Book review: Jin Canrong, *Odpowiedzialność wielkiego mocarstwa* [Big Power's Responsibility], Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2012, pp. 226

——评《大国的责任》

by Joanna Marszałek

**“被责任”时代的中国声音
Chinese Voice in the Era
of “Demanded to Shoulder
Responsibility”**

近年来，随着中国经济社会的不断发展，国际社会对中国的看法也发生了种种的变化。从早期的“中

国崩溃论”到“中国威胁论”，再到如今被热议的“中国责任论”，无论评论家们的调门如何变化，可以肯定的一点是中国已经越来越为世界所关注，我们已经被推到了世界舞台的聚光灯下。世界渴望了解中国，但我们却总是难以清晰地表达出自己的态度和看法，而中

国人民大学国际关系学院副院长，著名国际关系学者金灿荣的最新力作《大国的责任》正是这样一本敢于表达、善于表达中国态度与看法的经典著作。在如今这个中国在国际社会“被责任”的时代，如何让世界听到中国的声音，让世界为之一振并理解中国的自我解读，这是一个非常值得国人关注和思考的问题，金灿荣教授新作《大国的责任》在这方面进行了有益的探索与尝试。

Recently, there has been change of international society's viewpoints on China since the continuous development of Chinese economy and society. Whether it is the early "Chinese Crack-up Theory", "China Threat Theory", or the "China Responsibility Theory" with currently heated discussion and no matter how scholars' viewpoints change, it is certain that China has been paid close attention to by the world, where China has been pushed in the spotlight of the world stage. The world is eager to understand China; however, it is hard for China to clearly and explicitly express her attitude and viewpoint. According to this, Jin Canrong, a famous scholar in international relations and the vice-president of the School of International Studies of Renmin University of China, boldly and precisely introduces China's attitude and viewpoint in his classic work *Big Power's Responsibility*. Currently, China is staying at the period when it is demanded by international soci-

ety to shoulder its responsibility. Therefore, how to let China's voice heard by the world, how to let the world's spirit raised by China's voice, and how to let the world understand China are the questions that worth attention and reflection. In terms of the answers, there is rewarding exploration and endeavor in Professor Jin Canrong's new work *Big Power's Responsibility*.

在《大国的责任》这本书中，金灿荣教授首先对中国国际责任的缘起进行了分析，随后阐释了中国负责任大国的现实动因和历史特征，之后又从作为联合国安理会常任理事国、世界最大的发展中国家、新兴市场经济国家、国际体系的积极建设者四个方面对中国积极承担国际责任的现状进行了描绘与总结，最后指出了中国在承担国际责任中所面临的机遇与挑战。全书结构清晰，观点明确，内容紧扣时代脉搏，直抒胸臆，发人深省。

In this book, firstly, Professor Jin Canrong analyzes generation of China's international responsibility. And then he illustrates realistic motives and historical characteristics of China as a responsible big power. Secondly, he depicts and summarizes current situation of China's actively shouldering her international responsibility from four perspectives: China's position as one of the permanent member states in the United Nations Security Council, as one of the largest developing countries worldwide, as a new country of market economy, and as an active con-

structor of international system. Finally, he points out possible opportunities and challenges that China may confront when shouldering international responsibility. Based on this outline, the entire book embodies a clear structure, precise viewpoints, and the content keeping up with time, which manifests the author's inner feelings directly and is enlightening for readers.

国强未必霸，但必有“方”，金灿荣教授指出，“责任论”正是西方为一个不断发展壮大的中国所设定的方向。从2005年时任美国副国务卿的佐里克呼吁中国做一个“负责任的利益攸关方”开始，国际社会纷纷跟进，霎时间关于“中国责任论”的期待与责难相互交织，成为国际社会的时髦话题，“金融责任”、“人道主义责任”、“全球治理责任”、“国际安全责任”、“气候责任”、“汇率责任”、“债务责任”等此起彼伏，层出不穷。一方面认为中国举足轻重，溢美之词、捧杀之力令人不寒而栗；另一方面夸大责任，混淆视听、愚弄民众、捧杀之语甚嚣尘上。中国被推到了国际舞台中心，并非我们主观设计，而是客观形势发展的结果，主要原因还是中国力量的增长。其实，中国并不怕责任要求，中国人历来责任心强，所谓“天下兴亡，匹夫有责”。近年来，中国积极承担与自身国力、身份与地位相匹配的国际责任，在世界共同关心的重要问题和地区热

点难点问题上，着力寻找正确的途径，认真拿出有效的办法，努力解决实在的问题，维护世界的和平与发展。作为联合国安理会常任理事国，中国殚精竭虑，积极体现维护世界和平的责任担当，主动参与联合国维和行动，促进地区和平与稳定；坚决维护国际核不扩散体制，推动核裁军；积极斡旋，促进和平谈判、对话协商，公正平等地解决朝核、伊核两大核问题，倡导对话代替对抗、和解代替无解、外交力代替武力；设立特使，多方协调，推动中东和平进程，着力化解地区冲突，致力于解决人道主义危机。作为世界最大的发展中国家，中国设身处地，亲力亲为，努力帮助广大发展中国家摆脱贫困，共谋发展之道。为此，中国协调其他发展中国家立场，在国际多边场合争取发展中国家权益；加强南南合作，实现经济互补，对世界最不发达国家减免关税与债务，提供援助与贷款，与之一道，力所能及地为人民谋福祉，改善人权状况，通过消除贫困来体现谋发展的责任。作为新兴市场经济国家，中国与诸多非西方新兴国家并起，积极推进内部改革，取得经济建设的巨大成就，参与国际机制和国际体系，从G8到G8+5，再到G20，中国正逐渐改变着国际决策机制和西方主导的国际社会话语权，国际地位和影响力显著上升。作为国际体系的积极建设者，中国积极主动参与国际机制，加入并认真遵守国际条约，改革维

护现有国际体系；在应对人类共同的挑战上，比如气候变化、恐怖主义、流行疾病、环境问题等等，中国与世界休戚与共，一起寻找解决之策。越来越体现出“中国的发展离不开世界，世界的繁荣稳定也离不开中国”的趋势。

It is not necessary for a country to be a hegemony when it is becoming more and more powerful, but to come up with a solution to existing problems. Based on this, Professor Jin Canrong claims that “Responsibility Theory” is a direction set by the western world for developing and growing China. Starting from the appeal that China “is supposed to become a responsible stakeholder” in 2005, cited from Robert B. Zoellick, the Deputy Secretary of the United States, the other countries followed and supported this appeal one after another, where “China Responsibility Theory” has become a popular topic among international society, interwoven with expectations and blames. According to this phenomenon, there has been a wave of concepts related to this theory, such as “financial responsibility”, “humanity responsibility”, “global governance responsibility”, “international security responsibility”, “climate responsibility”, “exchange rate responsibility”, “debt responsibility”, etc. On the one hand, China is thought to be a decisive country with plentiful admiration, from which influence of this admiration is terrifying; on the other hand, responsibility is exaggerated that

confuses and fools the public, where it is widely spread and discussed. China’s being pushed to the centre of international stage is the result of objective situations’ development instead of subjective planning, especially it is originated from growth of her power. In fact, China is not frightened by demand of shouldering responsibility. Contrarily, Chinese people have been born with strong sense of responsibility as a famous old saying “every man alive has a duty to his country”. Recently, China has been actively shouldering the international responsibility which accords with her national capability, identity, and position. Regarding crucial issues that are commonly concerned and regional hot and difficult issues by the entire world, China exerts herself in finding the right and effective method to industriously solve existing problems and maintain the world’s peace and development. As one of the Permanent Member States of the United Nations Security Council, China has been endeavoring to express her responsibility in maintaining the world’s peace positively, actively participate in the United Nations’ peacekeeping operation, and promote regional peace and stability. Besides, China has been trying every means to resolutely safeguard international nuclear non-proliferation regime and propel nuclear disarmament. China also actively mediates among countries to promote peaceful negotiation, dialogue and consultation, where she proposes

that North Korea and Iran nuclear issues should follow a fair and equal pattern. In terms of this proposal, China proposes dialogue instead of confrontation, reconciliation instead of no solution, and diplomacy instead of military force. Moreover, China suggests that there is need to send envoys among countries for multilateral coordination, which advances peaceful process in the Middle East and focuses on resolving regional conflict and solving humanitarian crisis. As the largest developing country in the world, China empathizes other countries' feeling that she has been assisting other developing countries to cast off poverty with much effort and discussing the way of development along with them. For instance, on the basis of other developing countries' stance, China struggles for their rights in several international multilateral occasions, strengthens the South-South cooperation to realize economic complementarity, reduces tax and debt of the world's least developed countries that she provides assistance and loan, works together with the world's least developed countries for the benefit of their people, and improves human rights situation through elimination of poverty to manifest responsibility during development. Regarded as an emerging market economy country, together with many emerging countries that do not belong to the west, China has been actively propelling inner reform, obtaining huge success in economic con-

struction, and participating international regime and system. From G8, G8+5 to G20, China is gradually changing international decision-making mechanism and right of speech which has been dominated by the west for a long time, from which China's international position is rising and influence is increasing. As a positive constructor on international regime, China actively participates in international mechanism, where she has accessed to and abided by international treaties and reformed and maintained existing international regime. When confronting human beings' common challenges, such as climate change, terrorism, epidemic, and environmental issues, China works together with the entire world to discover solution. Accordingly, there is gradual tendency that "China cannot develop itself in isolation from the rest of the world, and global prosperity and stability cannot be maintained without China".

与此同时,在“被责任”的国际环境下,发展中的中国还并没有完全适应,还需要进一步的学习和改进,提升自己履行国际责任的能力。根据金灿荣教授的观点,首先要树立大国心态。大国心态包含多方面涵义,如更趋乐观、自信,更具责任心,既不盲目自大,也不妄自菲薄,努力想办法摆脱“百年国耻”情结,而不是在自卑与自信两端之间摇摆,更具有一个大国应有的平常心;同时主动担当,同情弱小,倡导公平、正义,为人民谋福

祉，为世界开太平。中国在这方面还有很长的路要走。其次，要在内部治理上多下功夫。对中国而言，把自己的事情做好就是很大的责任，中国的改革开放进行到今天，在取得了巨大成就的同时也出现了各种各样的社会问题，而处理好这些内部治理问题，保持国家的健康活力，是中国承担国际责任的基础与前提，它不以领导人的意志为转移，也不因民众的一腔热情而动摇，而是顺应了哲学上的“内因是根本”的道理。在这样的基础上，中国需要主动有选择地承担国际责任，积极承担那些与自身国力、身份与地位相匹配的责任，同时明确中国不是万能的，履行大国的义务并不意味着要承担超常规责任。尤为重要的是，中国应该在国际社会更多地主动设置议题，更清楚地提出自己的责任主张，减少在责任议题设置上的被动性，提高控制议题的能力，这样既回应了责任不可避免的要求，又能在一些重大的国际问题上拿出有效可行的办法，显示中国主动承担国际责任的态度和能力。

Meanwhile, the developing China has not completely been accustomed to the international surrounding of “demanding China to shoulder responsibility”. Therefore, it is necessary for her to further study and develop herself that improves capability of fulfilling her duty. According to Professor Jin Canrong, the primary step for China is to have the correct attitude

of being a big power, where the big power contains the connotations from different perspectives, such as being more positive, confident, and responsible. To say so, China should not be blind, arrogant or belittling. She should maintain a usual mind as a big power that actively shoulders her responsibility, sympathizes with the weak, proposes equality and fairness, and pursues benefit and happiness for her people and peace for the world. In terms of this step, there is a long way for her to go. The second step is to concentrate China's effort on domestic governance. For China, it is a heavy responsibility to handle her own business. Although there have been great achievements of China's Reform and Opening-up, there have been a variety of social issues as well. Hence, how to solve these issues on domestic governance and maintain the nation's health and vitality are the basis and pre-supposition for China's shouldering international responsibility. It is not decided by the will from leadership nor shaken by enthusiasm of people; it accords with the philosophical truth that “intrinsic factor is the ultimate cause”. On this basis, it is necessary for China to shoulder international responsibility with her own initiative, especially shoulder the ones that accord with China's national capability, identity, and position. Meanwhile, it is explicit that China is not almighty that it is unnecessary for her to shoulder unconventional responsibilities. More importantly, China is supposed to

actively set agenda and propose her own proposition on responsibility more clearly, which reduces passiveness on setting agenda on responsibility and improve ability of controlling agenda. By doing so, China not only responds to inevitable demand in responsibility but also proposes feasible measures in some important international issues, which expresses China's attitude and ability on actively shouldering her international responsibility.

不可回避，当今中国正在走向世界舞台的中心，用金灿荣教授的话讲，中国从“群众演员”发展为“配角”、“最佳配角”，然后是“主角”，未来很可能是“核心主角”。在这种大环境下，培养民众的国际视野，加深对海外利益的理解，赢得广泛支持对中国来说显得尤为重要，它会提供给中国履行国际责任、体现负责任形象的源源动力。《大国的责任》这本书既可成为国人了解世界的平台，又将会是世界了解中国的窗口。在这个中国“被责任”的时代，让关心中国崛起和中西方关系的国际读者品尝一下来自中国的“东方风味”，有助于消弭误解，加强沟通，而只有在人与人、国与国、文明与文明的沟通与对话中，中国才有可能迈着自己坚定的步伐，真正成为国际社会负责任的大国。

It is unavoidable that China is accessing to the centre of the world stage, where, according to Professor Jin Canrong, China is turning herself as a “support character” from a “figurant”, and then becoming the “protagonist”. It is also probable that China will be the “core protagonist” in the future. Under this general circumstance, it is especially significant to foster Chinese people's international horizon, promote their understating on overseas benefit, and widely gain their support, which provides endless motivation for China to shoulder international responsibility and build the image of a responsible big power. Regarding this, *Big Power's Responsibility* is a platform for Chinese people to know about the world as well as a window for the world to know about China. At the time that China is “demanded to shoulder responsibility”, inviting overseas readers who are concerned about China's rising and Sino-West relation contributes to eliminating misunderstanding and strengthening communication. Only during people-to-people, country-to-country, civilization-to-civilization communication and dialogue that China is probable to truly become a big power that shoulders international social responsibility with her steadfast belief.