

The Law of Tai and Pi in the Zhouyi and the Road of Western Democracy

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Abstract: The natural law contained in the Tai and Pi hexagrams of the **Zhouyi** is that the root cause of a nation's order or chaos lies in whether the ruler respects God and benefits the people. This natural law applied to ancient China, which practiced monarchical rule. Western countries with democratic backgrounds also experience cycles of rise and decline. Does this change also conform to the law of Tai and Pi? Germany and the United States are two important countries with different traditions. Their rise and decline before and after World War II fully conform to the law of Tai and Pi: Germany's transition from the Weimar Republic to Nazi dictatorship was a change from "Tai" to "Pi," while the United States' transition from Hoover's administration to Roosevelt's New Deal was a shift from "Pi" to "Tai." The development of the current world situation will also follow the law of Tai and Pi. Regimes that respect God and benefit the people will surely prosper, while regimes that defy God and abuse the people will surely decline.

Keywords: Tai, Pi, Respect God, Benefit the People, Democracy

I. Introduction

The **Zuo Zhuan · Duke Zhuang, 11th Year** states: "When Yu and Tang blamed themselves, their rise was swift. When Jie and Zhou blamed others, their fall was sudden."¹ When a king blames himself, respects God and cares for the people, the state will prosper; otherwise, the state will decline. The law of cyclical order and chaos revealed by the Tai and Pi hexagrams of the **Zhouyi** is closely related to the rise and fall of the Xia and Shang dynasties and the rise of the Western Zhou. After Qin unified the six states, it implemented the commandery-county system, strengthening control over local regions. This system continued until the Xinhai Revolution. There is no essential difference between the commandery-county system and the feudal enfeoffment system in terms of hereditary power and centralization of authority. Therefore, China's monarchical regimes over three thousand years all followed the law of Tai and Pi. In recent centuries, democracy took root in Britain and spread to the European continent, North America, and eventually to all parts of the world. The basic characteristics of democracy are that supreme power comes from the election of the people, legislative, executive, and judicial powers check one another, and democracy also permits local autonomy. The question is: Does the law

of Tai and Pi apply to democratic countries? From the dialogue between Huang Yanpei and Mao Zedong, democracy can enable a country to escape the historical cycle. But can democratic countries escape the law of Tai and Pi?

The ancient text of the **Zhouyi** is closely related to historical events. Some hexagram and line statements were composed based on historical facts from the Shang-Zhou period. For example, the hexagram statement of the Jin hexagram: “The Marquis of Kang uses bestowed horses to multiply them, and is received three times in one day,” and the six in the fifth line of the Tai hexagram: “Emperor Yi marries off his younger sister, bringing blessings.” Some passages in the **Xici** (Appended Statements) explain hexagram and line statements with historical facts—for instance, using Shennong’s “cutting wood to make a plowshare and bending wood to make a plow handle, the benefit of the plow for teaching the world” to explain the initial nine of the Yi hexagram: “It is beneficial to undertake a great work.” It also uses “Yan’s son—was he not nearly perfect? If he had any fault, he never failed to recognize it, and once he recognized it, he never repeated it” to explain the initial nine of the Fu hexagram: “Returning not far.” The silk manuscript **Miu He** explains many hexagram and line statements with extensive historical facts. The **Zhouyi Jijie** cites Gan Bao using the history of the Shang-Zhou transition to explain the line statements of the Qian and Kun hexagrams. It is evident that interpreting the **Zhouyi** through history is an important tradition for explaining its hexagram and line statements.

This article will, based on the commentaries of the **Yizhuan** (Ten Wings) and classical Yi studies from successive dynasties, elucidate the natural law contained in the Tai and Pi hexagrams. It will then use the history of Germany and the United States before and after World War II to verify the law of Tai and Pi, and finally offer a prospect for the current international situation according to this law.

II. The Way of the Tai Hexagram

Tai: The small departs and the great arrives. Auspicious. Smooth progress.

The Tai hexagram is composed of the lower trigram Qian (☰) and the upper trigram Kun (☷). Yin is small and yang is great. Kun (yin) departs to occupy the outer (upper) position, while Qian (yang) arrives to occupy the inner (lower) position—hence “the small departs and the great arrives.”² The king humbles himself and dwells below the people in order to listen to their opinions and understand their needs. The **Tuan** says: “The small departs and the great arrives—this means God and Earth interact

and the myriad things communicate; those above and below interact and their wills are in harmony.” The hexagram statement merely describes the origin of the Tai hexagram, which belongs to the first stage of interaction between those above and below. Interaction between those above and below also includes the changing trend of the Tai hexagram, which is reflected in each line: the three yang lines of the lower Qian rise, while the three yin lines of the upper Kun descend. Thus yin and yang interact again, God and Earth communicate again, and the king responds to the people’s opinions and satisfies their needs. Therefore, interaction between those above and below includes two stages: Qian yang first descends and then ascends, Kun yin first ascends and then descends—two exchanges occur between them.

Initial Nine: Pulling up the reeds, roots and all, with their kind. Advancing brings good fortune.

“Ru” has three related interpretations. The first is grass roots, as Yu Fan cited in the **Zhouyi Jijie**: “Ru means the roots of reeds.”³ The second is the appearance of mutual pulling, as Wang Bi says: “Ru is the appearance of mutual pulling.”⁴ The third is that the roots of the reeds are interconnected, as Cheng Yi says: “Ru refers to roots that are connected to one another.”⁵ The third interpretation is the most appropriate, encompassing both “grass roots” and “interconnection.”

“Hui” means those of the same kind. The **Zhouyi Jijie** cites Yu Fan: “Hui means category or kind.”⁶ Here it refers to the nine in the second and nine in the third, which are also yang lines in the lower trigram.

“Zheng” means correct action or advancement. The **Xiang** says: “Pulling up the reeds brings good fortune in advancing—the will is directed outward.” “Will directed outward” explains the word “zheng,” meaning the will is directed toward the upper trigram and toward advancement.

The meaning of the initial nine line is: pulling up the reeds, drawing out the roots connected with their kind, advancing correctly—auspicious. This is only the literal meaning. What is its political thought? The foundation of governing the world is eliminating chaos and restoring order, reforming the old and establishing the new. Professor Li Shangxin has a precise interpretation: the “pulling up the reeds” in this line metaphorically refers to eradicating the petty persons or evil people who collude with one another.⁷

Nine in the Second: Encompassing the wasteland, crossing the river by wading, not neglecting the distant, eliminating factions, attaining elevation through the central way.

“Feng” means wading across a river on foot. Cheng Yi says: “Feng he refers to being so resolute and firm that one can cross deep waters and overcome danger.”⁸ Crossing the river without a boat, on foot, describes decisive firmness.

“Shang” has two interpretations. The first is “to rise,” as Li Dingzuo says: “Shang is interchangeable with shang (上).”⁹ The second is “to match,” as Kong Yingda says: “Shang means to match.”¹⁰ The first interpretation is better because “shang” is consistent with “zheng” (advancing) in the initial nine and “fu” (return) in the nine in the third, indicating active advancement.

The meaning of the nine in the second line is: embracing the wasteland and filth, acting with resolute firmness, considering the distant, eliminating partisan factions, practicing the central way, and rising to a high position, thereby bringing about brilliance and greatness. Hence the *Xiang* says: “Thereby bringing brilliance and greatness.”

Nine in the Third: There is no flat that does not slope; there is no going that does not return. In difficulty, maintain correctness—no blame. Do not worry about sincerity; there will be blessings in food and drink.

“There is no going that does not return” means there is nothing that goes away and never returns. What goes will return. This is because the nine in the third is at the extreme of the lower trigram. However, Qian yang should originally be above, so the nine in the third will return to the upper trigram. Hence the *Xiang* says: “There is no going that does not return—it is at the boundary between God and Earth.”

“Do not worry about sincerity” means do not worry about the sincerity expected from others. Zhu Xi says: “Fu is the sincerity one expects.”¹¹ The expected sincerity is others’ sincerity toward oneself.

The meaning of the nine in the third line is: there is no flat that does not slope; there is no going that does not return. In difficulty, maintain correctness—no blame. Do not worry about the sincerity you expect; there will be blessings regarding food and drink.

Six in the Fourth: Fluttering down, not becoming rich because of neighbors, no need to guard against sincerity with those who rise.

“Pian pian” means flying swiftly downward. The *Zhouyi Zhezong* cites He Kai: “Pian pian describes the appearance of a flock flying down.”¹² “Pian pian” combines the meanings of “flying” and “descending” because yin qi is descending.

“Lin” means neighbors or those of the same kind, similar to “hui” in the initial nine. Here it refers to the six in the fifth and uppermost six, which are also yin lines in the upper trigram. Cheng Yi says: “Neighbors mean those of its kind, referring to the fifth and sixth.” This is an explanation based on the hexagram image. “Neighbors” can mean neighboring people or neighboring states.¹³ Both “lin,” “hui,” and “chou” carry the meaning of the same kind. In the nine in the fifth of the Jiji hexagram, “the eastern neighbor slaughters an ox, which is not as good as the western neighbor’s simple Yue sacrifice,” “neighbor” clearly refers to a state. In contrast, “hui” in the initial nine of Tai and “chou” in the nine in the fourth of Pi both refer to people. Therefore, interpreting “lin” in this line as either neighboring people or neighboring states has some reasonableness.

Regarding the character “yi” (以), the “yi” in “not rich because of its neighbors” is the same as the “yi” in “with their kind” in the initial nine and can be interpreted as “because of.”¹⁴ This is more appropriate than Wang Bi’s interpretation as “using.” The “yi” in “with sincerity” is equivalent to “because of” or “and.”

The *Xiang* commentary for this line—“no need to guard against sincerity; it is the wish of the heart”—is identical to the *Xiang* for the nine in the second of the Zhongfu hexagram: “His son harmonizes with him; it is the wish of the heart.” Thus, the core of “no need to guard against sincerity” is “sincerity.” This line’s “no need to guard against sincerity” and the nine in the third’s “do not worry about sincerity” point to the same fact: the people’s sincerity toward the ruler.

The meaning of the six in the fourth line is: fluttering down, not becoming rich because of neighbors, having no need to guard against the rising Qian yang, yet possessing sincerity.

Six in the Fifth: Emperor Yi marries off his younger sister, bringing blessings. Supremely auspicious.

“Gui mei” means marrying off a daughter. Yu Fan says: “Gui means to marry.”¹⁵ Wang Bi says: “Mei is the term for a young girl.”¹⁶ An elder brother has no authority to marry off his sister; marrying off a daughter is the command of the parents.

“Yi” is a conjunction indicating purpose. The purpose of marrying off the daughter is to facilitate communication between those above and below and bring peace to the world. At that time, the relationship between the Shang ruler and the Western Zhou ruler was that of sovereign and subject. King Di Yi of Shang married off his daughter in order to improve relations with Western Zhou.

The Shang king occupies the exalted position of nine in the fifth. His daughter is yin and corresponds to the six in the fifth. The Shang king gives his daughter in marriage to the marquis of the nine in the second. The six in the fifth descends to become the six in the second, and the nine in the second rises to become the nine in the fifth. Those above and below can communicate, and male and female can unite. The six in the fifth and nine in the second occupy central positions and realize the wish for mutual communication. Hence the *Xiang* says: “Through centrality, the wish is carried out.”

The meaning of the six in the fifth line is: Shang King Di Yi marries his daughter to the Western Earl Marquis, in order to bring blessings to the world. This is supremely auspicious.

Uppermost Six: The city walls return to the moat. Do not use the army. Orders come from the capital. Correctness brings regret.

“The city walls return to the moat” means the city walls collapse and the earth returns to the moat. As Cheng Yi says: “Earth dug from the moat is piled up to form the city wall, just as the accumulation of good governance forms Tai. When Tai reaches its end, it will turn back to Pi, just as the city earth collapses and returns to the moat.”¹⁷ “The city walls return to the moat” symbolizes the collapse of state administration and the disorder of royal commands. Hence the *Xiang* says: “The city walls return to the moat—its mandates are in disorder.”

“Orders come from the capital” means commands from the king are issued from the national capital. The *Jiujia Yi* says: “Announcing commands means proclaiming the king’s orders.”¹⁸ The silk manuscript *Zhaoli* interprets it as “the ruler announces to the people.”¹⁹ The king’s commands issued from the capital are chaotic. King You of

Zhou played with the feudal lords using beacon fires. Later, when the Quanrong invaded, King You issued commands, but the feudal lords no longer came to his aid with troops.

The meaning of the uppermost six line is: the city walls collapse and state administration breaks down. Do not use the army. Orders come from the capital. If one maintains correctness, there will be regret.

The Tai hexagram speaks of communication between those above and below. The ruler occupies the lower position and the people occupy the upper position. They interact with each other, so that state administration can be stable and the people can live in peace. The lower trigram is Qian. Its three lines speak of the way of ascending: advancing hand in hand, practicing the central way, and maintaining correctness. The upper three lines speak of the way of descending: trusting those who advance because of benefits received; the king's daughter marries downward, bringing blessings; state administration collapses and royal commands become chaotic.

III. The Way of the Pi Hexagram

Pi: It is not for people. It is not beneficial for the superior person to be correct. The great departs and the small arrives.

The Pi hexagram is composed of the lower trigram Kun (☷) and the upper trigram Qian (☰). “The great departs and the small arrives”: Qian yang departs to occupy the outer (upper) position, while Kun yin arrives to occupy the inner (lower) position. The upper Qian yang does not descend but rises; the lower Kun yin does not rise but descends. Thus yin and yang do not interact, God and Earth do not interact, and the king and the people are not in communication. Hence the *Tuan* says: “The great departs and the small arrives—this means God and Earth do not interact and the myriad things do not communicate; those above and below do not interact and the world has no state.”

The inner trigram of the Pi hexagram is Kun and the outer trigram is Qian. If a person is yin and soft inside but yang and firm outside, he is a petty person. Therefore, in a time of Pi (obstruction), petty persons thrive and superior persons lose power. Hence the *Tuan* says: “The way of the petty person grows; the way of the superior person declines.” “Fei ren” means “not people,” referring to bad people or evil people, with

the same meaning as “fei ren” in the six in the third of the Bi hexagram. In a time of Pi obstruction, those above and below are not in communication, evil people hold power, and it is not beneficial for the superior person to maintain correctness. Hence it says: “Pi is not for people; it is not beneficial for the superior person to be correct.” The superior person should withdraw and hide. Hence the *Xiang* says: “The superior person uses frugality and virtue to avoid danger and does not seek glory through emoluments.”

Initial Six: Pulling up the reeds, roots and all, with their kind. Correctness brings good fortune and smooth progress.

“Zhen” means maintaining correctness and upholding the right way. In the Tai hexagram it is “advancing brings good fortune”; in the Pi hexagram it is “correctness brings good fortune.” In a time of Pi obstruction, the people uphold the right way. The *Xiang* says: “Pulling up the reeds brings good fortune through correctness—the will is directed toward the ruler.” Here “ruler” should refer to a wise ruler who brings order to the world.

The meaning of the initial six line is: pulling up the reeds, drawing out the roots connected with their kind, maintaining correctness—auspicious and smooth. The political thought of this line is that petty persons pull out and remove superior persons, and thus chaos is born.²⁰ Petty persons can be treacherous ministers or traitors, or they can be a disorderly mob. In chaotic times, maintaining correctness becomes even more important.

Six in the Second: Embracing and complying. For the petty person, auspicious; for the great person, Pi and no smooth progress.

“Bao cheng” means embracing and smoothly complying. Wang Bi says: “Dwelling in a time of Pi and obtaining one’s position, one uses utmost compliance to embrace and comply with those above.”²¹ Cheng Yi says: “What one embraces and harbors is compliance with those above.”²² The six in the second correctly corresponds with the nine in the fifth; “embracing and complying” means the six in the second embraces and complies with the nine in the fifth.

For the great person, Pi and no smooth progress. The silk manuscript *Zhouyi* writes it as “the great person does not achieve smooth progress.” In a time of Pi obstruction, the great person loses power and cannot achieve smooth progress, and therefore

withdraws and hides without disturbing the petty persons. Hence the *Xiang* says: “The great person experiences Pi and no smooth progress—he does not disturb the group.”

The meaning of the six in the second line is: embracing and complying with the king is auspicious for the petty person but does not work for the superior person.

Six in the Third: Embracing shame.

“Xiu” has two meanings: one is to feel ashamed; the other is to offer food. Here it should be interpreted as “feeling ashamed.” There are three reasons: first, the silk manuscript *Zhouyi* writes it as “you” (worry), which is consistent with the psychological activity of “shame” and unrelated to “offering food”; second, the six in the third is at the extreme of the lower trigram and a yin line in a yang position (the *Xiang* says: “Embracing shame—the position is not appropriate”), so the line statement should contain two opposing aspects—both embracing and feeling ashamed, which may lead to resistance, whereas offering food is merely a natural continuation of embracing; third, the lower Kun discusses how the people should position themselves in a time of Pi obstruction, which must include both compliance and resistance. If interpreted as “offering food,” there would be no implication of resistance.²³

The meaning of the six in the third line is: embracing the king yet feeling ashamed of the king.

Nine in the Fourth: There is a mandate and no blame. Those of the same kind attach to blessings.

“Mandate” here refers to the mandate of the nine in the fifth, i.e., the king’s command. The *Jiujiu Yi* says: “Xun is the mandate. It means receiving the mandate from the fifth and thereby controlling the three yin lines; hence no blame.”²⁴ “There is a mandate and no blame” means the nine in the fourth is an important minister who receives and carries out the king’s commands without incurring blame. Hence the *Xiang* says: “There is a mandate and no blame—the will is carried out.”

“Those of the same kind attach to blessings.” Cheng Yi says: “When the way of the superior person is carried out, he advances together with his kind to relieve the Pi of the world—those of the same kind attach to blessings.”²⁵ Zhu Xi says: “Those of the

same kind—the three yang lines—all receive their blessings.”²⁶ The three yang lines of the upper Qian are of the same kind, belonging to the ruling class and forming a community of interests. They jointly govern the world of Pi and together enjoy blessings.

The meaning of the nine in the fourth line is: the important minister receives the king’s mandate and incurs no blame. The ruling class forms a community of interests.

Nine in the Fifth: Resting Pi. The great person is auspicious. “It is about to perish, it is about to perish,” tied to the roots of the mulberry tree.

“Resting Pi” means stopping the obstruction so that it does not worsen further. Only a virtuous king can achieve this. Zhu Xi says: “The fifth, with the virtue of yang firmness, centrality, and correctness, occupies the position of honor. Therefore it can rest the Pi of the world—the auspiciousness of the great person.”²⁷ The nine in the fifth is central and correct, occupying the kingly position. Hence the *Xiang* says: “The auspiciousness of the great person—the position is correct and appropriate.”

“Qi” means “about to,” used in the same way as “now Yin is about to perish.” “It is about to perish, it is about to perish!” describes fearful caution.

“Bao” means root and trunk, as Lu Ji says: “Bao means the root.”²⁹ The mulberry tree has a well-developed root system and a sturdy trunk. As Kong Yingda says: “Moreover, the mulberry is a thing whose roots are numerous; numerous roots mean firmness and stability.”³⁰ “Tied to the roots of the mulberry” means an object is bound to the trunk of the mulberry tree, symbolizing firm stability and no perishing.

“It is about to perish, it is about to perish, tied to the roots of the mulberry.” The *Xici* provides a very apt explanation: “One who is in danger is one who secures his position; one who is about to perish is one who preserves his existence; one who is in disorder is one who possesses order. Therefore, the superior person, when secure, does not forget danger; when he exists, he does not forget perishing; when there is order, he does not forget disorder. In this way his person is secure and the state can be preserved.”

The meaning of the nine in the fifth line is: resting Pi—the virtuous king is auspicious. If one constantly thinks “it is about to perish,” one will remain firmly established and not perish.

Uppermost Nine: Overturning Pi. First Pi, then joy.

“Qing” means to overturn. Hou Guo says: “Qing means to overturn.”³¹ “Overturning Pi” means overturning the obstruction and restoring communication between those above and below. When Pi reaches its extreme, it becomes Tai. The uppermost nine is at the extreme of the Pi hexagram; the way of Pi is about to be overturned and turn into the way of Tai. Hence the *Xiang* says: “When Pi ends, it is overturned—how can it last long?”

“Overturning Pi: first Pi, then joy.” Its structure is similar to the uppermost six of the Mingyi hexagram: “Not bright, darkened. At first ascending to God, later entering the earth.” “Not bright, darkened” is Mingyi; “at first ascending to God” is Jin; “later entering the earth” is Mingyi. Mingyi and Jin thus alternate endlessly. “Overturning Pi” leads to Tai; “first Pi, then joy” means first Pi and then Tai. Pi and Tai thus cycle endlessly.

Regarding the specific content of “overturning Pi,” Professor Li Shangxin has an important elaboration: overturning and discarding what is bad in Pi means clearing away the accumulated abuses of Pi and disorder. He also makes significant discoveries about the relationship between this line and other hexagram lines—for example, this line is highly consistent with the initial six of the Ding hexagram: “The cauldron overturns its legs; it is beneficial to expel what is bad.”³² From this we know that overturning Pi, moving from disorder to order, is achieved when the ruler actively clears away his own accumulated abuses, turning the blade inward and scraping the poison from the bones—like Pan Geng moving the capital to Yin. In a certain sense, this belongs to self-revolution.

The meaning of the uppermost nine line is: overturning the obstruction. Previously there was obstruction; later there is communication and Tai—therefore there is joy.

The Pi hexagram speaks of God and Earth not interacting and those above and below not communicating. The ruler remains constantly in the upper position and the people remain constantly in the lower position. It is the world of petty persons, where evil people hold power and it is not beneficial for the superior person to maintain correctness. The three lines of the lower trigram speak of the people uniting and maintaining correctness; petty persons embrace and comply with the ruler, but this does not work for the great person; first embracing, then feeling ashamed. The three

lines of the upper trigram speak of the ruling class as a community of interests, with subordinates obeying the head; if the ruler has a sense of crisis and decisively rests the obstruction, he will not perish; if the ruler cannot break the obstruction, then the obstruction will be overturned by the people and by God.

IV. The Law of Tai and Pi and Germany's Democratic Road

After World War I, Germany established the Weimar Republic. After fourteen years, the Weimar Republic was replaced by Nazi dictatorship. Later, the Nazis were defeated by the Allies, and Germany implemented the Basic Law.

(1) The Way of the Tai Hexagram and the Weimar Republic

On August 11, 1919, the Weimar Constitution was drafted under the leadership of centrist parties such as the Social Democratic Party, the Center Party, and the German Democratic Party. Article 1 stipulates that the German Reich is a republic and that state power derives from the people. Article 22 stipulates that the Reichstag is composed of representatives freely elected by the people according to the principle of proportional representation. Article 54 stipulates that the Reich government must obtain the confidence of the parliament. Article 41 stipulates that the Reich President is elected by the entire people. In the republic, various political parties could operate freely—for example, the German Communist Party relied on the Soviet Union and imitated the Bolshevik Revolution, while the Nazi Party propagated extreme anti-Semitic ideas. In this relaxed political environment, the republic achieved remarkable accomplishments in science, culture, and the arts.³³ In the Weimar Republic, the government listened to the opinions of the people, satisfied their needs, and facilitated communication between those above and below, leading to social prosperity. This is precisely the situation of the Tai hexagram.

On June 14, 1918, the Social Democrat Friedrich Ebert was elected chairman of the Supreme Committee of the Imperial Parliament, with the National Liberal Gustav Stresemann as his deputy. In their later political careers, they promoted democratization policies. When Ebert was slandered by leftists, Stresemann highly praised Ebert's personal character.³⁴ Both Ebert and Stresemann were committed to democracy and the republic; they were of the same kind. Under the influence of Wilson's Fourteen Points, they cleared away monarchical forces—i.e., “pulling up the reeds with their kind; advancing brings good fortune.”

After World War I, Ebert faced two opponents: on the right, the old ruling class seeking to restore the monarchy; on the left, socialists attempting to establish a proletarian dictatorship. Ebert believed that “the people” should include all social classes: the proletariat, the middle class, the upper class, and the old ruling class.³⁵ After Ebert became president, the Communists opposed parliamentary democracy and organized violent revolutions. Ebert mobilized right-wing military forces to suppress them. Stresemann was balanced between left and right, skilled at forming alliances and making compromises. He later moved toward the center, believing that right-wing political violence, which transcended legal constraints, would bring destruction to the republic.³⁶ During his tenure as chancellor, Stresemann issued the Rentenmark backed by land mortgages, which slowly revived the economy, and he ended the French occupation of the Ruhr region. Both Ebert and Stresemann were centrists who practiced the central way and achieved great merit—“attaining elevation through the central way.”

Economic recovery and diplomatic success caused voters to give greater support to the political center. In the 1928 parliamentary elections, the Social Democrats’ support rose to 29.8%, the second-largest Center Party received 12.1%, and a grand coalition government led by the Social Democrat Müller began to govern.³⁷ The centrist parties brought economic benefits to the people and thus gained their trust. Despite setbacks, they were still able to form a cabinet and govern. Although in a difficult situation, they upheld the right way. Therefore, the centrist parties experienced “no flat that does not slope, no going that does not return; in difficulty, maintain correctness—no blame; do not worry about sincerity; there will be blessings in food and drink.” The people became prosperous because of the centrist parties and thus trusted them. In elections the people occupy the upper position; after voting they return to the lower position and accept the rule of the centrist parties. Therefore, the people are “fluttering down, not becoming rich because of neighbors, no need to guard against sincerity.”

Hindenburg had once been a servant of the Hohenzollern family and remained grateful for the land grants he received from them. To cover up military defeat and evade political responsibility, Hindenburg quoted a British general’s words—“the German army was stabbed in the back”—and proclaimed to the world that Germany’s defeat was caused by the subversive activities of the Social Democrats. Many Germans elected Hindenburg as president not because he had outstanding talent, but because he symbolized imperial power and past glory. Hindenburg regarded the presidency as a regency replacing the Hohenzollern family and treated

the chancellor as a subordinate, demanding military-style obedience.³⁸ Although a democratic system had been established, representatives of the monarchy still held important positions in the republican government. Hindenburg had been the emperor's favorite minister and can be compared to the daughter of Emperor Yi. In the republic he did not lose power and remained high above, ultimately bringing disaster to the people. This is the opposite of "Emperor Yi marries off his younger sister, bringing blessings."

In May 1932, Hindenburg appointed Papen as chancellor, marking the beginning of the collapse of the Weimar Republic.³⁹ In July 1932, Hindenburg authorized Papen to issue emergency decrees that turned Prussia from an autonomous state into an administrative district, accelerating the collapse of the republic. There were two fundamental reasons for the republic's collapse. First, in terms of constitutional institutions, the judiciary was not independent and could not fairly handle right-wing crimes, nor could it effectively check the president. The parliament had difficulty forming a majority, so the government, lacking parliamentary majority support, had to rely on the president. The president was unconstrained and became a *de facto* monarch. Second, in terms of public consciousness, many people hated the republic. They remained subjects of the old monarchy and possessed deep-rooted servility. Tocqueville believed that a people in a state of slavery cannot elect a wise government to rule them. A regime that is republican at the top but extremely monarchical in the rest is a short-lived monster; the people may soon prostrate themselves at the feet of a single autocrat.⁴⁰ In the economic crisis, the people quickly accepted Nazism and prostrated themselves at Hitler's feet. The Weimar Republic was overthrown by the Nazis—this is "the city walls return to the moat." Military force, as the national defense army, should not participate in domestic regime change—i.e., "do not use the army." Hindenburg authorized the issuance of improper orders. The people upheld correctness and appealed to the courts, but the courts could not defend justice. Hence "orders come from the capital; correctness brings regret."

(2) The Way of the Pi Hexagram and Nazi Dictatorship

In the July 1932 parliamentary elections, the Nazi Party became the largest party. In January 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor. Thereafter, Hitler gradually established a dictatorial regime.⁴¹ In February 1933, the president issued the Reichstag Fire Decree, allowing Hitler's government to declare a state of emergency and restrict personal freedoms. In March 1933, the president issued the Decree for

the Protection of the People and the State, sentencing those who criticized the Nazi regime to two years' imprisonment. Two days later, the parliament passed the Enabling Act, authorizing Hitler's government to issue laws and conclude treaties with foreign countries without consulting the parliament or the president. In May 1933, the Nazis organized the burning of books that violated the "German spirit," and many authors were forced to self-censor.⁴² In July 1933, Hitler issued the Law Prohibiting the Formation of Parties, making the Nazi Party the only legal party. All other parties had already been dissolved. Under uniform public opinion, everyone felt endangered. Under one-party dictatorship, voting became the people's submission to Nazi manipulation.⁴³ The Nazi regime stood high above while the people were suppressed below. Those above and below could not communicate normally—this is precisely the situation of the Pi hexagram.

Most people hoped Germany would become strong again. They yearned for strongman rule, identified with Nazism, and hoped to expel Jews and other foreigners. Some people voluntarily served in the ranks, only to soon find themselves on the battlefield killing Jews. Many workers accepted the enslavement of "inferior races" and supported the oppression of concentration camp prisoners.⁴⁴ As the Nazis suffered successive military defeats, the "people's community" gradually collapsed, and many people suffered tremendous hardship. Under Nazi rule, righteous people were almost entirely eliminated. Most people were ignorant and blindly followed the Nazis, failing to uphold the right way. Therefore, their path did not work and ended in tragedy—this is "pulling up the reeds with their kind," yet without "correctness bringing good fortune and smooth progress."

Most intellectuals remained in Germany after the Nazis came to power. Heidegger and Schmitt were two special cases.⁴⁵ Heidegger admired Nazism and was appointed rector of Freiburg University, where he banned his Jewish mentor Husserl from entering the university library. In 1934, Schmitt published *The Führer Protects the Law* to defend the Nazi regime, yet during the Nuremberg trials he denied supporting the Nazis. Heidegger and Schmitt forgot righteousness for profit and went back on their words—they were complete petty persons. In a time of Pi obstruction, the way of the petty person grows; hence "embracing and complying; for the petty person, auspicious." The intellectuals who left Germany included Einstein and Kelsen. Einstein made outstanding achievements in the photoelectric effect and relativity. Kelsen founded constitutional courts in the field of constitutional implementation. Einstein and Kelsen were worthy "great persons." In a time of Pi

obstruction, the way of the superior person declines; hence “for the great person, Pi and no smooth progress.”

In February 1943, Munich University students Sophie Scholl and her brother Hans Scholl were sentenced to death by a Nazi judge for “treason.” Earlier, Hans had joined the Hitler Youth and Sophie had joined the League of German Girls, where both held leadership positions. Later, Hans realized the brutality of the war and, together with others, founded the anti-war “White Rose” organization. In their first leaflet they wrote: “It is certain that today every honest German feels ashamed of his government. Who among us knows that when the veil falls from our eyes one day and the most terrible crimes are exposed to the world, we and our children will feel ashamed?”⁴⁶ The Scholl siblings had earlier embraced the Nazis out of ignorance; after learning the truth, they felt ashamed of the Nazis—this is “embracing shame.”

Röhm planned to build a brown militia on the basis of the SA and submerge the gray rock of the Wehrmacht in a brown flood. Hitler, however, needed to use the Wehrmacht’s professional knowledge and technology to achieve his foreign policy goals and, with the support of Wehrmacht generals, purged Röhm.⁴⁷ Goebbels hoped to implement total war as soon as possible, while Hitler feared being “stabbed in the back.” Goebbels continually sought Hitler’s support, though Hitler’s approval came too late.⁴⁸ The Nazi leadership formed a community of interests—i.e., “those of the same kind attach to blessings.” If Goebbels or Röhm had different ideas, they should have obtained Hitler’s approval. Goebbels achieved “there is a mandate and no blame,” but Röhm did not.

In 1941, the German army launched two offensives against Moscow, both ending in failure. The war far exceeded Germany’s economic capacity at the time. At the end of November, Minister of Armaments and Munitions Fritz Todt proposed to Hitler: “The only choice is to seek a political solution.” Hitler rejected the proposal. His creed was that a state should avoid negotiating when it is weak.⁴⁹ Hitler’s expansion of “living space” was for the private interest of one race and cannot be called the action of a “great person.” Hitler was unwilling to stop expansion and did not know how to “rest Pi.” He failed to achieve “it is about to perish, it is about to perish, tied to the roots of the mulberry.”

In January 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill demanded Germany’s unconditional surrender. In July 1944, Colonel Stauffenberg plotted to assassinate Hitler. In March 1945, Hitler issued the Nero Decree: destroy everything useful to the enemy. On

April 19, 1945, Hitler wrote his political testament: strictly enforce racial laws and ruthlessly oppose the Jews.⁵⁰ With the fall of Berlin, the Nazi regime collapsed—this is “overturning Pi.” In September 1948, in the British, French, and American occupation zones, representatives from six parties (65 delegates) formed a parliamentary council to draft the Basic Law. In May 1949, the parliamentary council passed the Basic Law and established the Federal Republic of Germany. The Basic Law thoroughly rejected the Nazi dictatorial centralized system, partially abandoned the Weimar constitutional system, and clearly stipulated a democratic system of checks and balances: first, it adopted representative democracy, i.e., a parliamentary government system, excluding referendums and rejecting a semi-presidential system; second, it established the Federal Constitutional Court to check the parliament and government and protect basic rights.⁵¹ Under the Basic Law, the government and the people communicate with each other, politics is stable, and the people live in peace. This is good governance and virtuous rule after Nazi tyranny—i.e., “first Pi, then joy.”

V. The Law of Tai and Pi and America’s Democratic Road

Democratic systems are not fixed or perfect. American democracy has continuously developed and improved. Facing the Great Depression, American politics did not slide from democracy to dictatorship; it only shifted economically from a laissez-faire model to an interventionist model. The democratic and checks-and-balances political structure remained unchanged.

(1) The Way of the Pi Hexagram and Hoover’s Administration

In the 1920s, the U.S. economy developed rapidly. The people were full of optimism about the future and purchased houses, cars, and even stocks on credit. Major speculators manipulated stocks, drove up prices, and then cashed out and left. In October 1929, the stock market crashed, banks went bankrupt, factories closed, and workers became unemployed. In October 1930, Hoover stated that the government might reduce capital gains tax rates so that investors could retain more profits, but it would not take action on unemployment relief.⁵² Hoover adhered firmly to laissez-faire principles and did not provide relief to the unemployed. Hoover occupied the upper position while the people occupied the lower position; those above and below were blocked and could not communicate—this is precisely the situation of the Pi hexagram.

The Great Depression made the middle class increasingly poor, to the point where there was no longer any distinction between the middle class and the working class. They became the same kind of people seeking relief from the government—i.e., “pulling up the reeds with their kind.” Traditionally, individuals enjoyed negative rights to defend against the government, such as freedom of speech, requiring only government non-interference. In the new situation, American society accepted the reasonableness of providing relief to the poor; individuals could request the government to provide social welfare.⁵³ Social welfare is the right way implied in “correctness.” Individuals striving for social welfare is auspicious and feasible—i.e., “correctness brings good fortune and smooth progress.” However, at that time, the progressive movement initiated by Theodore Roosevelt and brought to its peak by Wilson had already disappeared. Progressives had vanished from the federal government. Therefore, individuals striving for social welfare could not achieve it overnight. Individuals needed to send progressives into the federal government through elections so that progressives could implement nationwide relief measures.

Hoover summoned big businessmen to Washington and urged them not to cut wages. Those big businessmen who promised Hoover not to cut wages did not specify whether they would reduce working hours or lay off workers. Some automobile companies (including Ford) hurriedly carried out layoffs, and General Electric provided guaranteed work for only 50 weeks to employees who had served the company for more than two years.⁵⁴ Big businessmen were the beneficiaries of laissez-faire policies. Although unwilling to help their employees, they reluctantly complied with Hoover—this is “embracing and complying; for the petty person, auspicious.” Some religious and ethnic relief networks were overwhelmed and collapsed one after another—this is “for the great person, Pi and no smooth progress.”

In the summer of 1932, veterans in economic distress went to Washington to demand bonus payments. Hoover deployed the army to drive them away. Thousands of onlookers—civil servants—shouted: “Shame! Shame!” The scenes of veterans being expelled aroused sympathy among the audience. One woman said: “I feel I am one of them.”⁵⁵ The veterans sought government relief because of their difficult living conditions, yet Hoover used the army to suppress them. Although the civil servants embraced the government, they felt ashamed of it—let alone other citizens. This is “embracing shame.”

During the economic crisis, people expected the Federal Reserve System to generously provide loans. Although the Federal Reserve took some measures to facilitate bank borrowing when the stock market had just crashed, it did little afterward. The Federal Reserve followed President Hoover and adopted a laissez-faire attitude toward the economic crisis, nearly bringing the economy to a standstill.⁵⁶ The Federal Reserve is a federal government agency whose members are nominated by the president. The Federal Reserve and the president form a community of interests—i.e., “those of the same kind attach to blessings”—but the Federal Reserve does not need to bear political responsibility—i.e., “there is a mandate; no blame.”

Facing pressure from the 1932 election, Hoover approved some positive policies. In January 1932, Hoover signed the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, establishing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to provide loans to financial institutions to prevent bank failures. In July 1932, Hoover signed the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, establishing a system of home loan banks to support banks that provided mortgages to homebuyers.⁵⁷ These measures attempted to rest laissez-faire principles and objectively promoted credit, but they were directed at bankers and entrepreneurs and provided little direct help to the people. As a result, Hoover did not receive public support in that year’s election—i.e., Hoover failed to achieve “it is about to perish, it is about to perish, tied to the roots of the mulberry.”

Even when the economic crisis reached a severe stage, Hoover’s campaign theme remained “promoting voluntarism, personal liberalism, and no federal economic intervention in the market.”⁵⁸ Hoover believed in laissez-faire principles and favored big bankers and large enterprises, while the Democratic candidate Roosevelt advocated government intervention in the social economy to help ordinary people. The results of the November 1932 election showed that the majority of Americans abandoned laissez-faire and chose government interventionism. Hoover’s administration and its laissez-faire principles were overturned—i.e., “overturning Pi.” Roosevelt came to power and implemented progressive policies known as the “New Deal.” After suffering economic hardship, the people received relief from the federal government—i.e., “first Pi, then joy.”

(2) The Way of the Tai Hexagram and Roosevelt’s New Deal

When Roosevelt came to power, the situation he faced was that the American economy had entered an oligarchic system. Big businessmen controlled financial

power and became new despots. Their greed threatened the livelihood of the people, and equality of opportunity no longer existed.⁵⁹ In his inaugural address, Roosevelt proposed that the federal government directly employ the unemployed to complete urgently needed projects, while strictly regulating all banking, credit, and investment activities.⁶⁰ Through restoring employment and rectifying finance, Roosevelt helped the people out of difficulty and restored their confidence. What Roosevelt did was what the people wanted—this is precisely the situation of the Tai hexagram.

During the New Deal, the president took decisive action, even if it bordered on unconstitutionality. Congress quickly passed bills to support Roosevelt's actions and often added measures beyond Roosevelt's original ideas. Afterward, the president would combine the charm of aristocratic accent and plain language to explain the bill measures to ordinary citizens.⁶¹ President Roosevelt and Congress advanced hand in hand, clearing away laissez-faire principles, actively intervening in the social economy, and providing relief to ordinary people—this is exactly “pulling up the reeds with their kind; advancing brings good fortune.”

In March 1933, the Civilian Conservation Corps Reforestation Relief Act authorized the federal government to employ unemployed citizens to maintain public lands. In April 1935, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act authorized the federal government to employ people to build hospitals, schools, playgrounds, airports, roads, and public housing, and to employ artists, writers, and actors to engage in their professional work.⁶² In June 1933, the Banking Act authorized the Federal Reserve Board to regulate banking and established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. In June 1934, the Securities Exchange Act authorized the establishment of the Securities and Exchange Commission.⁶³ Rectifying finance meant restricting big businessmen from abusing their financial power, protecting the people from economic losses. Employing the people allowed them to gain income while preserving their dignity. These measures restrained the strong and supported the weak, conforming to the central way—“attaining elevation through the central way.”

The 1936 presidential election was a national referendum on the success of the New Deal. In his campaign speeches, Roosevelt expressed sympathy for the lower-class people who “have never been favored by opportunity” and accused commercial and financial monopolists and speculators of having long treated the U.S. government as a tool for private gain.⁶⁴ Roosevelt received widespread support from voters. Opinion polls showed that the lower a voter's social class, the more willing they were to support Roosevelt, while the wealthy class accused Roosevelt of betraying his noble

origins. Although Roosevelt encountered setbacks and was in a difficult situation, he upheld the right way, enjoyed deep public trust, and was re-elected president—this is “no flat that does not slope, no going that does not return; in difficulty, maintain correctness; do not worry about sincerity; there will be blessings in food and drink.” During the election, the people occupied the upper position. Because they trusted Roosevelt, they voted for him. They fluttered down from the upper position, obeyed Roosevelt’s leadership, and received relief and security—this is “fluttering down, not becoming rich because of neighbors, no need to guard against sincerity.”

In May 1935, in the *Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States* case, the Supreme Court held that special circumstances could not be used as a reason to create or expand constitutional power. The National Industrial Recovery Act’s authorization for the president to directly or through other agencies formulate industry rules was too broad an interpretation of Congress’s constitutional power to regulate interstate commerce. In June 1936, in *Morehead v. New York ex rel. Tipaldo*, the Supreme Court ruled that states could not set minimum wages for female workers. Roosevelt’s plan to counter the Supreme Court was to pack the court with additional justices. After Roosevelt’s re-election, the Supreme Court changed its attitude. In March 1937, in *West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish*, it ruled that states had the right to legislate minimum wages.⁶⁵ Although the Supreme Court exercised its power passively, its influence was often profound. The Supreme Court ultimately abandoned *laissez-faire* and turned to support government interventionism, bringing blessings to the people—this is “Emperor Yi marries off his younger sister, bringing blessings.”

The New Deal expanded presidential power and carried the danger of national socialism or communism. All sectors of American society were highly vigilant about this.⁶⁶ The Senate Judiciary Committee opposed Roosevelt’s court-packing plan, and Roosevelt even received death threats from armed opponents. Southern Democrat Dies investigated communist influence on unions and the New Deal. As a result, Congress stopped funding the Federal Theatre Project and refused to fund the National Labor Relations Board. By the end of 1943, Congress had abolished the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration. Roosevelt was elected to multiple consecutive terms and died in April 1945 during his fourth term. Congress subsequently amended the Constitution to limit the president to no more than two terms, preventing lifelong tenure and dictatorship. Government interventionism became the dominant philosophy of the postwar U.S. government. However, by the 1970s, government interventionism no longer suited the situation in the United States. Government intervention measures were no longer justified. The

United States entered a time of Pi obstruction, and U.S. troops withdrew from the Vietnam battlefield—this is “the city walls return to the moat; do not use the army; orders come from the capital; correctness brings regret.”

VI. Conclusion

The natural law contained in the Tai and Pi hexagrams is that when the ruler dwells below the people and communicates with them, the state is peaceful and the people are secure; when the ruler stands high above and those above and below cannot communicate, the people live in misery. From the Weimar Republic to Nazi dictatorship, democracy transformed into autocracy, embodying Germany’s change from “Tai” to “Pi.” From Hoover’s administration to Roosevelt’s New Deal, *laissez-faire* transitioned to government interventionism, embodying America’s change from “Pi” to “Tai.”

In the Weimar Republic, parliamentary and presidential elections embodied the spirit of democracy. Although state power was divided into legislative, executive, and judicial powers, these powers could not form effective checks and balances. The Weimar Republic was the first time in German history that the monarchy was rejected and democracy was adopted. It achieved brilliant accomplishments in economy, diplomacy, and culture. However, the Weimar Constitution had defects in checks and balances. Moreover, many of those implementing the constitution were remnants of the old monarchy, causing presidential power to gradually expand until it acquired authority similar to that of a monarch. Viewed through the lens of the Tai way, the Weimar Republic can be compared to the Western Zhou regime that practiced virtuous rule, and it surpassed the commandery-county regime that “mixed hegemonic and kingly ways.” The collapse of the Weimar Republic was also much milder compared to that of commandery-county regimes.

Under the impact of the economic crisis, the Nazis became the largest party in parliamentary elections. Hitler was appointed chancellor and then established a Nazi dictatorial regime through illegal means. The Nazi regime had no genuine democratic elections and no effective separation of powers and checks and balances. Its degree of autocratic centralization even exceeded that of ordinary monarchies and can be called extreme monarchy. Hitler was like tyrants such as Emperor Nero, King Li of Zhou, or Emperor Yang of Sui. They may have taken some measures beneficial to the people, but because they clung to their own prejudices or private interests, they

ultimately brought tremendous disaster to the people. It is evident that the Pi way practiced by the Nazi regime is consistent with that of monarchical tyranny.

Hoover's rise to power was the result of democratic election. If the people were dissatisfied with Hoover's administration, they could vote him out after four years. During his four-year term, given electoral pressure, Hoover could not completely cut himself off from the people. Thus, the degree of obstruction during Hoover's administration was less than that of ordinary monarchical regimes. During Hoover's administration, Congress could maintain communication with the people and enact laws reflecting public opinion. State governments could also maintain communication with their residents and take measures beneficial to them. These are conditions that monarchical regimes do not possess. Therefore, even in a situation of obstruction, democracy is more conducive to communication between those above and below than monarchy.

Roosevelt's New Deal conformed to the people's wishes, and the people repeatedly elected Roosevelt as president. Roosevelt listened attentively to the people's voices and actively responded with action. Such communication is difficult to achieve under a monarchy. The Supreme Court initially upheld liberal traditions but later turned to support New Deal measures. Congress initially advanced hand in hand with Roosevelt but eventually stopped New Deal measures. The actions of the Supreme Court and Congress helped balance the people's immediate interests with the Constitution's basic values. When "the city walls return to the moat," democracy itself was not destroyed—only specific economic policies changed. In contrast, under a monarchy, "the city walls return to the moat" means political turmoil and widespread suffering.

Today, internal contradictions within countries are intensifying and the international situation is becoming increasingly tense. Both sides in the Russia-Ukraine conflict claim to be on the side of justice: the Russian side believes that Ukraine occupies land that has belonged to Russia since ancient times and that the Kyiv authorities in Ukraine are neo-Nazis. The Ukrainian side believes that Russia's aggression against Ukraine is like that of Nazi Germany, and most European countries list Russia as a terrorist state committing genocide. According to the law of Tai and Pi, on the side of justice, the ruler follows the way of God, cares for the people's feelings, and will ultimately prosper. On the side of injustice, the ruler violates the way of God, ignores the people's will, and will ultimately decline.

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《周易》泰否之道与西方民主之路

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摘要：《周易》泰否两卦蕴含的天道是，国家治乱的根源在于统治者是否敬天恤民。这个天道适用于实施君主制的古代中国。具有民主背景的西方国家也会出现治乱兴衰，这种变化是否也符合泰否之道？德国和美国是拥有不同传统的两个重要国家，它们在二战前后的兴衰完全符合泰否之道，德国从魏玛共和到纳粹独裁是“泰”转变为“否”，美国从胡佛执政到罗斯福新政是“否”过渡到“泰”。当下世界局势发展也会遵循泰否之道，敬天恤民的政权必将兴盛，逆天虐民的政权必将衰亡。

关键词：泰 否 敬天 恤民 民主

一、引言

《左传·庄公十一年》曰：“禹、汤罪己，其兴也悖焉。桀、纣罪人，其亡也忽焉。”¹君王罪己，敬天恤民，国家就会兴盛，否则国家会衰亡。《周易》泰否两卦揭示的治乱循环之道，与夏商两代兴衰以及西周兴起密切相关。秦统一六国，实施郡县制，加强了对地方的控制，郡县制一直延续至辛亥革命。郡县制与分封制在权力世袭和权力集中上没有实质区别，因而中国三千年君主政权都遵循泰否之道。最近几百年以来，民主制在英国生根发芽，并蔓延至欧洲大陆和北美大陆，直至世界各地。民主制的基本特征是最高权力来自人民选举，立法、行政和司法等权力相互制约，同时，民主制还允许地方自治。问题是，泰否之道是否适用于民主制国家呢？从黄炎培与毛泽东的对话看，民主能使国家跳出历史周期率，但是，民主制国家能跳出泰否之道吗？

《周易》古经与历史事件密切相关，一些卦爻辞基于殷周史实而系，例如，晋卦卦辞“康侯用锡马蕃庶，昼日三接”，泰卦六五爻辞“帝乙归妹，以祉”。部分《系辞》用史实解释卦爻辞，例如，以神农氏“斫木为耜，揉木为耒，耒耨之利，以教天下”解释益卦初九“利用为大作”；以“颜氏之子，其殆庶几乎？有不善未尝不知，知之未尝复行也”解释复卦初九“不远复”。帛书《繆和》用大量史实解释卦爻辞。《周易集解》引干宝以殷周更替史解释乾坤两卦爻辞。可见，以史解易是解释《周易》卦爻辞的重要传统。

本文将基于易传文献和历代易学典籍，阐发泰否两卦所蕴含的天道，然后以

二战前后德国史和美国史印证泰否之道，最后根据泰否之道对当下国际局势作出展望。

二、泰卦之道

☶泰，小往大来，吉，亨。

泰卦由下乾（☰）和上坤（☷）两个经卦构成。阴是小，阳是大，坤阴往居于外（上），乾阳来居于内（下），故“小往大来”。²君王屈居民众之下，是为听取民众意见，了解民众需求。《象》曰：“小往大来，则是天地交而万物通也，上下交而其志同也。”卦辞仅仅描述泰卦的由来，属于上下交流的第一阶段。上下交流还包括泰卦的变化趋势，这体现在泰卦各爻中：泰卦下乾三爻阳气上升，而上坤三爻阴气下降，因而阴阳再次交会，天地再次交通，君王回应民众意见，满足民众需求。因此，上下交流包括两个阶段：乾阳先下后上，坤阴先上后下，彼此有两次交流。

初九，拔茅茹，以其汇，征吉。

茹，有三种相关解释，其一，草根，如《周易集解》引虞翻曰：“茹，茅根。”³其二，相互牵引的样子，如王弼曰：“茹，相牵引之貌也。”⁴其三，草根相互牵连，如程颐曰：“茹，根之相牵连者。”⁵第三种解释最妥当，包含“草根”和“牵连”两层意思。

汇，同类。《周易集解》引虞翻曰：“汇，类也。”⁶这里指下卦同为阳爻的九二和九三。

征，正行，进取。《象》曰：“拔茅征吉，志在外也。”“志在外”解释“征”字，志在外卦，志在上进。

初九爻辞的意思是，拔茅草，拉出根系相连的同类，正行，吉利。这只是本爻的字面意义，那么它的政治思想是什么呢？治理天下的基础是拨乱兴治、革故鼎新，李尚信教授对此有精准阐释：本爻“拔茅”隐喻铲除相互勾结的小人或恶人。⁷

九二，包荒，用冯河，不遐遗，朋亡，得尚于中行。

冯，徒步涉水。程颐曰：“冯河谓其刚果足以济深越险也。”⁸不用舟船，徒步过河，形容果断刚决。

尚，有两种解释，其一，上，如李鼎祚曰：“尚与上通”；⁹其二，配，如孔颖

达曰：“尚，配也。”¹⁰第一种解释更优，因为“上”与初九“征”、九三“复”一致，表示积极上进。

九二爻辞的意思是，包容荒秽，果断刚决，虑及遐远，消灭朋党，践行中道，升至上位，从而发扬光大，故《象》曰：“以光大也。”

九三，无平不陂，无往不复，艰贞，无咎；勿恤其孚，于食有福。

无往不复，没有一直去往而不复返的，去往的将会复返，这是因为九三处于下卦之极，然而乾阳本应在上，九三将会复返上卦，故象曰：“无往不复，天地际也。”

勿恤其孚，不要担忧他人的孚信。朱熹曰：“孚，所期之信也。”¹¹所期待的孚信就是他人对自己的孚信。

九三爻辞的意思是，没有一直平坦而不倾斜的，没有一直去往而不复返的，艰难守正，没有咎过；不用忧虑所期待的孚信，对于食物会有福佑。

六四，翩翩，不富以其邻，不戒以孚。

翩翩，疾飞而下。《周易折中》引何楷曰：“翩翩，群飞而下貌。”¹²“翩翩”兼具“飞”和“下”两层意思，因为阴气下降。

邻，邻居，同类，与初九之“汇”相似，这里指上卦同为阴爻的六五和上六。程颐曰：“邻，其类也，谓五与上。”这是基于卦象的解释。“邻”可以是邻人，也可以是邻国。¹³“邻”、“汇”和“畴”都有同类的意思，既济九五“东邻杀牛不如西邻之禴祭”之“邻”确指“国”，而泰卦初九之“汇”和否卦九四之“畴”都指“人”，因此，本爻之“邻”释为邻人或邻国，都有一定的合理性。

关于“以”字，“以其邻”之“以”与初九“以其汇”之“以”相同，可释为“因”，¹⁴要比王弼释为“用”更妥一些。“以孚”之“以”相当于“因”或“而”。

本爻象传“不戒以孚，中心愿也”与中孚九二象传“其子和之，中心愿也”相同，可见“不戒以孚”的核心是“孚”。本爻“不戒以孚”与九三“勿恤其孚”指向同一事实，即民众对统治者的孚信。

六四爻辞的意思是，疾飞而下，不因邻居而富裕，对上升的乾阳不用戒备，而有孚信。

六五，帝乙归妹，以祉，元吉。

归妹，嫁女。虞翻曰：“归，嫁也。”¹⁵王弼曰：“妹者，少女之称也。”¹⁶兄长

并无嫁妹之权，嫁女是父母之命。

以，连词，表示目的，嫁女的目的是为了上下交通，天下太平。当时殷商统治者与西周统治者之间是君上与臣下的关系，商王帝乙嫁女是为了沟通与西周的关系。

商王乃九五之尊，其女为阴，为六五，商王将女儿下嫁于九二之侯，六五降为六二，九二升为九五，上下得以交通，男女得以交配。六五和九二处于中位，实现了相互交通的愿望，故《象》曰“中以行愿也”。

六五爻辞的意思是，商王帝乙把女儿嫁给西伯侯，是为了天下福祉，至为吉利。

上六，城复于隍，勿用师；自邑告命，贞吝。


城复于隍，城墙倾覆，土料回到壕沟，如程颐曰：“掘隍土积累以成城，如治道积累以成泰。及泰之终，将反于否，如城土颓圯，复反于隍也。”¹⁷城复于隍象征国政崩坏，君命混乱，故《象》曰：“城复于隍，其命乱也。”

自邑告命，自国都传来君王命令。《九家易》曰：“告命者，宣布君之命令也。”¹⁸帛书《昭力》释为“自君告人”。¹⁹君王在国都发布的命令是混乱的。周幽王烽火戏诸侯，后来果有犬戎入侵，周幽王发布命令，诸侯不再用兵勤王。

上六爻辞的意思是，城墙倾覆，国政崩坏，不要用兵；从国都传来王命，坚守正道，会有憾惜。

泰卦讲上下交通，统治者处下位，民众处上位，彼此互相往来，国政才能稳定，民众才能安宁。下卦为乾，下三爻讲上升之道：携手共进，行中道，守正道。上三爻讲下降之道：因受益而信任上进者；王女下嫁，带来福祉；国政崩塌，王命混乱。

三、否卦之道

 否之匪人，不利君子贞；大往小来。

否卦由下坤（☷）和上乾（☰）两个经卦构成。“大往小来”，乾阳往居于外（上），坤阴来居于内（下）。上乾阳气不下降，却上升，下坤阴气不上升，却下降，从而阴阳不交，天地不交，君王与民众不通，故《象》曰：“大往小来，则是天地不交，而万物不通也；上下不交，而天下无邦也。”

否卦内卦是坤，外卦是乾，如果一个人内里阴柔，外表阳刚，他就是小人，

因而在否闭之世，小人得道，君子失势，故《象》曰：“小人道长，君子道消也。”

“匪人”，即非人，指坏人、恶人，与比卦六三之“匪人”同义。在否闭之世，上下不通，恶人当道，不利于君子守正，故曰：“否之匪人，不利君子贞。”君子应当隐退，故《象》曰：“君子以俭德辟难，不可荣以禄。”

初六，拔茅茹，以其汇，贞吉，亨。

贞，守正，坚守正道。泰卦“征吉”，进取则吉；否卦“贞吉”，守正则吉。在否闭之世，民众坚守正道。《象》曰：“拔茅贞吉，志在君也。”此“君”当是治世明君。

初六爻辞的意思是，拔茅草，拉出根系相连的同类，守正，吉利，亨通。本爻的政治思想是，小人拔除君子，乱世由此产生。²⁰小人可以是奸臣贼子，也可以是乌合之众。时逢乱世，坚守正道显得更加重要。

六二，包承，小人吉，大人否亨。

包承，包蓄和顺承。王弼曰：“居否之世，而得其位；用其至顺，包承于上。”²¹程颐曰：“志所包畜者，在承顺乎上。”²²六二正应九五，包承是六二包承九五。

大人否亨，帛书《周易》作“大人不亨”，在否闭之世，大人失势，不能亨通，因而隐退潜藏，不惊扰小人，故《象》曰：“大人否亨，不乱群也。”

六二爻辞的意思是，包蓄和顺承君王，对小人来说是吉利的，对君子来说是行不通的。

六三，包羞。

羞，有两个意思，一是感到羞耻，二是进献食物。这里应当释为“感到羞耻”，理由有三，其一，帛书《周易》作“忧”，与表示心理活动的“羞耻”一致，与“进献食物”无关；其二，六三处于下卦之极，而且阴爻在阳位（《象》曰：“包羞，位不当也。”），爻辞应当包含相互对立的两面——既包蓄又感到羞耻，继而可能反抗，而进献食物只是包蓄的自然延续；其三，下坤是讲民众如何自处于否闭之世，必然包括顺承和反抗，如果解为“进献食物”，就没有反抗意味。²³

六三爻辞的意思是，包蓄君王，又对君王感到羞耻。

九四，有命无咎，畴离祉。

命，命令，这里指九五之命，即君王命令。《九家易》曰：“巽为命，谓受五之命，以据三阴，故无咎。”²⁴有命无咎，九四是重臣，接受和执行君王命令，没

有咎过，故《象》曰：“有命无咎，志行也。”

畴离祉，同类附着福祉。程颐曰：“君子道行，则与其类同进，以济天下之否，畴离祉也。”²⁵朱熹曰：“畴类三阳，皆获其福也。”²⁶上乾三阳是同类，属于统治阶层，是利益共同体，一道治理否世，一起享受福祉。

九四爻辞的意思是，重臣领有君王命令，没有咎过，统治阶层是利益共同体。

九五，休否，大人吉；其亡其亡，系于苞桑。

休否，休止闭塞，闭塞不再加剧，有德君王才能做到。朱熹曰：“五以阳刚中正之德居尊位，故能休息天下之否，大人之吉也。”²⁷九五中正，是君位，故《象》曰：“大人之吉，位正当也。”

其，将要，用法同于“今殷其沦丧。”²⁸其亡其亡，将要灭亡啦，将要灭亡啦！形容忧惧谨慎。

苞，根干，如陆绩曰：“包（苞），本也。”²⁹。桑树根系发达，树干结实，如孔颖达曰：“又桑之为物，其根众也，众则牢固之义。”³⁰系于苞桑，物件系缚在桑树干上，形容牢固不亡。

其亡其亡，系于苞桑，《系辞》对此有很贴切的解释：“危者，安其位者也；亡者，保其存者也；乱者，有其治者也。是故君子安而不忘危，存而不忘亡，治而不忘乱，是以身安而国家可保也。”

九五爻辞的意思是，休止闭塞，有德君王吉利；如果想着将要灭亡，就会牢固不亡。

上九，倾否，先否后喜。

倾，倾覆。侯果曰：“倾谓覆也。”³¹倾否，倾覆否塞，交通上下。否极而泰，上九处于否卦之极，否道即将倾覆，变成泰道，故《象》曰：“否终则倾，何可长也。”

倾否，先否后喜，其结构类似明夷上六：“不明晦，初登于天，后入于地。”“不明晦”是明夷，“初登于天”是晋，“后入于地”是明夷，明夷与晋如此往复不已。“倾否”成泰，“先否后喜”即先否后泰，否与泰如此循环不已。

对于“倾否”的具体内容，李尚信教授有重要阐述：倾倒否坏之物，意指清除否乱之积弊；对于本爻与其他卦爻的关系，李教授也有重大发现，例如，本爻与鼎卦初六“鼎颠趾，利出否”高度一致。³²由此可知，倾否，由乱到治，是由

统治者主动清除自身积弊，刀刃向内，刮骨疗毒，如盘庚迁殷，这在某种意义上属于自我革命。

上九爻辞的意思是，倾覆否塞，先前否塞，后来通泰，因而欢喜。

否卦讲天地不交，上下不通，统治者一直处于上位，民众一直处于下位，是小人之世，恶人当道，不利于君子守正。下卦三爻讲民众团结一致，坚守正道；小人包蓄、顺承统治者，大人却行不通；先包蓄后感到羞耻。上卦三爻讲统治阶层是利益共同体，属下服从元首；统治者如果有忧患意识，果断休止闭塞局面，就不至于灭亡；如果统治者不能打破闭塞局面，那么闭塞局面将被民众和上天倾覆。

四、泰否之道与德国民主之路

德国在一战后建立魏玛共和，魏玛共和在维持十四年后被纳粹独裁取代，后来，纳粹被盟国击败，德国实施《基本法》。

（一）泰卦之道与魏玛共和

1919年8月11日《魏玛宪法》由社会民主党、中央党和德国民主党等中间派政党主导制定，第1条规定德意志联邦为共和政体，国家权力来源于人民，第22条规定联邦议会按照比例选举原则由人民自由选出代表组成，第54条规定联邦政府必须取得议会信任，第41条规定联邦总统由全体人民选举产生。在共和国，各种政党都能自由活动，例如，德国共产党依附苏联，效仿布尔什维克革命，纳粹党宣传反犹极端思想。在宽松的政治环境下，共和国在科学、文化和艺术等领域取得了卓越成就。³³在魏玛共和，政府听取民众意见，满足民众需求，上下交流，社会繁荣，这正是泰卦局势。

1918年6月14日，社民党人弗里德里希·艾伯特被选为帝国议会最高委员会主席，民族自由党人古斯塔夫·施特雷泽曼成为他的副手，他们在后来的政治生涯里推行民主化政策。当艾伯特受到左派分子诋毁时，施特雷泽曼高度赞扬艾伯特的个人品格。³⁴艾伯特和施特雷泽曼都致力于民主共和，是同一类人，他们在威尔逊十四点原则影响下，清除了君主势力，即“拔茅以汇，征吉”。

一战之后，艾伯特面临两个对手：右翼是旧统治阶级，谋求复辟君主制；左翼是社会主义者，试图建立无产阶级专政。艾伯特认为“人民”应包含所有社会阶层：无产阶级、中产阶级、上流阶级以及旧统治阶级。³⁵在艾伯特成为总统后，

共产党反对议会民主制，组织暴力革命，艾伯特动员右派军事力量予以镇压。施特雷泽曼处于两头倒状态，既左倾又右倾，善于结盟和妥协，他后来趋向中间派，认为右翼政治暴力超脱法律约束，将给共和国带来毁灭。³⁶在任总理期间，施特雷泽曼发行地产抵押马克，促使经济缓慢复苏，他还结束了法国对鲁尔区的占领。艾伯特和施特雷泽曼都是中间派，践行中道，厥功至伟，“得尚于中行”。

经济复苏和外交成功，使得选民更加支持政治中间派。在 1928 年议会选举中，社民党的支持率上升至 29.8%，第二大党中央党为 12.1%，以社民党人穆勒任总理的大联盟政府开始执政。³⁷中间派政党给民众带来经济利益，因而受到民众信任，尽管遭遇波折，但仍能组阁执政，虽处境艰难，却坚守正道，因此，中间派政党“无平不陂，无往不复，艰贞，无咎，勿恤其孚，于食有福”。民众因中间派政党而富裕，从而信任中间派政党，民众在选举时处于上位，在投票后就回到下位，接受中间派政党统治，因此，民众“翩翩，不富以其邻，不戒以孚”。

兴登堡曾经是霍亨索伦家族的臣仆，他一直感激霍亨索伦家族的土地封赏。为了掩盖军事失败和开脱政治责任，兴登堡引用一位英国将军的话“德军被人从背后捅了一刀”，向世人宣称德国失败是由社民党颠覆活动造成的。很多德国人选举兴登堡为总统，并非因为他有杰出的才能，而是因为他是帝国强权和逝去荣光的象征。兴登堡将总统职位视为取代霍亨索伦家族的执政官，他把总理视为下属，他需要军事化服从。³⁸民主制度虽已建立，君主制代表人物却在共和政府担任要职。兴登堡曾是皇帝的宠臣，可比帝乙之女，在共和国没有失去权势，仍然高高在上，结果给民众带来灾难，这是“帝乙归妹，以祉”的反面情形。

1932 年 5 月，兴登堡任命帕彭为总理，意味着魏玛共和开始崩溃。³⁹1932 年 7 月，兴登堡授权帕彭颁布紧急命令，把普鲁士从自治邦变成行政区，加速了共和国的崩溃。共和国崩溃的根本原因有二：其一，在宪法制度方面，司法不独立，不能公正处理右翼犯罪，更不能有效制衡总统；议会难以形成多数派，政府没有议会多数派支持，只得依赖总统；总统不受约束，成为事实君主。其二，在民众意识方面，很多民众仇视共和国，他们仍是旧时君主制下的臣民，具有根深蒂固的奴性。托克维尔认为，处于奴隶状态的人民无法选出治理他们的英明政府，上层为共和制而其余部分为极端君主制的政体是个短命的怪物，人民可能不久就会伏在一个独夫脚下。⁴⁰在经济危机中，民众很快接受了纳粹主义，伏在希特勒

脚下。魏玛共和被纳粹颠覆，这是“城复于隍”。军队力量作为国防军，不应参与国内政权更迭，即“勿用师”。兴登堡授权颁布不当命令，民众坚守正道，诉诸法院，法院也无法捍卫正义，故“自邑告命，贞吝”。

（二）否卦之道与纳粹独裁

纳粹党在 1932 年 7 月议会选举中成为最大党，希特勒在 1933 年 1 月被任命为总理，此后希特勒逐步建立起独裁政权。⁴¹1933 年 2 月，总统颁布《国会纵火案法令》，允许希特勒政府宣布进入紧急状态，限制个人自由。1933 年 3 月，总统颁布《背信弃义法令》，对批评纳粹政权的人判处两年监禁。两天后，议会通过《授权法》，授权希特勒政府颁布法律及与外国缔结条约，并无需和议会或总统商议。1933 年 5 月，纳粹组织焚烧违反“德国精神”的书籍，很多作者被迫自我审查。⁴²1933 年 7 月，希特勒颁布《禁止政党成立法》，纳粹党成为唯一合法政党，此前其他政党都已解散。在舆论一律下，人人自危；在一党专政下，投票是民众对纳粹操控的服从。⁴³纳粹政权高高在上，民众被压制在下，上下不能正常交流，这正是否卦局势。

多数民众希望德国再次强大，他们向往强权统治，认同纳粹主义，希望将犹太人和其他外国人驱逐出去。一些民众自愿在队伍中服役，不久发现自己身陷杀害犹太人的战场。许多工人接受对“劣等种族”的奴役，支持对集中营囚犯的压迫。⁴⁴随着纳粹在军事上节节败退，“人民共同体”逐步走向崩溃，很多民众遭受巨大苦难。在纳粹统治下，正义人士被清除殆尽；多数民众愚昧无知，盲从纳粹，不守正道，因而行不通，结局悲惨，此为“拔茅以汇”，却不“贞吉亨”。

多数知识分子在纳粹掌权后留下来，海德格尔和施米特是特殊的两位。⁴⁵海德格尔推崇纳粹主义，被任命为弗莱堡大学校长，禁止他的犹太裔恩师胡塞尔进入大学图书馆。施米特在 1934 年发表《领袖守护权利》为纳粹政权辩护，却在纽伦堡审判中否认自己支持纳粹。海德格尔和施米特见利忘义，出尔反尔，是十足的小人。在否闭之世，小人道长，故“包承，小人吉”。离开德国的知识分子包括爱因斯坦和凯尔森等人，爱因斯坦在光电效应和相对论等领域做出了卓越成就，凯尔森在宪法实施领域创立了宪法法院。爱因斯坦和凯尔森是当之无愧的“大人”。在否闭之世，君子道消，故“大人否亨”。

1943 年 2 月，慕尼黑大学学生苏菲·朔尔及其哥哥汉斯·朔尔被纳粹法官

以“叛国罪”判处死刑。早前，汉斯加入希特勒青年团，苏菲加入德国少女联盟，他们都在其中担任干部。后来，汉斯认识到战争的残酷性，与他人成立“白玫瑰”反战组织。他们在第一份传单中写道：“可以肯定的是，今天每个诚实的德国人都为他的政府感到羞耻。我们中间有谁知道，当有一天面纱从我们眼前掉下来，最可怕的罪行曝光于世时，我们和我们的孩子会感到羞耻？”⁴⁶朔尔兄妹早前因为无知而包容纳粹，在了解真相后对纳粹感到羞耻，这就是“包羞”。

罗姆计划在冲锋队基础上建立一支棕色民兵，并将国防军的灰色岩石淹没在棕色洪水中，希特勒则需要利用国防军的专业知识和技术来实现自己的外交目标，就在国防军将领支持下清洗了罗姆。⁴⁷戈培尔希望尽早实施全面战争，而希特勒害怕“背后捅刀子”，戈培尔一直争取希特勒支持，尽管希特勒最终批准为时已晚。⁴⁸纳粹领导层是利益共同体，即“畴离祉”。戈培尔、罗姆如果有不同想法，应当征得希特勒同意，戈培尔做到“有命无咎”，而罗姆没做到“有命无咎”。

德军在 1941 年两次进攻莫斯科，都以失败告终，战争远远超出德国当时经济能力。11 月底，武器和弹药部长弗里茨·托德向希特勒提议：“唯一的选择是寻求政治解决方案。”希特勒否定了这一提议，他的信条是，国家应避免在衰弱的时候进行谈判。⁴⁹希特勒拓展“生存空间”，是为一族之私，不可谓“大人”。希特勒不愿停止扩张，不知“休否”，没有做到“其亡其亡，系于苞桑”。

1943 年 1 月，罗斯福和丘吉尔要求德国无条件投降。1944 年 7 月，施陶芬贝格上校策划炸死希特勒。1945 年 3 月，希特勒发布尼禄命令：摧毁一切对敌人有用的东西。4 月 19 日，希特勒写下政治遗嘱：严格地执行种族法，无情地反对犹太人。⁵⁰随着柏林沦陷，纳粹政权垮台，此为“倾否”。1948 年 9 月，在英法美占领区，六个政党 65 名代表组成议会委员会，着手起草《基本法》。1949 年 5 月，议会委员会通过《基本法》，成立联邦德国。《基本法》彻底否定了纳粹独裁集权体制，部分扬弃了魏玛宪法体制，明确规定了民主制衡制度：其一，采取代议制民主，即议会政府体制，排除全民公决，否定半总统制；其二，设立联邦宪法法院，以制衡议会和政府，保障基本权利。⁵¹在《基本法》下，政府与民众相互交通，政治稳定，人民安宁，这是继纳粹暴政之后的善治和德政，即“先否后喜”。

五、泰否之道与美国民主之路

民主制度并非一成不变和完美无缺。美国民主不断发展，不断完善。面对大萧条，美国政治没有从民主滑向独裁，只是在经济上由放任模式转为干预模式，民主和制衡的政治架构没有改变。

（一）否卦之道与胡佛执政

1920年代，美国经济迅速发展，民众对未来充满乐观精神，通过信贷购买房屋、汽车甚至股票；大投机者操纵股票，推高股价，然后套现离场。1929年10月，股市崩盘，银行破产，工厂倒闭，工人失业。1930年10月，胡佛表示政府可能削减资本所得税率，以便投资者保留更多利润；但不会采取失业救济行动。⁵²胡佛固守自由放任主义，不救济失业民众。胡佛处于上位，民众处于下位，上下闭塞不通，这正是否卦局势。

大萧条使中产阶级越来越贫困，以至于中产阶级与工人阶级不再有区别，他们成为向政府寻求救济的同一类人，即“拔茅以汇”。传统上，个人享有防御政府的消极权利，如言论自由，只需要政府不作为；在新形势下，美国社会接受了救济穷人的合理性，个人可以请求政府提供社会福利。⁵³社会福利是“贞”所蕴含的正道，个人争取社会福利，是吉利的，是行得通的，即“贞吉亨”。但在当时，由老罗斯福开启、威尔逊推向高潮的进步运动已销声匿迹，进步主义者在联邦政府内已消失殆尽，因而个人争取社会福利，不会一蹴而就，个人需要通过选举把进步主义者送入联邦政府，进步主义者才能采取全国性救济措施。

胡佛把大商人召到华盛顿，呼吁他们不要降薪。那些向胡佛承诺不降薪的大商人，并未说明他们是否会削减工作时间或裁员，一些汽车企业（包括福特汽车）急不可耐地采取了裁员行动，通用电气公司也只为那些已为公司效力两年以上的员工提供50周有保障的工作。⁵⁴大商人是放任政策的受益者，他们虽不情愿帮助员工，但还是勉强地顺承胡佛，这是“包承，小人吉”。一些宗教和族群救助网络不堪重负，相继垮塌，这是“大人否亨”。

1932年夏天，陷入经济困境的退伍军人前往华盛顿，向政府索要酬恤金，胡佛动用军队驱赶退伍军人，数千名旁观的公务员大喊：“羞耻！羞耻！”退伍军人遭受驱逐的画面引发了观众的同情，一位妇女说到：“我觉得自己就是他们当中的一员”。⁵⁵退伍军人因生活窘迫而寻求政府救济，胡佛却动用军队予以镇压，公务员尽管包蓄政府，却对此感到羞耻，更何况其他民众，此为“包羞”。

经济危机期间，人们期望联邦储蓄系统慷慨地提供贷款。虽然联邦储备系统在股市刚刚崩溃时采取了一些便于银行借贷资金的措施，但接下来没什么作为。美联储遵从胡佛总统，对经济危机持放任态度，几乎使经济陷入停滞。⁵⁶美联储是联邦政府机构，其成员由总统提名，美联储与总统是利益共同体，即“畴离祉”，但美联储不需要承担政治责任，即“有命，无咎”。

面对 1932 年大选压力，胡佛批准了一些积极政策。1932 年 1 月，胡佛签署《复兴金融公司法》，设立复兴金融公司，向金融机构提供贷款，以防银行破产；1932 年 7 月，胡佛签署《联邦住房贷款法》，建立住房贷款银行系统，以支持那些向购房者提供按揭贷款的银行。⁵⁷这些措施尝试休止自由放任主义，在客观上促进了信贷，但是面向银行家和企业家，对民众没有多少直接帮助，以致胡佛在当年大选中没有得到民众支持，即胡佛没有做到“其亡其亡，系于苞桑”。

即使经济危机进入严重阶段，胡佛的竞选主题仍是“促进自愿主义、个人自由主义、联邦不对市场进行经济干预”。⁵⁸胡佛信奉自由放任主义，偏向大银行家和大企业主，而民主党候选人罗斯福主张政府干预社会经济，帮助普通民众。1932 年 11 月大选结果表明，多数美国人放弃自由放任主义，选择政府干预主义。胡佛政府及其自由放任主义被倾覆，即“倾否”，罗斯福上台，推行被称为“新政”的进步政策，民众在遭受经济困难后得到联邦政府救济，即“先否后喜”。

（二）泰卦之道与罗斯福新政

罗斯福上台时面临的形势是，美国经济进入寡头制，大商人掌控金融力量，成为新的专制者，他们的贪婪威胁到民众的生计，机会平等不复存在。⁵⁹罗斯福在就职演说中提出的方案是，联邦政府直接雇佣失业人员，以完成急需项目，同时，联邦政府严格监管所有银行业务、信贷和投资。⁶⁰罗斯福通过恢复就业和整顿金融，帮助民众走出困境，使他们重获信心。罗斯福所做的，是民众所想的，这正是泰卦局势。

新政期间，总统果断采取行动，即便有违宪之嫌。国会快速通过法案以配合罗斯福的行动，并时常加入一些超出罗斯福最初设想的措施。之后，总统会把贵族口音和平实语言的魅力结合起来，向普通民众阐释法案措施。⁶¹罗斯福总统与国会携手并进，清除自由放任主义，积极干预社会经济，救济普通民众，这正是“拔茅以汇，征吉”。

1933年3月《平民保育团造林救济法》授权联邦政府雇佣失业公民保养公共土地，1935年4月《紧急救济拨款法》授权联邦政府雇佣民众建设医院、学校、操场、机场、道路、公共住房，以及雇佣艺术家、作家和演员从事本职工作。⁶²1933年6月《银行法》授权联邦储备委员会监管银行业，设立联邦存款保险公司，1934年6月《证券交易法》授权设立证券交易委员会。⁶³整顿金融是限制大商人滥用其金融力量，使民众免受经济损失，而雇佣民众则使他们在获得经济收入的同时维护他们的自尊心，这些措施抑强扶弱，符合中道，“得尚于中行”。

1936年总统大选是对新政成功与否的全民公决。罗斯福在竞选演讲中同情“从未被机遇垂青”的底层民众，指责商业和金融垄断者以及投机分子早已把美国政府当作谋取私利的工具。⁶⁴罗斯福得到选民的广泛支持，民意调查显示，选民的社会阶层越低，就越愿意支持罗斯福，而富裕阶层指责罗斯福背叛了自己的高贵出身。罗斯福虽然遭遇挫折，处境艰难，但是坚守正道，深孚众望，再次成为总统，这就是“无平不陂，无往不复，艰贞，勿恤其孚，于食有福”。在大选期间，民众处于上位，因信任罗斯福而投票支持他，自上位翩然而下，服从罗斯福领导，获得救济和保障，这就是“翩翩，不富以其邻，不戒以孚”。

最高法院在1935年5月谢克特诉合众国案中认为：特殊情况不能成为创造或者扩张宪法权力的理由，《国家工业复兴法》授权总统直接或委托其他机构制定行业规则，过于宽泛地解释了国会规制州际贸易的宪法权力。在1936年6月莫尔黑德诉纽约州案中，最高法院判决各州不能为女工设定最低工资。罗斯福反击最高法院的计划是往最高法院塞人。最高法院在罗斯福连任后改变了态度，在1937年3月西海岸酒店公司诉帕里什案中判决各州有权立法规定最低工资。⁶⁵最高法院行使权力虽然消极而被动，但往往影响深远。最高法院最终放弃自由放任主义，转而支持政府干预主义，给民众带来福祉，此为“帝乙归妹，以祉”。

新政扩张了总统权力，有国家社会主义化和共产主义化危险，美国各界对此高度警惕。⁶⁶参议院司法委员会反对罗斯福往最高法院塞人，罗斯福还收到武装反对者的死亡威胁。南方民主党人戴斯调查共产主义对工会和新政的影响，结果是，国会不再资助联邦剧场项目，并拒绝资助全国劳资委员会。到1943年末，国会已经裁撤了平民保育团和公共事业振兴署。罗斯福多次连选连任，并于1945年4月死于第四届任期，国会随后修宪规定总统任期不得超过两届，防止总统终

身制和独裁化。政府干预主义是战后美国政府的主导思想，但是到了 1970 年代，政府干预主义不再适应美国当时形势，政府干预措施不再是正当的，美国进入否闭之世，美军撤出越南战场，此为“城复于隍，勿用师；自邑告命，贞吝”。

六、结语

泰否两卦所蕴含的天道是，统治者处于民众之下，与民众交流，则国泰民安；统治者高高在上，上下不通，则民不聊生。从魏玛共和到纳粹独裁，民主转变为专制，体现了德国从“泰”到“否”的变化过程；从胡佛执政到罗斯福新政，自由放任主义过渡到政府干预主义，体现了美国从“否”到“泰”的变化过程。

在魏玛共和，议会选举和总统选举体现了民主精神，国家权力尽管分为立法权、行政权和司法权，但是这些权力不能形成有效制衡。魏玛共和在德国历史上第一次否定君主制，采纳民主制，在经济、外交和文化等领域取得了辉煌成就。魏玛宪法在权力制衡上存在缺陷，再加上实施宪法的人多是君主制的遗老遗少，从而总统权力逐渐膨胀，最终获得了类似君主的权威。以泰道观之，魏玛共和堪比实行德政的西周政权，而胜于“霸王道杂之”的郡县制政权。魏玛共和的崩溃与郡县制政权相比，也要温和的多。

在经济危机的冲击下，纳粹在议会选举中成为最大党，希特勒被任命为总理，然后通过非法手段建立了纳粹独裁政权。纳粹政权没有真正的民主选举，也没有有效的分权制衡，其专制集权程度甚至超过一般君主制，或可被称为极端君主制。希特勒犹如尼禄皇帝、周厉王、隋炀帝之类的暴君，他们可能采取一些对人民有利的措施，但是由于固守自己的偏见或私利，最终给人民带来巨大灾难。可见，纳粹政权与君主暴政所行的否道是一致的。

胡佛上台是民主选举的结果，如果人民对胡佛执政不满意，在四年任期后再把他选下去。胡佛在四年执政期间，鉴于选举压力，不可能与人民完全隔绝不通，如此，胡佛执政的否塞程度要小于一般君主制政权。在胡佛执政期间，国会可与人民保持通泰，制定出反映民意的法律；各州政府也可以与本州居民保持通泰，采取有利于本州居民的措施，这些都是君主制政权所不具备的条件。因此，即便在否塞的情况下，民主制也比君主制更加有利于上下通泰。

罗斯福新政符合人民意愿，人民一再选举罗斯福为总统。罗斯福用心倾听人民声音，并积极采取行动予以回应，这种通泰难以出现在君主制下。最高法院最

初坚守自由主义传统,但是后来转而支持新政措施;国会早先与罗斯福携手并进,但是最终阻止新政措施。最高法院和国会的行动有助于平衡人民当时利益和宪法基本价值。当“城复于隍”时,民主制本身并未受到破坏,只是具体的经济政策有所改变,而在君主制下,“城复于隍”意味着政治动荡、生灵涂炭。

如今,各国内部矛盾日益加剧,国际局势日趋紧张。俄乌冲突双方都声称己方是正义的:俄方认为乌克兰占据自古就属于俄罗斯的土地,乌克兰基辅当局是新纳粹主义;乌方认为俄罗斯对乌克兰的侵略有如纳粹德国,欧洲多数国家将俄罗斯列为实施种族灭绝的恐怖主义国家。根据泰否之道,在正义一方,统治者遵循天道,体恤民情,终将兴盛;在非正义一方,统治者违背天道,罔顾民意,终将衰亡。

¹ 杨伯峻编著:《春秋左传注》,北京:中华书局 2016 年版,第 203-205 页。

² 程颐:《周易程氏传》,北京:中华书局 2011 年版,第 63 页。

³ 李鼎祚:《周易集解》,中华书局 2016 版,第 96 页。

⁴ 王弼:《周易注》,中华书局 2011 年版,第 69 页。

⁵ 程颐:《周易程氏传》,第 63 页。

⁶ 李鼎祚:《周易集解》,第 96 页。

⁷ 李尚信:《周易》古经泰否二卦本义解读——兼释萃涣大过剥鼎等相关卦爻,载《周易研究》2018 年第 6 期。

⁸ 程颐:《周易程氏传》,第 65 页。

⁹ 李道平:《周易集解纂疏》,北京:中华书局 1994 年版,第 168 页。

¹⁰ 王弼、孔颖达:《宋本周易注疏》,北京:中华书局 2018 年版,第 104 页。

¹¹ 朱熹:《周易本义》,中华书局 2009 年版,第 75 页。

¹² 李光地:《周易折中》,中华书局 2022 年版,第 142 页。

¹³ 李尚信:《周易》古经泰否二卦本义解读——兼释萃涣大过剥鼎等相关卦爻,载《周易研究》2018 年第 6 期。

¹⁴ 李尚信:《周易》古经泰否二卦本义解读——兼释萃涣大过剥鼎等相关卦爻,载《周易研究》2018 年第 6 期。

¹⁵ 李鼎祚:《周易集解》,第 99 页。

¹⁶ 王弼:《周易注》,第 289 页。

¹⁷ 程颐:《周易程氏传》,第 68 页。

¹⁸ 李鼎祚:《周易集解》,第 100 页。

¹⁹ 于豪亮:《马王堆帛书周易释文校注》,上海古籍出版社 2013 年版,第 200 页。

²⁰ 李尚信:《周易》古经泰否二卦本义解读——兼释萃涣大过剥鼎等相关卦爻,载《周易研究》2018 年第 6 期。

²¹ 王弼:《周易注》,第 74 页。

²² 程颐:《周易程氏传》,第 71 页。

²³ 坤卦六三“或从王事”与上六“龙战于野”分别象征民众对统治者的顺承和反抗。

²⁴ 李鼎祚:《周易集解》,第 103 页。

²⁵ 程颐:《周易程氏传》,第 72 页。

²⁶ 朱熹:《周易本义》,第 78 页。

²⁷ 朱熹:《周易本义》,第 78 页。

- ²⁸ 王先谦：《尚书孔传参正》，中华书局 2011 年版，第 496 页。
- ²⁹ 李鼎祚：《周易集解》，第 104 页。
- ³⁰ 王弼、孔颖达：《宋本周易注疏》，第 110 页。
- ³¹ 李鼎祚：《周易集解》，第 105 页。
- ³² 李尚信：《周易》古经泰否二卦本义解读——兼释萃涣大过剥鼎等相关卦爻，载《周易研究》2018 年第 6 期。
- ³³ 霍斯特·穆勒：《魏玛德国：从共和到纳粹》，孙瑜译，杭州：浙江人民出版社 2023 年版，第 216-233 页。
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- ³⁵ 霍斯特·穆勒：《魏玛德国：从共和到纳粹》，第 15, 38 页。
- ³⁶ 霍斯特·穆勒：《魏玛德国：从共和到纳粹》，第 70, 76, 78-79 页。
- ³⁷ 霍斯特·穆勒：《魏玛德国：从共和到纳粹》，第 169-170 页。
- ³⁸ 霍斯特·穆勒：《魏玛德国：从共和到纳粹》，第 43-62 页。
- ³⁹ 霍斯特·穆勒：《魏玛德国：从共和到纳粹》，第 242 页。
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- ⁴³ 罗伯特·格拉特列主编：《牛津第三帝国史》，马诗远等译，北京：北京日报出版社 2021 年版，第 72, 95 页。
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- ⁴⁵ 罗伯特·格拉特列主编：《牛津第三帝国史》，第 77 页。
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- ⁵⁰ 罗伯特·格拉特列主编：《牛津第三帝国史》，第 301 页。
- ⁵¹ 莱因霍尔德·齐佩利乌斯等：《德意志联邦共和国宪法秩序的历史基础以及当代挑战》，杨军译，载《法哲学与法社会学论丛》2020 年，第 199 页。
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- ⁶⁴ 埃里克·劳赫威《大萧条与罗斯福新政》，第 113 页。
- ⁶⁵ 埃里克·劳赫威《大萧条与罗斯福新政》，第 116 页。
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