

中国和平崛起新道路 和亚洲的未来

——在 2003 年博鳌亚洲论坛的讲演

（2003 年 11 月 3 日）

尊敬的主席先生，
女士们、先生们：

很高兴同各位朋友见面。我今天讲演的中心，是要提出一个中国和平崛起新道路的问题。

这是一个总问题。围绕这个总问题，我想用尽可能短的时间，以尽可能节约的方式，向各位陈述我关于下列三个问题的若干思考：

- 怎样看中国的发展；
- 怎样看中国的崛起道路；
- 怎样看中国崛起同亚洲的关系。

先来说第一个问题，怎样看中国的发展。

中国实行改革开放，到今天整整 25 年，刚好是四分之一世纪。在这 25 年中，中国取得了一系列新的重大进步和发展。到本世纪初，中国进入小康社会，现在正在为全面建设小康社会而努力。

但是与此同时，我们又清醒地估计到，中国现在达到的小康，还是低水平的、不全面的、发展很不平衡的小康。中国仍然远未摆脱不发达状态，仍是一个发展中国家，而且是一个面临一系列大规模发展难题的发展中国家。

什么叫“大规模发展难题”呢？

有这样一个比方：两道最简单的数学题。一道乘法，一道除法。

乘法题是：无论看似多么小的因而可以忽略的经济和社会发展难点，只要乘以 13 亿，那就成了一个大规模的，甚至可能是超大规模的问题。

而除法题是：无论绝对数量多么可观的财力、物力，只要除以 13 亿，那就成为相当低的，甚至很低很低的人均水平了。

我想各位都很清楚，这里说的 13 亿，是指的中国人口太多。而中国的人口高峰还在前头，大约要到 2040 年前后，达到 15 亿，尔后才会逐渐有所下降。

当然，事情还有另一方面。中国改革开放 25 年以来的实践证明，中国活跃起来，把一切可以调动的积极因素愈益充分地调动起来，那么中国人的劳动力、创新力、购买力，中国的凝聚力和增长动力，以及由此而给世界带来的增长动力，又是多么大一个数量级呢？看来这是另外一个方面的，联系于 13 亿到 15 亿的数学题。

所以，中国的发展和崛起，包括困难的方面和动力的方面，归根到底，都离不开这个 13 亿到 15 亿。而中国为解决发展问题的一切努力，无论经济、政治、文化工作，也无论内政、外交、国防，归根到底，都是为了使我们的 13 亿以至 15 亿人民过上好日子，并且越来越好，越来越富裕，越来越文明，越来越适合人的全面发展，到本世纪中叶达到中等发达国家的水平，尔后当然还要继续提高。

我认为这就是我们当代中国人，从领导层到全体人民，一个共同的雄心壮志。

单单这件事，就够我们从现在算起的两到三代中国人，很忙很忙的了！

把占全人类五分之一的人口的生活提到相当高的

文明境界，这难道不是中国理应为人类发展承担起的无与伦比的重大责任吗？

二

再来说第二个问题，怎样看中国的崛起道路。

朋友们大约都知道，世界上对此议论纷纷。而我认为，从总体来说，中国的发展成就本身，已经和正在有力地回答这个问题，并且还将更加明白有力地回答这个问题。

这里根本之点是在于：中国实行改革开放的 25 年来，已经开创出一条适合中国国情又适合时代特征的战略道路。这就是：

在同经济全球化相联系而不是相脱离的进程中独立自主地建设中国特色社会主义，这样一条和平崛起新道路。

关于这条道路，我首先要强调一点：同经济全球化相联系而不是相脱离，这本身就是中国人的一个重大的历史性战略抉择。

这个抉择，是在 20 世纪 70 年代摆在中国人面前的。当时，世界范围新科技革命和新一轮经济全球化浪潮蓬勃兴起。中国领导人把握住这个动向，作出了

“ 当今的世界是开放的世界，中国的发展离不开世界 ” 的重大判断，决心抓住历史机遇，把全部工作转到以经济建设为中心的轨道上来，实行对内改革和对外开放，并以农村包产到户和在沿海设立 4 个经济特区及 14 个开放城市作为起步，发展国内市场，走向国际市场。这样，才开创了中国改革开放的新时期。

在此之后，到了 20 世纪 90 年代，中国面临又一次历史性战略抉择。这就是经济全球化同反全球化两股潮流的对抗，以及亚洲金融危机的发生。中国领导人注意分析经济全球化的正面和负面，果断地确定了进一步积极参与经济全球化而又“ 趋利避害 ” 的战略方针。这样，又把中国的改革开放推进到新的水平。

关于这条道路，其次我要强调一点：在积极参与经济全球化的同时，走独立自主的发展道路。

像中国这样十几亿人口的发展中国家，要发展起来，不应当也不可能设想依赖任何别的国家，而必须也只能把事情主要放在自己力量的基点上。

就是说，更加充分自觉地依靠自身的体制创新，依靠自身的产业结构调整，依靠国内需求和国内市场的开发，依靠把庞大的居民储蓄转化为投资，依靠国民素质的提高和科技进步并以此来解决资源和环境问题。

总之，依靠国内国际两个市场、两种资源，调动

一切可以调动的积极因素，来解决我们的“大规模发展难题”，实现我们的雄心壮志。

关于这条道路，第三我还要强调一点：这是一条奋力崛起而又坚持和平、坚持不争霸的道路。

近代以来大国争霸的历史反复说明，一个大国的崛起，往往导致国际格局和世界秩序的急剧变动，甚至引发大战。这里一个重要原因，就是他们走了一条依靠发动侵略战争，实行对外扩张的道路。而这样的道路，总是以失败告终。

那么在今天新的时代条件下，我们难道还会重复这种完全错误的、害人终害己的道路吗！？

我们的抉择只能是：奋力崛起，而且是和平的崛起。

就是说，争取和平的国际环境来发展自己，又以自身的发展来维护世界和平。

围绕这条道路，最重要的战略方针有三条：一是锐意推进以社会主义市场经济和社会主义民主政治为基本内涵的经济和政治体制改革，以形成实现和平崛起的制度保证；二是大胆借鉴吸收人类文明成果而又坚持弘扬中华文明，以形成实现和平崛起的精神支柱；三是统筹兼顾各种利益关系，包括统筹城乡发展、统筹区域发展、统筹经济社会发展、统筹人与自然和谐发展、统筹国内发展和对外开放，以形成实现和平崛

起的社会环境。

朋友们还会注意到，过去 25 年，中国的改革开放并非风平浪静，经历过多次考验。但是，中国人对这条和平崛起新道路从来没有动摇过。这个基本事实有力地表明：改革开放、和平发展，已经深深扎根在当代中国人的利益、生活和文化之中。这已经形成为和平崛起战略道路不可逆转的大气候。

这里我还要强调地指出一点：义无反顾地坚持和发展这条中国和平崛起新道路，就是 21 世纪中国共产党人的使命。

三

最后来说第三个问题，中国崛起同亚洲的关系。

各位朋友，从上个世纪 60、70 年代以来，亚洲一些国家和地区成为世界上经济和社会发展最活跃的地区之一。紧接着从 70 年代末叶起，中国实行改革开放，经济迅猛增长，社会全面进步。中国同亚洲其他国家的经贸联系越来越紧密，亚洲在世界经济中的比重也越来越大。

仅就中国同东盟的经贸关系而言，过去 10 年，双边贸易额增长了 6 倍多，去年更达到 547.7 亿美元，

预计到 2005 年，将突破 1000 亿美元。中国——东盟自由贸易区建立之后，双方的经贸合作将更加紧密。

中国有句老话：“远亲不如近邻。”我们高兴地看到，在中国与亚洲其他国家之间，包括上海合作组织和东亚“10+3”合作，已经形成一种互促、互利、互助、互补的新型合作关系。

作为一个研究者、观察者，我愿根据历史和现状的发展大局，提出这样一个判断：总体而言，未来十几年、二十几年，或者说 21 世纪前期，亚洲正面临着世界历史上一个极为难得的和平崛起的重大机遇。而和平崛起中的中国，则是亚洲和平崛起的一部分。这不仅意味着中国的改革开放与和平崛起得益于亚洲其他国家的经验与发展，而且意味着中国作为亚洲一员，将会对亚洲其他国家首先是周边国家的发展、繁荣和稳定，发挥愈益积极有益的作用。

谢谢大家。

New Path for China's Peaceful Rise and the Future of Asia

Speech at the Bo'ao Forum for Asia 2003

(November 3, 2003)

**Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen:**

I am very pleased to meet with all the friends here. The focus of my speech today is to put forward a topic of "New Path for China's Peaceful Rise".

It is a general proposition. Around this proposition, my speech will be short and to the point. Let me share with you my observations on the following three questions:

How to view China's development?

How to view the path of China's rise? And

How to view the relationship between China's rise and Asia?

Let me begin with the first question. It has been precisely a quarter of a century, or 25 years, since the inception of China's reform and opening up. During these 25 years, China has scored a series of new and important progress and achievements. China became a well-off society at the beginning of this century, and is now concentrating on building a well-off society in an all-round way.

However, we are soberly aware that the current stage of well-off society in China is incomprehensive, quite unbalanced and of a low level. There is still a long way to go before China can free itself of underdevelopment. China remains a developing country, and one facing a host of developmental problems of immense proportions.

What are these problems then?

Here are two simple mathematic equations. One is multiplication; the other is division.

The multiplication one is no matter how small and negligible an economic or social development problem seems to be, once multiplied by 1.3 billion, it becomes a big, or even a mega problem.

The division one is no matter how abundant China's financial and material resources are, once divided by 1.3 billion, the per capita level will be extremely low.

Obviously the 1.3 billion I am referring to is China's huge population. Moreover, this population has yet to peak. We anticipate it will start declining by 2030 when it reaches 1.5 billion.

Of course, we should not lose sight of the other side of the coin. China's reform and opening up in the past 25 years have revealed several things: once positive factors in China were fully mobilized, they can be revived. They demonstrated the immensity of China's

labor force, the extensivity of its creativeness, and the country's tremendous purchasing power. They showed China's intense cohesiveness and huge growth momentum. Combined these factors contributed to the world as an engine of growth. This seems to be another mathematical question related to the numbers 1.3 billion and 1.5 billion.

Therefore China's development and rise, including both the negative and positive factors, in the final analysis, are inseparable from the numbers 1.3 and 1.5 billion. In this context, all that China had done to solve the problems in its development, whether in the economic, political, or cultural field, or whether concerning domestic, foreign or defense affairs, were done for the purpose of securing a comfortable life for its 1.3 billion, and later for its 1.5 billion people. We will never slacken our efforts to bring about a better, richer and more decent life to our people, which is more fitful for the all-round development of human beings. Even when China reaches the level of moderately developed countries in the middle of this century, we will continue to make further strides.

This is the will and determination shared by the entire Chinese people of our times, from the leadership down to the general public.

This objective alone will keep this generation and the next two to three generations extremely busy.

To lift the life of one-fifth of the world's population to a high level is also a great responsibility that China is duty-bound to take up for human progress.

Then how should China achieve such an objective?

As you may know, this is a topic of debate across the world. My argument is that China's development in its own right has answered and is answering this question, and will answer this question in a more convincing way in the future.

The underlying fact is that in the 25 years since the inception of its reform and opening up, China has blazed a new strategic path that not only suits its na-

tional conditions but also conforms to the tide of the times.

This new strategic path is China's peaceful rise through independently building socialism with Chinese characteristics while participating in rather than detaching from economic globalization.

About this path, first, I would like to emphasize that to take part in economic globalization instead of detaching from it in itself represents a major strategic choice of historic importance.

This choice was put before the Chinese people in the 1970s, when the new technological revolution and a new wave of economic globalization were surging and swelling. The insightful Chinese leadership grasped the trend, and on the basis of its major judgment that today's world is an open world and China's development is inseparable from that of the world, decided to seize the historical opportunity and shift the focus of its work to economic development, carrying out reform and opening up and endeavoring to foster domestic

market and tap international market by implementing the household contracting system in rural areas, establishing four special economic zones in the coastal region and opening up 14 coastal cities, thus ushering in a new period in China's reform and opening up.

In the 1990s, China was once again faced with a strategic choice, due to the Asian financial crisis and the wrestling between the forces for and against globalization. The Chinese leadership carefully weighed the positive and negative aspects of economic globalization and resolutely laid down the strategic policy of engaging itself in economic globalization and seeking advantages while avoiding disadvantages. Such a move lifted China's reform and opening up to a higher level.

Second, I want to stress here that while participating in economic globalization, we pursued a road of independent development.

As a large developing country with a population of over 1 billion, China cannot afford to and should not think of relying on the international community. Its

only choice is to depend on its own strength.

That is to say, it has to fully and consciously depend on its own institutional innovation, tapping the growing domestic demand and market, translating its hefty household savings into investment, improving the timber of its citizens, and addressing its resource shortage and environmental problems through advancement of science and technology.

In one word, we have to rely on both domestic and international market and resources both at home and abroad, and give scope to all positive factors, so as to resolve the big problem of development and realize our great ambition.

Third, I would like to stress that China's path is not only a path of striving for rise, but also a path of adhering to peace and never seeking hegemony.

The experience of major powers contending for hegemony in contemporary history has once and again testified to the fact that the rise of a major power often

results in drastic change in international configuration and world order, even triggers a world war. An important reason behind this is these major powers followed a path of aggressive war and external expansion. Such a path is doomed to failure.

In today's world, how can we follow such a totally erroneous path that is injurious to all, China included?

China's only choice is to strive for rise, more importantly, strive for a peaceful rise.

That is to say, we have to work for a peaceful international environment for the sake of our development and, at the same time, safeguard world peace through our development.

In this respect, there are three most important strategic principles: First, we must unswervingly advance economic and political reforms centering on the promotion of socialist market economy and socialist democracy to ensure institutional guarantee for our peace-