

# 托克維爾論異己民族與文明的判準

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本文論證在托克維爾的思想中，社會條件的平等雖然是民主政體的必要條件，但卻預設一定的文明發展高度。托克維爾認為從野蠻到文明有固定的判準，而文明發達國家有義務幫助落後的民族向文明的進程邁進，因而他支持殖民制度與反對奴隸制度的理由是一致的。殖民是必要的，因為它可以「幫助」那些過去從未經歷過文明生活的野蠻民族去體會更進步的生活方式，而奴隸制度是不可欲的，因為它阻礙了人性之中自發朝向更高度文明進步的自然趨力。從托克維爾對於異己民族與文明判準的觀點，我們可以發現他的民主理論中對於參與民主社會成員資格的認定。

關鍵字：托克維爾、文明、平等、殖民主義、反奴隸制度

## Tocqueville on “Others” and the Qualifications of Civilization

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### ABSTRACT

This article analyzes Tocqueville’s discussions of cultural “others” to illustrate Tocqueville’s view on the qualifications of “civilization”. I begin by arguing that Tocqueville’s famous assertion on the “equality of social conditions” in America is a societal status that was unique to America at his time, and presumes a highly “civilized” standard in which those who are not “civilized” are not qualified to be fully equal. Tocqueville believes those more civilized nations or peoples have the duty to “elevate” those who fall behind on the path towards civilizational progress, and when “necessity” requires, can even justify the use of force. I argue that Tocqueville’s assumption of civilizational progress can explain Tocqueville’s seemingly contradictory positions in supporting the colonization project in Algeria while fighting against slavery in French colonies. The essay concludes that it is crucial to include Tocqueville’s assumption of civilization when considering the full scope of his theory of democracy.

Key Words: Alexis de Tocqueville, civilization, equality, colonialism, abolition of slavery