

## 张蕴岭：中国的和平崛起需要周边国家的相互合作

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2011年12月28日，中国社会科学院国际学部举行国际热点、焦点问题研讨会。来自中国社科院8个国际问题研究所的多名专家学者围绕世界经济形势、大国政治发展趋势以及地区热点问题等议题展开广泛探讨。会议期间，中国社会科学网记者刘悦就中国的和平崛起问题采访了中国社会科学院国际研究学部主任张蕴岭。

On December 28th 2011, the CASS Academic Division of International Studies (a group of institutes in the fields of international affairs and regional studies in CASS) held the "International Hot Issues Seminar" in Beijing. Scholars from 8 institutes of international studies in CASS discussed some heat topics in the world today, such as the world economic situation, the new trends of the politics among powers and regional hot issues. During the seminar, Liu Yue, reporter of CSSN, interviewed Zhang Yunling, Director of Academic Division of International Studies, on the issue of peaceful rise of China.

记者：湄公河发生惨案，12名中国船民被杀。您如何看待此问题，对这件事凸显国际航运通道的共同安全问题有什么建议？

Reporter: How do you see the Mekong River issue (there were 12 Chinese fishermen killed in November 2011)? Do you have any suggestions about the common security problems of the international shipping channel which this incident highlights?

张蕴岭：现今，这种非传统的安全问题成了一个重要议题。湄公河问题与中国—东盟关系有着密切的联系。有两个途径，一个是中国—东盟整体上的合作，另一个是大湄公河次区域的经济合作（GMS）。在大湄公河次区域经济合作之下，其中一个项目是开通湄公河航运。在此之前，湄公河因有许多阻塞物而不能使用。湄公河项目始于5年前，中国为其上下游的开通提供了许多帮助。尽管航运开通了，却仍遗留下了一个尚待解决的问题——公共安全问题。湄公河流经一片不安定的地区，这一地区有许多叛乱团体、歹徒和强盗活动。大约在3年前，我曾造访此地调查安全问题，特别是湄公河沿岸的安全问题。当地的居民当时就已经投诉说尽管航运开通了，安全问题仍未解决。这就提出了转移到高层次合作的要求。但是这种合作并不容易，因为它涉及到了基本的主权问题，需要跨越边境，需要国家层面的合作才能解决。特别是对武装力量来说，如果跨越了边境就变成相当敏感的问题了。同样，对于中国来说，因为中国处于上游，所以许多外国媒体说如果航运开通了，中国将通过湄公河运送军舰。但是在本次事故中，12名中国人被杀，将此问题提上了议程。我们需要解决这个问题，因为湄公河航运和区域贸易对中国的西南部、缅甸、老挝和泰国来说是十分重要的，问题的解决同样有助于当地居民。所以，我认为两国能利用这个机会提高合作层次，创造一个共同的安全团队和信息系统。这不仅对于湄公河本身的航运，而且对于更高层级的公共安全问题都是重大的一步。因为，还存

在高速公路安全问题，比如昆明—曼谷高速公路。公路开通了，但是当地安全仍存隐患，同样还有管理问题，如何使之更加顺畅、便宜和便捷。冷战之后，非传统安全成为中国和东盟国家合作的重要领域。我们曾在反毒品、腐败和许多其他领域有过合作。现在，中国和东盟国家有一个区域合作项目，所以这是个非常重要的问题，显示了中国和其它国家合作的诚意。我们要求泰国进行调查，同时我们重视合作，如何创造安全合作网络，不仅有利于中国，也能造福他国。

Zhang Yunling: Nowadays, this non-traditional security is a big issue for us, and the Mekong River issue is closely related to the China-ASEAN relationship. There are two mechanisms, one is China-ASEAN cooperation in general, and the other is GMS. Under the GMS, one of the programs is to open the Mekong River navigation. Before that, there were a lot of blocks, and the river itself could not be used. Under this cooperation, 5 years ago, the Mekong River Project started. China provided a lot of assistance to open this river from the upper to the lower part. Though the navigation has opened, there is still one question left open: the common security issue. The river passes through an unstable area, because in Myanmar there are several rebel groups, and also gangsters and robbers. I remember that about 3 years ago I paid a visit to the region to investigate the security issues in the area, especially along the Mekong River. The local people already complained that although the river had opened, the security issue hadn't been solved. There is a requirement to move to high-level cooperation. But this kind of cooperation isn't easy, because it touches upon basic sovereignty issues, because you have to cross borders, and to solve the issue you need central cooperation. Especially for the armed forces, if you cross a border it becomes a very sensitive issue, also to China, because China's on the upper side, so a lot of foreign media said that if you open it China will pass through the Mekong River and send its warships, so it's a very sensitive issue. But this accident, in which 12 Chinese were killed, put it on the agenda. We have to solve this issue, because the Mekong River navigation and regional trade is so important for the south-west China, Myanmar, Laos and Thailand. It's very important and can help the locals a lot. So I think the countries are related and can use this occasion to raise the cooperation level and create a joint security team and information system, so I think this is a great step, not only for the navigation of the Mekong River itself, but also for the common security issue on a higher level because we also have the highway security issue, for instance, the Kunming-Bangkok highway. It's open, but the local security is still a problem, and there is also the management issue, how to make it smooth, cheaper and easier. After the cold war, non-traditional security became a very important area for China and ASEAN countries to cooperate. In the past, we had cooperation on anti-drugs, corruption, and a lot of other areas. Now we have a connectivity program between China and ASEAN countries, so this is an important issue, and shows how China sincerely cooperates with other countries, and we request Thailand to investigate, but at the same time we pay more attention to the cooperation, how to create security cooperation networks, beneficial not only to China, but also to other countries.

记者：亚洲正在以不可阻挡之势崛起，中国也在崛起，中国应该如何处理同周边国家的关系，才能让中国在不损害国家利益的基础上和平崛起？

Reporter: Asia is rising, and China is rising. How should China handle relations with neighboring countries, in order for China to be able to continue its peaceful rise without prejudicing its national interests?

张蕴岭：中国致力于继续保持其和平政策，但是中国的崛起是一个重大问题并需重新调整。中国需要自身调整。中国的崛起是一个重大事件。一方面，人们看到了它积极的一面，它提供共同的利益，中国成为所有周边国家的第一市场，其它国家从中国的崛起中受益。另一方面，其它国家需要调整，他们感觉到了某种威胁。比如，中国在当地商业中的强有力竞争，人们担心中国的崛起不仅仅是经济层面上的，同样也是政治、安全、军事装备层面上的。怎样解决呢？中国和邻国之间也有许多争端，这关系到中国如何在将来利用自己的权力。此类问题是新问题，需要谨慎处理。在我看来，中国并非面对一个封闭的环境。媒体说中

国被反华联盟包围了，但我不这么认为，因为中国和邻国已经建立了许多合作机制，合作框架也是十分开放的，所以有许多领导会议、部长会议，民众可以更多地进行旅游和商业联络，他们相互了解得越来越多。这是一个方面。它不是一个封闭的结构，如果和中国历史上的权力相比较，是个很大的区别。在那些时代，它是自上而下的关系，现在则是平等和参与的平行关系。

第二点是利益和好处。中国因此而变得重要，正如我提到的，它是邻国的第一市场，中国的投资国增加，许多国家甚至是日本，意识到它们不能不考虑中国，他们需要依靠中国市场进行将来的发展。对于东盟和中亚来说亦是如此。尽管他们担忧中国的崛起和竞争，他们仍不得不在中国的不断崛起中寻求机遇。

第三点是争端。中国需要谨慎处理这些争端。中国不使用强迫的方式，也不想使用军事手段去解决这些争端。所以，我们继续维持这种对话和合作政策，即使是在每人都关心的南海问题上。一方面我们有合作框架，中国和东盟签订了处理地区稳定问题的声明；另一方面，中国一贯呼吁通过协商而非单方面强迫的方式解决争端。从去年开始，中国的南海成为重要话题，但实际上中国领导与东盟国家领导、越南和菲律宾领导进行了合作，中国领导访问过越南和东南亚国家。所以，我认为中国仍希望找到一条处理争端的道路，寻求长期的解决方案。中国并不希望此类争端从整体上影响双边关系。

Zhang Yunling: China is committed to continue to keep its peace and policy, but however China's rise is a big issue, and they have to readjust. China itself has to readjust. China's rise is a big thing. On the one hand, people see its positive side, it provides common interests, and China has become the number-one market for all our neighbors. The other countries feel this benefit from China's rise. On the other hand, they have to adjust; they feel some kind of a threat. For instance, there is China's strong competition on local business, but also people are worried about China's rise not just economically, but also at the level of politics, security, military force. How to solve it? Also, there are a lot of disputes between China and its neighbors, so they are concerned with how China will use this power in the future. So this kind of thing, they are new emerging issues and we have to handle them carefully. But in my understanding, China is not facing an encircling environment at all. The media says that it seems that China's been encircled by an anti-China alliance, but I don't think so, because China and its neighbors have already established so many cooperation mechanisms, and cooperation frameworks are quite open, so we have so many leaders' meetings, ministers meetings, and also the people have more travel and business contact, so they know each other more and more. That's one thing. It's not a closed structure, that's a big difference if you compare it with the historical power of China. In those times it was just an up-to-down relationship, but now it's a parallel with equality and participation.

The second thing is the interests and benefits. So China's become so important, as I mentioned, it's the number-one market for neighboring countries and China's investment continues to increase, so many countries, even Japan, realize they can't leave China aside, they have to rely on China's market for future development. For ASEAN and the Central Asia, it's also true. So, though they are worried about China's emergence and competition, they have to seek the opportunities along with China's continuous rise.

The third is the disputes. China has to handle all these disputes carefully. China does not use forcing ways, doesn't want to use military ways to solve these disputes, so we continue to keep this dialogue and cooperation policy, even on the South China Sea, with which everyone is concerned. And on the one hand, we have a cooperation framework, China and ASEAN signed a declaration to handle the regional stability. On the other hand, China always called for solving these disputes through negotiations rather than with one-sided forcing ways. From last year, it seems the South China Sea became a big issue, but actually Chinese leaders cooperated with ASEAN countries' leaders, Vietnam and the Philippines' leaders, and China's leaders visited Vietnam and South East Asian countries. So I think China still hopes we can find a way to manage these disputes, and then seek the way to solve them for the long term. China does not hope this kind of dispute will hurt our bilateral

relationships on the whole.

记者：您如何看待美国“重返亚太”的政策，此政策有何影响，您是否对中国应对政策有相关的建议？

Reporter: How do you see the United States' "Return to Asia" policy, and do you have any suggestion on how China should respond to this?

张蕴岭：这是个复杂的问题。许多外部力量尝试施加它们的影响力并为它们自身的利益所用，比如美国重返亚洲，尝试扮演救助者和抵御者的角色。但实际上，美国并不能扮演这个角色，我们用我们自己的方式解决，美国不得不合作。因为中国和美国现在处于东亚峰会的同一框架中，我们有合作的机遇。但对于美国来说，他们需要考虑到，对抗的关系并不会有利于美国的利益，此区域的其它国家也不想看到对抗的中美关系。如果美国觉得伤害了自身利益，那么他们不会允许那么做。所以，我认为我们仍有合作的巨大空间来帮助我们推进和平发展环境。中国应当具有强大的自信去处理此类问题，而不是感到被敌对势力包围了，几乎没有空间了。我认为这种“反华联盟”的认识是错误的，我们应该具备充分的自信，相信我们的邻国怀有与中国合作的希望和利益。基于这种相互理解，我们能够创造一个更好的未来。

Zhang Yunling: This is a complex issue. So many outside forces try to assert their influence, and use it for their own interests, like the US coming back to Asia, trying to play the role of a savior and defender for other countries. But, in fact, the US can't play such a role, we have to solve it our own way, but of course the US has to cooperate. Because China and the US are now in the same framework -- the East Asia Summit -- so we have opportunities to handle it. But on the US side, they have to consider that a confrontational relationship will not be beneficial to US interests at all, and the other countries in the region don't want to see a confrontational US-China relationship at all. If the US does too much which they think hurts their interests, they won't allow it to do that, so I think we still have a big room for China to operate, which can help us bring forward this peaceful and developing environment. China itself should have a very strong confidence to manage this kind of issue, rather than feeling it is encircled by hostile forces and there's almost no room. I think this is wrong, we should have full confidence, and we should believe our neighbors have the wish and interest to work together with China. Based on this mutual understanding, we can create a better future.

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