

Schmitt 的思想 是否可構成對普世帝國的批判？ 兼論「天下體系」 作為一種普世帝國思想

楊尚儒

中央研究院人文社會科學研究中心博士後研究員

在政治思想史上有兩種達至永久和平的思考路徑：透過超越主權國家的普世帝國，或是透過主權國家彼此間建立的國際組織。Carl Schmitt 對於國際法以及國際關係的討論，便質疑了第二種和平理念。本文則將指出 Schmitt 的批判中的兩項論點——1. 誰來決斷？2. 和平理想無法完全遏止戰爭，而只會使戰爭更激烈——也適用於普世帝國的和平。

此外，本文也將簡短地討論目前在中國相當流行的概念——「天下體系」。天下體系作為一種創造和平的思路，本質上和普世帝國並無二致。因此，Schmitt 對於普世帝國的和平所做的批判，也將構成對「天下體系」的質疑。

關鍵字：Schmitt、普世帝國、國際聯盟、永久和平、天下體系

Schmitt's Thought Offers a Criticism against the Universal Empire? On the "Tianxia" System as a Concept of the Universal Empire

Shang-ju Yang

Postdoctoral Research Fellow

Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences, Academia Sinica

ABSTRACT

In the history of political thought, there are two kinds of political ideas on how to achieve eternal peace: by means of a supranational universal empire or of an alliance based on the sovereign nation-states. Schmitt's writings about international law and order are the eminent challenge to the second pacifist idea. This article will point out two crucial arguments from Schmitt's challenge, which can also apply to peace in the universal empire: First, who is able to make decisions (*quis judicabit*), and second, the pacifist ideal will lead not to total abolition, but rather to the radicalization of wars.

Furthermore, this article also mentions briefly the popular conception of "Tianxia" system in China, recently. As a way to think of peacemaking, the Tianxia system is essentially nothing other than the universal empire. Therefore, Schmitt's criticism of peace in the empire also applies to the Tianxia system.

Key Words: Schmitt, universal empire, League of Nations, the eternal peace, Tianxia system