

香港中文大學歷史系 比較及公眾史學研究中心

在職老師培訓課程

二十世紀亞洲的現代化與蛻變

二十世紀東南亞的發展與蛻變

一、殖民與去殖

- 近二十年對於殖民主義、去殖民主義、後殖民主義的研究

二、「弱者的武器」(weapons of the weak)

- James C Scott 有關東南亞社會的研究

後殖民理論的神聖三劍俠

- 賽義德 (Edward Said 1935-2003)、斯彼娃克 (Gayatri Spivak 1942-)、巴巴 (Homi Bhabha 1949-) 三人，被 Robert Young 奉為後殖民理論家的「聖三一」(Holy Trinity)。[註 1]
- 三人都有共同背景：都是躋身美國學術重鎮的「外人」，賽義德出生於耶路撒冷，任教於哥倫比亞大學；斯彼娃克出生於印度加爾各答，也任教於哥大；巴巴出生於印度孟買，任教於哈佛大學。三人都研究英語文學，都有鮮明的政治立場與政治實踐，不是「為學術而學術」的學者。
- *Orientalism* 一書連索引在內長 368 頁，於〈序章〉之外，分為三章：第一章〈東方主義的範圍〉、第二章〈東方主義的結構與重複結構〉、第三章〈當代的東方主義〉。
- 序章：東方主義的三重定義
- Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researched the Orient...is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism. [註 2]
- Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction

made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident". [註 3]

- Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient - dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. [註 4]
- In brief, because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action. [註 5]
- 1910年6月13日，國資歷深厚的政治家 Arthur James Balfour，在下議院發表題為〈我國在埃及必須處理的問題〉的演講。賽義德大量引述演講稿原文，一小段一小段進行細密的分析，展示「東方主義」的邏輯和操作。
- 例如，有議員質問為何 Balfour: What right have you to take up these airs of superiority? 對此，Balfour 回答說: ...We know the civilization of Egypt better than we know the civilization of any other country. We know it further back; we know it more intimately; we know more about it. It goes far beyond the petty span of the history of our race, which is lost in the prehistoric period at a time when the Egyptian civilization had already passed its prime. Look at all the Oriental countries. Do not talk about superiority or inferiority. [註 6]
- 賽義德分析: If he does not speak directly for the Orientals, it is because they after all speak another language; yet he knows how they feel since he knows their history. ...Still, he does speak for them in the sense that what they might have to say, were they to be asked and might they be able to answer, would somewhat uselessly confirm what is already evident: that they are a subject race, dominated by a race that knows them and what is good for them better than they could possibly know themselves. [註 7]
- 賽義德綜合分析: On the one hand there are Westerners, and on the other there are Arab-Orientals; the former are (in no particular order) rational, peaceful, liberal, logical, capable of holding real values, without natural suspicion; the latter are none of these things. [註 8]

- 賽義德綜合分析：Orientalism overrode the Orient...Orientalism assumed an unchanging Orient, absolutely different...from the West. And Orientalism, in its post-eighteenth-century form, could never revise itself. All this makes Cromer and Balfour, as observers and administrators of the Orient, inevitable. [註 9]
- 東方主義的危機：By the time of the Bandung Conference in 1955 the entire Orient had gained its political independence from the Western empires and confronted a new configuration of imperial powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. [註 10]
- 危機之後：The Orient that appears in Orientalism, then, is a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire. [註 11]
- Thus Orientalism is not only a positive doctrine about the Orient that exists at any one time in the West; it is also an influential academic tradition..., as well as an area of concern defined by travelers, commercial enterprises, governments, military expeditions, readers of novels and accounts of exotic adventure, natural historians, and pilgrims to whom the Orient is a specific kind of knowledge about specific places, peoples, and civilizations. [註 12]
- Every one of them kept intact the separateness of the Orient, its eccentricity, its backwardness, its silent indifference, its feminine penetrability, supine malleability; this is why every writer on the Orient,...saw the Orient as a locale requiring Western attention, reconstruction, even redemption.\ [註 13]
- My project has been to describe a particular systems of ideas, not by any means to displace the system with a new one....enough is being done today in the human sciences to provide contemporary scholar with insights, methods, and ideas that could dispense with racial, ideological, and imperialist stereotypes of the sort provided during its historical ascendancy by Orientalism [註 14]

「弱者的武器」(weapons of the weak) - James C Scott 有關馬來西亞的研究

- Double-cropping and mechanization in Sedaka have presented rich peasants and landlords with a host of unprecedented new opportunities for profit. [註 15]
- The rich farmers of Sedaka are not yet able to dispense entirely with the precapitalist normative context of village life. [註 16]
- After considering the major reasons why open collective protest is rare, I examine the actual patterns of resistance to changes in production relations: arson, sabotage, boycotts, disguised strikes, theft, and imposed mutuality among the poor. [註 17]

註釋

- 1 Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London; New York: Verso, 1997), p. 1.
- 2 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 2
- 3 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 2.
- 4 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.
- 5 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.
- 6 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 31-32.
- 7 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.
- 8 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 49.
- 9 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 96.
- 10 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 104.
- 11 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 202-203.
- 12 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 203.
- 13 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 206.
- 14 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 325, 328.
- 15 James C Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.), p 184.

- 16 Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p 185.
- 17 Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, p 241.

五、推薦材料

- (1) 班納迪克·安德森(Benedict Anderson),〈最後一波〉,載氏著,吳叡人譯,《想像的共同體:民族主義的起源與散布》,台北:時報文化出版企業股份有限公司,1999,頁125-154。
- (2) 陶東風,〈後殖民主義、後殖民理論與後殖民性〉,載氏著,《後殖民主義》(文化手邊冊48,台北:揚智文化,2000),頁1-24。

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