

Chapter 3

National activation in China and other countries 中国及其他国家的国家激活

The notion of national activation was introduced in 2002 in “Pattern and Repertoire in History” (Roehner and Syme 2002). At the end of the chapter devoted to this notion there is in substance the following observation regarding South East Asia in the 21st century.

国家激活(National activation)¹这一概念最早是在2002年出版的《历史中的模式与行为策略集》(Pattern and Repertoire in History, Roehner and Syme 2002)一书中基于对21世纪东南亚国家的观察与思考而提出的:

In South East Asia several of the conditions for a process of national activation have been brought together, namely a strong increase in the resources of the state, rapid demographic growth, democratization allowing large layers of the population to participate in public debates. But this has not, for the moment translated into the type of national activation observed in Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries.

东南亚国家具备了国家激活(national activation)这一过程所需的若干条件: 国家资源的强劲增长、人口的高速增长、民主化带来的各阶层民众对公共事务更广泛的参与讨论。但目前这种国家激活的类型与19到20世纪欧洲国家的国家激活并不相同。

It seems that in the 15 years since 2002, several countries in South East Asia and particularly China and India have come closer to a state of national activation. Below we explain why it can be considered that China is currently in a phase of national activation. This should have important consequences regarding its foreign and defense policy.

东南亚的几个国家(尤其是中国和印度)在最近15年(2002-2017)内似乎已然很接

¹国家激活与国家崛起(或大国崛起)有一定的区别, 国家激活更强调国家处于一种积极且前景光明的状态(通常表现为较强的社会凝聚力、以及众多机遇的出现), 这就好比是人处于兴奋状态一般。这种国家激活的状态既可能出现在大国也可能出现于小国。

近于国家激活的状态。下面我们将解释为何目前中国被认为已经进入了国家激活的阶段，而这一状态对中国的外交和国防政策都会有重要影响。

First of all, however, we wish to attract the reader's attention on an important distinction between endogenous and exogenous factors.

但在进入具体细节之间，我们首先想请读者先将注意力放到一个重要的问题上来——那就是内生因素(endogenous factor)与外生因素(exogenous factor)的区别。

3.1 Endogenous vs. exogenous factors in national development

国家发展过程中的内生因素与外生因素

It is well known that the long history of China has been marked by a succession of phases of expansion followed by phases of contraction, separatism and sometimes even dislocation. However, it would be an oversimplification to think that the contraction phases resulted solely from internal factors. The example of the Qing dynasty shows this quite clearly.

“天下大事，分久必和，和久必分”。中华的悠悠历史既有一连串领土扩张的凯歌高奏，又有盛世过后的版图缩小、分崩离析和百姓的颠沛流离。然而如果认为盛世之后的丢城失地和混乱局面只是由内部因素造成，也会有失偏颇、将问题简单化；清朝便是个很好的例证，它的衰落就不只是受内部因素影响。

3.1.1 Expansion during the first half of the Qing dynasty 清朝上半叶的版图扩张

The Qing dynasty lasted 269 years from 1644 to 1912. In its first 70 years it was a successful expansionist dynasty. As one knows its last 70 years were much less successful. Yet, the efficiency of its internal organization was probably neither better nor worse than during the first decades. Yet, what a difference in terms of military success and expansion!

清朝从1644至1912共持续了269年，在最初的70年里，清朝是一个成功的扩张王朝；但到了这个王朝最后的70年却毫无成功可言。但清王朝在最后70年里的内部组织结构及其效率与最初70年相比或许既没有更好也没有更糟，然而从军事成就和领土扩张角度来看，这两个70年简直是天差地别。

The Dzungar War (1687–1757) was a long conflict which opposed the Dzungar Khanate to the Qing dynasty and their Mongolian vassals. Qing victory ultimately led to the incorporation of Outer Mongolia, Tibet and Xinjiang into the Qing Empire.

准噶尔之战(1687-1757, 清代文献称“平定准噶尔/准部”)是准噶尔汗国与清朝及其藩属蒙古之间一场旷日持久的战争，清朝取得最终胜利后一举将外蒙古、西藏以及新疆纳入了大清版图。

3.1.2 Contraction during the second half of the Qing dynasty 清朝后半叶的版图缩小



图 3.1: 中国-西方列强的蛋糕。在这幅政治漫画中, 英、德、俄、法、日正在瓜分中国: 德国的威廉二世和维多利亚女王争论不休; 象征法国的女孩(Marianne, 也就是所谓的玛丽安)并未参与瓜分, 但她的出现具有外交意义(她被画师安排在俄皇尼古拉斯二世身边, 提醒我们法俄同盟与德国的对立局势)。(来源: 最初刊登在1898年1月16日的法国杂志《Le Petit Journal》上, 转载自法国国家图书馆)

Less than one century later the very same Qing dynasty was defeated by Britain in the First Opium War (1839-1842) with the result that the Emperor had to accept the Treaty of Nanjing (1842). Through this treaty China ceded the island of Hong Kong to Britain in perpetuity and accepted the establishment of 5 treaty ports at Shanghai, Canton, Ningpo, Fuchow, and Amoy. France secured concessions on the same terms as the British, in treaties of 1843 and 1844.

还是那个百年前平定准葛尔的清朝却在第一次鸦片战争(1839-1842)中完败于英国, 被迫签署《南京条约》: 清朝依该条约须将香港岛永久割让给英国, 并接受在上海、广州、宁波、福州、厦门建立通商口岸。法国在1843和1844年的条约中也享有了与英国相同的特权。

3.1.3 Drastic change in the strength of foreign forces 国外势力的急剧变化

Between 1757 and 1842 the main change was not endogenous but consisted in the fact that the enemies of China were much stronger. We are told that the

Dzungars used camel mounted miniature cannons in battle. That was fairly clever but probably much less effective than the big guns and long range rifles in use in western armies and navies. As one knows, the First Opium war was followed by several other western aggression wars, each of which made the Qing dynasty weaker.

对于清朝而言，其自1757至1842年间的主要变化并不是内生性的，而是外部的敌人比过去更强了太多。当年准噶尔人用骆驼扛着微型火炮打仗，这种做法虽然相当聪明但其效率却远远低于西方军队和海军使用的重型火炮和长射程步枪。第一次鸦片战争之后，清朝又遭受了西方国家的多次入侵，而每一次入侵都让清朝更加衰微。

In summary, although it may seem to be a convenient criterion, territorial changes should not be taken as the sole measure of the success of a dynasty. This can also be illustrated with the example of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279).

总而言之，虽然领土的变化似乎是衡量王朝兴盛与否的一个方便标准，但其也不应被视为唯一标准；对于这一点南宋王朝(1127–1279)就是一个例证。

Successes of the Southern Song dynasty

南宋王朝的成就

Although it lost control of the northern part of China as a result of its defeat in the Jin-Song Wars (1115-1234), the Southern Song dynasty was one of the most brilliant and innovative dynasties. It was marked by great inventions (e.g. gunpowder and the compass) and the development of maritime trade and explorations. For instance, the majority of the Chinese coins found in archaeological excavations conducted in Somalia and Tanzania are from the Song Dynasty. 尽管南宋在宋金之战(1115-1234)败北之后失去了对中国北方的控制，但南宋王朝依然是最辉煌、最富有创新精神的王朝之一。南宋拥有伟大的发明(诸如火药和指南针)、繁荣的经济、发达的金融业以及广泛的海外贸易和航海探索。在索马里和坦桑尼亚进行的考古发掘中发现的大多数中国钱币都来自宋朝，这也从侧面印证了当年南宋在海上的成功。

3.2 National activation

国家激活

When one follows the history of various nations it appears that in most of them there are periods of social mobilization and national activation. More specifically, when a society ends the domination of the aristocracy and moves to an organization that allows large sections of the population to participate in the management of public affairs, a process takes place which increases social interaction and produces a state of national activation. History has shown that greater interaction usually results in greater social efficiency, self-confidence and innovation. It has also been shown that one of the possible outlets for these new forces is territorial expansion.

追溯不同国家的发展历史，我们会发现大多数国家都曾出现过社会阶层流动与

人口迁徙(social mobilization)和国家激活(national activation)的阶段。更确切地说, 当一个社会结束贵族专制统治, 转而进入一种允许多数民众参与管理公共事务的状态, 这一过程将促进社会交流、形成国家激活的状态。历史已经证明, 更为频繁且深入的阶层互动通常会带来更高的社会效率、更强的自信心和更多的创新创造; 而这些变化带来的新产生的力量总要寻找用武之地, 领土扩张便是其出口之一。

There is no shortage of examples of this phenomenon. Several cases are mentioned in Table 2.1. One can mention Sweden and England in the 17th century. France in the wake of the Revolution of 1789, Germany in the period after the national unification of 1870, Japan in the post-Meiji era, Israel in the decades after its refoundation in 1947 or Russia in the 21st century. We will give more details about some of these cases in a short moment.

历史上这样的现象不一而足, 表3.1提供了几个典型案例: 17世纪的瑞典和英国、1789年大革命之后的法国、1870年完成国家统一后的德国、后明治时期的日本、1947年重新建国后的以色列以及21世纪的俄罗斯。稍后我们将对这些实例进行更加详细的描述。

国家	时期	信仰	新军队	领土扩张	主要领导人
瑞典	1580 – 1700	新教主义	征兵	波罗的海	古斯塔夫·瓦萨
英国	1640 – 1680	清教主义	职业军人	爱尔兰	奥利弗·克伦威尔
法国	1789 – 1815	公民权利	征兵	欧洲	拿破仑·波拿巴
德国	1860 – 1918	爱国主义	统一军队	欧洲	奥托·冯·俾斯麦
中国	1925 – 1950	土地改革	人民军队	无	毛泽东

注: 表中第二列的时间区间只是示意性的, 类似的社会阶层流动以及人口迁徙(social mobilizations)很显然不会突然在某年就中断或完全结束。尽管法国在1815年的军事行动(著名的滑铁卢战役)以失败告终, 但革命精神仍在法国长存, 1830年7月和1848年2月的两次大革命的爆发就是例证(而且后者几乎蔓延到了整个欧洲); 在中国革命精神直到内战结束依然存在。尽管瑞典军队在17世纪初就已经开始实行征兵制, 但其实这一制度直到1789年依然是新鲜事物。“统一军队”指的是德国军队不再是由过去分散的来自巴登、布兰登堡、萨克森的兵团以及神圣罗马帝国的其他部队所组成; 如果用现在的情况做个类比, 就相当于从北约(NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization)这种由美国领导、不同国家部队组成的联合部队转变为一支真正统一的欧洲军队。

表 3.1: 不同国家的国家激活对应的时期

As observed above, whether or not territorial expansion is possible depends very much upon the international situation. For instance the expansion of Sweden between 1600 and 1709 was facilitated by the fact that it had many weak neighbors such as Estonia, Livonia, Latvia or Pomerania. Even if no territorial expansion is possible the state of national activation can be recognized by a number of other features. 1 Spreading a message 2 Increase in population 3 Spread of instruction. 4 Widespread interaction between people belonging to various social classes. 5 Fast economic development. 6 In many cases, armed

forces who had previously relied on mercenaries started to employ citizens. 7
Territorial expansion

通过上述的例子，我们可以发现是否存在领土扩张的可能性其实在很大程度上依赖于国际形势。例如1600-1709年瑞典得以成功对外扩张就是因为其邻国都很弱小(例如爱沙尼亚、利沃尼亚、拉脱维亚或波美拉尼亚)。当然即便没有出现领土扩张，通过以下几个特征也可以判断一个国家是否进入了国家激活状态：

- 1 广泛的信仰认同和增长的群众基础
- 2 人口增长
- 3 教育普及
- 4 不同社会阶层的民众可以广泛地交互(interaction)
- 5 经济飞速发展
- 6 (在许多西方案例中)国家军事力量从过去依靠雇佣兵转变为招募本国居民

居民

We will now take a closer look at these different aspects.
下面我们将详细研究这几个方面。

3.2.1 Spreading a message 广泛的信仰认同和增长的群众基础

In order to gain momentum any social movement must rely on a gospel by which we mean a message in which the participants believe and that they may try to spread to neighboring areas. Gospel is of course a religious term and in some time periods the message took indeed the form of a religious movement, e.g. Christianity or some of its special creeds such as Protestantism or Puritanism, but it can also be a political message such as the rights of citizens after 1789 in France, Communism after 1917 in Russia or people's (and especially farmer's) rights in the Chinese Revolution of 1925-1949.

任何社会运动要想获得长足发展的动力，都必须拥有一定的信仰²基础—参与者须深深相信并努力将此信仰传播到邻近地区的人群。这种信仰可能会是某种宗教信仰，也可能是某种政治信仰(例如1789年诞生于法国的公民权利、1917年俄罗斯的共产主义或1925-1949年间中国革命所推崇的人民(尤其是农民)权利³)。

²西方也会称此为福音(gospel)，在具体的情况中可以解理为信仰、信念，在许多社会运动中我们可以将其理解为关于社会关系的新哲学观。福音(gospel)虽是一个宗教术语，但在某些特定时期它确实是以宗教教义的形式出现(例如基督教教义或诸如新教教义、清教教义等基督教的特殊信条)。

20世纪后半叶，新自由主义福音(neoliberal gospel)从美国传播到了所有西方国家，甚至在某种程度上还传到了中国。不过与法国、俄国或中国革命的信仰不同，新自由主义福音并未在普通民众中间广泛传播开来，反而是在经济学家、商人、立法者和媒体集团中更受推崇。

福音传播现象对于世界历史具有非常重要的意义，理解影响这种现象的关键控制因素同样意义重大；目前在复杂网络研究领域已经有不少对于传播动力学(spreading dynamics)的研究(Pastor-Satorras 2015, Li 2016, Li 2013)，但这些研究现在都仍然太过理论，多数仍是理论上的数学模型，距离真正解释更为复杂的社会现象尚有很长的路要走。

³人类历史上曾发生过数百次的农民起义，但据我们目前所知，除了中国共产党领导的起义其他所有的农民起义都失败了。而且有趣的是，当年国民党既不称起义军为“共产党”或“农民”而是称作“共匪/赤匪”。

维基百科文章《农民起义列表》(List of peasant revolts)罗列了部分农民起义，并将其中一些起义标记为“成功的起义”。然而仔细阅读相应的描述后就会发现，这些起义本身并未成功，它们只是

3.2.2 Population increase 人口增长

Population estimates suggest that in 1840 the population of China numbered 412 millions (Ho 1959). If this figure is correct, it means that in the 113 years between 1840 and 1953 (year of the first census) the growth rate was $(694-412)/(412 \times 113) = 0.60\%$. Then, in the 63 years from 1953 to 2015 it became $(1382-694)/(694 \times 63) = 1.57\%$. Despite the one child policy the growth was 2.6 times faster (see Fig. 2.2).

人口统计数据显示中国1840年的人口是4.12亿 (Ho 1959); 如果该数字正确, 那么从1840-1953(当年进行了第一次人口普查)的113年里, 中国的人口增长率是 $(694-412)/(412 \times 113) = 0.60\%$; 在1953-2015的63年里, 人口增长率变成了 $(1382-694)/(694 \times 63) = 1.57\%$ 。虽然独生子女政策产生了极大影响, 但中国的人口增长率仍比过去提高了2.6倍(见图3.2)。

A similar effect can be observed in France after the Revolution of 1789. Between 1740 and 1792 the population increased from 24.6 million to 28 million (Wikipedia article entitled “Demographics of France”) which represents an average annual rate of $(28-24.6)/(24.6 \times 53) = 0.26\%$. Then, from 1792 to 1846, it increased from 28.0 to 36.1 that is at a rate of 0.54%. One might think that this was due to improvements in healthcare, but in the following 50 years the increase was from 36.1 million to only 39.9 which is a rate of 0.19%. Thus, in the 50 years following the Revolution, despite the wars, the population growth rate was about twice as fast as before 1789 and after 1846.

法国在1789年大革命之后也有过类似的情形。从1740年到1792年法国人口从2460万增长到2800万⁴, 年平均增长率为 $(28-24.6)/(24.6 \times 53) = 0.26\%$; 从1792年到1846年, 人口从2800万增长至3610万, 增长率为0.54%。人们可能会认为这是由于卫生保健水平的提高, 但这一解释并不成立, 因为在接下来的50年里, 法国人口只从3610万增长至3990万, 年增长率仅为0.19%。因此在法国大革命后的50年里, 除去战争因素的影响, 人口增长率达到了1789年之前和1846年之后年增长率的两倍左右。

3.2.3 Spread of instruction 教育的普及

A spread of instruction resulting in a fast increase in the percentage of people able to read and write. happened in China after 1949 (see Fig. 2.3).

教育的普及使得有读写能力的人口占比迅速增长, 中国的15岁以上公民的文盲率自1949年之后迅速下降(见图3.3)。

After the success of the Revolution in 1949 and even before 1949 in the liberated areas the literacy campaign wished to educate not only the school age children but also adults. For that purpose children were told by their schoolmaster to teach their parents every day one new character. In other words, the children became themselves schoolmasters within their own family or village.

在内战中支持了合适的竞争者。例如1789年烧毁城堡的法国农民在某种意义上是成功的, 但这只是因为巴黎起义推翻了贵族统治。而且维基百科的这份列表并没有提到中国共产党所领导的起义。

⁴参见维基百科文章《法国人口(Demographics of France)》。

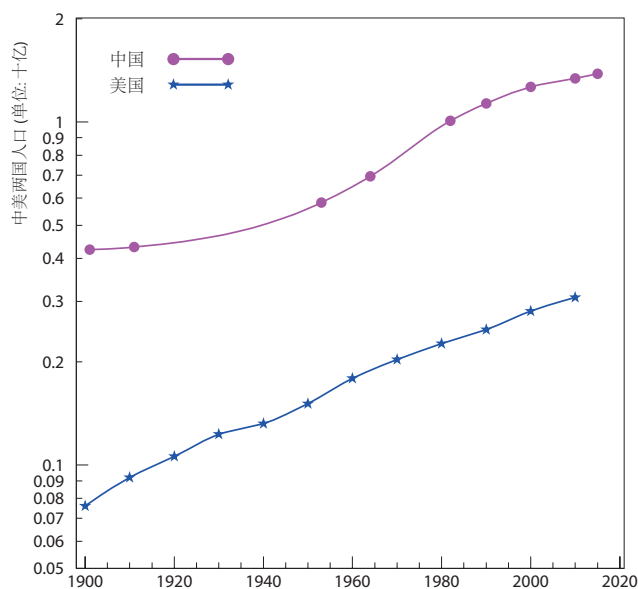


图 3.2: 中国和美国人口的增长。中国人口的增长是内生性的, 而移民对于美国人口增长起了重要作用。1945年以前美国移民主要来自欧洲; 1960年以后则主要来自墨西哥。(资料来源: 维基百科文章《中国人口》(Demographics of China)和《美国人口历史》(Demographic history of the United States))

In this way, as shown in Fig. 2.3, progress was fairly fast. If there are physicists among our readers they may observe that this mechanism is similar to the phenomenon of ferromagnetism. In ferromagnetism each atom located in the magnetic field of an external magnet becomes itself a little magnet. The contributions of all these little virtual magnets add together and create an internal magnetic field which is usually much stronger than the initial field. Replacing “magnetic field” by “teaching” we see that each schoolboy and schoolgirl became a little magnet in its own. As a result, the teaching of the schoolmaster was strongly amplified. One decade later a fairly similar method was used in Cuba after Fidel Castro came to power in 1960. Cuban rural illiteracy was at that time as high as 42% but it fell rapidly to less than 5%. If one wants to judge the success of a political regime education may be a better criterion than GDP per capita for it is clear that the US embargo which lasted from 1960 to 2015 was a serious obstacle for the economic development of Cuba.

中国的扫盲运动(在1949年革命胜利之后, 以及胜利之前的解放区)不仅针对学龄儿童, 还包括成年人。为了实现这一目标, 老师要求孩子们每天教给他们的父母一个新的汉字; 换言之, 孩子们自己就成了他们家中或者村子里的老师; 这种方法见效相当迅速(参见图3.3)。如果大家对物理学了解较多, 或许就会发现这种机制与铁磁性(ferromagnetism)现象很相似。在铁磁性原理中, 位于外磁铁磁场中的每一个原子本身都成了一块小磁铁; 所有这些小小的虚拟磁铁

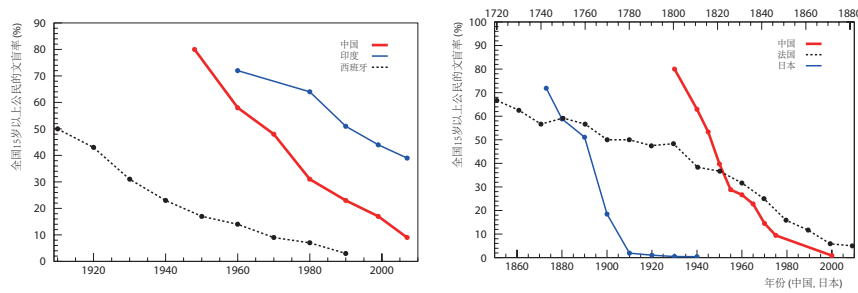


图 3.3: (a) 15 岁以上文盲占总人口的比例。在中国共产党的官方定义中,“读写能力”为认识1500个汉字; (b) 学龄人口的文盲率。上面的水平标尺(1720-1880)是法国曲线所对应的年份。按照该度量标准,如果我们考虑总人口(而不只是学龄人口),文盲率的下降将会更快。(数据来源:文献Jan 1964, Peterson 1994, Tempest 1997, 以及网站: <http://www.asianinfo.org/asianinfo/china/pro-education.htm>, <http://www.nationmaster.com/country/ch-china/edu-education>)

的贡献加在一起,所产生的内部磁场通常会比原先的磁场强得多。把“磁场”换成“教学”,我们会发现每一个学生本身就变成了一块小磁铁,如此一来,老师的教学就被有力地放大了。菲德尔·卡斯特罗(Fidel Castro)在1960年当政之后将一个非常相近的方法应用于古巴。当时古巴农村的文盲率高达42%,但很快就降到了5%以下。如果要判断古巴政权是否成功,教育是比人均GDP更好的标准-因为美国从1960到2015年的持续禁运令对于古巴的经济发展显然是一个严重的阻碍。

3.2.4 Interaction surge 交互浪潮

Removal of social barriers 消除社会壁垒

Before 1949 there was a deep divide in the Chinese population between the peasant majority and a minority of landowners and business people. The situation was similar to the division which existed in France between the nobility and the common people. In both cases removing this separation increased inter-individual interaction. Here is a simple illustration.

1949年以前的中国,占绝大多数的农民和占少数的地主以及商人之间存在深深的分化,这种现象与法国曾出现过的贵族和平民之间的阶层分化非常类似。在这两个案例中,消除阶层壁垒⁵都提高了个体之间的互动。我们不妨来看下面这个简单的例子:

Contrary to the English language which has only one form to address someone else, namely “you”, in French there are two forms: “tu” which is used for

⁵当然用何种方式来达成这一目标是须要非常审慎的,历史上的许多做法或许都太过粗暴,而且也未必会是最为有效的方式。

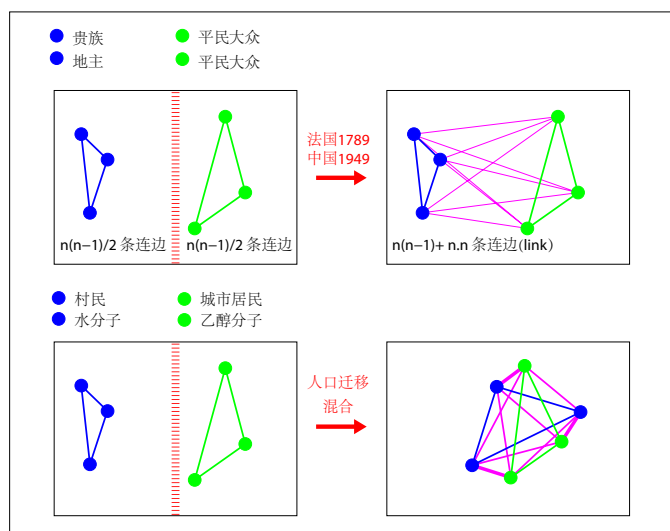


图 3.4: 通过消除壁垒来增加阶层互动。互动的增加有两种方式:

(1, 上图): 消除不同社会阶层群体间的壁垒。双方的个体分别用蓝色节点和绿色节点表示, 这一过程一如法国和中国在各自革命之前, 富人和普通人之间存在着刚性壁垒。

(2, 下图): 消除阶层壁垒并且同时重新放置蓝色节点和绿色节点的位置以使它们彼此更加靠近。举例来说这就好比是人口流动过程农民从农村进入到城市中; 在这种情况下, 不仅两类节点间的连接数量更多了, 而且连接强度也更高了。以物理现象做类比的话, 这一过程就像是水和乙醇(酒精)的混合; 在混合物中水分子和乙醇分子重新建立了新的联接, 这一过程还导致大量的热能释放, 继而可将混合物的温度提高4.5度。

friends and “vous” which is for persons whom one does not know well. After the Revolution of 1789, the “vous” form was abolished. Thus, at least for a few years, a soldier would say “Comment vas-tu citoyen General?” [How are you doing citizen General?]. This language change reveals a will to eliminate the partitions existing between people.

英语中只会用“你(you)”来指代对方, 但法语却有二种形式: “你(tu)”用于朋友, “您(vous)”用于不太熟悉的人(这一点与中文很相近)。1789年大革命之后, “您(vous)”这种形式被废除了; 因此至少在此后若干年, 一位士兵就可以这样跟一位将军打招呼: “你好啊公民将军!” (“Comment vas-tu citoyen General?” [How are you doing citizen General?]) 语言的变化显示了消除人与人之间阶层分化的愿望。

The figure shows that this process can take two forms. In the first the spatial locations do not change which means that villagers have more rights but remain in their villages. In the second, the distances between the blue and green dots decreases. This corresponds to the case of rural flight that is to say when villagers move into cities. This case is similar to what happens when water and

alcohol molecules are mixed together in the same container. 消除分化的过程有两种形式(如图3.4所示): 第一种形式下节点的空间位置没有变化, 举例来说就好比农民拥有了更多的权利, 但仍然待在他们的村庄中; 第二种形式下两类节点之间的距离缩短了—这种情况与农村人口迁徙(村民移居到城市)相一致(类似于把水分子和酒精分子混合后放在同一个容器内)。

The case of the Cultural Revolution 文化大革命

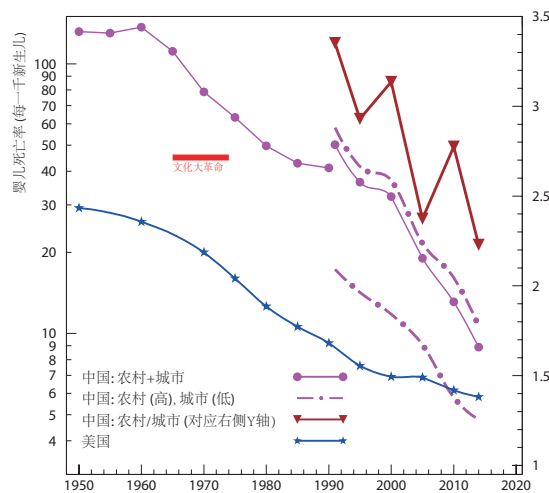


图 3.5: 中国和美国的婴儿死亡率。图中上下两条点虚线分别是中国农村和城市的数据; 考虑到中国的农村人口远远多于城市人口, 所以总人口曲线(图中的点实线)会非常接近于农村曲线就并不奇怪。农村与城市之间的重大差距过去存在现今依然: 从1950到1990年间我们没能获得农村与城市各自的单独数据, 但1990年以后的曲线清晰地表明农村地区的曲线与全国数据的曲线非常一致, 所以对于1990年之前的部分我们可以用全国数据近似代表当时的农村数据。从图中我们可以看到从1950到1965年间农村婴儿死亡率几乎没有下降。(数据来源: 中国1950-1990: Knoema网站(一个专业的数据库搜索引擎); 中国1990-2014: 《中国统计年鉴》; 美国1950-2014: 《国家人口统计报告》(National Vital Statistics Reports 65,4,30 June 2016))

Even today (2017) that is to say 50 years after the events, the Cultural Revolution remains a controversial and sensitive topic. There are several theories about why and how it was started. According to some it was a power struggle at the top (but then why did it last so long), according to others it was because Chairman Mao wanted to bridge the wide gap which still existed between cities and countryside, particularly in terms of health care¹⁴. Still others say that it was an attempt to get rid of the bureaucracy of the party elite. According to the following excerpt (4 April 2017 entitled “Donald Trump, Xi Jinping and

the Mao factor”) this seems to be the view held by the American TV network CNN.

The Cultural Revolution movement began as Mao called on the masses to topple a corrupt power structure dominated by party elites, but it ended up paralyzing China for a decade.

即便是在50年后的今天(2017年), 文化大革命依然是一个充满争议的敏感话题。关于这场革命为何发生以及如何开始存在着若干种不同的理论: 有些理论认为这是一场高层的权力斗争(但若是这一原因为何文革的持续时间如此之久?); 另一些人认为这是毛主席力图消除城市和乡村之间存在的巨大差距(尤其是在医疗保健方面⁶); 还有一些人认为这是为了摆脱党内精英的官僚作风。以下引文(来源于2017年4月4日刊发于CNN的文章《唐纳德·特朗普、习近平与毛因素(毛泽东的政治理念)》)似乎代表了美国有线电视新闻网CNN的观点:

文化大革命开始于毛泽东号召群众推翻党内精英主导的腐败权利结构, 但结果却导致中国10年的停滞。

- Did it really paralyze China for a decade?
那么文革是否真的使中国的发展停滞了10年呢?
 - It is true that, as shown by the graph, the GDP of China fell in 1967 and 1968 but from 1969 to 1971 it grew at an average annual rate of 14.4%, quite a remarkable performance for a supposedly disorganized and paralyzed country. On average from 1966 to 1973 the GDP grew at an annual rate of 7.0%.
中国的GDP在1967和1968年确实出现了下降(如图3.6显示), 但1969-1971年间, GDP年平均增长率仍保持在14.4%左右, 在1966-1973年间的年均增长率为7.0%; 这样的表现对于一个“混乱无序”、“几乎停摆”的国家来讲应该说是相当出色的。
 - One may also recall that China exploded its first hydrogen bomb on 17 June 1967, that is to say at the height of the Cultural Revolution, and launched its first satellite on 24 April 1970.
中国第一颗氢弹爆炸成功是在1967年6月17日, 当时正处于文化大革命的高潮时期; 1970年4月24日发射第一颗卫星时也是处于文革期间。
 - In short, the claim about the chaos brought about by the Cultural Revolution seems somewhat exaggerated.
简言之, 关于文化大革命所导致的种种混乱, 某些说法可能有被些许的夸大了。至少从GDP的增长和一些科技突破上来看, 情况似乎并不那么糟。

The Cultural Revolution had many aspects. Here we will be interested only in one of them namely the fact that students and intellectuals were sent to spend several months (sometimes a few years) in villages. Clearly this was an attempt to close the gap between cities and countryside where, at that time, 75% of the

⁶As doctors preferred to work and live in cities rather than in the countryside healthcare had improved very little there.
医生们更愿意在城市而不是农村中工作和生活, 因此农村的医疗保健进展十分缓慢。

Chinese population was still living.

文化大革命涉及诸多方面，这里我们暂且只关注其中一个侧面-那就是学生和知识分子上山下乡(他们在农村停留时间少则数月多则数年)；上山下乡运动的初衷之一便是为了消除城市和农村的差距⁷，毕竟当时中国人口的75%依然生活在农村。

If we had a method for measuring social cohesion before and after the Cultural Revolution it would be interesting to see if it increased or decreased. An indirect indicator is infant mortality, that is to say the death rate of babies between birth and the age of one year. This indicator is considered to reflect not only the quality of healthcare but also of living conditions. The graph shows that infant mortality decreased at a much faster rate during the Cultural Revolution than in the 17 years from 1950 until 1966. This suggests that the attempt to reduce the gap between countryside and cities was successful at least to some extent.

如果有方法可以衡量文革前后的社会凝聚力(social cohesion)，我们很期待去验证下它究竟是被消弱了还是增强了。衡量城乡差异的一个间接指标是婴儿死亡率(即刚出生至一周岁的婴儿未存活的比例)，它既可以反映医疗保健质量又可以反映生活条件水平。数据显示相比于1950-1966的17年中，文革期间(1966-1976)的婴儿死亡率下降得更加迅速(如图3.5所示)；这说明缩小城乡差距的努力至少在某种程度上是成功的。

Rural flight **农村人口迁徙(城镇化)**

Some 20 years after the beginning of the Cultural Revolution villagers started to move massively toward the cities. Clearly, this was a radical way to close the rural-urban divide. This migration created many large cities to the point that presently a city of 10 millions is considered in China as a medium-size city; this stands in contrast with the United States where New York is the only city with a population over 10 millions. Not surprisingly, together with the development of automobile circulation, such high population densities also led to pollution problems. It will be interesting to see whether in the coming decade this problem will be solved or not.

文化大革命结束10年后，农民开始大规模涌入城市。这显然是一条缩小城乡差距的根本途径(radical way)，这场移民潮也创造出了许多大城市(1000万人口在目前的中国只能算是中等城市，但在美国人口超过1000万的城市截止目前(2017年)都不超过10个)。同时伴随着包括汽车工业在内的各类工业飞速发展，如此高的人口密度也导致了許多污染问题。未来十年能否解决这一问题，让我们拭目以待。

⁷上山下乡并非始自文化大革命，它从1950年代便被倡导，至1960年代展开。发动知青到农村去，理论上是为消灭“三大差别”(即工农差别、城乡差别、体力与脑力劳动差别)。

3.2.5 Fast economic development 经济飞速发展

Fig. 3.6 shows that in the 67 years between 1950 and 2016 the real (i.e. adjusted for inflation) GDP of China was multiplied by 100 which corresponds to an average annual rate of $r = \exp(\ln 100/67) - 1 = 7.3\%$. This chart also shows a remarkable continuity between the pre- and post-opening era. It can be observed that for all its turmoil the Cultural Revolution had in fact little influence on the economy except in 1967–1968.

中国的实际GDP(real GDP)⁸在1950-2016的67年间增长了100倍(见图3.6), 年平均增长率为 $r = \exp(\ln 100/67) - 1 = 7.3\%$ 。图3.6还显示了改革开放前后实际GDP增长的显著连续性。从图中可以看到, 尽管文革造成了诸多混乱局面, 但除了1967-1968年间, 文化大革命实际上对经济的影响并不大。

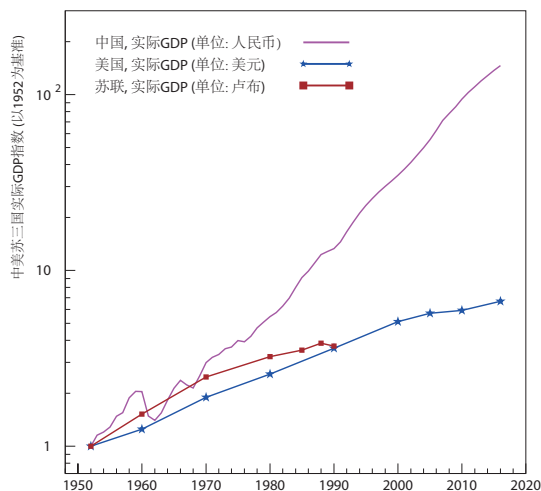


图 3.6: 中国、美国和苏联的实际GDP(real GDP)。为方便比较实际GDP的增长率, 三条曲线均以1952年为起点, 也就是将1952年实际GDP总值当作起始值(设其为1), 用后面年份的实际GDP数据除以1952年的数据就可以得到各年的增长率指数。1960-1961年实际GDP迅速下降是由于“大跃进”的失败以及部分省份的粮食短缺; 1967-1968年间的再次下降大概确是文化大革命的结果(年均减少率为4.9%); 但在1969-1971年间又以每年14.4%的速度增长。而苏联的GDP自1991年之后急剧下降, 尽管他们有美国顾问的建议作为参考支持(有种理论认为或许正是因为听从了那些建议才使苏联落得如此境地)。(资料来源: 中国: 互联网网站“中国力Chinability”; 美国: 圣路易斯联邦储备银行(Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis); USSR: (Firth et al. 1998))

⁸根据历史通货膨胀率校正计算后所得的“国内生产总值(GDP, Gross Domestic Product) 被称作实际GDP(real GDP), 其简易的计算方法为: $real\ GDP_x = \frac{GDP_x}{CPI_x/CPI_0}$, 其中 CPI_x (Consumer Price Index) 是 x 年时的消费价格指数”, CPI_0 则是作为比较基准的年份的消费价格指数; 例如图3.6中的基准 CPI_0 值就是 CPI_{1952} (也就是1952年时CPI的数值)。

The growth record of the USSR may come as a surprise. This is because most often the Soviet GDP growth is estimated in dollars and it turns out that from 1950 to 1990 the official exchange rate of the Soviet ruble was multiplied by 6.6. In 1950 the rate was 4 rubles per dollar whereas in 1988 it was 0.58 ruble per dollar. As the ruble was not a convertible currency any exchange rate, whether official or unofficial, was artificial and meaningless. If the graphs expressed in dollars were based on the official rate, for the period 1952-1990 instead of being multiplied by 4 the GDP would be multiplied by $4 \times 6.6 = 26$. Naturally none of the dollar curves that one can find on the Internet shows such an increase. Most of them display a GDP multiplied by a factor 2.5. This shows that such curves were based on black market estimates of the exchange rate. Such estimates are of course highly uncertain. According to one account (Trefilov 2015) in 1988 when the official rate was 0.58 ruble per dollar the black market rate was 33 rubles per dollar, i.e. 57 times more. When expressed in rubles (as in Fig. 2.5) the average annual growth rate of the Soviet GDP was 3.4%.

如果图3.6使用基于官方汇率所得的美元为单位, 那么苏联在1952-1990年间的GDP就不是增长了4倍而是 $4 \times 6.6 = 26$ 倍⁹; 但这显然不是真实情况, 我们无法找到任何支持这一结论的美元对卢布汇率曲线。最近的一项研究(Trefilov 2015)显示1988年的官方汇率是1美元兑换0.58个卢布, 而黑市汇率为1美元兑换33卢布(是官方汇率的57倍)。所以如果以卢布为单位, 那么苏联GDP的年平均增长率就只有3.4%(如图3.6所示)。

3.2.6 Social activation in the armed forces 有效的武装力量

In any revolution or indeed in any major social movement, armed forces play an essential role. If the insurgents cannot set up effective armed forces they will be defeated and their movement will be crushed. One could find many cases illustrating this point. Let us mention two.

对于任何一场革命或重大的社会运动, 武装力量往往都扮演着重要角色。如果革命者(反叛者)无法组织起有效的军事力量使之足够强大、并足够相信革命的正义性, 革命往往都会以失败告终。历史上有很多或成功或失败的例子:

- The Taiping movement lasted from 1850 to 1864. Begun in the south of China it sought the conversion of the Chinese people to the Taiping's version of Christianity, the overthrow of the ruling Manchus, and a wholesale transformation and reformation of the state. Eventually the western powers helped the Imperial government to defeat it. The fact that the death toll was estimated to be of the order of 30 million (10% of the population of China) shows that it was a large scale movement.

太平天国运动从1850年一直持续到了1864年。这场兴起于中国南方的运动推翻满族人的统治、将中国人民转变成太平天国版的基督教徒、在全中国实现全面转型和变革。最终在西方列强的帮助下, 清政府镇压了这

⁹官方数据显示1950-1990年间苏联卢布的官方汇率增长了6.6倍(1950年1美元可兑换4个卢布, 而1988年1美元只能兑换0.58卢布)。但由于卢布并非可自由兑换的货币, 所以无论是官方的还是非官方的任何汇率, 都是人为制造进而没有意义的汇率。

场运动。太平天国运动是中国历史上规模最大的农民起义，整个运动中的死亡人数估计达到了3000万(占当时中国人口的10%)。

- After the Revolution of 1917 in Russia, the western powers and Japan sent expeditionary forces to Russia to aid the anti-revolutionary white forces. According to the Wikipedia article entitled “Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War”, even the newly founded “Republic of China” sent 2,300 troops to Russia. Other countries sent larger numbers. Japan sent 70,000, Czechoslovakia sent 50,000, Greece sent 23,000 and the US sent 13,000. The US force comprised two parts: one numbering 5,000 and called the “American North Russia Expeditionary Force” was sent to the port of Arkhangelsk in north-west Russia, while the other numbering 8,000 and called the “American Expeditionary Force Siberia” was shipped to Vladivostok from the Philippines. Altogether the Allied forces numbered some 140,000. Clearly, had the Russian Red Army not been organized in an effective way, the Revolution would have been crushed in the same way as the Taiping rebellion.

西方列强和日本在俄国红军1917年革命之后派出大批远征军到俄国支援白军¹⁰，即使是新成立的“中华民国”也派出了2300人的军队到俄国；其他国家的派出规模更大：日本派出了7万人，捷克斯洛伐克派出5万人，希腊派出2.3万人，美国派出1.3万人¹¹。盟军共计约有14万人参战(详见维基百科文章《盟军介入俄国内战(Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War)》)。所以如果不是俄国红军的有效动员与组织，俄国革命就会像太平天国运动一样以同样的方式被粉碎。

- After the end of the war against Japan some 100,000 US troops were sent to China, supposedly to move the Japanese soldiers back to Japan. In fact, many Japanese troops sided with the Kuomintang against the Communists and were not moved to Japan until several months later. After 1945 US troops continued to train, arm and support KMT divisions as they had started to do during the war 15 . To many, the rapid collapse of KMT troops after 1947 came as a surprise. However, if one considers the situation of the soldiers in the Red Army (which was renamed “People’s Liberation Army” or PLA in 1945) and in the KMT army respectively, this outcome becomes more understandable. The contrast indeed was quite dramatic. KMT troops were commonly inducted by force, the funds destined to support them were often embezzled by corrupt officers. On the contrary, in the Red Army the officers shared the same food and living conditions as the soldiers. As a result, prior or during battle, whole KMT divisions changed side.

抗日战争结束以后，美国派出约10万人的军队到中国来押送日军士兵

¹⁰白军是指1918年至1920年年间在俄国内战中对抗苏俄工农红军的军队，主要由支持沙皇的保皇党和自由主义者等反布尔什维克势力组成。他们是支持过去政府的，因此俄国红军在最初是处于反叛军的对位。

¹¹美国派出的军队由两部分组成：“美国北俄远征军”(American North Russia Expeditionary Force, 共5000人)被派到俄国西北部的阿尔汉格尔斯克港(Arkhangelsk)；“美国远征军西伯利亚”(American Expeditionary Force Siberia, 共8000人)则是从菲律宾运到海参崴。

回日本。但实际上许多日本部队在投降之后转而帮助国民党来反对共产党，他们直到数月之后才被送回日本。美军在1945年以后仍然延续着二战期间的做法—继续训练、武装并支持国民党军队¹²。对于很多人来说，1947年以后国民党军队的迅速溃败来得有点突然，然而如果考虑红军(1945年更名为“人民解放军”，简称PLA)和国民党军队中各自士兵的处境，这个结局也就不难理解了。两方当时的对比确实相当鲜明：国民党军队普遍是被武力强征来的，而拨给军队的经费又常常被腐败官员所挪用；与此相反，红军军官与士兵同吃同住。而这样的结果就是在战斗打响前或战斗期间，国民党士兵纷纷倒戈。

In support of the claim that in the 1940s the PLA was really an army of a new kind one can mention the testimony given by US personnel in the box below.

下面方框内由美军人员提供的证词(testimony)可以部分证明人民解放军在1940年已然是一支新型军队这一说法：

Jan 31, 1949: US testimony in the wake of the occupation of Tientsin by Communist troops. We were favorably impressed by the conduct of the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army. They refused gifts of any sort, the only thing they would accept being hot water or tea. In houses they did occupy they frequently offered to share their meager rations with their hosts particularly with the children. They patrolled the city protecting property. Along the business street they placed guards over stores whose windows had been shattered. The "front line" troops have largely moved on and have been replaced by troops which are less "elite", but even the present troops are behaving admirably. About one week after the liberation of the city it became possible to send mail to other cities in the liberated area but not to cities in the KMT area. (Source: Records of the US Department of State relating to the Internal Affairs of Korea, microfilm, reel 8, available at the "National Library of China".)

1949年1月31日：共产党占领天津后的美军证词。人民解放军官兵的行为给我们留下了很好的印象：他们除了热水或茶水外拒绝任何礼物；他们经常主动把自己少得可怜的口粮分给自己驻家的户主，尤其是孩子们。他们在市区巡逻，保护公民财产。在商业街上，他们为那些窗户被打碎的商店设置了警卫。虽然大部分“前线”部队已经被不那么“精英”的部队替换了下来，但眼前这些军人的行为同样令人钦佩。城市解放大约一周后就可以向解放区其他城市发送信件了，但还不能向国民党占领区的城市寄信。(资料来源：美国国务院韩国内部事务记录，微型胶卷，第8卷，收藏于“中国国家图书馆”。)

One may wonder why this account about the liberation of Tientsin was in a file about Korea. It is because three members of the "Economic Cooperation Administration" in Tientsin (ECA, a US government agency set up in 1948 to administer the Marshall Plan) arrived in Seoul on 22 March 1949. This is an interesting precision because it shows that when they

¹²更多细节详见参考文献(Roehner 2016c)。

released their account the men were no longer in China. In other words, it can be completely excluded that they published these good words to gain the favor of the PLA commander. This testimony is all the more remarkable when one realizes that the French revolutionary armies which spread the gospel of the citizens' rights throughout Europe did not always behave in a way in accordance with their creed.

读者可能会疑惑，为什么关于天津解放的记录会出现在关于韩国(Korea)的资料里。这是因为天津“经济合作管理局”(ECA，成立于1948年的美国机构，旨在管理马歇尔计划)的三位成员在1949年3月22日抵达首尔；这一日期表明当他们发布这份记录的时候，这三人已经不在中国了，也就是说完全可以排除他们说这些好话是为了获得人民解放军领导人的帮助。当读者意识到向整个欧洲传播公民权利的法国革命军的行为与其信条其实并不总是一致时，这份证词便尤其引人注目。

3.3 Comparison with other episodes of national activation 国家激活的时期比较

In this section we describe some aspects of episodes of national activation in other countries. We will not attempt a systematic comparison. Our objective is rather to emphasize the similarities.

本节将讨论其他国家激活过程中的某些方面，我们并不试图去进行系统性的对比，主要目标是突出相似性。

3.3.1 Spreading a message 广泛的信仰认同和增长的群众基础

As an illustration of the message spread by the French Revolution we mention some of the articles of the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen” adopted in August 1789 by the National Constituent Assembly. · Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. (Article 1) · The principle of any sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation. No body, no individual can exert authority which does not emanate expressly from it. (Article 3) · The citizens are equally admissible to all public dignities, places, and employments, according to their capacity and without distinction other than that of their virtues and of their talents. (Article 6) These statements marked a sharp change with respect to the situation prevailing hitherto. · Previously, the son of a noble man inherited his status. Thanks to it he could get access to positions, particularly in the army and navy, to which common citizens were not entitled. · Previously the principle of all sovereignty did not reside in the Nation but in the person of the king.

为了说明法国大革命所传播的信仰，我们摘录了1789年8月全国制宪会议通过的《人权与公民权利宣言》中的一些条款：

- 在权利方面，人们生来是而且始终是自由平等的。(第一条)



图 3.7: 《人权与公民权利宣言》(简称《人权宣言》)。在这幅由法国画家(Jean-Jacques-Francois Le Barbier)绘制的作品中我们可以看到三样非常有趣的东西: (1)顶部的辐射三角形里面有一只驱散乌云的眼睛, 它象征理智的统治。这一共济会符号还出现在1美元面额的钞票上“我们相信上帝”(“In God we trust”)的格言旁。(2)左手边的女士象征着挣脱锁链的法国人民。(3)中间的红帽子(“自由帽”)是一个象征自由的古老符号。(资料来源: 维基百科文章《人权与公民权利宣言》)

- 整个主权的本原, 主要是寄托于国民。任何团体、任何个人都不得行使主权所未明白授予的权力。(第三条)
- 在法律面前, 所有的公民都是平等的, 故他们都能平等地按其能力担任一切官职、公共职位和职务, 除德行和才能上的差别外不得有其他差别。(第六条)

这些声明标志着自那时之后普遍局势上的急剧转变:

- 过去, 贵族的儿子可以继承他的社会地位。通过这个地位他可以获得一些职务, 尤其是在陆军或海军, 而普通民众却没有这个资格。
- 过去, 所有主权的本原都不属于国家, 而是属于手握王权的人。

At that time the only republic in existence in Europe was Switzerland. Thus, by adopting such a declaration and trying to spread its principles to neighboring countries, France exposed itself to the hostility of all European kingdoms. 当时欧洲唯一的共和国是瑞士, 因此法国在采纳这一宣言并试图将这一理念传播到邻国后, 遭到了欧洲所有君主制王国的敌视和抵制。

3.3.2 Recurrent appearances of the Liberty Cap 自由帽的反复出现

Incidentally, the case of the Liberty Cap in Fig. 3.7 illustrates the fact that the elements used in historical events have a life of their own whose time scale much exceeds the human life span. After being worn by freed slaves in antiquity, the Liberty Cap appeared in several episodes of the history of France. Here are a few examples.

图3.7中自由帽的反复出现说明历史事件中的元素往往有其自身的生命周期(并且往往要比人类的寿命长很多); 自从古代的自由奴隶佩戴之后, 自由帽就在法国历史的若干个时期中曾多次出现:

- On 23 February 1358 an armed fraction of the Parisian population invaded the “Palais de la Cité” which was the residence of the kings of France until the 14th century. Their leader, Etienne Marcel, then asked Charles V to wear a red and blue Liberty Cap (Wikipedia article in French entitled “Charles V”).

巴黎民众的一支武装力量在1358年2月23日攻入了西岱宫(Palais de la Cité)—14世纪之前法国国王一直居住在那里。民众领袖马塞尔(Etienne Marcel)要求查理五世佩戴一顶红蓝两色的自由帽(详见法语版维基百科文章《查理五世》)。

- The Liberty Cap was seen again in an anti-fiscal revolt in 1675, the so-called “Révolte des bonnets rouges”.

在1675年的反税收起义中自由帽再次出现, 当时被称作“起义的红帽子”。

- In June 1792, in a repetition of the scenario of 1358, the Parisian population invaded the King’s palace and asked Louis XVI to wear the Liberty Cap.

1792年1月, 1358年的场景再次上演, 巴黎民众攻入国王的宫殿, 要求路易十六戴上自由帽。

- The bottom panel of Fig. 2.7 shows that the Liberty Cap was used in April 2017 in a political demonstration in support of a candidate (i.e. Jean-Luc Mélançon) in the Presidential election.

从图3.7的底部可以看到, 在2017年4月总统大选中, 自由帽被用来表示对候选人让-吕克·梅朗雄(Jean-Luc Mélançon)的政治支持。