

上海证大研究所编

Reconciliation of Civilizations

文明的和解

中国和平崛起以后的世界

一个最现实的问题是

中国以如此大的体量进入世界，

对市场和原材料的争夺是否引发冲突甚至战争，

而战争在现阶段及将来

绝对不可能帮助中国赢得世界。

战争一定限制中国的崛起，

和平是中国崛起的必要条件。

那么，中国能不能做到和平崛起呢？

人民出版社

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序言

2002年底的一个晚上，我与证大研究所的一些学者聚会在上海浦东的水清木华会馆。这批学者刚刚完成了《长江边的中国——大上海国际都市圈建设与国家发展战略》的课题研究，这一个晚上一方面是庆贺该课题的研究告一段落，另一方面对证大研究所下一阶段的工作作出部署。这些学者是研究经济学的华民教授、研究政治学的林尚立教授、研究社会学的曹锦清教授、研究管理学的诸大建教授、研究哲学的吴晓明教授、陈学明教授、王德峰教授和吴新文副教授等。

那天晚上我和这些学者都感到非常兴奋。这主要缘于对中国的前途充满信心。我们通过对《长江边的中国——大上海国际都市圈建设与国家发展战略》课题的研究，向上级领导提出了把建设大上海国际都市圈作为国家发展战略的建议。我们一致看好大上海国际都市圈的发展前景，相应地对这一发展战略给中国所产生的积极影响也寄予厚望。也就是说，我们深信“长江边的中国”的发展也会带来“黄河边的中国”的繁荣。

大家在兴奋之余也隐隐有些忧虑。大家对中国必然会强大起来坚信不疑，但对中国一旦发展起来了对世界究竟带来什么影响，具体地说就是会不会引起世界新的矛盾和冲突这一点疑团莫释。一个最现实的问题是 中国以如此大的体量进入世界，对市场和原材料的争夺是否引发冲突甚至战争，而战争在现阶段及将来绝对不可能帮助中国赢得

世界。战争一定限制中国的崛起，和平是中国崛起的必要条件。那么，中国能不能做到和平崛起呢？

这样大家很自然地引向了这样一个话题：中国一旦发展起来了将会给世界带来什么，造成什么样的结果？根据我与这些学者的长期接触，我认为他们既有强烈的民族和国家责任感又有非常高的学术水准。他们基于这两个方面的基本素质，当即对这个问题展开了热烈的讨论，并且很快地形成了比较一致的意见，这就是认为中国发展起来以后不会对世界构成威胁，西方世界正在流行的“中国威胁论”是站不住脚的，相反，中国的发展会大大有利于世界的稳定与和平。林尚立教授针对塞缪尔·亨廷顿的“文明的冲突”的说法，脱口而出说道：中国的发展给世界带来的是“文明的和解”。当即大家作出决定，证大研究所下一个研究的重大课题就是“文明的和解——中国崛起以后的世界”。

我当时也积极参与了学者们的热烈讨论，我也竭力赞同证大研究所花大力气研究一下这个课题。对于研究这一课题的重要性，学者们都发表了很好的意见，而我则从一个企业家惯有的务实的立场出发，当时特别强调了以下三点：

其一，我们经常看到，我们的领导人在接见国外政界、商界、学界人士时，反复强调中国的发展不会给世界构成威胁。我觉得我们的学者有义务把这个问题作一番透彻的研究，如果事情确实是这样，即中国的发展不会对世界构成威胁，那么就应当把其中的道理讲深讲透。这一道理不但能说服我们中国人，还要能说服外国人。我希望这些学者通过他们的研究拿出深刻的见解来。

其二，我们做企业的都懂得企业的发展离不开和平稳定的环境，这既包括国内的和平稳定，也包括国际的和平稳定。在一定意义上说，我们企业家具有和平主义的价值取向。世界能否和平稳定实际上正是我们企业家的所思所想。和平稳定，是我们企业家对国人的诉求，也是我们对世界的诉求。我希望这些学者通过他们的研究，能富有说服

力地告诉我们今后数十年世界能否有一个和平稳定的环境，中国不断发展起来以后是强化了这种和平稳定还是与此相反。

其三，我们证大集团正在大力介入文化产业。证大艺术馆已正式开馆，而投资达2亿美元的证大艺术大酒店也正在积极筹划之中。我们想为中华文化的复兴做些有益的事。对中华文化的复兴、对整个中华民族的复兴的意义我们是领会的，中华民族的复兴说到底是一种文化的复兴。中华民族的崛起是中华民族精神在现代条件下的展现，它肯定不仅仅是一种经济上的崛起，而首先是一种文化的全面提升。只有在中华文化复兴中才能让每个中国人充分享受生命幸福感。问题在于，我们不能仅仅停留在认识中华文化的复兴对中国自身的意义，它有没有世界意义？如果有的话，其世界意义究竟是什么？我希望这些学者对我以及许多同仁所从事的为复兴中华文化所做的一些事情的世界意义揭示出来，从而使我们更自觉地、更崇高地从事这一工作。

正当我们证大研究所的这些学者抓紧时间对这一课题进行认真研究的时候，一场关于“中国和平崛起”的讨论在全国学术界广泛展开了。这场讨论严格地说是由中央领导引发的。温家宝总理2003年12月10日在美国哈佛大学演讲时提出中国将走“和平崛起”的道路，他多次引用中国古代思想家阐述的“和而不同”的哲学思想，向世界作出庄严的承诺，中国争取和平的环境来发展自己又以自身的发展来维护和平。胡锦涛总书记在随后不久的纪念毛泽东同志诞辰110周年座谈会上说道，中国“要坚持走和平崛起的发展道路，坚持在和平共处五项原则的基础上同各国友好相处，在平等互利的基础上积极开展同各国的交流与合作，为人类和平与发展的崇高事业做出贡献”。中央领导的这些讲话以及在中国学术界随之所展开的讨论，对已就中国和平崛起问题研究了将近一年之久的证大研究所的学者来说，是莫大的鼓舞与鞭策。大家对展开这一研究的迫切性与重要性的领会更深刻了，从而对正在进行的研究也提出了更高的要求。

在整个研究的过程中我们召开了三次研讨会。我认为这三次会议

都开得非常成功，对中国为什么必须和平崛起、中国何以能够和平崛起以及中国怎样和平崛起的认识一次比一次深入。

第一次是2003年12月25日在我们证大投资发展有限公司的会议室召开的。参加会议的除了参与课题研究的学者之外，邀请了京沪两地的一些著名学者，如俞吾金、孙承叔、许纪霖、孙麾、花建、孙周兴、陈家琪等。这次会议的成果主要是通过考察几千年的中国文明史，大家进一步清晰地看到了中国的和平传统，即明确了在中国历史上，曾有过汉、唐的强盛，但基本没有对外军事殖民、征服掠夺的历史经验。中国是通过用自己的核心文化来吸收和融化边缘暴力文化来发展与壮大自己的。中国只能走、必须走、也应该走和平发展之路，这决不是中国政治家们出于对抗“中国威胁论”而发起的一场口舌战，而是中国历史文化传统的内在规定。“安内而攘外”是历来中国对外政策的最高目标。在中国的历史上也曾发动过一些战争，但这些战争是典型的“自卫反击战”。一条万里长城，说明了中国“保持老祖宗传给他们的东西”的坚定意志，而郑和七下西洋更表明中国“从不贪求别人所享有的东西”。

第二次会议是2004年9月12日在崇明岛东滩的国际会议中心召开的。课题组的大部分成员都从上海赶到了崇明与会，另外还邀请了上海的一些著名学者如黄仁伟、周山等，上海新闻媒体的一些专家如《解放日报》的周智强、《文汇报》的季桂保、上海电视台的周宏恩等。这次会议显然已不是一般地停留在对中国历史的回顾，而是深入地揭示了中国的传统文化精神与中国当今和平崛起之间的内在联系。大家深切地认识到，中华文化是一种柔性文化，在世界文明对垒的干裂石林，中，倘若注入中华文化之水，将会催生出枝繁叶茂的七彩花园世界。培养和恢复人类和平的天性，正是中国道德教化的核心内容。中华民族的形成就是一个文化包容的过程。人与自然的和平（即天人合一），是人对人和平的重要条件。中国经济发展及对外交往过程中，“天人合一”、“和而不同”的思想意识将成为和平崛起的根本保障。认识到中华文化的本质特点，就会清楚地看到，伴随着中华文化复兴的中国崛起并不会给世界带

来文明冲突，而恰恰是世界所需要的。中国的福音不在于当今世界的经济全球化给中国带来的历史机遇，而在于中国如何在当代世界历史环境中赢得本民族文化生命上的伟大复兴。显然中华民族的文化复兴不仅是中国的福音，而且还将是世界的福音。

第三次会议是2005年3月21日在上海浦东九间堂别墅召开的。出席会议的都是课题组的成员。这次会议的一个重大突破是不再仅仅从中国传统文化的特征，亦即不再仅仅通过说明中华民族的“文化基因”是热爱和平的，来表明中国的强大不会对他人构成威胁。而是进一步从当今中国的经济制度、政治制度、社会制度的性质来论证中国的发展不会对世界构成威胁，论证中国当今的制度，以及当今中国所实施的路线和战略与和平，与和睦共处、共同发展有着本质性的联系。由邓小平领导的改革开放在中国历史上第一次为中国的经济增长创造了制度条件和发展空间，中国提供了制度演进和融入世界经济体系的一种新模式。回顾中国对外开放27年来的发展历程与其对地区经济乃至世界经济繁荣与稳定的贡献，探究中国对当今世界经济体系的价值取向，得出的结论只有一个：对外经济高速发展的中国不但不会成为威胁世界的因素，相反中国崛起恰恰是维护世界经济持续健康发展、实现世界经济共同繁荣的最重要力量。中国自1978年改革开放以来，参与世界经济的两种方式都是非常和平主义的：一是大量的劳动密集型的商品的出口；二是沿海普通老百姓的海外谋生（以温州人为主导）。这两种参与中国人用的都是劳动汗水。中国人，包括中国商人，绝没有西方原始资本主义时期用坚船利炮为后盾的不劳而获的血腥掠夺。

这三次研讨会的成果以及这些学者历时三年的整个研究成果基本上都反映在这部著作之中。全书共设三篇：上篇是探讨中国的文化精神与中国的和平崛起的关系；中篇是探讨中国的经济发展之路与中国的和平崛起的关系；下篇是探讨中国的社会政治制度与中国的和平崛起的关系。另外还有两个导论：导论一是以与亨廷顿对话的形式论述了现代文明冲突的根源与前景；导论二是历史地考察了中国的和平传

统。尽管这些学者为写作本书倾注了很大的精力，书中也有不少理论闪光点，但由于这是一项多人参与的学术活动，因此总的来说，我认为这部著作还是显得比较粗糙，系统性明显欠缺。有些观点还有待作进一步的推敲，有些素材还须作进一步的核实。但不管怎么样，这仍不失为一部值得一读的好书，我觉得这些年我从各方面支持这些学者从事这项研究活动，写出这么一部著作，还是非常值得的。这部著作出版后如能引起广泛的注意，引起热烈的讨论，哪怕遭致激烈的批评，在我看来，我们的初衷也就实现了。

最后我向写作本书的证大研究所的学者，以及被邀请参与本书写作的其他学者表示衷心地感谢！向参与本书讨论的学者表示衷心地感谢！向一切关心和支持本书写作的社会各界人士表示衷心地感谢！

戴志康

2005.7.18.

Preface

In an evening at the end of the year 2004, some scholars from Zendai institute and I got together at the "Shui Qing Mu Hua" conference Hall. These scholars have just finished the book 《China along the Yangtse River — the Construction of the Big Shanghai International Circle of Metropolises and the National Strategy of Development》. We met together on one hand to congratulate the accomplishment of the first stage of the project, on the other hand to arrange the next stage of the project. These scholars are respectively: professor Hua Ming majoring in economics, professor Lin Shangli majoring in politics, professor Cao Jingqing majoring in sociology, professor Chu Dajian majoring in the science of management, and professor Wu Xiaoming, professor Chen Xueming, professor Wang Defeng, associate professor Wu Xinwen, who all major in philosophy.

At that night, these scholars and I all feel excited mainly because we all feel confident of the future of China. Through the research of the project of "China along the Yangtse River — the Construction of the Big Shanghai International Circle of Metropolises and the National Strategy of Development", we have put forward the suggestion to the higher leaders that we should take the construction of the big Shanghai international circle of metropolises as the national strategy of development. We all have very good expectation of the prospects of the development of the Shanghai international circle of metropolises. At the same time, we are all very hopeful of the active influences on China, which will be brought about by this national strategy of development. That is, we believe deeply that the development of "China along the Yangtse River " will also bring about the

prosperity of "China along the Huanghe River".

However, we also feel a little worried at the same time of feeling very excited. We all firmly believe that China will necessarily become strong. But we are uncertain about what kind of influences will the development of China have on the world. More specifically, we are uncertain about whether it would ignite the new contradictions and conflictions. One of the most realistic problems is whether the fights for markets and raw materials would cause conflictions or even wars, with such a huge country like China entering the world. And wars will never help China win the world in the present time or in the future. Wars will definitely limit the rising of China. Peacefulness is the necessary condition for the rising of China. Then, can China rise peacefully?

In this way, we are brought to such a topic: Once China got developed, what would it bring to the world? And what results would come from that? According to my knowing of these scholars, they are the scholars both with very strong sense of responsibility of our nation and our country and of very high academic level. Based on these two, they carried on hot discussions on this topic immediately and had gradually reached an agreement. That is, the developed China would not act as a threat to the world. The popular "theory of China as a threat" in the western world is not tenable. On the contrary, the development of China will be of great benefit to the stableness and peacefulness of the world. Aiming at Huntington's theory of "clashes of civilizations", professor Lin Shangli blurted out that the development of China will bring about "reconciliation of civilizations" rather than "clashes of civilizations". We immediately decided that the next project that Zendai institute would do researches on is "reconciliation of civilizations — the world after the rising of China".

I myself also participated in the hot discussion and I totally agree with them to take great efforts to do researches on this topic. About the importance of this project, all the scholars have stated very good viewpoints. At that time I have emphasized the following three points from an entrepreneur's habitual realistic standpoint:

First, we often see that the leaders of our country emphasize time and time

again that the development of China would not become the threat to the world while they receive people from political circles, business circles and academic circles. I feel that it is our responsibility to carry on a thorough research on this topic. And if the condition is actually thus, that is, the development of China will never become the threat to the world, we then should state the reasons for this deeply and thoroughly. This reason can not only persuade Chinese people, but also foreign people. I hope that our scholars could put forward very deep - thinking viewpoints through their researches.

Second, we entrepreneurs all know that the development of enterprises can not be without a peaceful and stable environment. This includes not only the domestic peacefulness and stableness, but also the international peacefulness and stableness. To some extent, we entrepreneurs have the value orientation of peacefulism. Peacefulness and stableness are entrepreneurs' appeals both to the Chinese people, and to the world. I hope that these scholars could through their researches tell us persuasively whether we could have an environment of peacefulness and stableness in the next several ten years and whether the development of China would strengthen the peacefulness and stableness.

Third, Zendai group is taking great efforts to enter the cultural industry. Zendai Art Gallery has been formally opened. And Zendai Art Hotel with the investment of 2 billion dollars is also under construction. We are willing to do something beneficial to Chinese cultural revival. We know clearly the meaning of Chinese cultural revival to the total revival of Chinese nation. The revival of Chinese nation is in the last analysis a kind of cultural revival. The rising of the Chinese nation is the emergence of the spirit of Chinese nation under the modern condition. It definitely is not a purely economic rising, but is above all a kind of totally cultural advancement. Only with the revival of Chinese culture, could every Chinese people fully enjoy the sense of happiness of life. The problem lies in that we can not stop at only realizing the meaning of Chinese cultural revival to China herself. Does it have the world meaning? If it does, then what is on earth the world meaning? I hope these scholars could disclose the world meaning of the things my colleagues

and I are doing for Chinese cultural revival, so that we could do this more self- consciously and more sublimely.

While the scholars from Zendai institute are doing serious researches on this topic, a discussion about "the peaceful rising of China" is carried on in the Chinese academic circle. This discussion is ignited by Chinese leaders. The Chinese Prime Minister, Wen Jiabao, put forward that China would go on the road of peaceful rising while he was giving a lecture in Harvard University on December 10th, 2003. He quoted many times the philosophical thought about "harmony but not sameness" articulated by ancient Chinese thinkers to promise seriously to the world that China strives for the peaceful environment to develop herself at the same time of keeping the peacefulness of the world with her own development. Then the general secretary of Chinese Communist Party, Hu Jintao, said in the forum of the 110th anniversary of Mao Zedong : China "will go on the road of development of peaceful rising, will insist on get on well with all the countries on the basis of the five principles for the peaceful coexistence, will actively carry on the communications and cooperation with all the countries on the basis of equality and mutual- beneficiality, and will make contributions to the sublime project of human peacefulness and development. " To the scholars from Zendai institute, who have carried on this research for almost one year, these words of the central leaders and the following discussion in the academic circle are very great encouragements. We understand the urgency and importance of this research more deeply now. And thus we have also put forward higher requirements to this research.

During the whole process of our research, we have held three symposiums. I think that all this three symposiums are very successful. Through them, we realize more and more deeply about the following problems: why must China rise peacefully? Why could China rise peacefully and how will China rise peacefully?

The first symposium is held in the meeting room of the Limited Company of Zendai Investment and Development on December 25th, 2003. Besides the scholars who have participate in this project, we have also invited some

famous scholars from Beijing and Shanghai, such as professor Yu Wujin, professor Sun Chengshu, professor Xu Jilin, professor Sun Hui, professor Huajian, professor Sun Zhouxing and professor Chen Jiaqi. The result of this symposium is mainly that we have seen clearly the Chinese tradition of peace through the investigation of the history of Chinese civilization of several thousand years. That is, we are clear that in the history of China, although we have witnessed the strength of Han Dynasty and Tang Dynasty, we have not any historical experiences of militarily colonizing and conquering. China developed and strengthened herself by absorbing and melting the culture of violence in her neighborhood with her own kernel culture. China can only, must and should go on the road of peaceful development. This is never only a "war with tongues" to respond to "the theory of China as a threat", but the innate definition of the tradition of Chinese history and culture. "Settling internal affairs first and then foreign businesses settled" has often been the highest goal in the diplomatic policies in various stages of Chinese history. In the history of China, she did have waged wars, but all these wars were typical "the wars of self-protection". The Great Wall shows China's strong will "to protect what Chinese ancestors had passed on to them", while Zheng He's seven times of navigating overseas mean that China "never desires for what others are enjoying".

The second symposium was held in the Center for International Meetings in the East Beach of Chongming Island on September 12th, 2004. The majority of the members of the research team of this project have been to Chongming Island to attend it. Besides those, we have invited some famous scholars from Shanghai, such as Mr. Zhou Shan, some specialists from the mass medias, such as Mr. Zhou Zhiqiang from Jie Fang Daily, Mr. Ji Guibao from Wen Hui Daily, and Mr. Zhou Hongen from Shanghai Television. Obviously, this symposium did not stop at the general historical review, but deeply disclosed the innate connection between the Chinese traditional cultural spirit and Chinese contemporary peaceful rising. We realized deeply that Chinese culture is a kind of soft culture. In the forest of dry and hard stones, that is, the world full of antagonisms of civilizations, if we can pour the water of Chinese culture into it, then the world would become the

garden of beautiful flowers. To cultivate and to retrieve the human nature of peacefulness is just the central content of Chinese moral cultivation. The process of the forming of Chinese nation is that of cultural integration. The peacefulness between human and nature, that is, the unity of Tian (Heaven) and human, is the important condition of the peacefulness between human and human. During the process of Chinese economic development and association with foreign countries, the thoughts of "the unity of Tian and human" and "harmony but not sameness" will become the basic guarantee of her peaceful rising. With the realization of the essential characteristics of Chinese culture, we will see clearly that Chinese rising with the revival of Chinese culture will not bring about clashes of civilizations to the world, but rather what the world really needs. The gospel to China does not lie in the historical opportunities to China brought about by the economic globalization, but in how China could win the great revival of her national cultural life in the contemporary historical environment of the world. Obviously, the cultural revival of Chinese nation is not only the gospel to China, but also that to the whole world.

The third symposium is held in the "Qiu Jian Tang" villa in Pudong area, Shanghai in March 12th, 2005. All the participants are the members of the research team of this project. An important breakthrough made in this symposium is that we do not illustrate that the strengthening of China will not construct the threat to others only through investigating the Chinese cultural tradition and stating Chinese love for peace only with her cultural genes any longer. We have gone further to argue that the development of China will never construct the threat to the world through the analysis of the nature of Chinese contemporary economic systems, political systems and social systems. That is, we try to argue that Chinese contemporary systems and her contemporary route and strategy are in essential connections with peace, harmonious coexistence and common development. The reform and opening led by Deng Xiaoping first created the institutional environment and the development space for Chinese economic growth in Chinese history. China has provided a new mode of institutional evolution and being involved with world economic system. Reviewing this 26 years'

reforming and opening and China's contributions both to the regional economy and to the stableness and prosperity of the world economy, and investigating China's value orientation of the world economic system, we can only arrive in one conclusion: China with the rapid development of outward economy will never become the element threatening the world, but on the contrary, she is one of the most important forces to keep the world economy developing sustainably and healthily and to realize the common prosperity of world economy. Ever since the reform and opening in 1978, the two modes of China's participating the world economy are both of peacefulism: one is to export large amount of commodities of the nature of labor-intensity; the second is common coastal Chinese people's making living overseas (mainly the people from Wenzhou). In both of these two modes, Chinese people use their own hard work. Chinese people, Chinese businessmen included, do not have the inclination of plundering others, which was true of the prime capitalism with warships as the backing.

The results of these three symposiums and those of the whole research, which has lasted three years, are all reflected in this book. This book has three parts. Part I deals with the relationship between the Chinese cultural spirit and the rising of China; part II deals with that between the road of Chinese economic development and the peaceful rising of China; part III deals that between Chinese Social and Political Systems & the Peaceful Rising of China. Besides these, there are two introductions: Introduction one has illustrated the modern origin and the prospects of the clash of civilizations with the form of a dialogue with Huntington; Introduction two has examined historically the Chinese tradition of peace. Although all the authors have spent lots of time and energy writing this book and there are some theoretical highlights in this book, generally speaking, I still think that it is a little coarse and is weak in systematicity because it is a job done by many people. Some viewpoints wait to be deliberated further and some facts wait to be confirmed further. However, this book is still a worth-reading good book. I myself also feel that it is worthwhile for me to support the scholars to do this research and to finish such a book. If this book could