

何为政治之善？

——汉代儒家董仲舒政治哲学的“现代性”意义*

曾振宇，山东大学儒学高等研究院

董仲舒作為“群儒首”，代表了一個歷史時期的“時代精神”。董仲舒從形上學高度論證“民心即天命”，凡是贏得民心的政權，一定是順受天命的政權；凡是喪失民心的政權，必定也是被天命所否定乃至廢絕的政權。通過剖析“民心即天心”、“仁，天心”、“天為民立王”、“屈君而伸天”、“臣道有為”、“不敢有君民之心”、尚忠義、賢能治天下、“逆命”與“順命”等等一系列命題與思想，我們發現董仲舒力圖論證政治哲學根本性問題：何為政治之善？董仲舒的回答是：超越現實私己利益，將現實政治制度、政治決策、政治倫理、制度倫理和社會政治理想目標建立在儒家仁義這一文化依託與道德精神之上，以是否“愛民”作為政治原則，以是否順應民心、是否符合仁義作為社會政治最高圭臬與終極奮鬥目標，就是政治之善。為天下立法，是董仲舒孜孜以求的社會使命。

What Is Goodness of Politics: The Modern Significance of the Han Confucian Scholar
Dong Zhongshu's Political Philosophy

Zeng Zhenyu, Advanced Institute of Confucian Studies, Shandong University

Dong Zhongshu, as the leading figure of Confucian Schools, who represents the epochal spirit of the time. Metaphysically, he argues that “the will of the people is the mandate of the Heaven”. Namely, the regime won the will of the people is the regime received blessed fate from the heaven; on the contrary, the regime which lost the support from the people, it is the regime denied or even deserted by the heaven. By analyzing a series of ideas, arguments, and topics like, “The will of the people is the will of heaven”, “Ren, the will of heaven”, “The heaven chooses king for the people”, “Compromise the king's benefit to free the heaven”, “The Way of being a good official is to strive”, “A king should never oppress the people”, “Proposing kindheartedness and justice”, “The wise man can rule the people all under heaven”,

* 本文是教育部基地重大项目“汉代哲学基本范畴研究”（项目批准号：13jjd720011）阶段性成果之一。

and “Flow the fate/ Change the fate”, One could find that Dong Zhongshu tried to testify and answer the ultimate question in political philosophy: What is the goodness of politics? Dong Zhongshu’s answer is: The goodness of politics is to transcend the practical interest of one’s own and establish the political systems/decisions/moralities, the ethics of political systems, and the social/ political ideals on the basis of Confucious kindheartedness and justice, which is the moral spirit and cultural heritage, by the standard of Loving the People, following the will of people, and bid to kindheartedness and justice as the ultimate goal of the social politics. Setting moral rules for the people under heaven is the social duty that Dong Zhong strove towards.