

**NEW CHALLENGES AND
PERSPECTIVES OF CHINA**

WHERE IS CHINA GOING?



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

WHERE IS CHINA GOING?

New Challenges and Perspectives of China

by Zhang Weiwei and others



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

挑战与展望: 著名学者聚焦中国热点话题: 英文 / 张维为等著.

-- 北京: 外文出版社, 2011

ISBN 978-7-119-07361-3

I. ①挑… II. ①张… III. ①社会问题—研究—中国—英文 IV. ①D669

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2011)第235192号

总策划: 呼宝民 胡开敏

英文审定: 徐明强

英文翻译: 解圣哲 李毅 姜晓宁 王玮等

出版指导: 王欣

责任编辑: 杨春燕 杨璐

装帧设计: 吾昱设计工作室

图片提供: 达志影像

印刷监制: 张国祥

挑战与展望: 著名学者聚焦中国热点话题

张维为等 / 著

©2012 外文出版社有限责任公司

出版人: 呼宝民

总编辑: 李振国

出版发行: 外文出版社有限责任公司

地址: 北京市西城区百万庄大街24号 邮政编码: 100037

网址: <http://www.flp.com.cn> 电子邮箱: flp@cipg.org.cn

电话: 008610-68320579 (总编室) 008610-68996094 (编辑部)

008610-68995852 (发行部) 008610-68996183 (投稿电话)

印刷: 外文印刷厂

经销: 新华书店/外文书店

开本: 787 × 1092mm 1/16 印张: 14.25

版次: 2012年1月第1版第1次印刷

书号: ISBN 978-7-119-07361-3

定价: 128.00元

版权所有 侵权必究 如有印装问题本社负责调换 (电话: 68995960)

First Edition 2012

ISBN 978-7-119-07361-3

© 2012 Foreign Languages Press Co. Ltd, Beijing, China

Published by Foreign Languages Press Co. Ltd

24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing 100037, China

<http://www.flp.com.cn>

Printed in the People's Republic of China



Preface

Although I have come to spend a good deal of my time in China, immersed in China-related activities and communicating about China in the international media, I am not a China scholar. My doctorate is in brain science; I am a corporate strategist; I work in investment banking; I advise companies and countries; I write on diverse subjects; and I produce and present *Closer to Truth*, a television series in the United States on science and philosophy.

Whether through the benevolent vicissitudes of life, or the mysterious wisdom of fate, for over two decades I have been coming to China—now more than 100 times—visiting over 25 provinces and 50 cities. For fifteen years I have been writing books and articles about China, and producing television programs on China, all based on my firsthand interviews, intimate discussions, and personal observations, especially with Chinese leaders in all sectors. My scholarship has been experiential and phenomenological as well as analytical and scientific.

I have learned to appreciate the significance of Chinese political philosophy, including the semiotics of slogans, such as President Hu Jintao's Scientific Outlook on Development (Kexue Fazhan Guan), and former President Jiang Zemin's "Three Represents" (San Ge Daibiao). Such slogans can be deep probes of social context, economic conditions, and political development, and, occasionally, signs of political conflict. Such slogans can also reveal the dominant thinking of preeminent leadership and direct real-world policies, driving the practical behaviors of leaders and officials.

Foreigners, especially those who set opinions or make decisions about China (in business or government), should understand the way of thinking of China's leaders and how they think, not only what they say and what they do. For example, a senior leader was explaining a portion of the leadership's framework for the 5th Plenary of the 17th CPC Congress (2010), and he did so by categorizing three kinds of "change" as follows: things that have changed; things that have not changed; and things that will never change:

Things that have changed: Reform and opening up; the dramatic improvement in the standard of living of people's lives; the increasing personal and social freedoms in society; China's international stance of cooperation and engagement.

Things that have not changed: China is still in the "primary stage of socialism" (still with a very low GDP per capita); China still has conflicts and contradictions, such as those between the legitimate demands

of the people and the underdeveloped productive capacity of the country and those in different strata of society; China still belongs to the developing world even though it has experienced enormous growth in recent years, China still has a long way to go; even with all the myriad crises in domestic and international affairs, China can continue to grow for ten to twenty more years as hundreds of millions of rural people migrate to cities and suburbs.

Things that will never change: China will continue to follow its own model, walking the road of "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics." China will learn from other countries, but will never copy outright, the political or economic systems of other countries; China will continue to promote new ways of thinking as expressed by the well-known slogans: "Seek truth from facts"; "Emancipate our minds"; and "Keep up with the times." Economic development will remain China's primary goal, because economic development is the engine that drives the achievement of all other goals (even as vital, countervailing goals are added—particularly inclusive development that must seek to rebalance an imbalanced society, sustainable development, and environmental protection—economic development will still predominate); China's continuing goals are national prosperity, social democracy, a civilized country, and a harmonious society.

The common assumption in the West is that domestic China scholars are not free. This is not correct, in that such a simplistic and anachronistic charge does not recognize the great progress that has been made.

Although there are indeed still pockets of unpleasant restrictions, the off-limits areas have shrunk significantly, and over time continue to shrink (although they do not shrink continuously at the same rate). What is without controversy is that scholars in today's China have vastly more freedoms than their predecessors had four and five decades ago, including freedoms to criticize aspects of government. We should appreciate the great progress.

The common assumption in China is that many Western China scholars, just like much of the Western media, are biased against China and conspire against China. This is not correct. Scholars, like the media, often focus more on what's wrong than on what's right, deriving intellectual satisfaction from finding faults and digging out problems. This is the nature of scholars and critics, and society can benefit from it. It is not easy or fun to learn from those who criticize you, but this is precisely what great societies do (or learn to do).

The problem with many foreign critics of China is often not so much that what they state is wrong—the problems they pound are usually real and present—but rather that they may give the impression that these problems compose the whole of the picture of China, when in reality these problems, the real and present problems, compose just part of the picture.

Constructive critics of China, those who root for China's success but are concerned enough to point out China's problems, are China's best friends and closest allies. Constructive critics of China, both domestic

and foreign, should be praised and not scorned.

The essays contained in this book are the result of a great deal of contemporary research, commentary, and intelligent speculation as to how China's rise can serve its people, be a catalyst for domestic and international growth, and generate a prosperous and stable way of life. The subject matter is one of great importance on the world stage, whether at corporate board meetings or at private dinner parties. China is a subject much on everyone's mind.

Yet it is characteristic of human beings that we tend to fear those things about which we know little. Telling the true story of China in all its richness and complexity—the severe problems along with the remarkable achievements, the current challenges along with the recent triumphs—has become essential in order for global audiences to appreciate China's re-emergence as a central player in world economics, politics and diplomacy. Western media, unfortunately, often warps the real picture of China, and even truths that are not the whole truth can be distortions. What we need to know—and what this book presents—are the steps necessary to understand China in the years ahead.

China is a distinguished civilization and country and it has become a responsible nation and power. I was proud to participate in the Shanghai Expo by creating, writing, and presenting China Central Television's (CCTV) series on Expo and the future of Shanghai, entitled, "Expo's Meaning, Shanghai's Mission." I would like to report publicly that in producing this six-part CCTV series I had total editorial freedom. In fact,

CCTV and I had only two points of minor disagreement. Such is the nature of creative collaboration and all parties were very pleased with the finished production. An abridged version of our Expo series was broadcast by Euronews, the largest television and new media news network in Europe, Russia, Africa and the Middle East, reaching 330 million households worldwide. Featured were my interviews of Shanghai Party Secretary Yu Zhengsheng and former senior Chinese diplomat Wu Jianmin.

There was great international interest in our CCTV Expo series because there is great hunger in the world for information about China. Globally, people want to understand China. This heightens our responsibility to make sure our information is accurate, even if our understandings differ. Much depends on our work.

Robert Lawrence Kuhn

Oct. 1, 2011



Zhang Weiwei

Zhang Weiwei is a professor of international relations and a senior research fellow at the Center for Asian Studies at the University of Geneva. He is also a professor at the Geneva School of Diplomacy and a former visiting scholar at Oxford University. His works include *Transforming China: Economic Reform and Its Political Implications* and *China's Shock*.

Contents

Preface

Robert Lawrence Kuhn / iv

China's Political Reform: The Road to Building a "Civilized" Country

Zhang Weiwei / 1

The construction of democracy is like opening a door: it can be accomplished either by pushing or pulling. In Western culture, the tendency is to push, emphasizing the confrontation of different interests and the philosophy of competition; while in Chinese culture the tendency is to pull, stressing the coexistence and fusion of interests, and advocating the philosophy of harmony to find out how problems can be solved effectively.

How to Judge the Political Model of China

Pan Wei / 19

China has a history of over 3,000 years. Rooted in the profoundness of Chinese culture, the country has great capacity for coping with changes. Within only 60 years, and relying neither on war loot nor practicing colonialism, China has turned from being the world's largest poor agricultural country into its fastest-growing industrialized country.

Good Governance and Happiness

Yu Keping / 31

In contemporary society, government carries an increasingly important responsibility for the social well-being and happy life of their citizens. The degree of happiness should become a major indicator for evaluating democratic management of a government.

The Key to the Transformation of China's Economic Development and its Development Trends

Wu Jinglian / 45

The above discussion proposes that eliminating systematic obstacles and building an innovation system play a key role in realizing the transformation of the mode of economic development. It needs to be further pointed out here that the focus of the key issue is the reform of the government itself.

China in 2016: Facts and Conjecture

Zhang Yansheng / 65

The level of wisdom required for winning in international competition will be tied to those who can make effective use of the structural adjustments of the next decade, resolve in a down-to-earth manner the main bottlenecks and key links that restrict fast, sound development in their own countries, and can form independent competitive advantages by relying on themselves.

The Twelfth Five-Year Plan and the Megatrend of Urbanization

Fan Gang / 83

During China's modernization drive, urbanization transforms a nation in its process of human development. There must be both triumph and misery in such a process, which should not be thought as a romantic and containing only advantage without disadvantage, or progress without setback, or profit without expense.

China's Road to Development

Hu An'gang / 109

As a matter of fact, China's development road is unprecedented in world history. Since there is no path to follow, China is bound to experience numerous twists and turns as it seeks to find the best path for the future.

China's Low-Carbon Transformation: Driving Forces, Challenges, and Paths

Pan Jiahua / 141

Energy security, environmental protection and sustainable society objectively need us to transform rapidly and on a large scale. Even if there was no climate change, low-carbon and zero carbon development is still imperative. In China, the problem is not whether the transformation should be made, but how to accelerate the process.

Change and Adjustment: Sino-U.S. Relations and Security Dynamic in East Asia

Zhu Feng / 159

The most important element of the new changes occurring in Sino-U.S. relations is certainly not mutual enmity but cooperative, rather than confrontational, competition between the two countries. This element has never been more considerable regarding China's rise and U.S. recalibration of its strategic and economic gravity over to the Asia-Pacific.

China and the World in the Next Decade: Perspectives and International Politics

Jin Canrong / 185

With internal affairs high on the agenda, it is of great necessity for China to strike a flexible balance between its national interests and international responsibilities and between self-development and a win-win development strategy with other countries, and in turn to push the relations between China and the world towards peace and cooperation. This is not only to safeguard the national interests of China, but also determine whether China can provide new options to solve global problems.

China's Political Reform: The Road to Building a "Civilized" Country

The construction of democracy is like opening a door: it can be accomplished either by pushing or pulling. In Western culture, the tendency is to push, emphasizing the confrontation of different interests and the philosophy of competition; while in Chinese culture the tendency is to pull, stressing the coexistence and fusion of interests, and advocating the philosophy of harmony to find out how problems can be solved effectively.

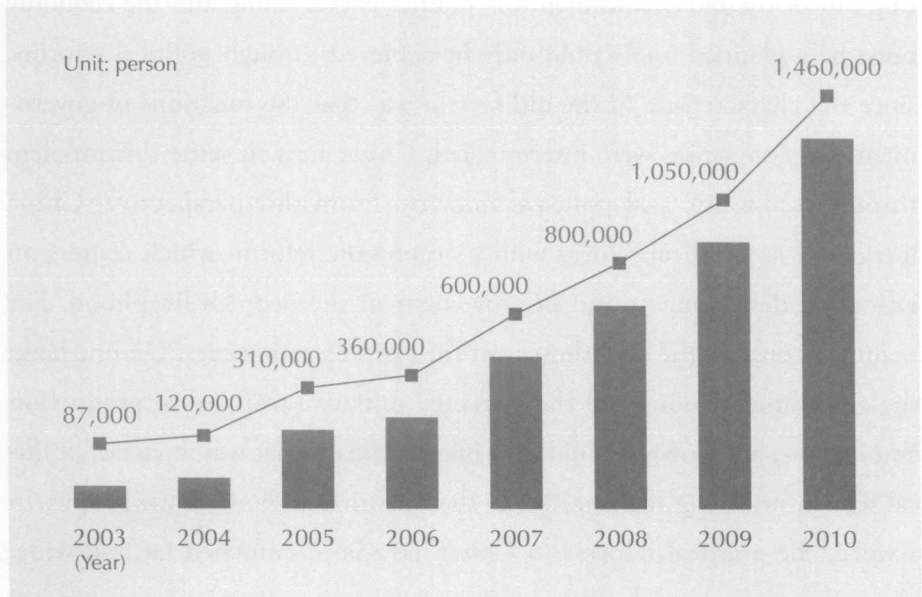
How China Can Rise Without Political Reform

We are hesitant to use the word “rise” to describe China’s rapid development for fear of panicking other countries. But, according to a Global Language Monitor report at the end of 2009, “China’s rise” was the hottest global news phrase of the past ten years, even coming in higher than 9/11 and the war in Iraq.

In fact, China has been rising astonishingly fast: since 1979 its GDP has increased eighteen-fold, making it now the second-largest economy in the world. Measured in purchasing-power, it is believed that China was already the world’s second-largest economy as far back as 1992. It overtook Germany as the largest exporter in the world in 2009. In the past 30 years, over US\$800 billion has been invested in China, making it an important engine for world economic growth. China contributed about half of global trade and economic growth in 2009. Former U.S. Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers estimated that if the standard of living of Britain’s people doubled during that country’s Industrial Revolution, the standard of living of the Chinese people has already increased seven-fold in the course of China’s ongoing modernization process.

In May 2004 my article, “Political Reform: China Will Change in Its Own Way” was published in the *New York Times*. In that article, I stressed

that China's rapid rise is attributable to its "lesser political reforms." These reforms include the repudiation of mass ideological campaigns based on the doctrine of class struggle, so people can pursue their material lives and cultural interests. In addition, all victims under political movements have been rehabilitated, and their skills and talents have been saved for the benefit of China. Moreover, across China's vast countryside, the people's communes have been abolished, thus ending that rigid political, economic, and administrative system. Village-level elections are forging ahead in the Chinese countryside as a massive political experiment to introduce rudimentary de-



Statistics on Civil Service Exam applicants.