slides to lecture on the theory part, and more importantly to present the statistical program step by step on screen so that students could replicate it on their own computers simultaneously. In addition, we uploaded all written programs to the Stanford web server, where students could access them freely during and after class.

As mentioned above, students were required to complete two assignments and one final project. During the course of teaching, this seemed to be too demanding for students in such a short period, but would be feasible for other courses designed for a longer time. To accommodate our time limit, we allowed students to complete the assignments and the final project in groups of 6. This later proved to be a wise decision. Although not all students did equally well on the assignments and the project, such requirements did help them absorb the course material better.

FEEDBACK FROM THE STUDENTS

Most students thought that this course gave them a chance to get familiar with a set of useful statistical methods and techniques in sociology. For a lot of students who graduated from non-sociology majors, some basic techniques from this course such as merging dataset, dummy coding and running and interpreting a linear regression paved the way to more advanced sociological data analysis. Analyzing real data with SPSS and STATA programming was also rarely taught in their existing methods courses.

Everyone agreed that this course was so short that there were little time to absorb and practice all the materials. They realized that methodology courses to a great extent rely on self-learning through practice. In the meanwhile, students highly appreciated our responsive and patient attitudes toward all kinds of questions from them.

SOME THOUGHTS FOR FUTURE TEACHING

Overall, we achieved our goal in teaching through project-like procedures. In retrospect, a few points may be helpful to future courses on methods in social sciences.

First, it is more effective to focus on applications rather than on theoretical instructions in a short period. On the one hand, graduate students in sociology and other social science fields tend to be diverse in their background and have little training in statistics. It is easier for them to know how and harder to understand why. On the other hand, theoretical resources are as rich in Chinese universities as in American graduate schools. Most universities had courses in statistical theories

in the Statistics Department. In contrast, most Chinese universities have few programs on how to apply statistical theories in social science studies.

Second, demonstration with step-by-step analysis on real data turned out to be effective and feasible. For each class, we spent at least half of the time on analyzing real data. Through this process, students were able to get first-hand experience on how to conduct quantitative research, and can always use their notes as reference for future research.

Last but not the least, the full support of the sponsoring department is important. Without the full cooperation of the Sociology Department of Wuhan University, it would have been impossible to complete our teaching task.

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We would like to express our sincere gratitude to the OYCF teaching program and the Sociology Department of Wuhan University, which made the short-term course possible. Through this short period teaching, we have accumulated valuable experience in preparing and teaching a methodology course, which in the long run will be helpful to our career development and teaching in the sociology field. In addition, we are also very glad that we passed what we had learned at Stanford to students in China and that they felt the course valuable.

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