

思考香港的社會、政治與未來 哲學月講座系列

THINKING ABOUT HONG KONG: SOCIETY, POLITICS AND FUTURE

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香港浸會大學宗教及哲學系於 2014 年 10 月至 11 月期間舉辦了「2014 年度哲學月講座系列」，邀請了成名、陳祖為及呂大樂等三位著名學者，分析香港政治的不同面向。去年的 10 月至 11 月，正值雨傘運動中段，思考香港的社會、政治與未來，正好配合了時代的需要。

Three prominent scholars shared their views about Hong Kong politics in a series of lectures organized by the Department of Religion and Philosophy at Hong Kong Baptist University during the Month of Philosophy from October to November 2014. The lectures – delivered by Prof. Dixon Sing Ming, Prof. Joseph Chan Cho-wai and Prof. Lui Tai-lok – could hardly be more timely as they drew attention to different dimensions of Hong Kong politics at a time when the Umbrella Movement was in full swing and questions about society, politics and the future were on the minds of many people in Hong Kong.

原始反終，雨傘運動的回顧與展望

在第一場演講中，香港科技大學社會科學部副教授成名教授，以「沒有真普選，會如何影響香港的管治」為題，向與會者分享對雨傘運動的成因及非暴力抗爭的優勢等議題的看法。

在雨傘運動成因方面，成教授認為雖然警方發放催淚彈為事件的觸發點，但事件的爆發卻反映了香港社會的深層次矛盾，如自由的侵蝕、貧富越見懸殊、向上流動性低、政治問責制的失效及中港矛盾等。加上，中共政府多年來對香港採取「以商制政」的策略，這可從大陸在港投資份額得到佐證。故此，雨傘運動在某程度上可說是港人恐懼與憂慮的一個反動，絕不僅僅是一歷史的偶然。

雨傘運動所採取的非暴力抗爭模式，亦是社會重要議題。從歷史資料作比較，成教授指出非暴力抗爭實遠比暴力抗爭優勝。首先，在 67 個經歷民主轉型的獨裁政權中，非暴力的民主運動在其中 75% 國家扮演關鍵的因素；再者，2010 年哥倫比亞大學

A brief review of the progress and prospects of the Umbrella Movement

In the first lecture, entitled “How will Hong Kong’s governance be affected if there is no real universal suffrage?”, Prof. Sing, Associate Professor of Social Science at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, shared his views about issues such as the causes of the Umbrella Movement and the advantages of adopting a non-violent approach to political struggle.

According to Prof. Sing, the police use of tear gas simply provided the occasion for the Umbrella Movement, which could be seen as a reflection of deep-rooted conflicts such as the infringement of freedoms, the widening gap between the rich and the poor, the limited prospects for upward social mobility, the government’s lack of political accountability, the tensions between Hong Kong and mainland China, as well as the Chinese Communist Party’s manipulation of Hong Kong politics through the business sector, as evident in the mainland’s share of investment in Hong Kong. Prof. Sing concluded that to a certain extent the Umbrella Movement was not a historical accident but rather a response to the fears and worries of people in Hong Kong.



■ 左起：吳有能博士、郭偉聯博士、張穎博士、羅德格教授、黃煜教授、成名教授、關啟文教授、陳慎慶教授、費樂仁教授、譚翼輝博士、陳家富博士

From the left : Dr. William Ng, Dr. Kwok Wai Luen, Dr. Zhang Ellen Ying, Prof. Douglas Robinson, Prof. Huang Yu, Prof. Sing Ming, Prof. Kwan Kai Man, Prof. Chan Shun Hing, Prof. Lauren Pfister , Dr. Tam Yik Fai, Dr. Keith Chan

自 1900 至 2006 年的一個大型研究發現，非暴力抗爭較暴力的成功機會超出兩倍以上，尤其是當示威者是被壓抑的群體，更能激發更大的公眾同情。此外，非暴力抗爭亦有較大機會帶來和平穩定的民主政治。因此，非暴力抗爭實為香港應當採用的抗爭模式。最後，成教授補充香港民主運動的主要阻力有公民社會強度不足、國際社會基於自身利益而不敢反對中國政府為香港發聲等，寄語香港人要自強不息，堅持理想。

儒家的視角——民主與選舉的重新審視

哲學月的第二場講座，由香港大學政治與公共行政學系陳祖為教授主講，講題為「為民主，再見/建儒家」。他提醒我們除了要掌握當下處境，亦要反思所追求的理想。陳教授的演講點出了儒家與民主的互補性，他認為儒家重責任的倫理思想，可補西方民主的缺失，而民主制度的落實亦可視為儒家精神的實現。陳教授首先指出，儒家的理想在於「大同」，而西方民主制度的基礎是個人權利。若如以儒家的角度來思考，則考慮責任多於權利。他以《孟子·梁惠王上》：『曰：「保民而王，莫之能御也。」』為例，指出儒家認為管治者應以人民利益為正當性

Debate has centred around the non-violent approach to political struggle largely adopted in the Umbrella Movement. According to Prof. Sing, analysis of historical data clearly shows the advantages of non-violence over the use of violence as a means to political ends. To start with, non-violent democratic movements played a crucial role in 75% of the 67 cases where authoritarian regimes underwent a democratic transformation. Furthermore, a 2010 study conducted at Columbia University, which focused on the period between 1900 and 2006, found that the chances of success for non-violent campaigns of resistance were two times greater than those of violent ones, especially in cases where protestors belonging to oppressed groups were able to gain public sympathy. An added advantage is that non-violent campaigns stand a better chance of creating a more peaceful and stable form of democratic politics. Thus Prof. Sing recommended that non-violence should be adopted for campaigns of resistance in Hong Kong. Finally, Prof. Sing hoped that the people of Hong Kong would persevere despite major obstacles such as a weak civil society and the reluctance of the international community to risk damaging its own interests and speak up for Hong Kong against the Chinese Government.

Reexamining democratic elections from a Confucian perspective

The second lecture was given by Prof. Joseph Chan Cho-wai from the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Hong Kong, and entitled "Re-viewing/Re-building Confucianism for Democracy". Prof. Chan reminded us that we should not only have a firm grasp of the present situation but also rethink the ideals being pursued. He pointed out the complementarity between Confucianism and democracy, stressing that Confucianism with its emphasis on ethical responsibility could compensate for the shortcomings of Western forms of democracy, whereas the implementation



■ 香港大學政治與公共行政學系教授陳祖為教授 Prof. Joseph Chan Cho-wai from the Department of Politics and Public Administration at the University of Hong Kong



■ 陳祖為教授與浸大宗教及哲學系教授關啟文教授 Prof. Joseph Chan and Prof. Kwan Kai Man, Head of Department of Religion and Philosophy at HKBU

的來源，這與人民授權的民主精神能夠契合；此外，儒家向來講選賢與能，民主制度正能滿足這個要求。而根據陳教授之說，過於強調個人權利未必有助民主的推進，因為即使在保護自身權利時能尊重別人權利，但卻未必能有效推進整體利益，而儒家強調品德教育則可以彌補西方民主制度於此的不足，因為儒家強調對他者的責任，而這有效令個人思考超越自身利益，謀求公共利益。

陳教授以儒家補民主不足的想法也體現和呼應了呂教授強調的「想像力」，同時亦警醒我們，民主確不只一種解讀和實踐方法，更不是只能順應上位者的命令。

社會學，敢於想像未來

在哲學月的最後一場講座中，講者為香港教育學院亞洲及政策研究學系講座教授呂大樂教授，講題為「社會學的想像力」，從社會學的角度，提醒我們，必須敢於想像，才能找到新的切入點，發揮最大的潛力，為死局提供新的答案。呂教授提到社會學的濫觴是受到兩個革命的影響：一為工業革命，二為法國大革命。工業革命使社會形態產生巨大轉變，包括生活模式、城市化、資本主義的發展以至後來共產主義的興起。而法國大革命則使權力來源的觀念轉變，主權在民。社會學的出現正是為社會提供新的切入點，剖析問題，呂教授更認為社會學最大的特點在於「頑皮」。

事實上，雨傘運動的爆發亦不能忽視社會的背景。香港在過去數年的社會掙扎中，我們看到越來越多的年青人關心社會，甚至參與社會改革及政策討論，希望塑造自主而有影響力的公民社會，最有名的例子莫過於「學民思潮」的成立及其於「反國教運動」中的領導角色，最後逼使政府擱置計劃。而「學民思潮」的崛起，正是想像力的展現。

「雨傘運動」何嘗又不是一個香港公民想像力展現的一個例子呢？起初，由「佔中三子」戴耀廷教授、陳健民教授和朱耀明牧師發起的本來是「佔領中環」，豈料在928佔中三子提前宣佈佔中啟動當日，就有市民自發佔領旺角及銅鑼灣等地，一方面擴大了抗爭運動的活動空間，同時地，香港人的想像力也在開闢一片新天地。在這危急存亡之際，香港正需要廣大市民一同發揮想像力，重新思考中港關係、

of democratic institutions could be considered the actualisation of Confucianism. To start with, Prof. Chan suggested that the ideal of Confucianism lies in “great unity” (*datong*) whereas Western democracy is founded on individual rights. Prof. Chan said that a Confucian perspective would put more weight on responsibility than on rights. Quoting as an example a passage from *Mencius*, “If you become a king by taking care of the people, no one can oppose you”, Prof. Chan said that the Confucian belief in the interest of the people as the source of legitimacy is compatible with the democratic ideal of the rule of the people. Furthermore, he said that democratic institutions could put into practice the Confucian idea of selecting the virtuous and the talented. Prof. Chan suggested that overemphasising individual rights might not conduce to democratic progress, because pursuing individual rights – even if respecting others’ rights – might not effectively increase the overall benefits. Prof. Chan said that this shortcoming could be offset by the Confucian emphasis on moral education, because a sense of responsibility to others could effectively make individuals think beyond their self interests and pursue public interests.

Prof. Chan reminded us that democracy could be understood and put into practice in more than one way, and his vision of complementing Western forms of democracy with Confucian ideals was echoed by the emphasis on imagination in the last lecture of the series.

Sociology is all about daring to dream about the future

In a lecture entitled “The Imagination of Sociology”, Prof. Lui Tai-lok from the Department of Asian and Policy Studies at the Hong Kong Institute of Education stressed that we must dare to dream and use our imaginations if we are to find a new point of departure, realize our potential and break deadlocks. He said that sociology was born of a desire to understand two revolutions, i.e. the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution. The former brought about great social transformation involving lifestyle, urbanisation, capitalist development and the rise of communism; the latter altered the concept of the source of power, suggesting that sovereignty lies with the people. Sociology aims to provide a new point of departure, dissect problems and evaluate possible consequences. To Prof. Lui, “playfulness” is the most distinctive feature of sociology.

Indeed, the Umbrella Movement cannot be understood without reference to its social background. The past few years have seen campaigns of resistance in which an increasing number of young people took an active interest in social affairs and participated in social reforms and policy debates, in the hope of promoting an autonomic and influential civic society. The most remarkable example is the activist group Scholarism, which played a leading role in the campaign against



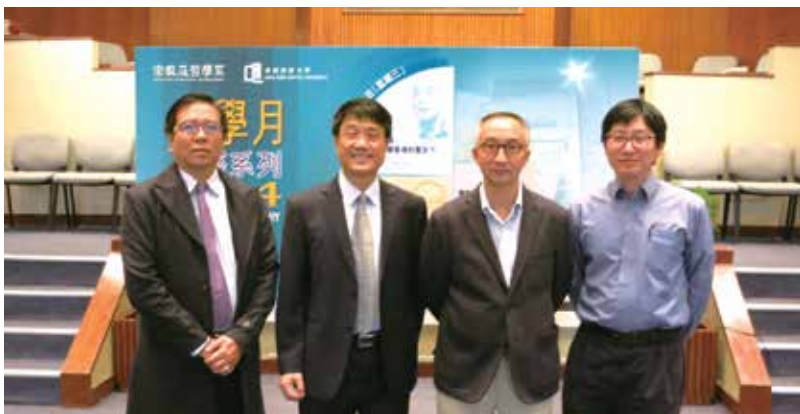
■ 香港教育學院亞洲及政策研究學系講座教授呂大樂教授
Prof. Lui Tai-lok from the Department of Asian and Policy Studies
at the Hong Kong Institute of Education

社會矛盾、經濟問題等根本議題，以求在一潭死水的政府施政下謀求出路。

有人說：「雨傘運動落幕了，大家咪又係重新如常返工返學，邊有希望呀！」又有人說：「雨傘革命又好，佔中又好，反正 2017 都唔會有真普選，仲搞咁多做咩呀。」我想，呂教授會跟他們說：「何必畫地為牢！未來充滿着無限的可能性待你發掘，你以為 2017 年就是一切的終結？社會學正正叫你超越這些思想的界限，重新出發，重新思考。」雨傘運動的結束只是香港人為未來想像的一個新開始。

總結

回顧哲學月，三位教授雖然反思角度各有不同，但他們的獨特性有助我們從方法、社會條件及理想，重新思索香港的民主未來，從不同的切入點提供精闢而創新的答案。各位講者從其自身的學術傳統出發，思考制度、思考社會、思考未來，為與會者帶來巨大的思想激盪，同時亦可見到作為學者的社會責任及學養，不僅從事學術研究，對社會亦有所承擔。正如文學院院長羅德格教授所說：「我們除了參與之外，還要反思，更要思行合一。」讓我們共同思考並承擔香港的未來。



■ 左起：吳有能博士、陳慎慶教授、呂大樂教授、郭偉聯博士
From the left : Dr. William Ng, Prof. Chan Shun Hing, Prof. Lui Tai-lok, Dr. Kwok Wai Luen

the government's attempt to introduce moral and national education and was instrumental in forcing the government to scrap its plan. The rise of Scholarism provides a perfect example of the power of the imagination.

The Umbrella Movement is yet another example of the power of imagination. At first, the instigators of the Occupy Central Movement – Dr. Benny Tai Yiu-ting, Reverend Chu Yiu-ming and Dr. Chan Kin-man – planned to occupy the Central district only. But as soon as the Movement started on 28 September, protesters also occupied Mongkok and Causeway Bay, in this way creating a wider space for the Movement and allowing much room for imagination. Hong Kong is at a critical moment. To break the deadlock of stagnant governance, the people of Hong Kong need to use their imaginations to rethink fundamental issues such as the relationship with Mainland China, social conflicts and economic problems.

Some say, "Now the Umbrella Movement has ended, people are back to work, and students are back to school. What's the hope?" Others say, "Whether you call it the Umbrella Movement or the Occupy Central Movement, what's the difference? There won't be real universal suffrage in 2017. What's the point?" I imagine Prof. Lui's response would be: "Think outside the box! The future is full of possibilities yet to be explored. Why do you think 2017 will be the end of everything? Sociology is about going beyond the boundaries of thought, about starting afresh, about thinking afresh." The end of the Umbrella Movement is just the beginning of new attempts to imagine the future.

Conclusion

The three lectures in their unique ways helped us rethink the future of Hong Kong in terms of political means, social conditions and democratic ideals and find creative solutions to the problems. The three speakers provided tremendous intellectual stimulation by examining issues of institutions, society and future from different perspectives. Their commitment to society and professional accomplishments were evident. As Hong Kong Baptist University Dean of Arts Prof. Douglas Robinson stressed, in addition to participation we have to reflect and ensure that thought and action are consistent. Let us all think about how we can create a better future for Hong Kong.