

後現代主義的國際關係論

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提 要

就當代國際關係理論而言，後現代主義堪稱是最玄者。然之所以如此，乃在於後現代主義之國際關係論述方式，不只迥異於當代主流國際關係理論，亦與國際關係之後實證主義學派的諸多理論有所不同之故。蓋後現代主義之國際關係論，主要是先從權力與知識的關係為起點，而以此論述認同與國家安全之關係。為此，後現代主義藉由文字和語言的表徵、論述的分析、文本分析-解構與雙重閱讀、知識系譜學解析之。

關鍵字：文本分析、解構、雙重閱讀、知識系譜學、認同

前 言

後現代主義(postmodernism)為第二次大戰後之相當重要的哲學思想。如同批判理論(critical theory)，後現代主義的理論家所要追求的是告知學術研究者要警覺受傳統概念束縛(conceptual prisons)的問題，特別是現代性(modernity)這個對人們觀念具有深刻影響概念之拘束，而不要深信現代化必定可以導致進步和更好生活之論。¹

一般認為後現代主義興起於1950年代至1960年代之間，特別是哲學與建築學，此後向外迅速擴展至心理學、法律學、教育學、社會科學、地理學、人類學與文學批判等各學術研究領域，甚至於醫學亦頗受其影響，進而在1980年代之際，後現代主義成為世界極為風行的思想。1990年代後，後現代主義不僅成為掌控知識議程(intellectual agenda)的重要思想，亦成為對以往所建立的知識體系或理論之最大挑戰者。²至於後現代主義之政

1 Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen, "Methodological Debates," Introduction to International Relations : Theories and Approaches (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 294.

2 Hans Bertens, "The Debate on Postmodernism," in Hans Bertens and Douwe Fokkema eds., International Postmodernism Theory and Literary Practice (Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1997), pp. 3-4; Martin Kilduff and Ajay Mehra, "Postmodernism and Organizational Research," The Academy of Management Review, Vol. 22 No. 2 (April 1997), pp. 454-5; Ann Taket and Leory White, "After OR: An Agenda for Postmodernism and Poststructuralism in OR," The Journal of the Operational Research Society, Vol. 44 No. 9 (September 1993), pp. 867-81; Nigel Blake, "Between Postmodernism and Anti-Modernism: The Predicament of Educational Studies," British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 44 No. 1 (March 1996), pp. 42-65; Harld G. Bloland, "Postmodernism and High Education," The Journal of High Education, Vol. 66 No. 5 (September-October 1995), pp. 521-59; Michael Dear, "The Postmodern Challenge: Reconstructing Human Geography," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 13 No. 3 (1988), pp. 262-74; Clive Barnett, "Deconstructing Context: Exposing Derrida," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 24 No. 3 (1993), pp. 277-93.



治學，則是起源於1960年代末橫掃西方世界之政治激進主義(political radicalism)的浪潮，然此時正是後馬克思主義者(post-Marxist)之批判理論的新左派(the New Left)出現之際。³不過，國際關係理論的後現代主義，卻是遲至1980年代中期，才有令人矚目的成就。⁴

基本上，做為一個探究國際關係的理論，後現代主義也關注安全這個國際關係所最為重視的課題，只不過，後現代主義之安全論述，乃是從剖析和解構權力與知識之間的關係為起始點而論之者。亦即言，如欲了解後現代主義的國際關係論，首先就必須從後現代主義之權力與知識的關係論，方可更為充分地認識與理解之。

權力與知識關係論-權力造就知識與知識為權力服務

康德(Immanuel Kant)以為「權力的擁有不可避免地將會敗壞理性的自由判斷力」("the possession of power inevitably corrupts the free judgment of reason")。⁵立足於此，長期以來正統的社會科學(orthodox social science)將知識(knowledge)免於受到權力(power)之

影響，視為其研究之重要考量。然在國際關係研究方面，亦有相同之認知，而認為國際關係研究也應該避免受到價值、利益與權力之影響，以求客觀性的知識(objective knowledge)。⁶

然就後現代主義的觀點而論，知識不受價值與權力之影響以及因此獲取之客觀知識，則是令人質疑與關注之嚴肅問題。據此，後現代主義者極其用心地探究權力與知識的產生和傳承(production and transmission of knowledge)之間的緊密聯結，以及因此而侷限了人們對世界思考的問題。⁷

不同於其他國際關係學者對權力之界定與論述，法國的思想家Michael Foucault從權力與知識之相互增長的關係，做為其理解權力與知識之形成的基礎。就Foucault對此之見解而論，其以為人們所擁有的知識以及因此而來的觀念，均難以避免於權力的作用之外。擁有權力者可以界定長期以往我們所運作之核心概念(core concept)與問題界定(problem-definition)等特別知識，並使我們毫無異議地接受如此之看似為「真」，但卻大有疑問的知識。⁸因為，權力與知識之間，

3 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes (New York: Pearson Educations Ltd., 2005), p. 130.

4 Steve Smith, "Alternative Approaches to International Theory," in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations (New York : Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 185.

5 Immanuel Kant, Hans Reiss ed., H.B. Nisbet trans., "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch," Kant's Political Writing, p. 115.

6 Richard Devetak, "Postmodernism," in Scott Burchill etc., Theories of International Relations (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), p. 162.

7 Ibid.; Oliver Daddow, "Postmodernism," International Relations Theory (Los Angeles & London: SAGE, 2009), p. 159.

具有相當緊密的聯結(deeply intertwined)。權力產生知識，知識則支持和呼應權力，所有的權力都需要知識的加持，而所有的知識亦需要依賴權力的支持，權力與知識兩者成了相互依存和相互增強之緊密關係。⁹因此常人所說的真實知識，實際上是必須在權力的加持之下，方能彰顯其所以為真的意義，相對的，受到權力加持之真實，則又會回過頭來助長權力的影響或效能(effect)，從而形成了後現代主義所論之「真理的政權」(regime of truth)或「真理的體系」(system of truth)。在真理的政權或真理的體系盛行之下，權力與知識結合成共同互賴(co-dependency)之無

法分離的關係(inseparable relationship)。於是乎，權力讓知識成為人們信以為真之重要機制(mechanism)，而眾所周知的知識真實性，則是附著於權力體系之下的產物，故知識的真實性乃是令人質疑的迷思，但卻難以真正為人知悉其中之問題。¹⁰

然而，後現代主義的主要企圖之一就是在透過對權力如何影響知識以及知識支持權力的解析，了解在如此真理的政權之系絡下，讓人人看似客觀與信以為真的「真理」(truth)，事實上，這只不過是一個在人為主觀建構下之非真實的知識而已。¹¹故就後現代主義者Foucault的觀點而論，「權力與知

8 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes, p. 138; Richard Wolin, "Michel Foucault and the Search for the Other of Reason," The Terms of Cultural Critical Criticism: The Frankfurt School, Existentialism, and Poststructuralism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 170-3.

9 Steve Smith, "Alternative Approaches to International Theory," in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, p. 185; Todd May, "The Epistemology of Genealogy," Between Genealogy and Epistemology: Psychology, Politics, and Knowledge in the Thought Michael Foucault (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), p. 69; Andrew M. Koch, "Poststructuralism and Political Philosophy," Poststructuralism and the Politics of Method (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing, Inc., 2007), pp. 9-11; Stuart Sim, "Postmodernism and Philosophy," in Stuart Sim ed., The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism (London & New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 7-8; Jonathan Simon, "Between Power and Knowledge: Habermas, Foucault, and the Future of Legal Studies," Law & Society Review, Vol. 28 No. 4 (1994), pp. 950-51; Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, "Foucault and the Critique of Modernity," Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogations (New York: The Guilford Press, 1991), pp. 49-54.

10 Jenny Edkins, "Poststructuralism," in Martin Griffith ed., International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century (London & New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 93-5; Richard Wolin, "Michael Foucault and the Search for the Other of Reason," The Terms of Cultural Criticism: The Frankfurt School. Existentialism, Poststructuralism, pp. 170-3; Alan D. Schrift, "Introduction," Nietzsche's French Legacy: A Genealogy of Poststructuralism (New York & London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 6-7; Jenny Edkins, "Foucault's Docile Bodies," Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), pp. 41-2; John Steadman Rice, "Discursive Formation, Life Stories, and the Emergence of Co-Dependency: 'Power/Knowledge'," The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 33 No. 3 (Autumn 1992), pp. 355-6.

11 Richard Devetak, "Postmodernism," in Scott Burchill etc., Theories of International Relations (2005), pp. 162-87; Steve Smith, "Alternative Approaches to International Theory," in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, p. 185; Michael Foucault, trans. by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham and Kate Soper, "Truth and Power," in Colin Gordon ed., Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), pp. 109-33.



識兩者相互建構」("power and knowledge are mutually constituted")，相互依存與增長，所以權力與知識兩者可說是同義的字彙。¹²據此，國際關係之後現代主義認為掌控與影響國際關係研究之無政府狀態與主權國家之觀念，就是在如此系絡下所形成的，而後現代主義就是要揭露這種長期以來拘束知識界與思想界之看似為真理，但其實卻是問題重重的觀念，進而尋求建立一個跳脫無政府狀態、主權國家、國家認同與不穩定的暴力制度之外的規範性與倫理性之國際關係理論。¹³

關於知識與權力的關係，後現代主義者將問題的焦點集中於知識如何被形成？何者擁有形塑知識的權力？權力是如何地被運用與其的目的為何？以及權力關係之特殊的構形(particular configuration of power relation)是如何地被聯結於對事物的見解之中？等幾個問題之上，並以此做為探討權力與知識之關係的基礎。¹⁴此外，後現代主義相當有技巧地藉由語言和字彙之表徵(representation of words and languages)、論述的分析(analysis of discourse)、知識的系譜學(genealogy of

knowledge)、解構(deconstruction)和雙重閱讀(double reading)等方法，來推論與解析權力與知識的相關問題。¹⁵

一、文字和語言的表徵

要了解何者擁有權力？權力是如何地被運用？權力運用之目的為何？以及權力關係之特殊的構形是如何地被聯結於對事物的見解之中？等知識與權力之間的關係之各項問題，則必須先了解後現代主義對語言和字彙的表徵之論不可，因為這是理解後述之論的重要基礎。

基本上，語言或字彙(以下均以語彙稱之)的意義所憑藉者，並非是確信無疑的價值(positive value)，相對的，各個語彙所代表之意義有其不可忽視的差異性。正因語彙具有如此之大的差異性，才得以形塑人類社會多采多姿的豐富面貌，所以語彙乃是建構世界相當重要的一部分。¹⁶因為「思考和語言共存」(thought and language are coextensive)，而語彙的結構，亦即是思考的結構，去除語彙之外，人類的思想將會是雜亂無章，而呈現出毫無次序的狀態，知識的成長，亦須憑

12 Todd May, "Micropolitics," *Between Genealogy and Epistemology: Psychology, Politics, and Knowledge in the Thought Michael Foucault*, p. 4; Jenny Edkins, "Foucault's Docile Bodies," *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In*, pp. 52-6; Larry Shiner, "Reading Foucault: Anti-Method and the Genealogy of Power-Knowledge," *History and Theory*, Vol. 21 No. 3 (October 1982), pp. 383-6.

13 Molly Cochran, "Postmodernism, Ethics and International Relations," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 21 No. 3 (July 1995), pp. 237-50.

14 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, pp. 138-9.

15 Oliver Daddow, "Postmodernism," *International Relations Theory*, pp. 159-62.

16 Jenny Edkins, "Poststructuralism," Martin Griffith ed., *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 91.

藉語彙之理解與建構的作用而發展。¹⁷不過，後現代主義卻不認為語彙是一個可以被用來指涉實存客體之工具(tool or instrument)，亦拒絕語彙是可用來指涉客觀世界之理念(idea)。蓋就後現代主義的觀點而論，語彙具有晦暗不明與難以精確表達之不可靠的特性。故就功能來看，語彙建構世界的作用更勝於描繪世界之作用。因此後現代主義就是一個語言的反表徵主義(linguistic anti-representationalism)。¹⁸

相同於人們藉由語彙來描繪與形塑世界萬物的面貌與意義，國際關係的各種語彙亦是如此。然就後現代主義的觀點而論，語彙只是被人們用來替代(stand)或者是代表根本就毫不知曉的事物之符號或標記(sign)，然除此之外，語彙就什麼都不是了。依此，推

敲而論國際關係之系絡，語彙就是被用來了解國際事務(international affairs)之表徵，然其真實性為何，事實上，因語彙只是被人們用來替代或者是代表根本就毫不知曉的事物而已，所以其很容易因人對語彙的主觀創建與對此之主觀詮釋而有所差異。¹⁹另外，從語言學和文字學的面向來看，儘管語彙的表徵已經能接近人的心理意念之所思，但此畢竟這只是一種技術性和代表性的層次，仍舊無法完全和充分地展現出人之心理所想之事實(facts)和形象(images)，更無法真實地反映(mirror)人們實際上所見之「實像的」世界('real' world)，亦即言，儘管擁有近乎逼真之語彙，然如此之語彙表徵與事實之間，依然有著無法彌補的差距。²⁰故或可如此言之，在國際關係所使用之諸如「自由」(freedom)、

17 Stephen D. Moore, "Deconstruction, Theology, and the Difference, between them," *Poststructuralism and the New Testament: Derrida and Foucault at the Foot of the Cross* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990), p. 15; Aaron V. Ciourel, "Text and Discourse," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 14 (1985), p. 159.

18 Mark Bevir, Jill Hargis, and Sara Rushing, "Introduction," in Mark Bevir, Jill Hargis, and Sara Rushing eds., *Histories of Postmodernism* (London & New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 8.

19 Oliver Daddow, "Postmodernism," *International Relations Theory*, p. 160; Andrew M. Koch, "Poststructuralism and Political Philosophy," *Poststructuralism and the Politics of Method*, pp. 7-9.

20 Jacques Derrida, trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The End of the Book and the Beginning of Writing," *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University, 1976), pp. 10-8; Annkia Thiem, "Bodies, Desires, and the Psychic Life of Norms," *Unbecoming Subjects: Judith Butler, Moral Philosophy, and Critical Responsibility* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), pp. 27-30; Columba Peoples and Nick Vanghan-William, "Poststructuralism and International Political Sociology," *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction* (London & New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 64-5; Michael Foucault, trans. by Les Mots et les choses, "Representing," *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Science* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), pp. 58-63; W.J.T. Mitchell, "Space, Ideology, and Literary Representation," *Poetic Today*, Vol. 10 No. 1 (Spring 1989), p. 92; Robert Morris, "Words and Images in Modernism and Postmodernism," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 15 No. 2 (Winter 1989), pp. 337-47; Maxine Greene, "Postmodernism and Crisis of Representation," *English Education*, Vol. 26 No. 4 (December 1994), pp. 206-19; Claire Colebrook, "Questioning Representation," *SubStance*, Vol. 29 No. 2 (2000), pp. 58-9; Mark Neufeld, "From 'The Restructuring of International Relations Theory'," in Steven C. Roach ed., *Critical Theory and International Relation* (New York & London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 237-9.



「國際體系」(international system)、「全球化」(globalization)，甚至於「人性」(humanity)等這些看似客觀真實之語彙，實際上都是經由人之主觀的詮釋而形成者，從而使得這些概念總是缺乏可靠性，且容易受人控制(manipulation)和誤用(misapplication)。²¹甚而成為人類權力與暴力之運用的憑藉。²²

據此，後現代主義者反對所謂的「客觀法則」(objective laws)，亦不能認同立足於諸如「人的本質」(human nature)之本質主義的虛構(essentialist fiction)之基礎下，而建構之類似法則的分析(lawlike analysis)。因為這些所謂客觀法則或類似法則的分析，實際上，都無法避免創建法則或運用法則者之主觀意識的詮釋，以及企圖藉由創建語彙來操縱知識與思維以及誤用之弊端。質言之，語彙的創建與對此之詮釋，實際上只不過是用心者為其掌控知識與思維，以及據此而獲取權力的工具而已。²³

二、論述的分析

儘管語彙之表徵有前述之問題，但是，如此之問題若只從各個語彙的意義來探究

之，實難以了解問題之全貌。Foucault認為這必須從超越個別語彙單元層次之檢視，而需運用更為完整之句子和段落(sentences and paragraph)之體系性的層次(systematic level)，亦即是論述的層次(level of discourse)之分析，方能更加精確地展現出前述問題之所在。Foucault以為經由論述層次之論，吾等更能看出語彙之豐沛的影響力(productive power of language)，²⁴從而了解知識的形成，權力與論述過程之間的聯結以及權力對論述之影響。²⁵故學者Foucault認為分析論述之法，乃是一種反制盛行的權威論述之控制(counter domination of prevailing authoritative discourse)的方法，亦即是反論述之法(method of counter-discourse)。²⁶

然何為「論述」？依據David Campbell之見解，其以為「論述」意指「經由對一組陳述與實務之意義的創造、認同的組建、社會關係的創建以及政治和倫理的結果等方式，而使如此之陳述與實務得以儘可能地為人們所接受之謂」("a specific series of representations and practices through which

21 Oliver Daddow, "Postmodernism," *International Relations Theory*, p. 160.

22 Beatrice Hanssen, "The Violence of Language," *Critique of Violence: Between Poststructuralism and Critical Theory* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 158-78.

23 Anthony Burke, "Postmodernism," Christian Reus-Smit and Duncan Snidal eds., *The Oxford Handbooks of International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 362-3; Jacques Derrida, trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Violence of the Letter: From Levin Strauss to Rousseau," *Of Grammatology*, pp. 101-40; Richard Wolin, "Michael Foucault and the Search for the Other of Reason," *The Terms of Cultural Criticism: The Frankfurt School. Existentialism, Poststructuralism*, pp. 175-81.

24 Oliver Daddow, "Postmodernism," *International Relations Theory*, p. 160.

25 Derek Hook, "Discourse, Knowledge, Materiality, History: Foucault and Discourse Analysis," *Foucault, Psychology and the Analytics of Power* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 100-37.

26 Mario Moussa and Ron Scapp, "The Practical Theorizing of Michael Foucault: Politics and Counter-Discourse," *Cultural Critique*, No. 33 (Spring 1996), pp. 88-96.

meanings are produced, identities constituted, social relations established, and political and ethical outcomes made more or less possible.")。

27

基本上，後現代主義者認為論述並非只是對一些事情或一些人之簡單解釋或陳述(an account or a story)而已，相對的，論述乃是有系統性地形塑或創造(form or create)論述者所要談論對象(objects)之實踐(practice)。²⁸論述也不只是侷限於語言與文字之狹義觀念的語彙型態，還可擴展至任何體系(system)之符號系統(symbolic system)與社會實務的形式(form of social practice)。²⁹故論述並非只是簡單地描繪世界事物而已，論述亦具有對論述之創建者所指涉對象之深刻意涵的分析，而此包括理念與物質，以及語言與非語言等有形與無形之意會或行為的展現(performative)。³⁰藉此，Foucault認為長期以來國家權力的維繫

與人民受此權力之約束而未敢輕易進行反抗國家之舉，究其原因，就是因為權威論述形塑國家理性(reason of state)與國家擁有管控人民的政治權力(political power)之故，且如此之論，最終形成了人們習以為常的知識，從而成為規範國家人民之行為的重要基礎和憑藉。³¹

Foucault的分析論述之法對當代思想與政治分析之主要貢獻就在於，藉由此法可展現出知識是在人們的主觀意識之下所建構者，知識的建構與人們之主觀性或主觀狀態的高漲有密切之關聯。³²而如此之主觀知識的建構，乃是取決於權威(authority)。故在如此知識與權力的關係之下，事實上，如未受權威拘束的論述，則無所謂的真正事實(real truth)。易言之，無權威之論述，即無真實性可言，真實必須在權力的庇護之下，才得以存在。³³例如，近二十年來國際關係學者經常

27 David Campbell, "Postconstructualism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 226.

28 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, p. 138.

29 Jenny Edkins, "Poststructuralism," Martin Griffith ed., *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 91.

30 David Campbell, "Poststructuralism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, p. 226.

31 Nancy J. Holland, "'Truth as Force': Michael Foucault on Religion, State Power, and the Law," *Journal of Law and Religion*, Vol. 18 No. 1 (2002-2003), pp. 79-88; Richard Wolin, "Michel Foucault and the Search for the Other of Reason," *The Terms of Cultural Critical Criticism: The Frankfurt School, Existentialism, and Poststructuralism*, pp. 173-81.

32 Jenny Edkins, "Poststructuralism," Martin Griffith ed., *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 91.

33 Martin Griffiths, Steven C. Roach and M. Scott Solomon, "Michael Foucault," *Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 268; Steve Smith, "Alternative Approaches to International Theory," in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, p. 185; Columba Peoples and Nick Vaghan-William, "Poststructuralism and International Political Sociology," *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, pp. 66-7; Jenny Edkins, "Foucault's Docile Bodies," *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In*, pp. 45-8.



使用「流氓國家」('rogue state')來形容不尊重國際法和盡國際法所規範之義務的國家，然在強權決定善惡對錯的國際政治中，強者總可以論證其所陳述之內涵是對的情況下，被人們普遍理解的流氓國家，事實上，何嘗不是霸權的主觀意識或「強者的權利」(rights of powers)所造成之似是而非的概念或國際關係問題。因為強權國家可以挑戰和干預其他國家的主權，但強權國家卻從不會允許任何國家挑戰和干預其國家主權。³⁴

的確，就後現代主義的見解而言，「不同的系絡產生不同的論述」("different context yield different discourses")，地位和角度不同，對於相同的一件事之論述，即會有兩極的論述。而後現代主義正是要運用論述分析之法來展現我們對世界事務的認識，實際上都是處於諸如學校老師和教授所教導、科學家與科技專家所言、官員與決策菁英所論等社會菁英高談闊論環境中，而讓人深信我們

所得的知識是真實之特殊論述系絡(discursive context)中所獲取者，進而藉此說明「權力並非取決於個人，而是決定於論述」("power does not rest with individuals, but within discourse")，亦即言，權力是經由人們相信這些論述是真實且是無可置疑而來者。³⁵後現代主義據此用以批評長期以來國際關係研究受到現實主義與其理論家之知識論述的影響與限制，因此人們對其所謂的主權(sovereignty)和無政府狀態(anarchy)，以及無政府的國際體系(anarchic international system)和權力結構之論，多是深信不疑。然仔細論之，實際上，這些論述卻都並非是真實與無可置疑者，相對的，主權與無政府狀態，實際上亦只不過是在現實主義者之主觀意識下所建構之非真實與具有疑問的一些哲學論述而已。³⁶

綜觀而論，後現代主義就是要透過論述之論，來彰顯受到人們主觀意識之建構或渲染下的知識問題。儘管如此，但實際上，論

34 Jacques Derrida, trans. by Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas, "Preface: Veni," *Rogues: Two Essays on Reason* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), pp. xi-xv; Vincent B. Leitch, "Late Derrida: The Politics of Sovereignty," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 33 No. 2 (Winter 2007), pp. 232-5.

35 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, p. 138; Richard Wolin, "Michael Foucault and the Search for the Other of Reason," *The Terms of Cultural Criticism: The Frankfurt School. Existentialism, Poststructuralism*, pp. 181-7; Allan Pred, "On 'Postmodernism, Language, and the Strains of Postmodernism' by Curry: Straw Men Build Straw Houses," *Annals of the Association of American Geography*, Vol. 82 No. 2 (June 1992), pp. 305-6.

36 David Campbell, "Poststructuralism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith eds., *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, pp. 227-8; Columbia Peoples and Nick Vanghan-William, "Poststructuralism and International Political Sociology," *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, pp. 66-7; Andrew M. Koch, "Poststructuralism and Political Philosophy," *Poststructuralism and the Politics of Method*, pp. 13-5; R. B. J. Walker, "Realism, Change, and International Political Theory," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 31 No. 1 (March 1987), pp. 65-86; Jennifer Sterling-Folker and Rosemary E. Shinko, "Discourse of Power: Traversing the Realist-Postmodern Divide," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 33 No. 1 (June 2005), pp. 640-2.

述乃是一個相當複雜的觀念(complex idea)，³⁷故需藉由實際的範例來解釋與釐清之。

國際關係學者Oliver Daddow在撰寫後現代主義的論述之際，運用其對歐洲政治研究之專長，藉由英國對關於歐洲之論述(Britain's discourse about 'Europe')，以英國首相Tony Blair關於歐洲之外交政策的演說與英國兩大報(太陽報和郵報)對歐洲的報導之對照，說明知識的建構與人們之主觀性或主觀的狀態的高漲有密切之關聯。Daddow以為Blair首相演說中所論述的歐洲與英國重要報紙之報導所論述的歐洲，這兩者乃是有所不同的。前者首相Blair所論述的歐洲，乃是一個可以提供英國政治、經濟、戰略與文化等利益的地區，但後者太陽報與郵報等英國兩大報所論述的歐洲卻是一個令人畏懼和避之唯恐不及的地區。如此南轅北轍的差異，相當清楚地彰顯出因對英國歷史與英國在二十一世紀的角色之不同的詮釋，以及其對諸如法國、美國和德國等關鍵性國家之外交政策之不同的理解，而對同一地區卻有如此天與地之差異的論述。³⁸

經由對論述的解析，後現代主義以為長期以來宰制國際關係理論的現實主義典範(realist paradigm)亦是如此。蓋現實主義對

國際關係的論述而加之於人們之國家主權與無政府狀態、權力凌駕倫理、目的合理化手段、暴力的必要性等影響人們至深之言論，事實上，這是立足於現實主義者對國際關係之主觀認知的論述而來的，然此並非是真實與無懈可擊或牢不可破之論，只要透過對論述的解析之法，即可知其中問題之所在。³⁹

三、文本分析-解構與雙重閱讀

除了藉由語言和字彙之表徵與論述的分析，做為解析權力與知識關係的基礎與方法之外，事實上，文本分析(textual analysis)亦是後現代主義解析權力政治如何形塑知識的一種重要方法和論述，而國際關係之研究亦需要一個文本交互分析的研究途徑，藉此來反映現代主義窄化國際關係之論述與掌控國際關係研究之企圖，從而呈現出後現代主義是一個知識與實務之異質性與多重指引之融合(heterologic, multipolar grids of knowledge and practice)的理論。⁴⁰

然何為後現代主義之「文本分析」？基本上，後現代主義的文本分析國際關係之策略，實乃是取自於Jacques Derrida。依此，後現代主義用以解析論述原文之語言和文句所指涉之內涵(虛擬世界)與真實世界之相互建構的過程及其關係，從而發現語彙符號表

37 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes, p. 138.

38 Oliver Daddow, "Postmodernism," International Relations Theory, p. 161.

39 David Campbell, "Postconstructualism," in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith eds., International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity, p. 228.

40 James Der Derian, "The Boundaries of Knowledge and Power in International Relations," in J. Der Derian and M. J. Shapiro eds., International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1989), p. 6; Nacy Armstrong and Leonard Tennhouse, "History, Postructuralism, and the Question of Narrative," Narrative, Vol. 1 No. 1 (January 1993), pp. 50-2.



徵的模糊性以及文本的不穩定(unstable)、不合邏輯(illogical)與敘事之反覆無常和武斷性(arbitrary)的問題之所在。⁴¹然為了理解虛擬世界與真實世界相互建構之過程與關係，所以後現代主義十分重視對建構世界社會之詮釋(interpretation/hermeneutic)，並將詮釋當作是文本分析之基本與必要的基礎。⁴²而把詮釋用之於發展的解構與雙重閱讀之方法上，藉此做為支持後現代主義之文本分析解析國際關係之策略。⁴³故或可如此而論之，事實上，文本分析並非是一個科學檢證的過程(a process of scientific verification)，而是一種著重檢視論述之內在性質的反科學分析(intrinsically antiscientific analysis)。⁴⁴然關於

後現代主義之文本分析，主要可從解構與雙重閱讀等兩者論之。

首先，就文本分析之解構而言。解構是一種用以展現文本一些概念的對立性(opposition)與優先性(priority)之不一致和侷限，以及二元對立之語彙的誤解、模糊與不穩定之處，藉此探尋在文本論題(premises)中，一般不為人所知的挑戰(unacknowledged challenges)與不易得見的問題，進而可無止盡地創造出具有產生新而不可預期的意義與能力之解讀文本的閱讀方法(method of reading)，或者是思考模式(mode of thinking)之謂。⁴⁵解構之法出自於Derrida的哲學論，⁴⁶或正因為有Derrida的解構之法，所以才造就

41 黃競涓，〈國際關係理論中的後實證主義學派〉，張亞中主編，《國際關係總論》(台北：揚智文化，2007)，頁138；Michael Sprinker, "Textual Politics: Foucault and Derrida," *Boundary*, Vol. 8 No. 3 (Spring 1980), pp. 75-98; Kenneth R. Stunkel, "Rabindranath Tagore and the Aesthetics of Postmodernism," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 17 No. 2 (Winter 2003), p. 244.

42 Richard Devetak, "Post-structuralism," in Scott Burchill etc., *Theories of International Relations* (2009), pp. 190-1.

43 Richard Devetak, "Postmodernism," in Scott Burchill etc., *Theories of International Relations* (2005), pp. 167-71; Steve Smith, "Alternative Approaches to International Theory," in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, pp. 186-7; Michael R. Curry, "Postmodernism, Language, and the Strains of Modernism," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 81 No. 2 (June 1991), p. 218.

44 James Der Derian, "The Boundaries of Knowledge and Power in International Relations," in J. Der Derian and M. J. Shapiro eds., *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics*, p. 7.

45 Jane Caplan, "Postmodernism, Poststructuralism, and Deconstruction: Notes for Historians," *Central European History*, Vol. 22 No. 3/4 (September-December 1989), p. 267; Mats Alvesson and Kaj Skoldberg, "Poststructuralism and Postmodernism: Destabilizing Subject and Text," *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research* (London: SAGE, 2009), p. 185; Columba Peoples and Nick Vanghan-William, "Poststructuralism and International Political Sociology," *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, pp. 64-5; Stuart Sim, "Postmodernism and Philosophy," in Stuart Sim ed., *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism*, p. 5.

46 西方學者多數認為解構之法源自於1960年代末之法國的哲學家-Jacques Derrida，但是或有多方學者則以為解構之法早在西元100-200年之際，印度的思想家-Nagarjuna即已提出解構之法，另外，中國的哲學家-Seng-Zhao，亦早於西元374-414年之間，提出與前者兩極為相似的解構之法。Cai Zongqi, "Derrida and Seng-Zhao: Linguistic and Philosophical Deconstruction," *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 43 No. 3 (July 1993), pp. 389-404.

了後現代主義。然不論如何，解構之法現已被國際關係之後現代主義者用以研究和了解國際關係之一種相當重要方法，特別是在用於解析國家主權之形成與國家認同之上。⁴⁷

學者Jenny Edkins認為要了解Derrida的解構之意義，則首先必須檢視Derrida對西方形而上學(western metaphysics)，或者是來自於歐洲世界之當代理性思考的基礎-語文中心論(logocentrism)的批評。在語文中心論的制約之下，歐洲人習慣經由諸如內部/外部(inside/outside)、男人/女人(man/woman)、記憶/遺忘(memory/forgetting)與出席/缺席(present/absence)之具有前優於後的層級性(hierarchy)，或者是經由貶抑後者來提升前者之強烈對比的二分法(dichotomy)，做為其論述思維之依託。例如記憶唯有在對比遺忘這個概念之下，才具有意義。⁴⁸但Derrida認為如

此之具有層級性與強烈對比之二分法與其詞彙(term)都是在人帶著有色眼光與受到汙染下之主觀建構的產物。然如此對立之詞彙，既不能明確地表示意義，且實質上，亦非是處於對立者。⁴⁹Derrida的解構之法展現立足於看似客觀與自然之二元對立之所有理論和論述，事實上，都是人為的穩定與主觀建構之下的產物，⁵⁰而Derrida解構之法的主要用意就是要破除人們長期以往受到歐洲語言中心論之二分法對人們思維的制約，拆解如此之優劣對立的知識所造成的問題，從而經由對何為真實存在(what exist)與事物應該如何界定(how things should be defined)等無終止的論辯與探究，尋找受到政治形塑之二分法的詞彙意涵之外，所隱藏之不為人所知的事物。⁵¹因此，解構不只是拆解(deconstitution)，更是在構築已被人們習以為常的知識或被視為真理

47 Michael A. Peters, "Derrida, Neoliberalism, and Democracy to Come," *Poststructuralism, Marxism, and Neoliberalism: Between Theory and Politics* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001), pp. 56-9; Oliver Daddow, "Postmodernism," *International Relations Theory*, p. 162; Peter Eli Gordon, "Hammer without a Master: French Phenomenology and the Origins of Deconstruction (Or, How Derrida Read Heidegger)," in Mark Bevir, Jill Hargis, and Sara Rushing eds., *Histories of Postmodernism*, p. 103; Paul Patton, "Derrida's Engagement with Political Philosophy," in Mark Bevir, Jill Hargis, and Sara Rushing eds., *Histories of Postmodernism*, pp. 152-54; Kian Tajbaksh, "Deconstruction and Political Identity: A Post Marxist Perspective," in Vibha Maurya ed., *Postmodernism: A Discussion*, pp. 43-52; Sergei Prozorov, "Ontological Extremism: Foucault, Schmitt and Sovereign Freedom," *Foucault, Freedom and Sovereignty* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), pp. 81-101.

48 Jenny Edkins, "Poststructuralism," Martin Griffith ed., *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 96.

49 Richard Devetak, "Postmodernism," in Scott Burchill etc., *Theories of International Relations* (2005), pp. 168-9.

50 Steve Smith, "Alternative Approaches to International Theory," in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, p. 187.

51 Jenny Edkins, "Poststructuralism," Martin Griffith ed., *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 96; Richard Wolin, "The House that Jaques Built: Deconstruction and Strong Evaluation," *The Terms of Cultural Criticism: The Frankfurt School. Existentialism, Poststructuralism*, pp. 194-205.



以外之實存事物的知識。⁵²

儘管如此，但研究國際關係者因長期受到以二分法為主之現實主義的影響，因此限制了理論想像的可能性，從而侷限了探究國際關係的思維。因此，必須超越如此之限制，方能給予世界政治一個較為真實的面貌。⁵³故而R. B. J. Walker認為在國際關係之學術訓練中，解決長期以來受到二分法的制約，乃是相當重要工作。⁵⁴所以，Walker將解構當作是研究國際關係的一種學術訓練，並以此來解析國家主權在時間、空間上之意義。據此，Walker認為國家並非是自然的產物，而是經由人為的力量所形成者。⁵⁵的確，就時空背景而論，以往政治科學所論之國家主權的原則(principle)，不僅是令人質疑的問題，且就當前的環境而言，這是一個很容易引起重大爭論的問題。蓋從對沒有主權概念與主權建構之時空背景而論，事實上，主權國家的原則只是政治科學中之一個

暫時性與受到空間侷限的原則，此並非是亙古不變之事實，更非是不可動搖之真理。然就當前的局勢而論，如此之原則並無可信性(credibility)，因在全球化發展對民族國家(nation state)認同的衝擊與挑戰之下，將民族國家視為是國際政治之中心論述，其實亦只不過是一個虛幻的假想，民族國家在當前全球化的浪潮中，亦可被全球國家(global state)所取代。⁵⁶

至於學者Jens Bartelson則透過對主權的來源(source of sovereignty)、主權的相關理論所賦予主權之特性與主權的範圍(scope of sovereignty)等三個基本考量與問題之解構，說明一般人們所認識之主權的知識主體(knowing subject)與國際政治實務的真實性，仍有相當大的落差，但事實上，主權只不過是在國際政治理論家為了支持其理論而被強調和大力引用於國際政治理論的一個詞彙而已。⁵⁷

52 Ibid., pp. 96-7; Richard Devetak, "Post-structuralism," in Scott Burchill etc., *Theories of International Relations* (2009), pp. 191-2.

53 Hakan Seckinelgin and Hideaki Shinoda, "Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies," in Hakan Seckinelgin and Hideaki Shinoda eds., *Ethics and International Relations* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 1-4.

54 Maritn Griffiths, Steven C. Roach and M. Scott Solomon, "Robert B. J. Walker," *Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations*, p. 277.

55 Robert B. J. Walker, "Explorations," *One World, Many Worlds: Struggles for a Just World Peace* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1988), p. 82.

56 Lane Hansen, "R. B. J. Walker and International Relations: deconstructing a discipline," in Iver B. Neumann and Ole Waver eds., *The Future of International Relations: Master in the Making* (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 316-24; R. B. J. Walker, "International Relations as Political Theory" *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 21-5; Jill Krause and Neil Renwick, "Introduction," in Jill Krause and Neil Renwick eds., *Identities in International Relations* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996), pp. x-xv; Columba Peoples and Nick Vaghan-William, "Poststructuralism and International Political Sociology," *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, p. 67.

57 Jens Bartelson, "The Problem: Deconstructing Sovereignty," *A Genealogy of Sovereignty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 12-52.

其次，就文本分析之雙重閱讀而論。雙重閱讀是Derrida文本分析的重要方法之一，不過，雙重閱讀與解構之間有極為密切關聯，或可將後者視為是前者方法之另一種運用。⁵⁸Devetak認為雙重閱讀可視為是一種用以了解論述或社會制度(social institution)之解構的形式(a mode of deconstruction)，然亦可將雙重閱讀或解構結合在一起，做為研究知識之文本分析的方法。⁵⁹雙重閱讀是藉由對文本之兩次閱讀(two reading)，透過哲學思維對文本進行內外反覆檢視和推敲的分析方法，來展現出一個相同文本的論述所具有之表裡不一和完全迥異的不同意涵，故雙重閱讀可說是「同時存在忠誠與曲解的方法」('means of this simultaneous faithful and violent')，亦正是一種運用相互矛盾與前後不一的方法(duplicitous method)來解讀文本和揭露文本之既有的矛盾意涵。⁶⁰蓋在雙重閱讀中，進行第一次閱讀之目的主要是掌控詮釋之評論或重述(commentary or repetition of dominant interpretation)，藉此展現文本、論述或制度(institution)是如何透過論述與意圖之間的一致性，以掌控知識的優勢，從而達到其不受挑戰和質疑之穩定效應(stability-effect)的目

標和地位。至於第二次閱讀則與前述之第一次閱讀有著極為迥異的差別。在第二次閱讀中，主要在於展現文本、論述或制度被掌控詮釋所隱藏之問題(tension)，以及這些問題是如何地掩飾而難以得見。故而必須運用反追憶化的閱讀(counter-memorializing reading)，來突顯前述的問題與穩定效應的危機之所在。⁶¹

綜觀前述之論可知，Derrida的雙重閱讀之文本分析法的主要企圖，乃在於經由對任何分析進行兩次的閱讀，用以揭露穩定效應與去穩定化之前後矛盾關係的真實面貌，從而展現出人們以往所認識的知識或信以為真的真理，實際上，這些卻都是問題重重，前後不一之論。然後現代主義者或將此運用分析於國際關係研究中掌控優勢之權威性的詮釋(理論或概念)，而Richard K. Ashley即採用雙重閱讀來解析無政府狀態這個看似真理，但其實卻是一個大有問題的概念。

Ashley之「無政府問題的雙重閱讀」(double reading of anarchy problematique)，從無政府狀態之缺乏中心統治的權力政治之推論的問題化(problematize)，說明無政府狀態的論述之問題。在第一層閱讀中，Ashley

58 Jeffrey T. Nealon, "The Discipline of Deconstruction," PMLA, Vol. 107 No. 5 (October 1992), pp. 1266-1279.

59 Richard Devetak, "Post-structuralism," in Scott Burchill etc., Theories of International Relations (2009), p. 192.

60 Jacques Derrida, trans by Alan Bass, "Implications: Interview with Henri Ronse," Positions (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 6; Sarah Wood, "Reception and Influence," Derrida's Writing and Difference: A Reader's Guide (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009), pp. 164-9.

61 Richard Devetak, "Postmodernism," in Scott Burchill etc., Theories of International Relations (2005), p. 169; Steve Smith, "Alternative Approaches to International Theory," in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, p. 187; Jacques Derrida and J.-L. Houdebine, "Interview: Jacques Derrida," Diacritics, Vol. 3 No. 1 (Spring 1973), p. 37.



道出國際政治的無政府狀態之實際構成的面貌(constitutive features)，無政府狀態是一個多國並存，但卻缺乏一個凌駕於各國主權之上的權威機構或政府的國際體系，然各國之所以認同如此之論，主要是各國在國際體系的無政府狀態之中，擁有其可以認同的利益、資源和領域，更為重要的是，國家可以依據利益而自行其是，所以沒有一個國家願意去推翻這個法則(law)。於是乎，所謂無政府的論述即成了一個被信以為真，看似真實之不可變動的真理。然在第二層閱讀中，Ashley就是要挑戰和質疑權力政治之無政府狀態這個不證自明的國際關係概念或法則。Ashley先由主權和無政府狀態是互斥(mutually exclusive)之對立面(無政府被視為是缺乏主權或否定主權)著手，從而提出國家主權支持國際體系的無政府狀態論述，而如此國際體系的無政府論述又提升了國家主權之如此兩相利用(mutually exhaustive)的實際情況。Ashley認為之所以會如此，主要在於論者利用主權與無政府狀態來彰顯國家內部與外部、同質性與異質性、秩序與混亂、安全與威脅等二元對立，做為支持現代國家政治之統治的合法性與化解國家內部衝突之追求治理穩

定性的依據，並強化超越主權範圍之外(the domain beyond sovereignty)，則是一種危險和無政府之國際政治實情之描繪的論證。但如此之二元對立的觀點與看似真理的論述，事實上，都是在人為的主觀建構之下所形成者，故其既無客觀性，更非實情。⁶²

四、知識系譜學

要正確地了解後現代主義對知識與權力關係之解析，除了前述後現代主義所論之文字和語言的表徵、論述與文本分析之外，事實上，系譜學亦是解釋和剖析知識與權力關係之一個相當著名和重要的研究途徑。⁶³後現代主義者Foucault受到Friedrich W. Nietzsche之「道德的系譜學」('genealogy of moral')與生活經驗的啟發，故有所謂的「知識系譜學」('genealogy of knowledge')，開啟了以系譜學來分析權力，而用之於探討權力技術性的運作(operation of technologies of power)以及權力與知識之間的關係，進而據此來探索「真理的政權」的形成與其真實性之虛幻問題。依此，Foucault明確地道出知識既非中立的或客觀的，而是權力作用之下的產物。然此，現已成為後現代主義之國際關係論述的重要基礎。⁶⁴

62 Richard Devetak, "Post-structuralism," in Scott Burchill etc., *Theories of International Relations* (2009), pp. 193-4.

63 Steve Smith, "Alternative Approaches to International Theory," in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, p. 185.

64 Martin Griffiths, Steven C. Roach and M. Scott Solomon, "Michael Foucault," *Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations*, pp. 268-9; Jenny Edkins, "Poststructuralism," Martin Griffith ed., *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 94; Alan D. Schrift, "Foucault: Genealogy, Power, and the Reconfiguration of the Subject," *Nietzsche's French Legacy: A Genealogy of Poststructuralism*, pp. 33-58; Jenny Edkins, "Foucault's Docile Bodies," *Poststructuralism and International Relations: Bringing the Political Back In*, pp. 42-5; Mark Poster, "Mode of Production, Mode of Information," *Foucault, Marxism and History: Mode of Production versus*

的確，系譜學為後現代主義的重要論述，亦是展現權力與知識之關係的核心，此正如Richard Devetak所言：「簡約論之，系譜學就是展現與標示權力-知識關係的重要性之歷史思考的型態」("Genealogy is, put simply, a style of historical thought which exposes and registers the significance of power-knowledge relations")。⁶⁵

然何為系譜學？Foucault認為系譜學是「一個解釋知識的組成、論述與目標範圍等等的歷史形式」("a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledge, discourse, domains of objects, etc.")。⁶⁶儘管如此，但Devetak認為不可將系譜學等同於歷史。蓋從後現代主義對知識的理解而論，系譜學超越歷史。系譜學不僅有助於我們將所有的知識系絡化，且展現出知識受到權力掌控與知識為權力服務，以及權力提升知識的

影響力之權力與知識兩者之間的交互作用。⁶⁷

蓋就Foucault的觀點而論，其以為歷史只不過是「永無止境地重複掌控的戲碼而已」("the endlessly repeated play of domination")，此雖有助於人們創造系譜學的知識，但是純粹歷史的記述，卻從不探討其所記載之內容的真實性與意義為何。⁶⁸因此，一般所謂真實的事情，事實上，亦只不過是在某特定的歷史期間，透過能夠產生「事實」之特別的方法(particular method)或可信的人(certain people)或者是制度(institutions)所認可者。人們信以為真的事實，基本上，就是在人們相信如此之社會結構與機制的認定之下而產生者。⁶⁹Foucault認為長期以來，人類社會對性(sex)的見解與「道德規則」或「道德」，就是在社會結構與機制的形塑與拘束之下而產生者。⁷⁰

為了進一步說明前述之論，Foucault用長

Mode of Information (Oxford & Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1984), pp. 64-5; Barry Smart, "Genealogy, Critique and the Analysis of Power," Foucault, Marxism and Critique (London & New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 75-107; Jeffrey T. Nealon, "Once More, with Intensity: Foucault's History of Power Revisited," Foucault Beyond Foucault: Power and Its Intensifications since 1984 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), pp. 24-53; Marc P. Lalonde, "Power/Knowledge and Liberation: Foucault as a Parabolic Thinker," Journal of the American Academy of Religion, Vol. 61 No. 1 (Spring 1993), p. 82; James Johnson, "Communication, Criticism, and the Postmodern Consensus," Political Theory, Vol. 25 No. 4 (August 1997), p. 560.

65 Richard Devetak, "Post-structuralism," in Scott Burchill etc., Theories of International Relations (2009), p. 185.

66 Michael Foucault, trans. by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham and Kate Soper, "Truth and Power," in Colin Gordon ed., Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977, p. 117.

67 Richard Devetak, "Postmodernism," in Scott Burchill etc., Theories of International Relations (2005), p. 163.

68 Michael Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in M.T. Gibbons ed., Interpreting Politics (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1987), pp. 228-33.

69 Jenny Edkins, "Poststructuralism," Martin Griffith ed., International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century, p. 95.

70 Michael Foucault, trans by Robert Hurley, "Morality and Practice of the Self," The History of Sexuality-Volume 2 (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), pp. 25-37.



期以來人們已經篤信不移之「囚禁」(prison)的懲罰，做為說明人們受到相信社會結構與機制所論之「事實」的制約，而將囚禁這種視為是一種不可破除的懲罰型態。然Foucault以為囚禁型態的懲罰，並非是人類與生俱來即有之法典，而是在歷史的長河中，經由權力對人們的作用與訓練教育之下，才逐漸成為人們所深信不移之懲罰制度與事實，進而規範了人的行為。但是，Foucault質疑如此事實的真實性，認為這是人們受到已經根深蒂固之處罰制度的知識和認知、教育訓練以及將此反映於心理(psychology)的制約所致。⁷¹故而系譜學所考量的就是超越單純與不探究真實性為何之敘事性的歷史之問題，並以反歷史(counter-histories)的論述方式，以及未被當前所重視的思維與論述等不同的視野，來展現被歷史所埋沒、隱藏或者是被撰寫和創造歷史排除於外的觀點，並藉此用以說明附屬於權力下之「被宰制的知識」('subjugated

knowledge')，實際上，就是一個極具主觀性的產物(production of subjectivities)。⁷²

學者Bartelson運用Foucault的知識系譜學之方法，解析主權概念之「真實性」的問題。Bartelson經由文藝復興、古代與現代等三個不連續的時期，用以了解主權之歷史性(historical constitution of sovereignty)，而認為主權的概念不僅建構了現代政治，且是現代政治科學論述之核心，主權亦是現代政治與政治科學被用來區分國內與國際的內外之別的政治概念。亦即言，直到現代，主權概念才被政治界和政治科學研究廣泛地接受，然此卻並非是原本即有者。⁷³蓋就Bartelson之見解而論，主權概念的創建，主要是受到權威(authority)的形塑所致，但如此因權威之形塑而形成的政治概念之真實性，卻是備受質疑。⁷⁴事實上，就此主權之發展的歷史性而論，主權概念的建構並不容易，相對的，主權之意義更非是穩定而毫無變異之可能。⁷⁵因

71 Michael Foucault, trans. by Alan Sheridan, "Complete and Austere Institutions," *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 231-56; Todd May, "From Psychology to Foundationalism," *Between Genealogy and Epistemology: Psychology, Politics, and Knowledge in the Thought Michael Foucault*, p. 4; Todd May, "Anarchism from Foucault to Rancie re," in Randall Amster, Abraham DeLeon, Luis A. Fernandez, Anthony J. Nocella, II, and Deric Shannon eds., *Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy* (London & New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 13; Stuart Sim, "Postmodernism and Philosophy," in Stuart Sim ed., *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism*, pp. 5-6; Mark Poster, "Mode of Production, Mode of Information," *Foucault, Marxism and History: Mode of Production versus Mode of Information*, pp. 65.

72 Richard Devetak, "Post-structuralism," in Scott Burchill etc., *Theories of International Relations* (2009), p. 185; Jenny Edkins, "Poststructuralism," Martin Griffith ed., *International Relations Theory for the Twenty-First Century*, p. 95.

73 Maritn Griffiths, Steven C. Roach and M. Scott Solomon, "Michael Foucault," *Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations*, p. 269.

74 Jens Bartelson, "Preface," *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*, pp. ix-x.

75 Maritn Griffiths, Steven C. Roach and M. Scott Solomon, "Michael Foucault," *Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations*, p. 269.

為從主權的系譜學(genealogy of sovereignty)來解釋主權意義之不穩定的原因。Bartelson以為主權歷史並沒有一個固定指涉的歷史(without fixed referent)與穩定的意涵，更不是以永久性的本體論(timeless ontology)和永不變遷的知識論(unchanging epistemology)為其論述之基礎，主權歷史只不過是在特定的歷史與社會的情境中，因結構與權力之主觀性的影響下所產生者。這種情況使得現代廣為人們所接受的主權概念，實際上卻只是一個知識不聯貫、概念逆轉與變動性之極具主觀性的隱喻而已。然此正可大大地刺激人們可能對主權的論述的機會，進而讓主權之意義呈現出無法具有穩定不變之情形。⁷⁶故後現代主義者認為現代的國家主權概念，事實上，亦只不過歷史長河中之偶然，而非恆久不變者，從而拒絕將主權之論視為是不可撼動之普世典範(universal paradigm)與學界共同認可之一致性的觀點(monolithic view)。⁷⁷

另外，國際關係學者Cynthia Weber亦運用系譜學的概念，批評和質疑國際關係之核心-主權。Weber認為在國際關係的研究中，無論是現實主義或理想主義(idealism)，都是以主權國家為其研究之起點，而主權在歷經政治理論家進行概念化之後，儘管其定義仍多有分歧，但卻已成為世人廣泛接受的政

治概念。然此對國際關係的理論家而言，至少有兩個相當困窘之情況：一是掩蓋了主權歷史性(historicity of sovereignty)的困境。基本上，主權國家與現代全球政治共存(co-exist)，亦可說是現代政治的產物。然主權在十八、十九和二十世紀都有不同的面貌，在各個區域之政治意涵亦有差異，因此，國際關係理論家單純地以主權國家之概念，難以探究不同時間與不同地域之國際關係。二為主權問題的處置。透過對主權系譜學的了解可知，主權概念之界定主要是由理論家或法律學者所論，並在歷經選擇之後，才從諸多相關概念中，篩選出最好和最多使用的定義。儘管如此，主權的概念還無法避免主觀者的意念與詮釋，而有遭人詬病之弊端。在此情況下，即會出現因對主權的詮釋之差異，而會有國際爭端之問題，特別是違反國家主權之干預問題，這是國際關係研究極為嚴重與相當困擾的問題。⁷⁸

Webber認為世人廣泛地接受主權是在國家領土疆域內，擁有絕對的權威，並有不受國際干預之獨立性。然而這種普遍而廣為人們所接受的定義，並不代表主權的界定乃是精確而毫無問題的。⁷⁹相反的，違反上述定義之國家，卻可以透過對主權界定之不同的詮釋，將其干預他國之「違反主權」的作

76 Jens Bartelson, "Beyond subject and structure: toward a genealogy of sovereignty," *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*, pp. 53-87.

77 C. Bottici, "The Domestic Analogy in Contemporary Theories," *Men and States: Rethinking the Domestic Analogy in a Global Age* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), p. 123.

78 Cynthia Weber, "Writing the State," *Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention the State and Symbolic Exchange* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1-5.

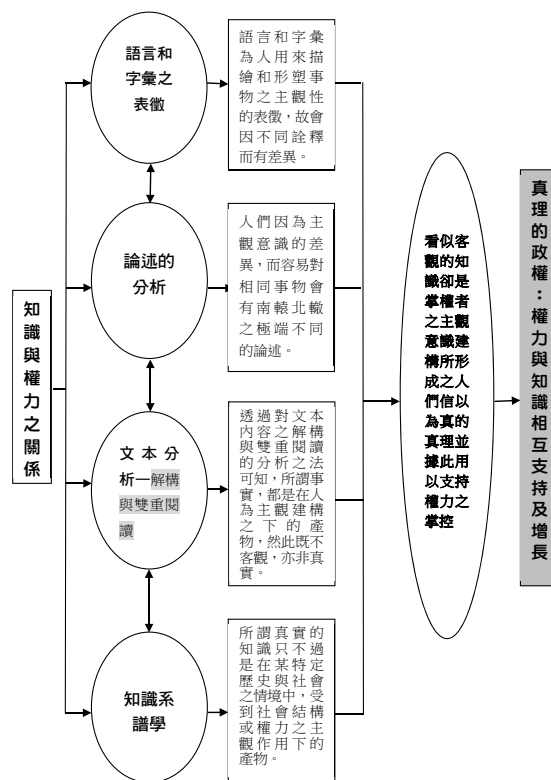
79 Ibid., p. 1.

為合理化(justification)。⁸⁰事實上，從國際政治歷史的發展來看，如此之「違反主權」的實例，並不少見。例如十九世紀的歐洲協商(Concert of Europe)、二十世紀初美國之威爾遜政府(Wilson administration)、二十世紀後期之雷根政府(Reagan administration)與布希政府(Bush administration)等都是。⁸¹

綜觀而論，對於上述後現代主義拆解與分析知識與權力之間的關係，或可以「圖1後現代主義對知識與權力關係的解析」來展現之。

認同與安全論

現實主義將國際體系視為是一個缺乏權威層級之無政府狀態的體系，且並無任何可以管控其他國家行為之「核心權威」(central authority)來提供個別國家安全，故而認為每個國家都必須依靠自己，亦即是自助(self-help)，方能保障其國家安全。⁸²然此保障國家安全之自助的能力(capability of self-help)，就是權力(power)。現實主義者按照Thucydides之權力政治為人類行為法則的表徵之論，將追求權力當作其理論的假定之一，⁸³並強調對



林宗達自行整理繪製

圖1 後現代主義對知識與權力關係的解析

國家權力的特性(attribute)之分析，進而提出國際政治就是權力政治(power politics)，「政治是一個為權力而鬥爭者」。⁸⁴現實主義立足於理性行為者模式(rational-actor model)與權力追求的基礎之下，用以解釋和預測民族國

80 Maritn Griffiths, Steven C. Roach and M. Scott Solomon, "Michael Foucault," Fifty Key Thinkers in International Relations, p. 269.

81 Cynthia Weber, "Preface," Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention the State and Symbolic Exchange, p. xi.

82 George A. Lopez and Michael S. Stohl, "Theories, Policies, and Practice in International Relations: For Furthering Reading," in George A. Lopez and Michael S. Stohl ed., International Relations: Contemporary Theory and Practice (Washington, D.C.: A Division of Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1989), pp. 9-10.

83 Tim Dunne and Brian Schmidt, "Realism," in John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens eds., The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, pp. 95-6.

84 Jack Donnelly, "The Realist Tradition," Realism and International Relations (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.7; Jack Donnelly, "Human Nature and State Motivation," Realism and International Relations, p. 48; Jack Donnelly, "Realism," in Scott Burchill etc., Theories of International Relations (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 32-3.

家之行為。⁸⁵

然經由前述之探究可知，後現代主義並不贊同現實主義如此之民族國家與無政府狀態的假定，更無法接受以權力鬥爭為主的國際政治觀。後現代主將人們對民族國家的認同視為是人類安全問題的源頭，並從解構國家(deconstructing nation)與化解國家認同之論中，提出其對世界安全的新見。對此，以下將從安全問題的來源與如何獲取安全等兩大面向，來探究後現代之認同與安全論之內涵。

一、安全問題的來源

儘管國際關係的研究途徑不少，然絕大部分的學者均認同民族國家為國際關係研究的核心論點(proposition)，⁸⁶並以民族國家的觀念(sense)來界定國際關係，甚至有「無國家就無國際關係」之論。⁸⁷而現實主義更將國家中心論(state centralism)視為其理論的核心假定(core assumption)與前提(premise)，據此用以聯結國際關係之無政府狀態與利己主義(egoism)以及權力政治等論述。⁸⁸平實而論，

民族國家如此之特定政治社群的認同(identity of specific political community)，掌控國際關係思維之發展至少五十年以上，諸多被世人重視的國際關係研究與理論，都是起始於民族國家的認同。⁸⁹而這種人民對民族國家的政治認同，主要是基於歷史淵源、社會性與物質性的基礎(historic, social and material ground)而形成的，但亦不免有利益與因應威脅或外在壓力之理性反應(rational response to threat or outside pressures)的考量。⁹⁰

不過，前述區別國家內外的空間與疆域，以及因應外在威脅與危險之民族國家的認同，早已成為當代政治思想與政治現實之術語或詞彙(term)。只不過，就後現代主義的觀點而論，這種劃分內外與區隔疆域之空間詞彙，以及因此所產生的政治認同，而將國內以外之區域視為是陌生的、外國的和危險之區域(alien, foreign and dangerous space)。如此之國家認同，實際上，乃是造成人們對安全認知的誤解，以及威脅和危害人類安全的重要根源，從而讓世人無法避免戰爭的厄

85 John A. Vasquez, "Theory and Research in the 1970s: The Emerging Anomalies," *The Power of Power Politics: A Critique* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1983), p. 205.

86 George A. Lopez and Michael S. Stohl, "Theories, Policies, and Practice in International Relations: For Furthering Reading," George A. Lopez and Michael S. Stohl ed., *International Relations: Contemporary Theory and Practice*, pp. 4-5.

87 Kjell Goldmann, "International Relations: An Overview," Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann eds., *A New Handbook of Political Science* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 404.

88 Jack Donnelly, "Realism," in Scott Burchill etc., *Theories of International Relations*, p. 32.

89 Roger Tooze, "Prologue: State, Nationalism and Identities-Thinking in IR Theory," in Jill Krause and Neil Renwick eds., *Identities in International Relations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1996), pp. xvi-xvii.

90 Chris Farrands, "Society, Modernity and Social Change: Approaches to Nationalism and Identity," in Jill Krause and Neil Renwick eds., *Identities in International Relations* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1996), pp. 19-20.



運。⁹¹蓋後現代主義認為正因民族國家認同與為了維護認同如此國家主權之故，所以才會有為了防衛國家領土疆域而訴諸暴力與擴張軍備因應威脅之舉，然如此外交政策之舉，相對的，亦是成為威脅他國之主要來源。⁹²

對此，David Campbell之《撰述安全：美國的外交政策與認同的政治學》(Writing security : United States foreign policy and the politics of identity)一書，即是針對民族國家認同造成全球安全問題與威脅而論者，而外交政策即是形塑國民對認同其民族國家之重要的手段。⁹³Campbell認為美國的外交政策主要是立足於對主權國家的認同、主權與無政府狀態、國內和國外等強烈之二元對立觀，以及外部威脅國家安全之「危險的論述」(discourse of danger)而形成者。

⁹⁴但這些「危險的論述」，事實上，都是在美國對全球局勢之主觀見解所建構的論述。而在如此主觀之危險的論述下，美國不僅在冷戰(Cold War)時期必須要創造外部的敵對

者，做為其外交政策與舉措之應對目標，即使在後冷戰(post-Cold War)時期，美國仍然將「危險的論述」奉為圭臬。因為「危險的論述」不僅可以維護美國人對美國的國家認同，此亦可對國家權力的合法性具有支持的作用。⁹⁵而美國在50頁的國家安全戰略中，出現了數百次的自由之詞彙，以捍衛自由為其國家外交政策之重心，而將「自由的敵人」('enemies of freedom')視為是嚴峻而危險的威脅，並採取軍事武力之預防性的部署之相對的因應作為，發動2003年的伊拉克戰爭(Iraq war)，並干預該國內政而要求其進行憲政改革(constitutional reforms)，這就是一種濫用自由概念，假借自由來鞏固美國認同與愛國心的最佳範例。⁹⁶

二、如何獲取安全-解構國家與其認同

基本上，後現代主義將全球安全威脅之問題歸咎於人們對民族國家的認同。後現代主義者Campbell認為冷戰時期，美國將前蘇聯(former Soviet Union)視為是一個重要的外

91 Richard Devetak, "Postmodernism," in Scott Burchill etc., *Theories of International Relations* (2005), pp. 176-8; Robert B. J. Walker, "Explorations," *One World, Many Worlds: Struggles for a Just World Peace*, p. 82; Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Sovereignty, Identity, Sacrifice," in V. Spike Peterson ed., *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Relations Theory* (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992), pp. 141-53.

92 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, pp. 146-8.

93 David Campbell, "Ethical Engagement and the Practice of Foreign Policy," *Politics Without Principle: Sovereign, Ethics, and the Narratives of the Gulf War* (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993), pp. 91-4; Chris Brown, "Critical Theory and Postmodernism in International Relations," in A.J.R. Groom and Margot Light eds., *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory* (London & New York: Pinter Publishers, 1994), p. 61; Columba Peoples and Nick Vaghan-William, "Poststructuralism and International Political Sociology," *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, p. 68.

94 David Campbell, "Foreign Policy and Identity," *Writing security : United States foreign policy and the politics of identity* (Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 61-72.

95 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, p. 147.

96 Sergei Prozorov, "Introduction: Thinking Freedom Freely," *Foucault, Freedom and Sovereignty*, pp. 1-2.

在威脅，而採取所謂的「圍堵戰略」(strategy of containment)，然此卻成為東西軍事對峙之嚴峻國際情勢與國際不安全的主要來源。何以如此？這是因為人們的意念受到諸如自由與奴役、進步與野蠻、平等與階級分明、希望與絕望等美國與前蘇聯政府塑造之強烈對比的二元對立觀，以及美國與前蘇聯人民長期以深受領土疆域與國家認同的影響之侷限，從而互相將對方視為是其國家安全的最大威脅，才会有東西冷戰之軍事對峙的局面。但無論是二元對立觀與領土疆域的國家認同，這都只是歷史長河中的一個短暫的現象，甚至於是一種迷思(myth)，絕非是真實且牢不可破者。⁹⁷只不過，儘管冷戰雖已終結，但人們依舊無法跳脫國家的認同與其所引發的不安全感，甚至因此而導致的戰爭危機，仍未消逝。1990年代的波西尼亞戰爭(Bosnia War)導致傷亡慘重的戰爭，甚至還有多起的種族屠殺的事件，這些都是因民族國家的認同之問題所引起者。⁹⁸

事實上，後現代主義認為所謂國家之疆域，只不過是人為採取內外區別之二分法

與二元對立下的主觀見解，此既非真實，更不是不可改變者。故後現代主義不僅嚴厲地批判民族國家的認同是造成全球安全問題與威脅的主要根源，更為重要的是，後現代主義認為民族國家對於解決人類當前所面對的諸多嚴峻問題，根本就毫無能力。蓋民族國家不僅並不能提供其人民在處理諸如全球經濟危機(global economic crisis)、環境汙染(environmental pollution)或核子攻擊(nuclear attack)等跨國界的危機和威脅，⁹⁹且國家認同乃是造成世界社會之政治對立的主因，國家認同無助於解決長期以來人類的衝突，嚴重地影響與挑戰人類的和平與生存。¹⁰⁰

立足於此，後現代主義認為如要人類生活於一個安全而不受威脅的環境，首先最為迫切的要務，就是要解構國家，亦即是進行國家的解構(deconstruction of nation)之作為，重塑政治主體與人的認同觀，建立一個跳脫只有認同民族國家之外的混合式認同(hybridity)，¹⁰¹甚至是要規避認同，創造一個無認同的政治(politics of nonidentity)。

¹⁰²蓋後現代主義在藉由解構國家的過程中發

97 David Campbell, "Writing Security," *Writing security : United States foreign policy and the politics of identity*, pp. 133-68.

98 David Campbell, "Violence and Identity in Bosnia," *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 83-114.

99 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, p. 149; C. Bottici, "The Domestic Analogy in Contemporary Theories," *Men and States: Rethinking the Domestic Analogy in a Global Age*, p. 124.

100 R. B. J. Walker, "Sovereignty and the Politics of Forgetting," *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, pp. 161-2.

101 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, pp. 147-8; Fiona Robinson, "Exploring Social Relations, Understanding Power, and Valuing Care: the Role of Critical Feminist Ethics in International Relations Theory," in Hakan Seckinelgin and Hideaki Shinoda eds., *Ethics and International Relations* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 66-7.

102 Ross Posnock, "The Politics of Nonidentity: A Genealogy," *Boundary 2*, Vol. 19 No. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 34-68.



現，所謂國家的敵人，並非是某個人或某個國家，而是我們自己和所有人類共同創造的結構(structure)。在此結構下，國家不僅不是安全的提供者(provider of security)，而且從國家的許多作法來看，國家才是真正威脅人們之不安全的主要來源(a primary source of insecurity)。要讓人類獲得真正的安全環境，那就必須要跳脫以國家認同之建構強大武力的軍事安全思維，思考憑藉武力並非是維繫國家安全之正道，而反思生態惡化、傳染病與違反人權等對人類生存與安全威脅的問題(questions of development, ecological degradation, and abuse of human rights)，並且要積極地採取相關的對應作為，強調與教育世人應以創建全人類安全為目標，而不能再將安全概念只侷限於國家人民(state citizens)之安全的狹小範圍之中。¹⁰³因而，後現代主義強調「倫理的和平」('ethical peace')之理念，拒絕以任何武力形式當作安全防護之行為，更加強烈批判國家假借諸如正義或道德等倫理義務之理由，而對外發動戰爭，破壞

國際和平之舉。據此，後現代主義希望可以建立起適用於全世界人民之正義與道德標準(establishing just and moral standards applicable to all of the world's people)，並以此做為維繫人類和平與安全之憑藉。¹⁰⁴

蓋就後現代主義的觀點來看，無論是從Walker的解構主權，而將主權國家的原則認定為只是政治科學中之一個暫時性與受到空間侷限的原則，並非是亙古不變之事實，更非不可動搖的真理之論；或者是從Ashley對主權進行雙重閱讀之分析，而認為主權都是在人為的主觀建構之下所形成者，既無客觀性，更非實情之觀點來看，後現代主義並不相信主權國家是不可動搖的事實，更不相信主權國家是真理的知識。因此，所謂對擁有主權之民族國家的認同，亦只是時尚風潮所造就之情況，並非完全不可更改者。相對的，自西伐里亞條約(Treaty of Westphalia)以降，依照疆界與文化建構的主權國家之認同與國際體系，只不過是一個虛幻的事實而已，¹⁰⁵在全球化浪潮的衝擊下，企圖以區分

103 Robert B. J. Walker, "Interpretations," *One World, Many Worlds: Struggles for a Just World Peace*, pp. 118-22; David Campbell, "The Politics of Theorizing Identity," *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, pp. 191-205; Colman McCarthy, "Anarchism, Education, and the Road to Peace," in Randall Amster, Abraham DeLeon, Luis A. Fernandez, Anthony J. Nocella, II, and Deric Shannon eds., *Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy*, pp. 175-82; David Campbell, "Why Fight? Humanitarianism, Principles and Poststructuralism," in Hakan Seckinelgin and Hideaki Shinoda eds., *Ethics and International Relations*, pp. 132-54; Allan Antliff, "Anarchy, Power, and Poststructuralism," *SubStance*, Vol. 36 No. 2, Issue 113: *The Future of Anarchism* (2007), p. 57.

104 Jill Steans and Lloyd Pettiford, "Postmodernism," *Introduction to International Relations: Perspectives and Themes*, pp. 149-50; Richard Devetak, "Postmodernism," in Scott Burchill etc., *Theories of International Relations* (2005), pp. 185-7.

105 Fabrizio Eva, "International Boundaries, Geopolitics and the (Post)Modern Territorial Discourse: The Functional Fiction," in David Newman ed., *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity* (London & Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2002), pp. 33-6.

國家之內外的疆域分界與其治理，已毫無可能。後現代世界的治理是一個跨越國家疆界與認同之去除國界藩籬的空間分享之治理。

¹⁰⁶後現代主義認為伴隨全球化所造成之生產、消費、市場和政治文化理念的重塑，以及如此之變遷對長期以往對主權國家之認同的衝擊與挑戰，進行國家的解構和建立混合認同(hybridity)，來化解軍事衝突而創造安全環境，徹底解決人類長期以來因國家認同而引發的軍事威脅與衝突的安全問題，如此方得以創建國際和平的環境。¹⁰⁷

結 語

經由對後代主義之探討可知，這個理論對知識與權力之關係的解析，堪稱科學哲學之最，然此亦是後現代主義何以被學界視為是後實證主義學派中，最為虛無之「玄而又玄」的國際關係理論之故。所以或認為因後現代主義的哲學探討更勝於對國際關係實質性的研究、解釋與分析，不能被列為國際關係理論，而是一個探討哲學的研究途徑，甚至於只是一個方法論。

儘管如此，但這可能是對國際關係之後現代主義的誤解或偏見。事實上，後現代主義在國際關係的立論雖遠不如實證主義學派之現實主義與自由主義之清晰明確，也比不上社會學派之馬克思主義、英國學派與社會建構主義的立論，但後現代主義之國際關係論述，也絕非是含糊不清，更非完全是與國際關係無涉之論。基本上，後現代主義之所以花費如此繁複與浩大的工夫在解析知識與權力之間的關係，其目的就在於想藉此讓世人更為充分地了解知識為權力服務，而權力卻可支持知識，這兩者之相互增長關係，據此用以破解主流國際關係理論，特別是現實主義之主權國家的迷思，去除對人類安全威脅最大之主權國家(後現代主義的見解)的存在與其必要性，進而提供一個可以讓全人類免於國家戰爭之苦，而能共享和平的世界社會。

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106 Alan Hudson, "Beyond the Borders: Globalization, Sovereignty and Extra-Territoriality," David Newman ed., *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity*, pp. 89-105; Jan Aart Scholte, "Globalization and Collective Identities," in Jill Krause and Neil Renwick eds., *Identities in International Relations*, pp. 38-71.

107 Robert B. J. Walker, "Interpretations," *One World, Many Worlds: Struggles for a Just World Peace*, pp. 118-22; Joseph A. Gamilleri and Jim Falk, "The Interpretative Crisis," *The End of Sovereignty? The Politics of a Shrinking and Fragmenting World* (Brookfield, Vermont: Edward Elgar, 1992), pp. 58-66; David Campbell, "Deconstruction and the Promise of Democracy," *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia*, pp. 165-165-208; Jill Krause and Neil Renwick, "Introduction," in Jill Krause and Neil Renwick eds., *Identities in International Relations*, p. xi; M. Shamsul Haque, "The Revival of Realism in International Politics after September 11 and Its Ethical Impact," in Mark Evans ed., *Ethical Theory in the Study of International Politics* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2004), pp. 152-3; David Newman, "Geopolitics Renaissance: Territoriality, Sovereignty and the World Political Map," David Newman ed., *Boundaries, Territory and Postmodernity*, pp. 1-16.