

遵，邪徑近而易踐。小人皆俯從其易，不能力行其難，故禍敗及之。君子勞處其難，不能逸居其易，故福慶流之。是知禍福無門，唯人所召，欲悔非於既往，唯慎過於將來。⁶⁵

我們從《帝範》去瞭解唐太宗的治國理念，就不難發現太宗為何能締造貞觀之治的繁榮時代。其中最主要的原因，是太宗採用儒家的道德政治作為治國的圭臬，以民為本，以身作則。儒家思想為政治提供了道德的最高根據，在觀念上突破了專制政治的約束，其價值在現今來說，已經超越了古代的時空和政治的領域。

⁶⁵《帝範》卷下，頁4上。

Confucian Entrepreneur - Christian Entrepreneur The Evolutionary Outlook for the Selfish Meme

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Global Interdependence

History may tell us that the 1997 Asian financial crisis was a strategic disaster for the Christian Anglo-American communities (1). It may also suggest the major Confucian East Asian powers used it to consolidate growing financial and industrial power (2). It was a dimly understood contest between two competing entrepreneurial groups. There were the individualistic, "new economy" Christians guided from the noisy excitement of a global centre in the New York-Washington corridor and there were the much more discreet and consensual Confucians often working from musty corridors of government in Tokyo, Shanghai, Taipei and elsewhere. One focused on debt-led consumption and technological entrepreneurship aided by the manipulation of financial symbols (3) while the other built up community savings

and monopolies in hi-tech manufacturing through government guided strategic pragmatism (4).

The Confucians draw from Daoism, Buddhism and Chinese strategy as well as other ancient East Asian and recent Christian socio-political influences. Today there are even numerous Confucian Christians. The Christians mostly draw more narrowly from the pre-Christian West, the modern secular West and the Jewish West.

This Confucian Christian relationship is both competitive and cooperative. It is also fundamental and pervasive. Complex international trade, production, research, innovation and information networks distinguish little between each side. As a result major differences between Confucians and Christians remain largely unremarked even as they begin to render many familiar economic, diplomatic and defence values anachronistic and counter-productive. Christian ideology and Confucian pragmatism have produced a powerful but uncertain bond. Even the democratisation of Confucian East Asia, informed by a unique and deep-rooted tradition of bureaucratic excellence, takes vibrant forms in places like Singapore unexpected in Christian capitals.

Today's knowledge revolution is driven by this dynamic relationship of Christian and Confucian entrepreneurial communities, producing rapid change in the ideas that organise our economies and societies. In many parts of the world the pace of change alienates local communities that understand poorly the ideas and tactics of global leaders and entrepreneurs (5). Increasingly,

human evolution is driven more by the selfish meme than the selfish gene (6), by changing ideas rather than by changing bodies. Still, the evolutionary processes of the past four billion years have changed little (7), remaining the product of a repetitive process of "vicious attack, compromise and ultimate partnership" (8). Is Christian attack vulnerable to Confucian partnership?

Some Historical Reflections

Four thousand years of written human history, and of increasingly aggressive meme development, suggests that Christians and Confucians, whatever their shared characteristics, have developed different human possibilities in their cultural, and meme, development. This applies in respect of virtue, philosophy, concepts and institutions. Christianity early became identified with the Greek passion for metaphysical and mystical certainty (9) and the Roman preoccupation with imperial politics (10). In contrast, Confucianism nurtured a unique spiritual tradition focused on the human if autocratic administration of the community and added several independent forms of religious discipline (Daoism and Buddhism) to focus on the individual's pragmatic mastery of instinct and intuition. By the beginning of the 21st Century contrasting habits of the heart and mind had produced an entrepreneurial partnership of great dynamism, but also of frequent misunderstanding and frustration.

After Chinese Ming dynasty leaders decided in the 15th Century not to further develop and exploit their superior seagoing technology (11) they left the globe to adventurous Christian

entrepreneurs. From the 16th Century, English tradesmen, perhaps inspired by the spirit of a Monarch's declaration of independence from Rome's Christian authority, used the financial innovation of the joint stock company to initiate the building of a vast commercial enterprise that came to control half the world's trade and administer an embryonic empire. They became known as "The Grandest Society of Merchants in the Universe" or the East India Company (12). They and their successors initiated much change far from British shores. England became the home of economic theory, nurturing thinkers like Adam Smith, David Ricardo and even the German Karl Marx. John Maynard Keynes carried this tradition into the 20th Century before Britain passed the banner to a series of American Nobel laureates (13). Vast global power and change was legitimised by this theory, even by that of Karl Marx.

The entrepreneurial spirit of the British and other Christian powers also informed the Industrial Revolution and the Enlightenment, laying the foundation for the second half of the 20th Century that saw American thinkers and entrepreneurs introduce powerful new symbols to economic life, again notably in financial innovation (14). Often, these were designed to legitimise American led consumption and innovation funded by the savings of other communities, many in Confucian East Asia. The entrepreneurial strategists of Confucian Asia have accommodated this partly as a condition for accessing American markets and technology but more importantly as a tactic for reinforcing customs of frugality and saving, consolidating hi-tech manufacturing, and building long-term American dependence on East Asian economies (15). The response has been common to Confucian communities,

regardless of political ideology.

United States financial innovations of the last several decades of the 20th Century included junk bonds, financial derivatives, hedge funds, aggressive venture capital, stock option salaries and an entrepreneurial Federal Reserve. These all contributed to the impossible dream of the "new economy" and encouraged an almost obsessive level of high energy and high-risk innovation and enterprise. This in turn increased the pace of change and the pressures on a global system where many communities are ill disposed towards but helpless before American style financial imperatives. Confucian Asia has been unique in its capacity to absorb shocks from American financial entrepreneurs and turn these to long-term advantage. Even after the 1997 Asian financial crisis East Asia remained the fastest growing region in the world, the centre for critical hi-tech manufacturing components, the repository of the world's largest savings' reserves and the home of the world's safest and largest cities (16).

Sources of Confucian Robustness

What has enabled the Confucian peoples to respond with unique success to the Christian challenge (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22)? Outside the world of the Christian, Islamic and Judaic religions there is no comparable large community bonded by a shared spiritual vision. Moreover, during the past two thousand years Confucianism has proved itself in good and bad times in guiding government that has presided over the world's largest single political community of people (23). Most important the Confucian

tradition has provided a distinctive and successful framework for the formation of human institutions, philosophies, concepts, and virtues.

In institutions, the Confucian focus is on community and familial relationships and responsibilities, not on the rights of the individual (24). The tradition is identified with the most demanding academic preparation and competition, the appointment of the most outstanding students to positions of lifetime government responsibility and the maintenance of the highest standards of excellence in the collegiate and paternal exercise of administrative duty. This ethos still provides the institutional backbone of all Confucian communities and it reaches in various ways into the giant corporate entities of Confucian origin that span the world, from Japanese keiretsu to the family conglomerates of the Chinese diaspora (25). The elite character of Confucian government and corporate leaderships is often criticised by the Christian world as undemocratic and autocratic but this conveniently ignores the ethos of community responsibility, of personal discipline and of material frugality that characterises such leaderships. It also neglects their success in raising the prosperity and welfare of their peoples and their generally equitable distribution of income. Moreover, it dishonestly devalues the community strength that derives from a settled and coherent leadership community, the strategic flexibility that is facilitated by collegial familiarity and trust, and the leadership power that is nurtured by shared intellectual excellence. While history shows that Confucian leaderships can become comfortable, complacent and indolent, whether in Ming Dynasty China or, perhaps, in contemporary Japan, there can be little dispute

that the historical record, including the past fifty years, is one of remarkable and unrivalled achievement.

In contrast, Christian institutions have never enjoyed the same certainty of organisational values, history of continuous achievement or written record of accumulated experience. Rather they travelled from imperial might in ancient Rome, to excess and spiritual corruption in medieval Rome, to individual assertion in the Protestant Reformation, to intellectual arrogance in the Enlightenment (26) (27), and finally to the shrill assertion of contemporary individual, human and democratic rights (28). Even democracy is a recent experiment that has prospered amidst privilege and power and that has yet to prove its global relevance and long-term resilience.

In philosophy, the seminal source is the Yi Jing, an authoritative text that predates the birth of Confucius by at least half a millennia but that continues to live (29) (30) (31). New interpretations build on its dynamic sense of complementary and contending forces that recur and redefine man's world. The interaction of yin and yang provide for a very different sense of order to that offered by Platonic forms and linear logic. The Yi Jing encourages a sense of the energy and ambiguity that has been discovered at the quantum level of physics and that has been expressed also in recent chaos theory and fuzzy logic. Indeed the early Chinese recognition of magnetic power in the earth, of qi or energy meridians in the body and of the pervasive qualities of water in nature long reflected a perception of the character of life and science very different from and in many ways more profound than that of the Christian world.

In concepts, the Confucian world was centuries if not millennia ahead of the Christian world in recognising the power wielded by those who use literary skill to manipulate concepts, symbols and memes to administer and govern human communities. Even more important, they were also in advance in devising spiritual disciplines designed to preserve the human capacity to directly experience and evaluate the world in which homo sapiens must live and work. This was achieved through Daoist and Chan Buddhist teachings and disciplines that worked to deepen the human capacity for direct intuitive and instinctual perception and for poised reflection on paradox and the contradictions of alternative perceptions (32). The Confucian tradition sought both the mastery of conceptual power and the means to free oneself from its tyranny.

In virtue, the Confucian world has understood for at least three thousand years the vulnerability produced by moral weakness. The twelve civil offensives of Tai Gong (33), which conceivably predate the birth of Confucius by five hundred years, reveal a profound understanding of the ways in which a rival's lack of virtue can be turned to strategic advantage. Of course, the counterpart of this is the need for moral strength. Accordingly, the Confucian tradition has long examined and recorded the role of virtue in the exercise of power and it is naïf in the extreme for the Christian world to assume a sense of unquestioned moral superiority over the so-called "crony capitalism" of East Asia. Clearly, the use of capitalist and market incentives to mobilise economic and entrepreneurial energies does generate some confusion in terms of traditional Confucian notions of virtue. At the same time, the past fifty years has shown Confucian economies throughout East Asia

generating massive savings, powerful hi-tech manufacturing capacity, the world's largest and safest cities, educational excellence and superior bureaucratic strategists. This quality of Confucian virtue remains poorly understood in the Christian world.

Contrasting Habits of Heart and Mind

Christian entrepreneurs, invigorated by the energies of the Enlightenment, have not shaped a global community without recourse to vicious attacks on other cultures. Within that global community, however, Confucian entrepreneurs, with their instinct for ultimate partnership, shows signs of proving more robust. The Asian financial crisis revealed Christian discomfort towards serious partnership (34) with a resurgent Confucian world. Different habits of the heart and mind (35) resort to contrasting financial and other strategies.

The following are some references that illustrate points in the text, either from specific pages or from the general theses of the work. Many of the assertions and judgements in the paper are, however, the product of more than thirty five years association with, interest in and reading about the Confucian world since I arrived in Tokyo in early 1964 as an Australian diplomatic language student. While some of these assertions and judgements may seem surprising I believe they can be much more easily defended and legitimised than many assertions and judgements expressed daily in the English language global media.

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儒家企業家——基督教企業家

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壹、全球性的相互依賴

歷史告訴我們，1997年亞洲金融危機對英美基督教團體來說是一次戰略性的災難，它也暗示了東亞主要的儒家思想勢力利用這次金融危機鞏固了正在增長的金融和工業力量，這是一場在兩個競爭的思想陣營不講自明的比賽。其中有個人主義，「新經濟」，有受紐約-華盛頓全球中心發出的喧鬧的興奮所控制的基督教徒。而言行謹慎、意見一致的儒學家們經常影響著那些不活躍的東京、上海、臺北等地政府。其中之一注重債務引導消費和通過操縱金融符號來輔助科技企業，而另一個則是通過政府控制的戰略性的實用主義發展社會儲蓄和壟斷高科技製造業。

儒學不僅從道教、佛教和中國兵法中汲取，同樣也受到古代東亞和近代基督教的社會政治的影響。現在甚至有許多儒學基督

教徒。而基督教大多只狹窄地從前基督教、現代非宗教和猶太教的西洋文化中汲取營養。

儒學和基督教的關係既是相互競爭，又是相互協作的，這是根本的、普遍的。綜合的世界貿易、生產、研究、革新和信息網這兩方面只略微區別。因此，儒學和基督教主要的不同是大量的不受注意的方面，甚至當他們在經濟、外交、防禦等價值觀念上帶來的影響也常被忽略不計。基督教的理想主義和儒學的實用主義形成一個有力但易變的結合。在東亞，儒教的民主主義根植在優良的官僚主義傳統上，在許多地方如新加坡基督教都採取鮮明、有活力的形式。

基督教和儒家團體之間動態的關係促使了今天的知識革命，並造成了組織我們的經濟和社會的觀念上的迅速轉變。在世界的許多地方，轉變的步伐疏遠了當地的團體，他們不能充分地理解全球領袖和企業家的觀念和策略。逐漸地，人類發展演變與其說由自私基因，不如說由自私人性造成的；與其說實體的轉變，不如說是觀念的轉變造成的。在過去的四百萬年中，演變過程幾乎沒有改變，仍然是「惡意攻擊、和解、最終合作」這個重復過程的產物。在儒家的合作意識面前，基督教的進攻戰略變得不堪一擊。

貳、歷史的反思

四千年的人類文明史，人類侵略性日益增長，暗示著基督教和儒學，無論他們有著怎樣的共同特性，在文化、人性、發展上逐漸形成人類不同的趨勢。這反映在對美德的尊重，哲學觀念和制度上。基督教早期與希臘人形而上學和神秘宿命論及羅馬人崇尚的帝國政治混為一體。相比之下，儒學發展的是以人為中心的獨特的精神上的傳統。如果社會的獨裁統治，輔以幾種相互獨立形式的宗教教規（道教和佛教），注重個人本能和直覺的實際掌

握。21世紀初，基督教和儒學兩者心智上的強烈差別形成了充滿活力的企業合夥關係，但也經常帶來誤解和挫折。

在15世紀，中國明代之後的帝王決定不再進一步發展和開拓他們出色的遠航技術，把全球留給了富於冒險精神的基督教企業家。從16世紀，或許是受君主從羅馬基督教獨立出來時的宣言鼓舞了英國商人。他們利用合資股份公司的財政改革開始發展了大量的商業公司進而控制了半個世界的貿易，孕育出一個大帝國。他們開始以「世界上最偉大商人社會」和東印度公司聞名於世。他們和他們的後代引起的巨大變化遠遠超出了英國邊界。英格蘭變成了經濟理論的搖籃，培育了一批思想家如 Adam Smith, David Ricardo 和甚至德國的卡爾·馬克思。在英國將這一旗幟傳遞給美國貴族之前，John Maynard Keynes 將這一傳統帶入了20世紀。根據這一理論，甚至是卡爾·馬克思的理論，使得全球大多權力和變革都合法化。

英國和其他基督教勢力的企業精神也告知了工業革命的啓蒙運動，為20世紀後50年瞭解美國思想家和企業家將強有力的新符號引進到經濟領域，又一次為金融變革奠定了基礎。這些是為使美國引導的消費和革新合法化而設計的。而這些消費和革新是由其他社會團體的儲蓄，其中包括儒家思想的東亞社團。亞洲儒家的企業戰略部分適應了作為進入美國市場和技術的條件，但更重要的是適應了作為一種策略，即為加強儉約和儲蓄的習慣，鞏固高科技製造業，建立美國對東亞經濟的長期依賴，不管是哪種政治意識形態的儒家團體作出的反應都是共同的。

20世紀的後幾十年中，美國的金融變革包括垃圾債券、金融衍生物、套期保值基金、大膽的風險投資、買賣股票的薪水和聯邦儲備系統。這些變化都歸功於「新經濟」這個不可能實現的夢。這提倡的是一種對高能量、高風險創新和進取近乎著迷的程度。這就依次增強了全球系統變革的步伐和壓力，也使許多社團對此應接不暇。但儒家思想的亞洲在吸收來自美國金融企業的震動並將

其轉化成長期優勢方面卻表現得無可匹敵。即使在 1997 年亞洲金融風波之後，東亞仍然是世界增長最快的地區，高科技製造元件的中心，世界最大的儲蓄儲備，擁有世界最安全、最大型的城市。

參、儒家活力的來源

是什麼使得儒家對基督教的挑戰能作出獨特的，成功的反應？

在基督教，伊斯蘭教及猶太人的宗教世界之外沒有哪個大團體是由一個共享的精神世界結合在一起。此外，在過去的兩千年中，儒教證明了它自己能在各種時期領導政府主持管理這個世界上最大的單一政治的社會。最主要的是，儒學傳統對人類制度、哲學、觀念和德行的形成提供了一個與眾不同的成功的框架。

在制度方面，儒家重視的是社會和家庭的關係和責任，而不是個人的權利。儒家傳統被認為是最重視嚴格的學術上的準備和競爭，最出色的學生被安置在政府的終身職位並在學校和家庭中履行最高標準的管理職責，這種社會精神給所有儒家社團提供了體制上的支持。並且它以各種途徑影響到世界各地區儒家的大企業實體。從日本的 Keiretsu 到散居在外的中國家庭聚集。儒家政府和公司的領導階層的傑出特徵常常被基督教批評為不民主和獨裁的。這容易忽視了領導階層社會責任的民族精神、個人原則和物質上節儉等特性，也忽視了他們在提高人民的財富、福利和公平的分配收入等方面的成功。而且，這不正當地貶低了那些從固定的、有凝聚力的領導階層獲得的社會力量，由於學院類的親近和信任而形成的戰略上的重要的柔韌性和由傑出的知識份子參與而壯大的領導階層的權力。儘管，歷史顯示了在明代的中國或是同時期的日本，儒家的領導階層有可能變得貪圖舒適、自滿、懶惰。但在歷史記載中，包括過去的五十年，他們的成績是

顯著的、非凡的、這一點是無可爭議的。

相比之下，基督教制度從未享有過相同程度的組織價值的保證或是連續成就的歷史或是積累經驗的記載。相反地，他們只是遊歷了從古羅馬的帝國權力，到中世紀羅馬的無節制和精神頹廢，到十六世紀新教改革運動的個人主張，到十八世紀啓蒙運動的知識份子的傲慢，到最後的對同時期的個人、人類和民主權力妄下斷言。民主政治也是近來在特權和權力中興起的一個實驗，以證明它的全球適應力和長期順應力。

在哲學方面，來源於易經，一個比儒學誕生至少早五百年但仍然活躍在人們記憶之中的權威經文。新解釋建立在重現或重新定義人類世界的補充和競爭的力量動態觀念上。陰陽的相互作用提供了一個與柏拉圖形式和線性邏輯的次序截然不同的觀念。易經提倡的能量和模糊的觀念，是在物理量子範圍被發現的，並在新近提出的混沌理論和模糊邏輯中表達的。實際上，早期中國人對地球的磁場、對人體的氣和能量相關以及對自然界水的滲透性質等的認知都反映出他們對生命和科學特性的理解，這些都不同於基督教社會，而且在許多方面都有更高的造詣。

在觀念上，儒學社會如果沒有比基督教社會早一千年也早了幾百年先認識到權力因由那些運用文學技巧操縱觀念、符號和人性的人掌握來管理人類社會。更重要的是。他們先沒想出為保存人們直接經歷和評價這個人類在這兒生活和工作的社會的能力而設計的精神修行戒律。這是通過道教和佛教的教義和教規來完成的。這些教義加深了人們直覺和本能的感知能力，和對似是而非或矛盾論點的選擇性的理解能力。儒教傳統尋找的是對概念上力量的掌握和從暴政中解脫自己的方法。

在德行上，儒教社會早在三千年前就懂得了由道德缺陷而產生的弱點。比儒學出現早五百年的 Tai Gong 上的十二條戒律，顯示了將對手德行上的弱點轉變成戰略優勢的深刻理解。當然，與此相對的是道德力量的需要。因此，儒家傳統長期調查和記

錄。在權力運用中德行扮演自己的角色。對基督教來說，對所謂的「資本主義老朋友」的對東亞擺出道德上的優越感是極端天真的。無疑地，根據儒家傳統的美德觀念，利用資金和市場來調動經濟和企業的活力必將產生一些混亂。同時，過去的五十年顯示了遍及東亞的儒學經濟產生了大量的儲蓄，強有力的高科技生產能力、世界上最大最安全的城市、優越的教育和高級的官僚戰略家。儒學的德行品德在基督教社會是無法理解的。

肆、心智習慣的反差

基督教人性受啓蒙運動的鼓舞，如果不借助於其他文化的惡意攻擊不會形成全球性的團體。然而，在這全球性的團體中，儒家則憑他們與生俱來的協作精神，顯示出其更具活力的跡象。亞洲金融危機顯示基督教對嚴肅的合作意識的、振起的儒教思想不適應。心智習慣的反差導致採取截然不同的金融戰略。

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閱讀《論語》札記—— 從《論語》看詮釋系譜學諸問題

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壹、經典及其異體之認識

傳統中國經典 (classics) 的歷代注疏，對原文所提供的解釋猶如地質層，原文加注，後再加疏，層層的詮釋，累積為傳統中國的豐富文化遺產，其多元化使中國思想史，成為永無止盡的研討學習領

¹ 在此所用叢書類的版本如下：《皇清經解》（廣州：學海堂，1892年）；《四部備要》（100冊；北京：中華書局，〔1936〕1989年）；《四部叢刊〔正編〕》（100冊；台北：台灣商務印書館，1979年）；《〔欽定〕四庫全書》（上海：上海古籍出版社，1987年）；《十三經注疏〔附校勘記〕》（8冊；台北：藝文印書館，1985年）；《諸子集成》（8冊；北京：中華書局，〔1954〕1993年）；嚴靈峰：《無求備齋論語集成》（台北：藝文印書館，1966年）。