

Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change
Series III, Asia, Volume 21

Cultural Impact on International Relations

Chinese Philosophical Studies, XX

Edited by
Yu Xintian

The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy

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620 Michigan Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20064

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Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication

Cultural impact on international relations / edited by Yu Xintian.

p.cm. — (Cultural heritage and contemporary change . Series III. Asia, vol. 20)

Includes bibliographies and index.

1. China—Foreign relations. 2. International relations and cultures—China. 3. International relations and culture. I. Yu, Xintian. II. Series. III Series: Cultural heritage and contemporary change. Series III, Asia ; v. 20.

JZ1739.C85 2002

303.48'2—dc21

2002154022

CIP

ISBN 1-56518-176-X (pbk.)

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Introduction

George F. McLean

In venturing into a new environment, such as in learning to swim, all is enticing but also different and potentially threatening. For one has only the old ways of moving on land to call upon; yet holding to their usage can impede progress and even threaten one's safety and that of others. In time, one begins to understand better the nature of the new environment, and to apply one's personal strengths in a more adapted manner. Eventually, one may even be able to help others to develop their own ways of responding to the special challenges they too experience in this new environment.

There is some analogy here to the recent experience of China. After centuries of closure, Deng Xiaoping suddenly set an "open door" policy. From then on the issue has been engagement, rather than isolation. Here, Part I reflects the effort to understand the cultural dimensions of this new engagement.

As in 1919 many have held that either Asia must profoundly cease being Asiatic and begin to mirror the West, or it would simply fade under international engagement. Thus, when the great Dragon began to move in the 80s it did so warily and defensively, preoccupied with not losing its identity as it looked for appropriate modes of engagement. Deng gave explicit voice to these concerns, which are elaborated in Part II.

Some factors however began to suggest that the view of industrialization as a Western phenomenon might be flawed. The little Asian dragons began to flourish. What is more Japan, though it had the worst geographic location and effectively no natural resources, precisely by dint of its human resources and in terms of its own culture began to outstrip the Western world at its own industrial, automotive and electronics game. Soon, tossing off its fears, the great Dragon broke into dance: the spectacular annual 28 percent increase in exports in the earlier part of the new century reflected 30 percent of its production and 10.70 percent of the commerce of the world.

Part III analyses the potential of culture for international relations, not only of China but of the world. If culture is a human creation, then the emergence of non-Western peoples in the new global arena should not only add new products, but transform world structures and open new potentials for peace and progress.

Of course, the contrary is also possible. Cultural changes can be threatening and remnants of outmoded cold war instincts can be expected to interfere. Part IV reviews the spectrum of new threats, to which it may be too soon to expect answers. But the positive possibilities suggested in Part III promise to evoke the new thinking required.

Let us look now in greater detail at the structure of this axial volume. It begins with the prologue by the Yu Xintian, past Vice Director of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and now Director of the Shanghai Institute of International Relations, traditionally the cosmopolitan center of China. Facing her new ship into the wind, she takes up the already classical work of Samuel Huntington on the clash of civilizations and neatly distinguishes between its theory and its policy import.

Huntington's views are incorrect in theory. Differences in culture and religion may often be the fuse for conflict, but the scramble for interests in terms of territory, wealth, resources and power is the main reason. Furthermore, there are not only conflict and confrontation, but also exchange and fusion between different cultures. The Islamic culture he regards as a great scourge

hung like a bright moon in the dark sky during the Middle Ages, before the rising of the sun of the Renaissance. Chinese culture spread to the West and became the engine of the Enlightenment. Meanwhile, religions such as Christianity, Islam and Hinduism have similar views on humankind, the environment, the importance of society and family, the significance of spiritual guidance and the objectives of life. Cultures can share values and different cultures can temper intersecting interests and aspirations.

All this has disappeared in Huntington's vision. If in theory his views are incomplete and incorrect, politically they are indeed sensitive and insightful. Western countries took the lead in soft power while dominating the world with hard power. The rise of East Asian countries made the West feel severely the challenge of different cultures for the first time. Western superiority in soft power is declining as East Asian ideologies, cultures, religious beliefs and value systems pour onto the international arena. They pay no attention to Western centralism, but rather affirm their own presence with a particular political culture. This is the real reason for Huntington's heavyheartedness.

Yu Xintian weaves together in an expert manner: history, theory and practice; hard and soft power; economics and culture; the more abstract and universalizable systems theories and the essentially unique domains of culture as the realm of creative freedom; and the lessons learned by the ex-colonial peoples. It is the drama of this work – and of our times – that as the West attempts to share its closed systems, convinced that if it is right for the West it must be right for all, other parts of the world call for a more open world. For Yu Xintian cultural identities need not be sacrificed for globalization, but instead can enrich and render it more humane and more peaceful.

To grasp the challenge which the issue of culture presents to China as it enters more actively into international relations one needs to return to 1919. Then, in the passion to enter into the modern world Confucius was dismissed in order to make way for “the Two Masters”: Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy. The venerable cultural roots of the Chinese people were intentionally uprooted. However, the progression of E. Kant's three *Critiques* suggests an opposite path, namely, that if science (the first critique) is to be complemented by freedom (the second critique), then aesthetics (the third critique) is needed to open the space in which the two can proceed together. In other words, rather than being expelled, Confucius and his aesthetic sense of harmony is needed as the gracious host to enable Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy to work together for China.

In Part I, “Culture: A New Dimension of International Relations,” Professors Zhu Majie and Guo Jiemin undertake the difficult task of breaking into the newly emerging cultural dimension. In Chapter I Zhu Majie begins with the positivist definitions of culture by anthropologists from early in the last century in terms of the objects a people produces. He moves correctly beyond that to show that culture must be rather about values and collects a number of notions, such as that of “navigator,” in order to suggest the role of cultures in international relations. It is possible, of course, to think of the new attention to culture as some kind of plot by the West in order to justify its hegemony, but in the end this cannot be successful.

Though cultural conflicts are inevitable judging from the contradictory interactions where different civilizations intersect, the extension of these conflicts is limited. Culture is an invisible force and its impacts on international relations must be exerted through the visible bodies of politics, economy, military and so on. But as the globalization of the world economy develops the interaction of national interests also increases, and so does the tendency toward interdependence among nations. One of the cases in point is the financial crisis in 1997 in Southeast Asia, rapidly affecting Asia and the world.

Culture is the sum of the material and spiritual wealth generated by the historical activities of human society. The most profound source of the cultural force lies in the accumulation of the evolutionary process of the mode of social production. The conflicts and integration of different cultures are constrained by this evolution. Thus, in economic globalization conflicts caused by the confluence of different cultures must be curbed and the advancement of common interests must promote an all-inclusiveness among different cultures.

In sum, the ethical and religious commitments of a people are too complex and penetrating to be understood in terms of objects from without, and in any case, China's principal concern is peace.

For Chapter II Zhu Majie follows with a detailed analysis of the concept of soft power in international relations, tracing the term from Joseph Nye. This is the proper realm of culture in the relations between nations.

Guo Jiemin in Chapter III shows how international relations in the new world situation can no longer be understood or navigated only in terms of the narrow economic self-interested concerns for profit or political concerns for power. Rather there is need to take account of values and cultures. As these are essentially differentiated between peoples, this entails a trend toward pluralism. Hence the new search must be for complementarity and, more deeply for the basis of cooperation between cultures.

There remains, however, a strong allergic reaction to the insistent calls from the West to accept universal standards, which are read as a plot to manipulate and suppress the rest of the world. This feeling is so strong and deep – “unsufferable” it is called – that it should be examined in detail; that is the task of the Part II.

Part II, “Cautions and Concerns,” attempts to sound out the concerns regarding relations between cultures. It consists of two studies by Zhu Majie. The first studies the thought of Deng Xiaoping; the second is on Western civilization. Together they point up a number of inherent difficulties that confront China in its desire to implement its open door policy.

The first is the radically defining character of its colonial past. The utter sense of impotence at the commercial incursions from the West, the military defeat at sea of the Great Northern Fleet and then on land by the Japanese army generated a decisive loss of face that is relived by every school child. Reactions alternate between instinctive protectiveness and overreaction at any slight, real or perceived. Others cannot hope to understand this experience, but need to avoid anything that could evoke these deep sensibilities. From this come the issues of sovereignty and its correlate, non-intervention. These take on a symbolic importance, rooted equally deeply in the national and personal psyche. No leader can appear to compromise on any related matter, yet all can somehow be related thereto under some heading. How then is an open door policy to be implemented?

The second is the view that Western culture, like all cultures according to Huntington, is religiously rooted. Unfortunately, in China this is known largely from fundamentalist sources which discount reason and reinforce the Marxist view of religion as irrational, and fail to allow for other cultural modes of life. On this basis, Western attitudes are seen as arbitrary and arrogant impositions of alien views upon the identity and sovereignty of China.

This impedes the ability to read Western efforts at human rights and humanitarian intervention as, at least in some ways, well intentioned, and thus a field of potential cooperation. Here the West, working with an abstractive and objectivist mindset, concerned only with the universal at one end and the individual at the other, has its own limitations. As a result, it takes any concern for distinctive cultural factors as excuses and evasions of individual human rights.

Chinese culture, in turn, has a somewhat contrasting emphasis inasmuch as it has greater concern for the community. This has been reinforced by decades of Marxist theory and focuses

instinctively upon stability (unfeliculously referred to as “democratic dictatorship”). The quantity of persons protected can be converted only with difficulty into the concerns for the quality of life also predicted by Marx. At any rate, there appears to be less sympathy for de Toqueville’s or the Federalist’s notion that protecting and promoting individual initiative is the key to the progress of a nation, rather than to simply selfish and arrogant self-interest.

As a result, the recognition of the importance of culture or soft power, which emerged in Part I, could become hidden under the old dictum that politics is war by another name. All could be seen as an issue of domination, so that human rights issues would be perceived as a cover for cultural and economic imperialism. Deep psychological passions against foreign aggression lurk always in the shadows and could be evoked by the twist or any phrase.

Thus, the basic Chinese yearnings for peace and harmony are endangered. Yet the power of these cultural resources persists. If they can be summoned and applied effectively they promise to enable China to play a leading, indeed salvific, role in international affairs. This is precisely the burden of the next Part.

Part III, “Culture: How to Succeed in International Relations,” with chapters by Yu Xintian and Guo Jiemin, brings the argument of this volume to its climax. Yu Xintian takes up the mandate of Deng Xiaoping to develop an open door policy. She recognizes the many dangers and difficulties amply developed by Deng himself and fully elaborated in the preceding chapters. She realizes that the international system as designed at the end of WWII -- whether the economic structures elaborated at Bretton Woods or the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights -- are heavily Western in character.

Indeed, it could not have been otherwise. Immediately following World War II it was most urgent to begin rebuilding the world; yet at the time Africa and South and Southeast Asia were colonies, while East Asia was in the throes of civil war. That the foundational ideas of the new international structures were Western was not a plot against the rest of the world, but the best ideas available had to come from the only culture engaged. Indeed, before long they would inexorably dismantle the colonial empires and begin the construction of a new era.

Deng correctly assessed the dilemma of China: not to open to this new era would be to condemn his people to backwardness and penury that would generate social chaos, yet to open meant to face the challenges well delineated by Zhu Majie in Part II. There was no choice but to go forward, but to do so would be to confront great dangers and hence require both courage and creativity.

Surveying the situation Yu Xintian sees that the only way China can legitimately move ahead is to engage in transforming the world system in order to make room for the East and for developing countries. This is to develop a global culture at the point at which in information, economics and politics it could no longer remain bipolar and confrontational, much less unipolar and imperial. She does not propose to do this by ideas alone. As China enters the WTO the productive power of its more than 20 percent of the world population, working together as a cohesive body, can have immense leverage. Nevertheless, of itself this economic power could still support competition in terms of the old rules made by and for the West.

Instead, the approach of Yu Xintian echoes the classical experience of China in absorbing Buddhism. In his *Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity and Chinese Culture*, Professor Tang Yejie, son of the classical Buddhist scholar, asks how Buddhism as a religion/philosophy/culture of India could be absorbed into China. His answer points to the inherent complementarity of Buddhism to the particular needs of Chinese culture at that time. This suggests that one should

look for the cultural elements in the Chinese experience which can help to improve international, and especially economic, exchange.

These are, first, on the basis of its own sad experience with colonial domination, to proceed not by force but rather by patient consensus building. Second, China can speak for the concerns of the developing countries of the world. Third, and most fundamentally, from its own Confucian tradition of harmony and proportion, it can be a notably creative force in shaping the structures of the global future. This is not to propose a return to the traditional culture of the past, but to draw creatively on the resources of the Chinese cultural tradition in response to the needs of the new world order.

Specifically, noting the individualism and universalism of the West, Yu Xintian sees not only the weak points identified in Part II, but especially the need for the addition of a more adaptive, aesthetic and community based perspective for a world culture in a newly global age. In this the task is less that of developing China or Africa as an offshoot of the West, that would amount to a new colonization from top down. Instead, the more challenging task is to transform and develop the cultures of the many peoples, each with its own genius, in a cumulative and mutually enriching process from the roots upward. Guo Jiemin illustrates this by the case of Japan whose cultural particularity has enabled it to engage the world and claim its place by doing some things better than other peoples.

Part IV, “Culture and Contemporary Conflicts in International Relations,” begins to face the major challenges for a new pluralist world. Does the end of a bipolar world under constant nuclear threat mean the unleashing of innumerable suppressed forces of conflict and revenge? Almost as a test case this Part does not shrink from facing the concrete difficulties in the present Islamic world.

The chapter by Li Weijian on Islam demonstrates a masterful command of the materials. He recognizes the centrality of religion for culture, echoing Huntington’s recognition that all (except one) of the major civilizations are rooted in a religion. Moreover, he notes that over the ages the continued efforts at Islamic reform have been primarily inward, rather than outward attacks on others.

In a brilliant passage he notes his confidence in the rich wisdom of this civilizations.

Today’s Islamic society is in a period of change, seeking its own cultural features. This is a long process in which Islamic culture cannot avoid colliding with Western culture. Overall, however, it surely will achieve the best integration of its national culture with those of other nations, including Western culture. The West should be fully aware of this. It should be noted that any civilization that can have a long and sustained development in the world is sure to contain at its core a culture and quality which manifests the maturity of human reason.

When related to Li Weijian’s earlier statement that religion is unreasonable it begins to emerge that there must be different usages the term ‘reason’ and different levels. If so, exploring the religious component of the maturation of reason in Chinese, Islamic and other cultures will be essential for the future task.

This is the more true when Li Weijian points out that, though the peoples are closely related genetically, the Arab and Israeli conflict shows that culture is not received automatically, but is always shaped by human choices.

The absorption, exploitation and transformation of existing cultures have been conducted in the manner of the idiosyncratic culture of the receiving nation. There is a mechanism of cultural

choice: the formation of the new culture was a result of cultural choice by the receiving nation as the subject of the choice. It should not be deemed as a simple compound of the received cultures; rather, they were localized and nationalized.

Though we are borne along by our culture, and culture itself is the cumulative heritage of the exercise of freedom by our forebears, it remains ours to shape and apply with our own creative freedom.

Just how complex these matters can be is indicated by Quan Zonggi in his description of the deep complexities of the nations of Central Asia. This illustrates the disruptions caused by decades of decision-making by Moscow which ignored or even attempted to suppress local cultures and relationships in favour of a dominant universalist ideology. This again points to the importance of Islam as an identity which surpasses nationality and calls above all for unity and justice.

In her Epilogue, Yu Xintian recaps some of the key themes in this work. Together they constitute an impressive response to the challenge entailed in China's entry into the WTO. She provides a plan for the opening of China that is neither reaction against, nor conformity to, alien pressures, but a creative engagement that can contribute to shaping the character of life for all in the global era now dawning.

Prologue

The Significance of Research in East Asian Culture

Yu Xintian

The Sources of Human Spiritual Rejuvenation

In inspecting international issues, there are at least three layers of thinking: state, region and world. A region generally is referred to as a continuous area of the world having definable characteristics, but not always fixed boundaries like a state. A region often has a large enough space to become an important component of a continent. Moreover, a region is not only a simple matter of space, but also a culture with a psychological identity born in a complicated and interrelated historical process. East Asian culture is just such a region.

The triumphal progress of modernization in East Asia (including Southeast Asia) is one of the most exciting phenomena following WWII. If Japan's prosperity is a special case of development of non-Western countries and the relatively small scale of the achievements of Asian "four dragons" limits their universal significance, the tide of China, ASEAN and Indo-Chinese countries doing their utmost to catch up has compelled people to recognize afresh the East Asian miracle. The emergence of East Asia since 1990 has broadened people's field of vision and provided a foundation for looking forward to the prospect of a newly industrialized East Asian economic-cultural circle.

Traced to its source, there existed a broad Chinese civilized circle in history. One of its outstanding characteristics was the learning and identification of Chinese culture. The Chinese cultural circle covered China, Japan, Vietnam and Korea. Buddhism, remade with Chinese culture, spread to Japan, Korea, Vietnam and Southeast Asia. The painting, medicine, architecture, music and persons influenced by the religion bore the strong imprint of Chinese culture. Confucianism took root in the lifestyle, ethics and political system of Japan, Korea and Vietnam, which were very close to the core of China's "cultural circle".

"The Silk Road in the Sea" from China to Southeast Asia took shape as early as the 4th and 5th centuries. During the Tang and Song dynasties, the ancestors of the Persians and Arabs also made use of these sea routes to go to Guangzhou Prefecture, Quanzhou and Hangzhou for missionary work and business. The first emperor of the Yuan Dynasty was regarded as the originator of China's "marine policy". Beyond two expeditions to Japan (in 1274 and 1281), he sent his "navy" on a punitive expedition to ancient Vietnam and sent 10,000 naval troops to Java (in 1292).

However, as these wanton military ventures did not achieve far-reaching political, economic and cultural results, the first and third emperors of the Ming Dynasty drew the historical lessons and developed trade and friendly relations with Southeast Asia and the West on a large scale. The seeds of capitalism in China then grew sturdily. China's foreign trade was booming on an unprecedented scale after Zheng who went to the West seven times. His tracks were left in the present Cambodia, Thailand, Sumatera, Brunei, Java, Malaya, Kalimantan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, India and the eastern seacoast of Africa.

In the conditions of the times, contacts with Southeast Asia were very frequent, while those with remote countries were occasional. China set up trade strongholds and residential areas in Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines. In fact, Zheng He's records described the people of Chinese

origin settling down in Southeast Asia as constituting the local high society because of their higher cultural level and good management. Though the Ming Dynasty failed to spread “the system of rule by ceremony and propriety” to Southeast Asia, where Indian and Arab cultures were always influential, long-term coexistence and exchanges promoted cultural fusion.

Comparing typically Islamized Indonesian culture with Chinese culture, one finds many parallels. Indonesians believe that Allah created humankind through parents, so to believe in Allah one must respect and love parents and esteem teachers: one must “have a respect as great as a mountain and have a mind as open as a valley” for elders and betters. The Indonesian parliament advocates adopting resolutions through consultation; finding common ground as stressed in political institutions in East Asia. Indonesia promotes three principles: first, we are masters of society; second, we are duty-bound to protect our homes and defend our country; and third, frequent introspection into one’s faults will lead to knowing one’s deficiencies. In Chinese culture these have different approaches, but equally satisfactory results: “every ordinary person has responsibility for the rise and fall of China,” and “I daily examine myself on three points.” The Indonesian Government stipulates that during the period of construction, people are allowed the freedom of responsible speech. Though people have different interests, everyone must bear responsibility for the extensive state and social interests, and cannot impose their personal will on others. In foreign relations, Indonesia advocates “winning without fighting and overcoming the hard with the soft.” This is in harmony with high Chinese strategy.

Though Indonesia is an Islamic country, the principles it follows differ to a certain extent from those of the Arab countries in West Asia -- the core region of Islam -- but are similar to its neighboring Chinese cultural circle. Of course, not a few Southeast Asian nations devoutly believe in religion, while the religious element is relatively weak in Chinese culture; this is an obvious cultural difference. However, in Thailand where Buddhism occupies the leading position and in Malaysia and Indonesia dominated by Islam, the spiritual religious pursuit does not hinder people’s striving for improving the material conditions of this life. People cannot help calling to mind the Chinese cultural approach: “the planning lies with man, the outcome with heaven”.

East Asian culture is a gem of human thinking. According to the German philosopher, Karl Jaspers, in the axial period, that is between 800 BC and about 200 AD, Egypt, the two river valleys of the Tygris and the Euphrates, the West (Greece and Roman), and India and China all made the first spiritual leap on their own. Our various philosophies have originated since from that brilliant era. This proves humankind’s common origin and identity, not in the sense of biology, but rather of spirituality.

Western culture has made significant contributions to the world’s historical process, leading to drastic social changes with the scientific and technological revolution as the centerpiece. However, the technological era has caused difficult problems such as environmental pollution and cultural crisis, while bringing happiness to humankind. We must draw the tools for a response to new needs from our own ideological treasure house. Chinese and Indian cultures both will be beneficial in overcoming global threats.

From a longer historical perspective humankind after all will transcend the “animal circles” of war and be creative in a peaceful and unified environment, thus taking a second spiritual leap. Arnold Toynbee, a master in research on historical cultures, pointed out that “peace and unification . . . must center on the main shaft of geography and culture, and be constantly crystallized. I have a premonition of this main shaft in East Asia rather than in the U.S., Europe and the Soviet Union”.¹ East Asian culture with deep connotations and rich diversity is bound to play a catalytic role in reviving and renewing the spirit of humankind.

The Driving Force for Success in Economic Development

Researchers all over the world have tried to find the clue to the sustained and rapid economic development of East Asian countries and regions. One of the important reasons is their culture which is a time-honored and continuing topic of debate. During the period when Japan devoted major efforts to pushing forward its industrialization an Australian expert was disappointed after his investigation in Japan. He said that the Japanese were content with things as they were, had no concept of time and found it difficult to grasp Western modern technology and management. Since then the facts have contradicted his predictions. In the 1960s, most social scientists asserted that Confucianism was incompatible with modernization, so it was hard for East Asia to take off economically. Confucianism lays stress on harmony and coordination, thinks highly of the collective and stability, does not seek change, attaches importance to humanism rather than to science and technology, and thus cannot be counted on to guide modernization. But after the 1970s, important changes took place. The economic success of “Asian four dragons” was looked upon with increased respect. The Confucian values, which had been criticized in the past, were universally recognized as the inherent driving force for this new growth.

Weber saw the spirit of Western capitalism embodied in individualism, market competition and laissez-faire policies, which helped to bring about the uniquely successful modernization in the human history. But the East Asian work ethic and enterprise spirit are quite different. Only in the network of interpersonal relations can individuals have their significance, so everyone must scrupulously abide by his/her duties and obligations in organizations and pay attention to mutual cooperation. East Asian cultural features can be analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. American scholar Michael Bond investigated the values of people of Chinese origin in 22 Eastern and Western countries. He devised 40 basic value items and asked every interviewee to rank each item. The 40 items were grouped into four categories: “integration”, “Confucian motivation for work”, “kindheartedness” and “ethics and discipline”. With regard to the “Confucian motivation for work” (superior and inferior, thrift, willpower, sense of shame, mutual courtesy, steadiness, face and tradition) Bond noted that Japan and the “Asian four dragons” ranked ahead of the other countries. Yu Shaohua with Singaporean National University investigated values of middle-level managerial personnel in 51 medium-sized enterprises in Singapore and Malaysia. Though he questioned Bond’s four categories, generally speaking, he agreed with the relationship between cultural background and economic development. Confucianism has important influence on economic development, but this, of course, does not diminish the importance of a sound political system and economic structure.

Chinese culture has existed for thousands of years while the East Asian takeoff is a matter of only recent decades. It should be noted that in the process of industrialization, East Asian countries have not consciously created a new ethics and spirit, but rather have learned from, imitated and introduced Western capitalist technology, management and systems. But just as colorless light is refracted into an entire spectrum through a prism, Western culture is bound to be filtered through Eastern culture, resulting in quite different styles and features. The converse may also be true, namely, that Eastern culture is transformed and renewed in conformity with the evolving situation, leading to new developments.

In sum, Western cultural nativization and native cultural transformation are important experiences of East Asian economic and social development, and can be used as points of references for other developing countries. In most developing countries, there still exist the phenomenon of a dual economy, causing the phenomenon of a dual culture. In vast rural areas,

native culture sticks to the tradition, while in a few cities it copies Western culture. Undoubtedly, this kind of conflict and split in economy and culture is absolutely harmful to mobilizing the whole people to realize modernization. East Asian countries have removed the basis of a dual culture by eliminating the dual economy; that has promoted economic growth while solving the problem of a dual culture. It proves that conflict between Eastern and Western cultures may be eliminated through the practice of self-determined choice by independent states. This is a breakthrough for modernization theory and the practice of developing countries.

As for the debates over relations between culture and modernization, the views can be classified into two schools: “culture theory” and “system theory”. The “culture theory” holds that nations have different cultures and social systems which play a great and even decisive role in economic development. If so, it is very difficult to learn from and disseminate their experiences, since any nation obviously finds it hard to transplant another nations’ culture. The “system theory” considers that the cultural role is very small and economic development depends on special economic policies and conditions. Proceeding from this view, the expansion of modernization is easier. The famous expert on modernization, Peter Berger, wavers between the two views, and holds that the correct answer seems somewhere between the two. In fact, it is very hard completely to separate them.

Firstly, this is because the cultural factor cannot play a role on its own without the support of other political and economic conditions. For example, while all are located in East Asia, Cambodia, Myanmar and North Korea have not yet entered the road of rapid growth. So, in doing research on culture, we cannot seek the “causes” of economic development exclusively in culture, but must look for the “juncture” with economic development. That is to say, we must identify the cultural factors which can vitalize the economy, not the cultural feature by itself.

Secondly, the role of culture is not illusory. Correct policy and rational system will, of course, encourage enterprises and the people who work for them; but how to work out correct policy and how to make entrepreneurs and people willing to follow the government’s strategy cannot avoid issues of the cultural background. The ratio of saving by East Asian people is high, while that of Americans is low. This cannot be attributed to the difference in the system or wages or bank policy.

Thirdly, recognizing the impact of culture, in a broad field of vision, culture is one of the variables. Culture not only determines the scope of policy, but also is related to features of social outlook. As almost everything is filtered through culture, the same economic policies may produce different results in different countries.

Lastly, the process of East Asian countries shows that in the initial stage of modernization more emphasis often is put on the introduction and building of systems and policy. With development, various nations may give more consideration to the realization of spiritual values on the basis of the fusion of Eastern and Western cultures so that the impact of the native culture on society may gradually be intensified. System and culture move forward in interaction and coordination.

East Asian experiences not only inspire other developing countries, but also are of international significance in theory. For example, the range and intensity of government intervention in the economy in East Asian countries are more than in other regions of the world. However, their market mechanism is flexible and vigorous and is capable of responding to changes. In discussion with US development economist Bhagwati, he held that the mechanism is still a mystery and that after in-depth research the Western theory may be rewritten. Culture cannot be simply transplanted, but it can be studied. The ability of humankind to realize and control the surrounding environment cannot be completed by a single nation on its own. Much of the culture

of every society comes from other societies. Tools, organization, belief, art and other cultural factors keep moving from one society to another. A culture which has accepted the incentive of new information may respond and gradually change. Therefore, East Asian culture has both its own particularity in history, but also potentiality for universalization.

A Means for Entering the World Political Arena

In the early 21st century, East Asia may become one leg of the tripod, together with North America and Europe. Reality determines consciousness, which is manifested in action. Asians have realized their own strength and are proud of it. They want to voice their own views and seek their own development norms and paths. In the past centuries by means of arms Europe and the U.S. destroyed most of the original civilizations and cultures of the world with Christianity, law and trade, and they denied or changed local ethics standards. Westerners were over confident that European ethical standards were superior and could effectively set up new standards all over the world; they bragged that they are teachers of other national spirits and ethics. According to their own standards arbitrarily they decided other nations' destiny on the premise of being beneficial to them. Power politics is swollen with cultural arrogance.

Economic vitality and interdependence have enhanced the self-confidence of developing countries. In the past they could only submit to insufferable Western arrogance, but now they define themselves and regain their justice and self-respect. The West spares no efforts to preach democracy and human rights. Without mentioning the problems and malpractice in their implementation in the West, even if they were absolutely perfect could they be applied in the different situations of the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America? The West once sharply criticized the "autocracy" and "centralization" of South Korea, Singapore and China's Taiwan, but these countries and regions ensured economic prosperity and promoted market development. On the contrary, the economy of the Philippines whose political system was most similar to the U.S. long was stagnant.

Asians began to make it clear that Western values do not conform to Asia. In December 1993, this author took part in the "Asian Economic Development and Political Democracy" International Symposium sponsored by The Asia Foundation. Experts and scholars of Asian countries and regions unanimously held that democracy itself is not bound to lead to economic development, but economic development will after all promote democracy. What is most important is to seek a balance between economic growth and political democracy and to build a form of democracy suitable to a particular economic phase. The tide of democratization in Japan, South Korea and China's Taiwan has proven that only after the economy arises to a certain level can democracy achieve a higher stage. In the terms of the Governor of Bank of Korea: South Korean democracy is sure to be South Korean with both Eastern and Western strong points.

Asians are undergoing psychological changes from "everything being the best in the West" to finding again the values of their cultural heritage and achieving a modernization unequal to Westernization. Anwar Ibrahim, Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister, recognized that Asia indeed has its deficiencies on the issue of human rights, but allowing others to lecture us and threaten us on issues of freedom and human rights is equal to accepting insult. In an article in the *International Herald Tribune*, a former Singaporean ambassador enumerated several policies effective in East Asia. They included social contracts between the state and the people, building a clean ethical environment and a free and responsible public opinion, and casting away Western extreme individualism. While Asians have learned from the West generation after generation and will

continue to do so, he hoped that the West should also learn from the East willingly and gladly. It is now time.

This change of attitude by Asians has shocked the West. The noted American political analyst, Samuel Huntington, wrote the article "The Clash of Civilizations" with specially keen insight when he held:

- that the dominant source of conflict will be cultural;
- that increasing interaction will intensify awareness of the differences between civilizations;
- that Western efforts to spread its values have aroused a confrontational response from other civilizations;
- that Confucianism and Islam are uniting to challenge the West; and
- that the next world war, if there is one, will be a war between civilizations.

Huntington's views are incorrect in theory. Differences in culture and religion may often be the fuse for conflict, but the scramble for interests in terms of territory, wealth, resources and power is the main reason. Furthermore, between different cultures there are not only conflict and confrontation, but also exchange and fusion. The Islamic culture he regards as a great scourge hung like a bright moon in the dark sky in the Middle Ages before the rising of the sun of the Renaissance. Chinese culture spread to the West and became the engine of the Enlightenment. Moreover, religions such as Christianity, Islam and Hinduism have similar views on humankind, the environment, the importance of society and family, the significance of spiritual guidance and the objectives of life. Cultures can share values and different cultures can temper intersecting interests and aspirations.

All this has disappeared in Huntington's vision. If in theory his views are incomplete and incorrect, politically they are indeed sensitive and insightful. Western countries took the lead in soft power while dominating the world with hard power. The rise of East Asian countries made the West feel severely the challenge of different cultures for the first time. Western superiority in soft power is declining as East Asian ideologies, cultures, religious beliefs and value systems pour onto the international arena. They pay no attention to Western centralism, but rather affirm their own presence with a particular political culture. This is the real reason for Huntington's heavyheartedness.

The people in the original colonies and semi-colonies experienced painful cultural impact. Native cultures under strong attack by Western culture manifested features unsuitable to modern society. People could not but cut their braids and abandon tattoos, and were forced to learn foreign cultures. The compulsion resulted in two deviations: One was fiercely to boycott all Western culture while resisting the exploitation and oppression of colonialism and imperialism; the other was to feel keenly their own backwardness, worship the West, copy its indiscriminately, and dream of golden hair and blue eyeballs. Only after national independence could people eliminate the two deviations and learn to choose on their own and with balance. Western countries have not had such an experience, which is their good fortune. However, for this reason it is more difficult for them to understand the excellence and greatness of many cultures in the world. This is their future misfortune. Western centralism will be spurned in time and become the shackles of Western progress. Huntington represents exactly the habits of Western conservative forces.

East Asian nations, while enhancing their strength, can demand their due in the international political arena. Culture is one of their weapons. As early as 1980, the famous British politician Roderick MacFarquhar noted that in the next century the challenge of the Russians will be military,

and that of Middle East will be economic. Only East Asia will constitute an all-round challenge to the West from the style of economic development to basic values. However, East Asian nations will not conquer the West and dominate the world, since the times are completely changed. East Asian cultures are still opening the way for East Asian countries to obtain due rights. Reaching this objective, having undergone colonial oppression and enslavement, these countries will be absolutely unwilling to bully and humiliate others. East Asian cultures will embrace the quintessence of the various ideologies and cultures of humankind in terms of their culture of the golden mean and contribute their wisdom to creating a fairer political and economic order and a more brilliant world culture.

Note

1. *Prospects for the 21st Century---Dialogue between Toynbee and Ikeda Daisaku* (International Cultural Publishing Company, 1993), p. 294.

Part I

Culture: A New Dimension of International Relations

1.

Contemporary Culture and International Relations

Zhu Majie

As the new millennium approaches, humankind confronts two great trends: the multi-polarization of the world configuration and the globalization of the world economy. Massive flows of materials, information, capital and ideas are involved in these two trends. This is a strong shock to the old international order; consequently, relations among states and groups of states are being correspondingly readjusted. Changes in trends and public morals are influenced by various factors, among which culture becomes increasingly prominent. In the evolution of the global interaction of cultures new international relations must duly be born. Precisely against this grand background, the present article attempts to analyze contemporary cultures and their impacts on international relations and strategies.

The Nature of Culture

The Meaning of Culture. Different scholars see different connotations for culture. Some statisticians claim at least 160. The British anthropologist Tyler wrote that culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, moral, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. American anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn stated that, culture is a history-created system of survival types, dominant or recessive, having tendencies shared by the whole group or by some particular part in a certain period of time. A German anthropologist observed that culture is a form of life; its pillar is the power of thought; its scope includes rational knowledge; its main content is the form of what used to be the existence, the compulsory knowledge or insight, the conception of objects and the command of language. Other scholars saw the fundamental attribute of culture as human creativity: creation by men and all that men have created, be it material and its products, or spirit and its products. In other words, all activities that men have been engaged in can be referred to as culture.¹ All in all, in its broad sense, culture refers to the sum of the material and spiritual wealth that has been created in the historical practice of human society. In its narrow sense, culture is the social ideology and its corresponding systems and organizations, including viewpoints and ideas of politics, law, ethics, arts, religions, science and compatible systems. In no dimension should culture be perceived as static; culture is a dynamic process.

Culture and Civilization. Quite a few people identify civilization with culture. But more agree that the latter comprises the former. Civilization re-creates culture on certain conditions; it is the product of culture developed to a higher level. Civilization is relatively stable, but will not remain on an existing level. The use of language is an embodiment of culture, but the invention of writings shows that culture develops in a new era of civilization. The wide use of modern information technology implements human social life in a new way. The application of the electronic media and the internet makes it possible for material and spiritual products to move globally in tremendous quantity and at an extraordinary pace; this has become the latest hallmark of human civilization.

As the new century proceeds, the culture of the information revolution and the internet will exert invaluable impacts on human life and behavior. They know no geographic or national confines; they cross national borders and obviate the barriers of the time and space; and they affect the process of modern society with these characteristics. Obviously, the impacts of modern culture on international relations and international strategy are increasingly evident and strong.

The Diversity of Modern Culture. Our global village has a population of 6 billion, constituting over 2500 nations or about 200 countries with diversified and variegated cultures throughout the long process of human history. Each culture is justifiable -- otherwise it would not exist, grow and develop -- albeit each differs in its traditions and characters. That is why our world is so profuse and full of life. Some areas are birthplaces of human civilizations; these include the Yellow River valley in China, the Ganges valley in India, the Nile valley in Egypt, regions along the Aegean Sea in Europe, and Mesopotamia in West Asia. Peoples on those lands, generation after generation, by hard work have created affluent and exuberant cultures, moving from one apex of civilization to another: writing, architecture, painting, religions, lifestyles, political systems and so on. Samuel Huntington, a Harvard professor, identified eight civilizations from among all the cultures in the modern world, i.e., Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and African.² Although it is arguable whether his method is scientific, at least it demonstrates that even Huntington has to admit the variety of modern culture. All civilizations are a fountain of colorful waters gushing up in the long process of the history of human culture.

Only by situating ourselves in this long process, can we examine and explore the relations between culture and changes in international strategy. Cultural diversity is linked inevitably with the multi-polarization trend of the world configuration. Western civilization has developed and risen continuously in the long evolutionary history of Western culture. Modern Western civilization is one of its apexes; contemporary Western civilization is another. The contribution of Western countries to the family of nations is characterized by their developed economy, advanced science and technology and unique political system. Non-Western countries, in their process of modernization, absorb the essence of the Western civilization, but do not dogmatically copy it. Japan, Singapore and South Korea are the best examples. In their process of modernization, they have rejuvenated their traditional cultures, while drawing upon Western civilization. EU members, even with the single currency they have presently realized, have not surrendered their own cultural characters. Civilizations inevitably influence and learn from one another. They do so even more with access to the means of modern communication. Thus, contemporary cultural diversity, which stems from history as well as from reality, is an objective being independent of human will.

The Core of Culture Is Its Value Orientation. In considering the diversity of contemporary culture, the key to be kept in mind is that the core of any culture whatsoever is its values: different cultures have different values. The ethno-centrists deem their national culture to be supreme and hence their values as its most outstanding manifestation. This is "West-centrism": Western countries extol their cultures as supreme in the modern era. They assume that as values of freedom and democracy are universally viable and promote the values of Western culture across the world via advanced technology and its powerful cultural carriers. Huntington holds that the Western civilization is valuable not in its universality, but in its uniqueness, it is not advisable to impose the values of the Western civilization on the non-Western societies. Many people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe agree that world cultures coexist in relative terms. Each culture is different from the other; each has its own advantage and criteria of values. This is the basic point

of the trans-cultural relativism. Trans-cultural relativists not only recognize the diversity of world cultures, but also deem the values orientation as the core of all cultures. There are many theories on culture, but whether ethnocentrism, trans-cultural relativism, universal cultural values, or cultural internationalism all have something to do with values which is the core issue of culture.

Models by Which Culture Influences International Relations

The influence of the cultural factor in contemporary international relations has caught the attention of quite a few scholars. Lawrence Harrison published his book entitled *Who Prospers? How Cultural Values Shape Economic and Political Success?* in 1992; Samuel Huntington published his article, entitled “The Clash of Civilizations?,” in 1993; Thomas Sowell published his book, *Race and Culture: A World View* in 1994; Francis Fukuyama published his book *Trust: The Social Virtue and the Creation of Prosperity* in 1995. Works like these have illuminated the impact of culture on international relations. This can be summed up in five models³ which are interconnected in some areas and distinct only according to their particular emphasis.

1. Culture has broad determinant impact on the achievements of the state. Culture plays an important role in providing the spiritual, ethical and economic conditions for human life. In modern capitalist development, nothing can be achieved without attention to the cultural factor. Lawrence Harrison wrote in the above-mentioned book that cultural values and ideas induce in different ethnic groups such phenomena as persistent volatility and injustice in Latin America, the economic miracle of South Korea and China’s Taiwan, and the achievements of Japan. Thomas Sowell stated in his book, *Race and Culture: A World View*, that race, tribe and cultural differentials have significant impacts on our time, for particular people usually handle the economic and social demands in their life in their own particular way. This basic linkage between national culture and national achievements indicates the importance of culture to the achievements of the state. It plays an important role in determining the economic destiny of the state and nation, and thus impacts on their status and role in international relations.

2. Culture is the navigator in making decision. Some people see culture as analogous to a filter of knowledge. Leaders approach problems and make decisions through different cultural prisms. Thus, culture plays an important role in leaders’ judgement of, and decision-making in, international relations. Specific states, peoples and their leaders are influenced by their distinctive cultures, which reflect their different values, interests, habits and wishes. Mis-assessment of those differentials will lead to misconception, misunderstanding and mis-judgement. No doubt, the cultural systems link closely with international relations. Alastair I. Johnston indicated in 1995 that different states have different strategic emphases, which originate from their early or established experience. They are affected by the philosophy, politics, culture and cognitive identity of the states and to some extent of their elites. International relations are like a massive ocean, nations are like sailing vessels, while culture plays the role of a navigator. Cultural concepts strongly affect the viewpoints of state leaders on policy issues. An individual leader or a leading collective takes its cultural concepts consciously or unconsciously as the coordinate in decisions. Therefore, culture has decisive impacts on leaders in addressing various issues of international relations.

3. Culture is the designer of social and economic structures. Francis Fukuyama stresses the sociality of culture, or social credit, in his book “Trust”. He assumes that the welfare and competitiveness of a state are constrained by a universal cultural identity, which symbolizes the

working of social credit and provides a precondition for economic success. Nations are different in their social credit, which inevitably will affect their international cooperation. Therefore, culture controls the degree of the social credit and affects the nature of the cooperative organs. It provides the dominant blueprint for social and economic institutions, and hence exerts tremendous impact on national behavior and its fate in the international community.

4. Culture is an important variable in international relations. This point was fully elucidated by Samuel Huntington in his article *The Clash of Civilizations?* He judged that the fundamental source of conflict in the post-Cold War world would not be ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominant source of conflict will be cultural. The principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will be the battle lines of the future. He even asserted that the next world war, if there is one, will be between civilizations. This theory perceives culture as the dominant framework of international relations, the primary base of the national behavior, and the main source of international conflicts. Most scholars do not agree with the theory of clash of civilizations, but they do agree that culture is an important variable in the contemporary international relations.

5. The commonality and complementarity of cultures provide a crucial base for harmony in international relations. Culture can also be referred to as the booster of international relations. Arnold Toynbee claimed as early as 1934 that there is a strong, concerted and harmonious tendency in the rise and fall of civilizations. In 1948, he stressed further the character of culture and the conformity of different civilizations in social structure; this reached its peak in the era of industrialization. In 1946, Northrop assumed in his book, *The Encounter of the East and West*, that the East and West can meet not only because they are talking about the same thing, but also because they are explaining different but complementary things. Ernest Gellner highlighted some of characteristics of the industrialized society in 1983. The consequence of industrialization is a global compound of basically harmonious industrial cultures. This is the theory of the cultural melting pot. One of its important points relates to the framework of eras. Though social structures vary widely the basic character of all advanced economies are relatively uniform. They have identical institutions, such as a central bank, a department of treasury, various research centers, schools of different educational levels, organized systems such as the military and thousands of other corresponding institutions. The application of information technology and its impacts on social development has proven this. The uniformity and complementarity of world cultures gives a huge and inescapable boost to international relations. 3

The Main Foci of the Current Cultural Struggle

Since the end of the Cold War, the role of culture in international relations has been growing. Western civilization takes the lead among the variety of world cultures. By using their strengths they pursue “human rights diplomacy” and manipulate international organizations; by using the market economy, the power of commodities and even resorting to military force they achieve their strategic goals. This is manifested mainly in the following aspects.

1. *Human Rights Diplomacy.* Western politicians through balance-and-maneuver are concerned mostly with their own interests. Western civilization is used as an instrument to pursue these interests. Human rights, which are part of Western civilization, are most broadly applicable. Western politicians view human rights diplomacy as their “sophisticated weapon”; they are the

most important advantage of liberal democratic nations in the struggle to expand their influence.⁴ Some Western countries led by the United States have launched attacks time and again at the meetings of the UN Human Rights Commission. Those that have been accused are always developing countries. The attackers are insufferably arrogant, because they think their heavenly mission is to make so-called freedom and social justice popular among the whole of humankind through their demonstration of democratic forms. To them, the Western lifestyle is the beacon to be imitated by other nations, and the Western social system is the role model to be followed by other societies. On human rights, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that, on the pretext that China has an unsatisfactory human rights record and an irrational and illegitimate socialist system, Western countries attempt to jeopardize its national sovereignty. “National sovereignty is far more important than human rights, but they often infringe upon the sovereignty of poor, weak countries of the Third World. Their talk about human rights, freedom and democracy is designed only to safeguard the interests of the strong, rich countries, which take advantage of their strength to bully weak countries, and which pursue hegemony and practice power politics.”⁵ Obviously, human rights are used to interfere in the sovereignty of others, to violate their sovereignty, and even to subvert the regimes of other nations. This is the essence of the Western human rights diplomacy.

2. *Reigning International Institutions.* Western countries impose their own will on international institutions in an attempt to make them follow the values of Western civilization and serve Western interests. Professor Huntington confessed in his “*The Clash of Civilizations?*” that the U.S. controls international political and security institutions, using “the world community” to replace “the Free World.” Decisions made at the UN Security Council or the IMF, which reflect the interests of the West, are presented to the world as reflecting the desire of the world community.⁶ “The West in effect is using international institutions, military power and economic resources to run the world in ways that will maintain Western predominance, protect Western interests and promote Western political and economic values.” Efforts are made “to induce other peoples to adopt Western ideas concerning democracy and human rights”. It is particularly notable that the UN human rights activities often are seriously interfered in by some of the Western countries. They regard their own values and human rights criteria as universal tenets, and do their best to ensure that the UN plays its role in a way that conforms to their national interests. More often than not, UN humanitarian interventions are but a pretext used by some Western countries to pursue power politics, to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, and to violate their sovereignty. The handling of the Somali issue is a most revealing case in point.

3. *New Interventionism Implemented via Military Means.* The U.S.-led NATO outrageously launched a brutal bombardment on the sovereign state of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for as long as 78 days from March through June, 1999. During that period, NATO used missiles to attack the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia, openly violating the principles of international law and the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. The atrocity inflicted by the U.S.-led NATO on Yugoslavia is a typical example of hegemonism and power politics under the cloak of civilization; it demonstrates how the U.S. carries out its new international relations concept of “humanitarian intervention”. The basic theory of the new interventionism has three aspects: firstly, the superiority of human rights over sovereignty; secondly, that the whole world should be “democratized”; thirdly, that the democratization is not to be confined by national borders. Thus, the West can implement so-called humanitarian intervention in any country once identified according to the West’s own interpretation as a human rights violator. NATO used the most advanced military

means in its bombardment of Yugoslavia under the pretext of “stalling ethnic cleansing”. This new strategic concept initiated by the U.S. also demonstrates that the U.S. wants NATO to become the military instrument for its hegemonic ambition. The basic principle set by the UN Charter is to maintain the sovereign equality of all its members; not to interfere in the internal affairs of any nation; to settle international disputes by peaceful means; to refrain from the threat or use of force against national territorial integrity. The norms of contemporary international relations are the result of the evolution of human civilization, the precondition of the healthy development of international relations, and what any civilized nation must scrupulously abide by. NATO’s military aggression on the Yugoslavia is a flagrant violation of the principles of international relations. As the aftermath indicates, using military means to implement new interventionism is unpopular. The international community should take measures to prevent the hegemonic behavior such as the aggression against a sovereign nation and interference in the internal affairs of other nations under the guise of maintaining human rights.

4. *Recourse to the Power of Commodity.* Imposing Western civilization on others by force is an increasingly more difficult approach in the new international situation. Therefore, the West resorts more to market forces to advance liberal and democratic ideas and values. This is the very important cultural strategy of the West. The West today is a society with a highly developed market economy, where what usually are spiritual matters are marketized and commercialized. The West led by the U.S. pays great attention to producing and exporting cultural goods, hoping these to be the main channel in enforcing personnel contacts and the exchange of ideas and values. The cultural products of the West and of the U.S. in particular are exported most actively during the advance of the modern market economy towards globalization. Due to modern science and technology, the Western cultural products are becoming more enticing, more attractive and more competitive. Western countries strongly support such ideological industries as film, TV, broadcast, VCD, fax, the internet and so on. They help those industries to develop foreign markets. The overwhelming strength of Western cultural transmission in this age of satellite technology is undeniable. In addition, Western countries launch attacks on some developing countries in the name of protecting intellectual property rights to ensure the free flow of Western civilization.

5. *Strengthening Cultural Expansion.* The friction and collision in the confluence of world civilizations shock Western civilization. Having always regarded itself as the center of world, the West perceives the challenges as a threat, hence the birth of “the theories of clash and of threat”. While hailing the triumph of the liberalism of Western civilization, some are surprised to find that the millennium of an empire under the Western civilization has not yet arrived. Since the end of the Cold War, the world is heading for the multi-polarization. Although it will take a long time to shape a new order of international relations, the key principle governing the new international order incontestably should be “noninterference in other countries’ internal affairs and social systems. It won’t work to require all the countries in the world to copy the patterns set by the United States, Britain and France.”⁷ The new world situation has reinforced the collision of the world cultures, due mainly to the fact that Western developed nations forcibly export Western culture by virtue of their advantageous position in economy, politics and the military. This has given rise to a retroactive psychology and resistance in developing nations. The West labels this resistance as a revival of nationalism. Those who say no to the West are listed as “nationalists” and stormed with condemnation. Huntington thus set forth nine policy suggestions to help the Western civilization continue to play a global role. He particularly stressed more cooperation

between Europe and North America, stricter control of international institutions that reflect and legitimate Western interests and values, and promotion of the involvement of non-Western states in those institutions. He held that, the fundamental goal of NATO should be defined as “safeguarding and maintaining the Western civilization”. To him, the major responsibility of Western leaders is to protect and promote the interests, values and culture in the precious and unique civilization they share. Huntington’s intention is all too evident. If the Western countries follow his suggestions and impose Western values and interests on others, the international order and international relations certainly will fail to develop in a benign way; it will be the opposite.

Cultural Factors in the Changing International Configuration

As human society approaches the new millennia, international relations are changing in a dazzling manner. The United States is pressing on with implementing its goal of an uni-polar world. But the multi-polar tendency is developing through complex struggles. Great power relations are readjusting in the new situation. Countries are formulating their own national strategies in the light of their own interests, and their internal and external environment. Politics and economics, science and technology, the military and culture, all are basic factors in these strategic calculations. In the new century, cultural forces will be an indispensable instrument. Contradictory interactions among different cultures exert a dual impact on the change in international relations.

1. *Independence.* The commonality resulting from cultural exchanges reinforces the interdependence among great powers. The post-war years saw contradictory interactions shifting back and forth in the confrontation between the two superpowers. Scrambling for hegemony between the U.S. and the USSR was primarily one of contradictions in international relations. Since most attention was focused on the military confrontation, cultural factors were largely suppressed. Nevertheless, the U.S. put forward a strategy for peaceful evolution and carried it out by using cultural forces in a carefully scheduled way. The disintegration of the USSR and drastic changes in East Europe overjoyed Western countries. They see their victory in the Cold War as mainly the result of the impact of democratic ideas. The then US President Bush said excitedly at the graduation ceremony at Yale University in May, 1990, that the curtain of iron had disappeared, the Berlin Wall had fallen, along with it the myth of the ideology of communism. “You will find that the US example is working at every corner of the world.” He stressed on another occasion in the early 1990s that as the most powerful democracy in the world the U.S. must bear the responsibility of leading and helping safeguard the free nations of the world and promoting and strengthening democratic values across the world.⁸

Since the end of the Cold War, international relations have been readjusting in complex contradictory interactions. Gone is the bipolar configuration; a multi-polar tendency emerges in its instead. The zero-sum factor in great power relations is now on the wane. Driven by the economic globalization in particular, commonality in national interests increases each day. As interdependence in economic development grows, so does commonality in interstate political relations. As a result, the former rivalry-alliance relations are altering. The great powers of the world are seeking to establish a new type of relation. In recent years, China, the U.S., Russia, Japan and the EU have readjusted their strategy in succession and have striven to establish bilateral partnerships and to increase exchanges in the economy, politics, military and culture. Regular

visits of national leaders and the opening of hotlines are also conducive to increasing understanding, dissolving differences and strengthening cooperation.

In this process of adjustment of great power relations, not only are politics, the military and the economy full of variables, but also culture is a vector not to be overlooked. The growing integration resulting from cultural interactions strengthens economic interdependence and the mechanisms of political consultation. Over recent years, despite the discords, competition and sometimes even intensive conflicts in great power relations, certain concessions have finally been made through dialogues and consultations. The root-cause of the new model of the evolving international relations is precisely the effect of the soft power of culture. The shift in the international configuration and the adjustment of great power relations are in fact adjustments of interests. This is closely connected with value orientation. In this sense, the integration of cultures promotes the interdependence of great power relations and increases their ability to seek a commonality of interests.

2. Discord. The cultural gap inevitably invokes discords and struggles among the great powers. World cultures are multi-hewed; each has its positive and negative sides. The confluence of different cultures inevitably generates frictions and collisions. Different cultures exchange virtues in order to offset one's own flaws so that cultures progress upward and forward. The changes in international relations also show contradictory cultural interactions. The above-mentioned cultural integration is the positive side of culture; but its negative side is also an objective reality.

Cultural gaps are one of the causes of conflicts. Nations or groups of nations such as the U.S., Japan, China, Russia and EU impact the changes of international configuration. The formulation of their foreign strategies is affected by their respective value orientation. Once involved in international relations their cultural gaps will invoke conflicts. The reshuffling of international forces is invariably constrained by the cultural factor.

The most outstanding issue emerging from the Sino-US cultural gaps is that of human rights. The continuous US attacks on China and other developing nations at the meetings of the UN Human Rights Commission stem from its strategic goal of forcing those countries to accept U.S. democracy and values. Viewed in a broader context, the U.S. aims at encouraging internal Chinese "forces for economic and political liberalization", and "ensuring the broad and peaceful evolution of China from communism to democracy".⁹ The struggles over human rights issues reflect the conflict between two value-systems and between Eastern and Western civilizations. These struggles between ideologies and values have ripple effects on inter-state and state-group relations.

Different national strategies can be discerned in these struggles. The formulation of a national strategy and its implementation manifest the personal role of leaders whose ideologies and styles have taken shape in a cultural environment developed over a long term. Antagonism and conflicts in the diplomacy of the great powers mirror cultural gaps; their reconciliation and improvement are also the process of cultural compromises.

However, the likelihood of the conflicts caused by cultural gaps should not be exaggerated in exploring relations between culture and changes in international configuration. Huntington claimed that the great divisions among humankind and the dominant source of conflict would be cultural; that the principal conflicts of global politics would occur between nations and groups of nations of different civilizations; and that the clash of civilizations would be the battle lines of the future.¹⁰

Though cultural conflicts are inevitable judging from the contradictory interactions when different civilizations in interest, the extension of these conflicts is limited. Culture is an invisible force and its impacts on international relations must be exerted through visible political, economic and military bodies. But as the globalization of the world economy develops the interaction of national interests also increases, and so does the tendency toward interdependence among nations. One of the cases in point is the financial crisis in 1997 in Southeast Asia, which rapidly affected Asia and the world.

Culture is the sum of the material and spiritual wealth generated by the historical activities of human society. The most profound source of the cultural force lies in the accumulation of the evolutionary process of the mode of social production. The conflicts and integration of different cultures are constrained by this evolution. Thus, in economic globalization conflicts caused by the confluence of different cultures must be curbed and the advancement of common interests must promote an all-inclusiveness among different cultures. The relative reinforcement of cultural integration will tend proportionality to dampen the conflicts.

This contradictory interactions of cultural conflicts and integration are apparently consistent with the adjustment of great power relations. It is particularly notable that cultural gaps exist even among nations that share the same cultural attribute in general and will certainly invoke contradictions and conflicts. The Western world is anything but monolithic. Western civilization shares homogeneity in source, but heterogeneity in streams. They agree generally in value terms, but diverge on particular issues in their distinct historical development. Their stances may vary in handling particular issues of international relations inasmuch as the object of the given issues may vary, as may the timing, background and thrust of interests. Therefore, even in the West, the contradictory interactions of cultures will affect the relations of nations and reflect an evolution of conflicts and integration.

3. *Ethnic and Religious Factors.* The influence of contemporary ethnic and religious factors on the transformation of the world configuration is gaining prominence. Culture as a complex whole involves ethnic and religious factors. Divergences in ethnic folklore and religious faiths may invoke contradictions and conflicts. These existed in the Cold War, but were cushioned by the bipolar confrontation as the principal contradiction; now that the Cold War is over the contradictions, erstwhile cushioned, are surfacing. Antagonism between Muslims and non-Muslims can be observed in Kosovo, Bosnia, Kashmir, Nigeria, Chechnya and Afghanistan. Some local conflicts also happen between Muslims. This kind of conflict between Iraq and Iran lasted eight years and cost almost one million lives. Wars between Arab nations and Iraq abounded, and conflicts occurred between Algeria and Morocco in the Sahara. Fundamentalist turmoil has inflicted Egypt and Algeria. People are shocked by ethnic genocide in Somali, Rwanda and East Timor. Most hot spots in today's international society are linked with ethnic and religious contradictions. During the Cold War, almost all the internal conflicts were instigated, intervened in, or even joined by the two superpowers. Since the Cold War, this kind of internal conflicts has tended to invite international intervention, most initiated and led by the United States and joined positively by other Western nations. The degrees and methods of the intervention depend on their strategic necessity. Despite some rhetoric on the African ethnic killings the U.S. was quite inactive after its intervention in Somalia, but it entered the fight in the Kosovo crisis.

The Balkans are strategically crucial to the common interests of the U.S. and its European allies. The enduring ethnic conflicts in Kosovo were unfavorable to the eastward expansion of NATO and the EU. The war launched by the US-led NATO on Yugoslavia inflicted great suffering

on the peoples of whatever ethnicity. Besides, it impaired Sino-US and Russian-US relations. The Kosovo conflict even lent new contradictions and differences to Atlantic relations. Obviously, this kind of international intervention is not advisable for addressing ethnic contradictions and conflicts, and is detrimental to great-power relations as well. Under certain conditions, fair and just international intervention may be helpful in settling internal ethnic or religious conflicts. But it must be done at the request of the party and according to the decisions of the UN Security Council. As history has vindicated repeatedly, ethnic and religious issues are too complicated and too sensitive for recourse to external armed intervention to be able to do any good at all. Such intervention will only further aggravate the contradictions and leave troubles long into the future.¹¹

4. *The Cultural Factor in China's Foreign Relations.* China adheres to an independent foreign policy of peace. China forges friendly and cooperative relations with all nations in line with the five principles of peaceful coexistence. China's general strategic goal is to maintain world peace and strive for a peaceful international environment. This is good for its modernization drive.¹² At the crucial historical juncture of the late 1980s and early 1990s, when world politics was changing dramatically, Deng Xiaoping set forth the strategic guideline: observe the situation coolly, hold our ground, act calmly, hide our capacities, bide our time and make our contribution.¹³ These guidelines constitute an important decision, proceeding from the long-term and fundamental interests of the Chinese people in the light of the important changes in international relations and in the correlation of international forces. These guidelines will continue as the strategic guideline we must follow, even though China has grown greatly in its comprehensive national strength over recent years and is playing an increasingly greater role in international affairs.

The formulation of China's foreign policy and strategic guidelines has its deep cultural roots. China as a main force for world peace and stability has its deep historical cultural background. In terms of its cultural tradition, China stresses peace, harmony and reconciliation, and not imposing on others what you yourself do not desire. It advocates that "the whole world is one community"; its philosophy is that of a "combination of man and Heaven". Over most of the last one and a half centuries, an impoverished and backward China had been invaded, oppressed and bullied by the world powers. The Chinese people spent a hundred years in bloodshed struggling to get rid of the yoke of foreign powers. Wars inflicted extraordinary disasters on the Chinese nation. From personal experience the Chinese people keenly understand the importance and value of peace and stability more than others. The Chinese people love peace, hate aggressive war, and treasure their hard-won independence. China will never subject other nations to the humiliation it once suffered.

China's foreign policy and strategic guideline are subject also to its social nature. After the founding of the new China in 1949, China chose socialism as its political system. In essence, socialism stands for peace: maintenance of world peace and opposition to aggressive war are written in its constitution. These guarantee in terms of its system and law that China will never carry out an external invasion or expansion. Although the world is not very peaceful, the themes of peace and development are the irresistible historical trend. To strive for peace for a long period of time is its own need and also is in conformity with the needs of the people of the world. The instability of the world today stems mainly from hegemony and power politics. "To work for peace one must oppose hegemony and power politics". "The aim of our foreign policy is world peace. Always bearing that aim in mind, we wholeheartedly devote ourselves to the modernization programme to develop our country and to build socialism with Chinese characteristics."¹⁴ "Keeping to socialism is of vital importance for China". If China "took the capitalist road, it would be a disaster for the world. It would be a retrogression of history, a retrogression of many years".

If China “abandoned the policy of peace and opposition to hegemonism or if, as the economy developed, it sought hegemony, that also would be a disaster for the world, a retrogression of history”.¹⁵

One of the outstanding issues of the contemporary international relations is that the U.S.-led Western nations often interfere in other nations’ internal affairs on the pretext of human rights, and forcefully advance Western democracy. This runs counter to Chinese foreign policy and strategy. Hence, contradictions and struggles are unavoidable and chronic. Deng Xiaoping stated in 1990 that “the key principle governing the new international order should be noninterference in other countries’ internal affairs and social systems. It won’t work to require all the countries in the world to copy the patterns set by the United States, Britain and France”. Were the Western developed countries to insist on interfering in other countries’ internal affairs and social systems, “it would lead to international turmoil”.¹⁶ The world today is still seeing the reshuffling of international forces and a profound adjustment of international relations. China’s foreign policy and strategy will continue to advance the multi-polarization of the world in fighting hegemony and power politics. The Chinese nation in its historical development of thousands of years has created a splendid culture, contributing to the progress of the human civilization. Today, the Chinese nation is endeavoring to build China into a modern socialist country, with great cultural and ethical progress in conjunction with material advancement, which will make a yet greater contribution to the cause of human progress.

Notes

1. Gan Chunsong: *Modernization and Cultural Choice* (Jiang Xi People’s Publishing House, 1998), p. 2-4.
2. Samuel Huntington, “Clash of Civilization?” *Foreign Affairs*, summer 1993.
3. The first four models in this article are summed up on the basis of relevant materials in “Culture and International Relations”, *Washington Quarterly*, 1996. The fifth is the author’s own view.
4. Zhang Hongyi, ed., *United States Human Rights and Human Rights Diplomacy* (People’s Publishing House, 1993), p. 282.
5. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Foreign Languages Press), Volume III, pp. 334, 336, 346, 347.
6. Samuel Huntington, “Clash of Civilization?”
7. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Volume III, pp. 334, 336, 346, 347.
8. Liang Yuntong, et al, *The U.S. Strategy of Peaceful Evolution* (Jilin People’s Publishing House, 1997), p. 174.
9. Lu Liandi, et al, *Track of Sino-U.S. Relations* (Current Affairs Publishing House, 1995), p. 353.
10. Samuel Huntington, “Clash of Civilization”
11. Speech by Jiang Zemin as he met with the EU Envoy and Finnish President Ahdisari, *Xinhua Daily Cable*, June 9, 1999.
12. *Study Program on Deng Xiaoping’s Foreign Thought* (World Knowledge Publishing House, 2000), pp. 101, 116.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* (Foreign Languages Press), Volume III, pp. 66, 161, 346, 347.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

2.

The Role of Soft Power in International Relations

Zhu Majie

In the new century, a multi-polar world is developing with swift economic globalization, scientific and technological improvement, and intensifying international competition. As soft power is an important component the related competition plays a rising role in the evolution of international relations. Culture as a kind of soft power has even more significant impact on international relations. It is now ordinary for most countries to focus on the power of culture in the international competition.

Connotation of Soft Power

Comprehensive national power includes hard power, soft power, and their influence on international relations. In this soft power is an important component. The American scholar, Joseph Nye, first developed the concept of “soft power”, summarized as a directing, attracting and imitating force, in a word, a co-optive power. This is the ability of a country to attract other countries by ideas, values and ideology: the ability of a country to let other countries think what it thinks. This power is closely related to such formless powers as culture, ideology and social systems. A country’s cultural universality and its ability to determine norms, rules and regimes that regulate international behaviors are key resources for a country’s power.¹ Though intangible, it can be estimated from a nation’s cohesiveness, cultural popularity in the globe, and role in international institutions. Another American scholar, Ray Cline, as early as the 1970s² proposed “strategic goals” and “national will” as important components of national power. Strategic goals reflect a country’s fundamental national interests. A nation’s strategy defines its strategic goals in the specific international environment. The will to implement the national strategy derives from the degree of confidence and support from the people who can be mobilized for national defense and foreign policy. People’s confidence and support come from such factors as national cohesiveness, political leadership, the efficacy of government, and a people’s concern over national strategy and national interests. As complex and intangible national strategy and national will cannot be judged by static and tangible standards.

The Institute of Comprehensive Studies in Japan, in compiling *Japan’s Comprehensive National Power*, suggests three major factors for calculating a country’s comprehensive national power, i.e., capacity for international contributions, survival ability, and coercive capability. The international contribution capacity includes a positive attitude toward being engaged in international affairs and contributing to international society. Survival ability concerns national will and friendly alliances. Coercive capability emphasizes a country’s capability in managing its foreign relations. While developing these ideas, *Japan’s Comprehensive National Power* also pays much attention to soft power. Without a strong national spirit a nation cannot effectively deal with potential international crises. Without a strong culture with global appeal, a nation cannot have a say in international activities.³

Many international scholars have touched upon the issue of soft power in their writings. Robert Thompson from England sees will as a kind of national power. In *Grand Strategy*, John M. Collins from the United States lists the following as elements of national power: political forces

with impacts in both domestic and international arenas, the people's character, ethics and education; and any other prominent factors. American scholar Joseph Frankel wrote in his *International Relations* that national power is the ability to affect the psychology and behavior of others. His distinctive stress on the psychological factor joins it to society and international strategic status as parts of national power. Another German American scholar, Hans Morgenthau, in his *Politics among Nations*, holds that nationality, national ethics, diplomatic quality, and attributes of government make up national power. Nicholas Spykman, from the United States, also considers such soft power as national homogeneity, social comprehensiveness, political stability, and national ethics to be an important part of national power.

Huang Shuofeng, a well-known Chinese scholar, in his *On Comprehensive National Power*, sees comprehensive national power as a nation's whole power and international influence including both the material and mental power a nation has for survival and development. Mental power can also be called soft power; it comprises such soft elements as psychology and intelligence which give tangible shape to the role of hard power. Soft power is composed of political, cultural and educational, diplomatic and synergic powers. Political power includes the political system, strategic goals, social stability and national cohesiveness, as well as its national system of leadership, organization and policy-making. Cultural and educational power includes the quality of labor, the development of human resources, the educational investment and system, its universality and the quality of teachers; quality of cultural workers; broadcasting, television and films; the publication of books, periodicals, journals and their influence on the international stage. Diplomatic power includes foreign relations, policy and activity, and the ability to contribute to the international community. Synergic power refers mainly to the capability of macro control and synergic development.⁴

In sum, soft power, as a kind of mental power, is an important part of comprehensive national power. Soft elements of mental power are all in the category of culture, whose core is values. As to the content of culture, most explanations are similar to that of soft power. E. B. Taylor, a British anthropologist, has defined culture as a complex entity including knowledge, belief, art, morality, law, custom, and any ability or habit people can draw from society. Two American anthropologists hold that culture is a historically created system for survival, including both evident and recessive forms, with tendencies shared by a whole community or a certain part of it in a certain period. A German scholar points out that culture is a form of life based upon mental discipline or the capability of thought.

Others believe the fundamental attribute of culture is a human being's creativity. What has been created by humankind, whether material or mental and their products, all come under the category of culture.⁵ In short, in a broad sense, culture is the sum of material and spiritual wealth created in the history of human society. In a more narrow sense, culture is the social ideology and related systems and institutions, including ideas, thoughts and related systems in politics, law, morality, art, religion, and science.

From whichever angle, culture is not a static entity, but a dynamic process. As soft power, culture is relative to politics, the economy and the military. We shall mainly explore its role in international relations from the angle of human nature and ideology.

Characteristics of Soft Power

Traditional. A country's soft power as the deepest source of cultural power comes into reality through a long historical evolution. A people's mode of thinking, ideology, cultural traditions,

ethnic customs, social system, economic regime, style of life, etc. are the cumulative results of the evolution of forms of social production. In this process, every element of soft power is always influenced by the cultural tradition, and the development of every culture has its own distinct trajectory. Soft power develops in this circulated, contradictory, but progressive movement with its own specific tradition.

Timely. Soft power is intangible, but not a mirage. Its formation, development and change in strength is related to the background of the times and with domestic and international society. Only soft power which represents the mainstream of the times develops constantly. Especially in modern society, soft power has close relations with scientific and technological progress, the information society and the knowledge economy. Soft power increases with the endless invention of various new tools and means in international society. The rise in information technology makes mass media a very dynamic and influential means. As advanced mass media enter international society, its impact on international relations expands dramatically and becomes an important hallmark of a nation's power.

Pervasive. Soft power itself has a strong capability to spread and compete. With the rising tide of the information revolution and the development of the internet culture, soft power reaches beyond the limits of geographical boundaries, national ethnicity, and time and space. It powers the progress of society and impacts extraordinarily on the lifestyle and behavior standards of human beings. In international society, when a variety of soft powers interact with one another, competition and rivalry become inevitable, thus leading to disputes and conflicts. However, soft powers also attract and promote each other, usually coming to collective identity after interaction, mutual adjustment, learning, and imitation.

Changeable. Soft power is not a static entity but a dynamic process. It is a great changing system, in which the formation and transition of power depends on the contradictory movement of its various components. Unlike nationality, national strategies and ethics, diplomatic, cultural and educational power, and the quality of government require a shorter time period to be formulated and developed and hence are more changeable. As all these have something to do with human influence, they have greater uncertainty and mobility and are much easier to adjust and transform.

Inter-dependent. Soft and hard powers are interdependent and every country should develop both in constructing its comprehensive national power. While increasing material power, a country should improve its spiritual power. One without the other would not be effective. If the development of soft power is overlooked or ignored, it is difficult for hard power to maintain its sustained development. Yet, while soft power needs substantial media, many physical products carry rich cultural contents, express broad cultural information, and in practice play a mental role. Thus, soft and hard powers correlate with, improve and confine each other in strong complementarity. Soft power is needed to make and implement national strategy and mobilize and unify national will. Thus, a strong national leadership is indispensable to stimulate the people's enthusiasm and use their zeal to create and increase its comprehensive national power in great forward leaps. The interdependence and complementarity of soft and hard powers increase geometrically in a so-called physical-mental relationship.

Strategic Status of Soft Power in International Relations

Soft power plays an especially important role in the development and enhancement of comprehensive national power. "Intensified competition over comprehensive national power in today's world involves economic power, scientific and technological power, defensive power, and

cultural power as well.”⁶ Culture as a kind of soft power has been a significant part of comprehensive national power. It has been a strategic option for many countries to strengthen their international influence and competitiveness through cultural development. In the competition of comprehensive national powers, a nation’s hard power cannot be improved without the development of its soft power. However, many always emphasize the rivalry over hard power, while overlooking the competition of soft power focused on cultural power. According to Cline’s “function of national power,” the “strategic goal” and “national will” are two major components of soft power. Such soft powers as strategy and will determine the effectiveness of national material power. In international society, national strategy and its implementation aim at a nation’s survival, development and international influence. These reflect national interests as discussed above. The degree of national cohesiveness, leadership and governmental efficacy and people’s concern over national strategy and interests all belong to factors of will. Obviously, both the making and implementation of national strategy and the mobilization and guidance of national will are closely related to the level of governmental leadership. No matter how many people a country has, it cannot constitute a strong national power without united will. Strategy and will are evidently relevant to the shape of a nation’s internal power. If national leaders can design correct strategy, mobilize a whole population, and unify the national will, they can increase the efficiency and effectiveness of inherent or potential hard power. This is the reactive role of soft power that Cline proposed in his function of national power.

Soft power is the first choice in handling international relations. Joseph Nye analyzed the role of soft power in his *Bound to Lead*. Economic power, he wrote, like other forms of power, cannot be gauged simply by tangible resources, for the other side of power must be considered. To make another country change may be a directive or even dictatorial application of power, the major means of which includes attraction (“carrot”) or threat (“stick”). On the other hand, there is another way to apply power indirectly. In international politics, a country can achieve its expectations because other countries would take it as an example or accept a system conducive to such results. In this sense, it is equally important in international politics to give directions, to establish the environment, and to stimulate reforms in other countries. Nye called this power co-optive: if a country’s ideology and culture are attractive, others would like to imitate and follow. At present, the United States has stronger traditional hard power than any other country. It also has resources of soft power in ideology and institution that can assure its leadership in the newly interdependent countries.⁷

From this strategic perspective, Nye pointed out that the United States should enhance the co-optive power of its culture and the attraction of its lifestyle in order to become preponderant not only in hard power, but also in soft power. This will establish its ideological domination throughout the entire world. To do this, the key is whether the United States has the political leadership and strategic perspective to translate those soft power resources into real power in this period of transition in international politics.⁸ Soft power plays a strong reactive role in international politics. Its positive impact can help a country make feasible national strategy, guide national enthusiasm, shape united will and strong cultural power. Thereby it can promote the development of comprehensive national power, improve the country’s international status, and increase its international contribution and influence. On the contrary, if the national strategy is infeasible, blind or dangerous, the soft power would misguide people and play a negative role, leading to loss of national enthusiasm, a frustrated national will, and reduction in hard national power. The damage would be incalculable. The international status and competitiveness of such a country would decrease dramatically to zero. Any country, in drawing up its national strategy, must pay attention

to creating better surroundings; to making its development model, values, lifestyle and corresponding systems attractive, appealing and inspiring; and to incorporating both tangible and intangible power in order to assure the achievement of national interests. Therefore, soft power is always the first option or tool for countries to deal with various affairs in contemporary international relations.

Due to the increasing influence of soft power in international relations, major powers in the world stress the enhancement of their soft powers. As early as the 1980s, former Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone proposed a strategic plan to “create a culturally developed country.” French President Chirac suggested making a cultural Europe and establishing a European cultural community. Russian President Putin began to carry out his “cultural expansion” strategy as acting president. In September 1992, former U.S. President Bush highlighted in his “Agenda for American Revival,” “Our political and economic connections are supplemented by the attractiveness of American culture in the world. This is a new kind of soft power we can use.” In late November 2000, the outgoing President Clinton held a seminar on American culture and foreign relations aimed at drawing up an American cultural foreign strategy for the 21st century. In the national security strategy report, Clinton clearly set “encouraging the development of foreign democracy” as one of three pillars of the US security strategy and foreign policy. It stated, “expanding the great family of democratic and free market countries is in all the strategic interests of the United States.”

In the face of aggressive cultural expansion of US-led Western countries, developing countries feel challenged. President Jiang Zemin pointed out recently, “It is vital for most developing countries to maintain and upgrade the excellent traditions of their national cultures, carry forward their national ethics, absorb good the cultural achievements of others, and keep cultural development abreast of the times.”⁹

Current Competition over Soft Power

In today’s international society, all peoples are striving for peace and development. The so-called East-West issue and South-North issue have profound cultural backgrounds. In the final analysis, such hot problems as terrorism, national separatism and religious extremism are all cultural problems. Hence, competition over comprehensive national power, focusing on cultural power, has important impact on the evolution of international relations.

The US-led Western developed countries take advantage of their great political, economic, military, scientific and technological superiority to pursue hegemony and power politics. They try to make Western civilization the model of other countries, to spread the Western values of freedom and democracy, and to translate Western values into universal civilization. This strategy of the developed Western countries meets a counter reaction from developing countries resulting in the outstanding contradiction between developed and developing countries. The U.S.-led West is the principal of this contradiction. With its great superiority the United States always plays a major role in the development of this contradiction. In the Cold War, the competition over soft power was manifested in the antagonism and struggle between two different social systems, values and ideologies. After the Cold War, this antagonism and struggle did not come to an end, but increased. The root causes are follows.

First, the tendency of multi-polarization of the world develops in a zigzag manner. Due to the variety in world cultures, the comparative advantage of a culture would stimulate it to challenge other cultures and to react to the challenge of heterogeneous cultures. Hence, conflict and fusion

among different cultures happen constantly. In the evolving process of contradictory movement the negative aspects of cultures are gradually discarded while the positive are identified and shared by various cultures.

Second, the rapid development of world economic globalization and marketization drives cultural commercialization and cultural industrial development. Cultural power is not only real social productivity, but also potential social productivity. This is indispensable to economic growth and social development because the cultural power has great economic functions. With economic development and social progress, and especially the arrival of the knowledge economy, many physical products have profound cultural contents and present rich cultural information. These products have both physical and mental consequences.

Third, the rapid development of science and technology is bringing to international society a bright future described by such terms as digitalization, informatization, and knowledge economy. The new era provides broad space for different civilizations to communicate and thus increase their contradictions, frictions, conflicts, and integration. In the contemporary world, power is being transferred from the one who has capital to the one who has information. Not only capital, but also information is a path to success.¹⁰

Fourth, while developing countries concentrate on economic growth, they pay attention to maintaining and upgrading their excellent cultural tradition. On the one hand, they learn modernization from the achievements of Western civilization, in particular, to enhance productivity via market mechanisms, to create democratic systems via electoral mechanism and to realize universal human rights via the rule of law. On the other, they reject the negative factors of Western civilization which are unsuitable to their national situations, upgrade their national cultural identity to the level of sovereignty, and confront the infiltration of Western culture via awareness of cultural sovereignty.

Fifth, after the Cold War, Western countries paid more attention to using cultural power to acquire their national interests and serve their strategic goals; they invested in cultural enterprises aimed at boosting the attractiveness of their cultures. They highlighted the economic value of culture and established huge cultural enterprises to occupy the cultural market, which seriously impeded the cultural enterprises in developing countries. The cultural contents in Western lifestyles are subtly but surely having impact upon the developing countries and seriously damaging their cultures.

Competition over comprehensive national power focusing on cultural power may continue for a very long time into the new century. Although developing countries are in a disadvantageous position in the competition of soft power, “the power of the weaker” is not negligible. This is also a source of intangible power. The ability of a strong country may be contained because of a weak one that has better ability to organize and concentrate.¹¹ Therefore, cultural advantage and disadvantage are paired. In modern international society, because of increasingly overlapping interests, different cultures show their merits and learn mutually, even while conflicting with each other. Nevertheless, in the present era, the conflicts between different cultures are limited, partial, and unlikely to lead to full-scale global conflicts.

Major Issues Relevant to the Contemporary Competition over Soft Power

First, intervention in the internal affairs of other countries in the name of human rights. Currently international society increasingly values the development of human rights. Since the foundation of United Nations over half a century ago, the records of human rights in every country

have made great progress. But, due to differences in the concrete situations of different countries, there are diverse understandings on such issues as human rights and sovereignty, and on individual rights and collective rights between developing and Western developed countries. US-led Western countries believe that the most important part of the universal values in Western civilization is about human rights and see the spreading of Western civilization as a major means to pursue their national interests. They regard “human rights diplomacy” as a “sophisticated weapon” and “the most important advantage of free and democratic countries in the fight for influence.”¹² They have made “human rights diplomacy” their national policy, supplemented by recent “new interventionism,” and have carried out “humanitarian intervention” as a new international relations idea.

There are three basic aspects of their theory. First, human rights are superior to sovereignty. Second, the whole world should be democratized. Third, the spread of democracy should not be limited by national boundaries. On the other hand, developing countries conduct their human rights undertakings according to their own national conditions and see the rights to subsistence and development as their first objectives. They oppose interference in their internal affairs by Western countries in the name of human rights, and thus object to Western ideas on human rights which are believed to impinge on their sovereignty. The U.S.-led Western countries always blame other countries’ human rights records at meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission. Without exception, those blamed are developing countries. A major issue in contemporary international relations is the struggle on human rights issues between developing and western developed countries; in essence this is the struggle over intervention versus counter-intervention and “human rights” versus national sovereignty. Sometimes this kind of struggle becomes complicated, is intensified, and even escalates from soft power conflict to such hard power conflicts economic blockades and the use of force. There are a number of such examples in international relations, the most typical of which was the invasion of the U.S.-led NATO into Yugoslavia in 1999.

Second, the pursuit of hegemony by international institutions. In the evolution of contemporary international relations, international organizations play a great role. But the United States and other Western countries take advantage of their strong national power to inflict their will on international organizations in order to convey Western values and serve their interests. Nye observed that the U.S. has stronger assimilating power than many other countries in the international system. Some international economic institutions such as the IMF insist on the principle of free market, which is compatible with American ideology and society. The reason why this kind of institution has succeeded is that, to a great extent, the United States uses them to achieve its goals and those of its allies.

In the process of globalization, many significant international institutions are established in terms of Western civilization and controlled by Western countries. The U.S. has successfully established a framework for the institutionalization of capitalism. International institutions under the auspices of the United States influence not only how other countries seek their interests, but also how they look at their own behaviors and their definition of their national interests.¹³ The U.S. uses the World Trade Organization to impose rigorous requisites that are in its interests upon those potential member states. By the same token, it uses its special status in the World Bank and the IMF to make them serve its hegemonic ambition.

Professor Samuel Huntington admitted in his *The Clash of Civilizations* that “the West is in effect using international institutions, military power and economic resources to run the world in ways that will maintain Western predominance, protect Western interests, and promote Western political and economic values”. It tries its best to “induce other peoples to adopt ideas concerning

democracy and human rights”.¹⁴ It should be noted that a few Western countries have often interrupted U.N. human rights initiatives. They set their values and human rights standards as universal principles, making the U.N. play its role in a way that is in their own interests. The so-called U.N.-led humanitarian interventions are often assumed by some Western countries that make them excuses for their pursuit of power politics, interfering with others’ internal affairs, and impinging on other countries’ sovereignty. The Somali case is a typical example.

Third, using the market economy for cultural infiltration. In the current background of world economic globalization it has been very difficult to inflict Western civilization on other peoples by means of force. Thus, Western countries begin to use the force of market economy to spread their ideas and values of freedom and democracy. The usual cultural strategy many Western countries employ is advertising their products and cultivating admiration, yearning and pursuit for their cultures in developing countries with further identification and acceptance of Western lifestyles and values. In today’s Western society, the market economy is very developed, every mental product has been commercialized in the market, and cultural power and commodity power are intimately intermixed. The U.S.-led West pays more attention to the production and export of cultural commodities, making them the basic channel of people exchange, communication of ideas, and value sharing. In the process of the globalization of modern market economy, Western countries and the United States in particular increase their investment in cultural industries and the export of cultural products. High technologies have made Western cultural products more stimulating, attractive and competitive.

Western governments give their ideological enterprises such as film, television, broadcast, CD, fax and internet very strong support and always provide favorable conditions for their efforts to open overseas markets. According to statistics, the U.S. occupies 75 percent of the world market in film and television. Satellite transmission has made it difficult to prevent the spread of Western culture. Protecting intellectual property rights has been employed as an excuse by Western countries to blame many developing countries. The underlying objective is in fact the unchecked spread of Western civilization. 72 of the 400 richest U.S. enterprises are cultural ones and the U.S. audiovisual industry is the second largest export industry, second only to aerospace. In Britain, the average growth rate of the cultural industry is twice that of economic growth. In Japan, the production of entertainment is second only to that of automobiles.¹⁵ Just as “market is another battle field”, the seriousness and intensity of international competition over soft power in the context of the market economy are unprecedented.

Fourth, competing for human resources and maintaining competitive advantage. Spiritual values and mental energies created by culture are major parts of comprehensive national power. In the new century, it is unavoidable that various cultures interact throughout the world; competition over comprehensive national power, focusing on cultural power, intensifies. The results of the competition over soft power depend upon the improvement of national quality and the employment of human resources; these, in turn, are determined by culture since both material and spiritual wealth are created by human beings.

The knowledge economy highlights the importance of human capital. People’s wisdom and will embody soft power. Because of its advanced properties and special influence, culture drives the development of economy and politics and lays the theoretical foundation for strengthening comprehensive national power. Because of its rich spiritual resources and inspiring power, culture, creates a people, making people cohere and manifesting the strength of comprehensive national power via the formation of excellent human resources and national cohesiveness. Because of its mental products and developing cultural industry, culture also propels the improvement of social

productivity and embodies the physical aspects of comprehensive national power. Therefore, the development of, and contending for, excellent human resources has become the focus of cultural power competition. The United States and other Western countries emphasize competition for better human resources, in their search for a better position to control the world human resource market. Every year the U.S. accepts many students from developing countries, assimilates them to Western civilization, employs most of them to work, and even sees those graduates who return to their countries as conduits of Western civilization. The famous U.S. international strategist, Zbigniew Brzezinski, wrote in his *Grand Chessboard*, American culture is uniquely adaptive to economic growth. It attracts and assimilates at a fast pace human resources from overseas, thus promoting the increase of national power.¹⁶ It is estimated that the developing countries lost in human resources about 2,000,000 during the period from the 1960s through the 1990s. The direct economic loss of this is about US\$100-200 billion; the indirect loss is incalculable.¹⁷

Fifth, striving for better media position and intensifying cultural expansion. The network of news production and distribution in the U.S.-led Western countries covers the whole world and impacts greatly and profoundly on developing countries. They take advantage of their strong economic power and advanced science and technology to invest a huge amount of money in cultural enterprises, to form a giant “cultural troop”, to establish their own media empire, and thus aggressively to disseminate the Western civilization aggressively. In the United States, mass media is called “another government”. Some people see the newspaper as the “bible of democracy”. The U.S. media highlight this process and spread information, often pursuing dramatic effect through deliberate exaggeration. The U.S. television industry is called “the throne of the electronic king”. Whoever takes the throne can use it to serve his/her own interests.

In contemporary international society, U.S.-led Western developed countries monopolize the Internet technology. At present there are 13 top-domain-name servers serving the netizens all over the world, 10 of which belong to the U.S. Someone alleges that the Internet is the “democracy wall in the air”. The U.S. uses the Internet to serve American cultural strategy. American popular music, fashion and lifestyle spread to the world in the course of the U.S. media empire’s expansion. Today’s U.S. mass media have become huge private enterprises, and especially the mainstream media are in the hands of major interest groups. They advocate American democracy and serve the U.S. interests deliberately in the name of free speech and free press. The U.S. mass media are a “huge prism,” which conveys to the audience “images” after a careful filtration and process, and therefore reflecting their values.

As Nye said, American culture is a kind of soft power resource that does not need much investment, but has considerable value. American mass culture contained in products and communications is very attractive. Its ethnic openness and political power for promoting the American values of democracy and human rights have international implications.¹⁸ Since the Western media provide a variety of information including both progressive, healthy, and beneficial contents and reactionary, prejudiced, and blue substance, most non-Western countries suffer serious challenges.

Sixth, making use of religious and ethnic problems to push expansion strategy. Culture is a complex entity containing ethnic and religious factors. Differences in ethnic habits and religious beliefs always lead to contradictions and conflicts. They existed in the Cold War period, but they were hidden by the major contradiction of bipolar competition for hegemony. With the end of the Cold War, hidden problems emerge and the influence of ethnic and religious factors on international relations increases.

Most hot issues in contemporary international society have something to do with ethnicity and religion. This kind of contradiction and conflict occurs not only between different ethnic and religious communities, but also within the same ethnic and religious group for reasons of ethnicity and creed. The ethnic and religious conflicts in the Balkans, Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and the Caucasus have been the hot focus of the world. It should be noted that these conflicts are mostly domestic, but lead to international intervention.

Most international intervention are led and controlled by the U.S. and joined by Western countries. The degree and mode of intervention depend on their strategic needs. The U.S.-led Western countries took different standards and procedures when they intervened with the Kosovo crisis of Yugoslavia, Kurd problems in Turkey, and the Chechen in Russia. The war of U.S.-led NATO against Yugoslavia brought heavy misery to local people and harmed relationships among major powers. Obviously this kind of international intervention cannot resolve ethnic and religious contradictions and conflicts; it is useless for improving relationships among major powers.

Under particular conditions, fair international intervention can help solve domestic conflicts based on ethnic and religious factors. However, it will have contrary effects if international intervention is carried out without respect to the will of direct parties or without necessary discussion and resolution in the U.N. Security Council. History has shown us that ethnic and religious problems are complex and sensitive their “settlement cannot rely on foreign force intervention, which can only intensify the problem and leave long-term hidden troubles.”¹⁹

The Impact of Soft Power on International Relations

In the evolution of international relations, intangible soft power is an engine that drives the relations among nations or groups of nations. Soft power comes from such side factors as ideologies, social systems, organization mechanisms, lifestyles, development models, cultural traditions, values, ethnic characteristics, religious beliefs, information resources, interdependence, mutual trust, etc. In this sense, soft power can be called cultural power. In today’s international society, competition over comprehensive national power focusing on cultural power has been an important phenomenon in the development of international relations.

The impacts of cultural power on international relations are as follow.

Cognitive Filter. Culture plays a great role in the decision-making processes of leaders and nations. Leaders observe issues and make decisions through the prism of distinct cultural perceptions. In this way, culture serves as an important barrier to international relations, understanding and results of negotiations because various parties are bound to look at any given decision or dispute in starkly different terms. Leaders, peoples or countries are affected by their cultural differences which reflect their values, outlooks, interests, habits, hopes and fears. Failure to appreciate these differences will lead to misinterpretations, and erroneous judgments. Obviously, cultural systems are closely related to international relations.

“Navigating Compass” in Decision-making. Alastair Iain Johnston wrote in 1995 that different states have different predominant strategic preferences rooted in the early or formative experiences of the state. They are influenced to some degree by the philosophical, political, cultural, and cognitive characteristics of the state and its elite. Cultural concepts strongly influence the way in which national leaders view policy problems, and often determine the solutions they choose to deal with them, both individually and collectively. Therefore, cultures are critical for

these leaders to cope with various issues in international relations. In this sense, culture is also a “navigational compass” of international relations.

Architect of International Social Trust. Francis Fukuyama focuses on the sociability of culture or social trust in his book *Trust: Social Virtue and Creation of Prosperity*. A nation’s welfare and competitiveness, he argues, are conditioned by a single, pervasive cultural characteristic. This is social trust at work as a precondition for success in the global economy. Some countries have a higher level of social trust while others have lower levels of social trust. This is bound to influence the degree of cooperation in international relations. Societies with a high degree of generalized social trust and a resulting strong propensity for spontaneous sociability, generate large, complex organizations capable of global reach, in other words, multinational cooperation. Culture determines the degree of social trust and influences the nature of cooperative institutions. Culture serves as the dominant blueprint for social, economic, and military structure and institutions, thus exercising a strong influence on the behavior and prospects of the world community.

The Driving Power of International Integration. Arnold Toynbee wrote in 1934 that there is a powerful unifying and homogenizing trend in the processes of the rise and fall of civilizations. In 1948 he went on expounding the uniformity which these separate civilizations display in their cultural character and social structure. This has been produced by four thousand years of parallel development, which culminated in the industrial age. In 1946, in his *The Meeting of East and West*, the philosopher F.S.C. Northrop argued that East and West can meet, not only because they are saying the same thing, but because they are expressing different yet complementary things. Both are required for an adequate and true conception of the human self and its universe. He predicted the rise of a new system of thought, which is the unique achievement of the union of East and West. In 1983, Ernest Gellner summarized some of the features of industrialized society and held that the result of industrialization is a global continuum of a basically homogenous industrial culture. These are the major points of the cultural convergence thesis.

One critique of this thesis relates to time frames. Thousands of different social structures were possible. And yet the basic features of all advanced economies are relatively uniform: all possess common institutions like central banks, ministries of finance, technology research centers, schools at a host of levels, organizational systems such as the military and tens of thousands of other parallel structures. Especially the tremendous influence of information technology on the society is astounding. The homogeneity and complementarity of world cultures produce a great irresistible driving power in international relations.

A Gene for Conflict in International Relations. Ten years ago, Samuel Huntington proposed his notion of a “clash of civilizations.” He wrote that in the post-Cold War world the great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. The principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will be the battle line of the future.

The major reasons are: the differences among cultures will cause war; as the world becomes smaller and interaction between peoples of different civilizations increases, this intensifies civilizational consciousness and awareness of differences between civilizations; modernization and social change separates people from long-standing local identities, with the result that religion has moved in to fill the gap; the growth of civilizational consciousness is enhanced by the dual role of the West; cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and hence less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones; successful economic regionalism reinforces civilization-consciousness. Many agree with Huntington that cultural differences will lead to conflicts because the resources of conflict have to do with the cultural gene.

But the clash of civilizations must not be exaggerated or overstated as an absolute thesis. As Akira Iriye wrote 20 years ago, a nation is a cultural system and international relations are interactions among cultural systems. The role of culture as soft power in international relations can be summarized in two aspects, facilitating convergence and causing conflict. Both the positive and the negative effects of culture on international relations are displayed in this contradictory process of convergence and conflict.

In his culture studies, Toynbee explored the uniformity of various civilizations. His hypothesis was that though in the early 21st century people would believe the great event of the twentieth century was the impact of Western civilization upon all the other living societies of the world of that day, a thousand years later Western civilization may have been transformed, almost out of all recognition, by a counter-radiation of influence from the rest of the world. By the fourth millennium, the distinctions, which loom large today between the Western and other civilizations will have come to seem unimportant. What will stand out will be a single, great experience, common to humankind. This social change and homogenization is the result of the congruence of cultures.

Many other scholars support this idea of cultural convergence. Benjamin Barber held that the onrush of economic, technological, and ecological forces demands integration and uniformity. Vaclav Havel wrote that Western civilization, in the history of the human race, will span the entire globe and firmly bind together all human societies, submitting them to a common global destiny. The result, Havel said, is an amalgamation of cultures. Fouad Ajami wrote in the same spirit that the things and ways that the West took to the rest have become the ways of the world, and all these have been internationalized in the most remote places. Ernest Gellner held that the industrialized mode of production uniquely determines the culture of society: the same technology canalizes people into the same type of activity and the same kind of hierarchy. The result would be a global continuum of a basically homogeneous industrial culture. David Hitchcock concluded that although differences over values do exist between the East and the West, they are being exaggerated. In fact the common threads developing between both sides across the Pacific are far more significant than the differing values each holds dear. Hitchcock pointed out that some of the synthesis between the East and the West for which Toynbee searched is already under way.²⁰

The power produced in the process of cultural integration reinforces the interdependence among nations, among major powers in particular. After World War II, the world movement of contradiction was transformed into bi-polar confrontation for a long period, with competition for hegemony between the United States and the Soviet Union as the principal contradiction of the world. As people's attention was attracted to competition over military powers, little attention was given to cultural factors.

Nonetheless, the U.S. put forward the strategy of peaceful evolution, using cultural power to conduct its strategy in a deliberately planned way. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the dramatic transformation of Eastern Europe made the US-led Western world very happy. They held that the power of democratic ideas won the Cold War. So the United States, as "the strongest democracy in the world," should "bear the responsibility of leadership and helping protect all free countries in the globe" and "spread and reinforce democratic values throughout the world." After the end of the Cold War, international relations readjusted in a complicated movement of contradictions. Multi-polarization of the world developed in a tortuous way: major power relations were driven by economic globalization and common points of national interests, the interdependence of economies, and common points in political relations among nations were increased.

All these resulted in a major transformation of international relations. In recent years, the United States, Japan, Russia, China and European Union have readjusted their strategies one after another aiming at bilateral or multilateral constructive and cooperative relations, friendly and cooperative relations, or strategic partnerships. All have taken proactive steps to enhance political, economic, military and cultural communication. Regular presidential exchange visits and hotlines are conducive to mutual understanding, reduction of misunderstanding, problem solving and strengthening cooperation. In the readjusted course of major power relations, not only are there ample variables in political, economic and military fields, but also the cultural factor is an undeniable vector. Even the variables in political, economic and military fields have cultural roots. After review of the major elements of intangible power such as national cohesiveness, cultural universality, and the role of international institutions, Nye observed that the problem facing the United States is “how much the United States can control the political environment and let other countries act according to the American will”. This is true also of other big countries.

International contact is also a source of soft power. International contact can improve assimilation, raise the degree of economic interdependence, and refine political consultation regimes. Disputing parties among great powers, through contradiction, struggle, and even fierce conflict, always come to compromise after dialogue and consultation via diplomatic channels. This constitutes a process from cultural misunderstanding to collective identity. Culture, as a soft power, is the major root cause of the evolving model of contemporary international relations. Though the transition of international configuration and the adjustment of major power relations are indeed adjustments of interest relations, the distribution of interests is closely related to value orientations – which are the core of culture. In this sense, the integration of different cultures facilitates the interdependence of major powers, increases the probability of pursuing common interests and consensus, and then replaces the rule of zero-sum game with that of plus-sum game. Looking at the transition of international relations in the post-Cold War period, we can say that the use of soft power has been the major means when various countries deal with international issues and seek national interests.

The interdependence of soft powers does not mean that everything is harmonious. Cultural differences necessarily lead to conflicts in international relations. As world cultures vary and each has its merits and demerits, conflicts are inevitable when cultures intersect. The above-discussed cultural integration is the positive side. But there is also another, negative side. Cultural difference is one of the reasons for conflict. The United States, Japan, Russia, China and the European Union all play major roles in the transition of the world configuration. Each has its own respective value orientation when it makes foreign strategies. Hence divergence, contradiction, struggle and even conflict may occur when their culture differences extend to international relations.

Culture as an intangible power restricts the division and integration between countries and international organizations or institutions. There are consensus and differences on human rights, for example, among countries. These contradictions reflect the conflict among different cultural systems, which is also manifested in relations among nations or groups of nations. From this contradiction and conflict we can foresee the diverse strategies by various countries.

The creation and implementation of national strategy reflects a people’s will and its national leaders’ personal role but the national leaders’ ideas and decision-making criteria are shaped by long-term cultural evolution. Confrontations and conflicts between countries reflect their cultural discrepancies.

But when we explore the role of culture in international relations, we must not exaggerate the possibility of conflict deriving from cultural differences. Although this is difficult to avoid from

the perspective of the contradictory movements of cultural interaction, the continuity of conflict is limited. Culture is a sort of shapeless soft power which has to play its role in international relations via such tangible media as politics, economy and the military. Public opinion campaigns in politics, famous brand competition in economy, and the psychological battle in the military all belong to the competition and contest of cultural powers. With the globalization of the world economy, national interests increasingly overlap and international interdependence expands. In the process of globalization, the cultural conflicts during interactions will be definitely limited and reduced. The increase of common interests will encourage mutual learning and mutual integration among different cultures. As the degree of integration of various cultures grows, the intensity of cultural conflict will shrink accordingly.

It should be noted here that there are cultural differences even among countries that share the same culture tradition which also can result in contradictions and conflicts. For example, the Western culture has many branches in its evolution. Despite the same fundamental value orientation, they have different views on various issues in different historical processes. They take different attitudes and measures when dealing with different issues in international relations based upon different objects, different times, different occasions, and different interests. Even in the current European Union that has realized a unified currency, its member nations do not attenuate their various cultural characters. Therefore, in the Western world, the contradictory movement of cultural differences will affect their mutual relations as well as the process of conflict and readjustment.

Conclusion

Soft power is an important part of comprehensive national power. Though there is not yet agreement on its definition, in general it can also be called mental power. The concept of soft power is in contrast with hard power, just as mental power is contrasted to physical power and culture to politics, economy and the military. Soft power is formless, deriving from such soft factors as spirit (including psychology) and intelligence, all of which belong to the category of culture.

The competition over comprehensive national power in today's world is very intensive. Soft power pivoted on cultural power has both positive and negative effects on the development of comprehensive national power and its implications on the evolution of international relations are increasing. Many contemporary international issues have profound cultural root causes. Countries around the world are paying more attention to employing soft power to serve their national interests. In today's international politics, the resources of soft power are becoming more important. The cultural building is strategically vital to a country's development of national power, the growth of its hard power and its international contributions and influence. With regard to developing countries, it is crucial for their future and fate to realize the simultaneous development of their culture.

Soft power pivoted on cultural power is playing and will continue to play a great and lasting role in the transition of international relations and world configuration. Cultural communication reinforces interdependence among nations, raises the possibility of seeking common interests, and helps the win-win plus-sum game to replace the zero-sum game in the process of cultural integration. The cohesiveness of homogeneous or quasi-homogeneous cultures is shaping a strong tendency of regionalization, which will be definitely conducive to the development of world multi-polarization.

Cultural heterogeneity could also spark transnational contradictions or conflicts. The complicated transformation of present day international relations, particularly the transition of major power relations, represents the contradictions and conflicts that exist in the course of cultural interactions.

However, we cannot exaggerate without limit the possibility of such contradictions or conflicts. Due to the pressures of the times, countries can always find a way to reach a compromise via dialogue and consultation when they handle international problems. The deep root of the current new model of international relations' evolution is just culture, a soft power.

In sum, "Our world is rich and colorful. The diversity of civilizations is the basic feature of human society and also the driving force behind the progress of human civilization." In the competition for strong comprehensive national power, "respect should be given to the history, culture, social system and mode of development of each individual country. The diversity of the world is a reality that should be recognized. Different civilizations and social systems should enjoy long-term coexistence and draw upon and benefit from each other in the process of competition and comparison; they should achieve common development while seeking common ground and shelving differences."²¹ This is the plus-sum game in the competition of culture as a soft power. If every country abides by this aim, the positive effects of soft power competition on international relations will be given full play, thereby promoting the positive development of international relations.

Notes

1. Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead*, Chinese version, translated by He Xiaodong et al (Military Translation Press, 1992), pp. 25-26, 145.

2. Ray Cline, the former Vice Director of CIA and Information Director of State Department in the United States. His "function of national power" is: $Pp=(C+E+M)X(S+W)$, Pp-national power, C-critical entities, E-economic ability, M-military ability, S-strategic intention, W-will to implement national strategy.

3. Hua Jian et al, *The Competition for Soft Power: Trends of Cultural Competition in the Context of Globalization* (Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press and China Higher Education Press, 2001), p. 5.

4. Huang Suofeng, *Comprehensive National Power Studies* (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press, 1992), pp. 102, 164-165.

5. Gan Chunsong, *Modernization and Cultural Option* (Jiangxi People Press, 1998), pp. 2-4.

6. Jiang Zeming, Speeches on different conferences, see *Wenhui Daily*, December 20, 2001.

7. Nye, pp. 25-26.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

9. Jiang Zeming.

10. Nye, p. 162.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

12. Zhang Hongyi, ed, *American Human Rights and Human Right Diplomacy* (People Press, 1993), p. 282.

13. Nye, pp. 158-159.

14. Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.

15. Chen Kemin et al, *Thinking Oriented to New Century* (Shanghai People Press, 2001), pp. 256-257.

16. Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Grand Chessboard*, Chinese version (Shanghai People Press, 1998), p. 11.
17. Chen Kemin et al, *Thinking Oriented to New Century* (Shanghai People Press, 2001), p. 104.
18. Nye, pp. 160-161.
19. Jiang Zeming's speech in meeting with Finland's President Ahtisaari, EU special envoy, *Xinhua Daily Telegraph*, June 9, 1999.
20. On the above discussion, cf. Michael Marzarr, Culture and International Relations, *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 1996.
21. Jiang Zeming's speech at the grand gathering marking the 80th anniversary of the foundation of CPC, *China Daily*, July 2, 2001.

3.

Cultural Power and Cultural Conflict

Guo Jiemin

Cultural power, also called cultural hegemony, cultural imperialism and cultural colonialism, is generally referred to as imposed cultural values between states and between ethnic groups. This concept first put forward by Gramsci in the 1930s revealed the “super-political veil” of the traditional concept of culture. He held that cultural hegemony was an indispensable ruling form. To rule civil society, the ruling class must draw support from intellectuals and cultural institutions to make its ethics, politics and cultural values a universally accepted code of conduct and make the broad masses of the people freely agree with the social lifestyle of the basic ruling group.¹ In fact, before that, Western colonialists used cultural power as their powerful weapon in the international arena. Wherever they went, they recklessly destroyed local civilizations, denied or changed local moral norms and forcibly judged the destiny of other countries and ethnic groups by their own cultural values. History is developing, the times are forging ahead and peace and development have become the themes of the current age. But cultural power as a phenomenon contrary to the times has not yet disappeared from the scene. Though it has come by the barbarous and bloody means the colonialists had adopted, its essence remains as before.

The Historical Background of Cultural Power

Cultural power has not emerged and developed accidentally, but has a certain background in the times.

An Age of the Emergence of Culture

The end of the Cold War has entailed a softening of fierce military threats in international relations and a relaxation of ideological confrontation between blocs. Many countries have begun economic reforms and contacts between countries and between ethnic groups have increasingly been strengthened, thus enhancing awareness of civilization. Whether a country is strong or weak is measured no longer only from the political and military perspective, but in terms of its comprehensive national strength. This includes not only such factors as economy and military affairs, science and technology, and natural resources, but also the essential spiritual factors of national culture, will, character and spirit. It includes also the integration and balance of those essential factors.

This clearly enhances the importance of culture, which now becomes one of the main factors determining a country’s strength, along with politics, economy, military affairs, science and technology. Because of changes in world political and military situations, countries with a strong “hegemonic awareness” have turned their attention to the cultural field and attempted to unify the world with their cultural values in order to achieve results they cannot reach through political struggles and military force. The modernized media have facilitated this enabling cultural power to emerge at this historical moment and become a very prominent post-Cold War cultural phenomenon between countries and ethnic groups.

The New World Pattern Demands New Cultural Values

At present, the world pattern is moving towards multi-polarization. First, the position of the U.S. as the sole superpower is declining. Although it has tried to move from leadership of the West to that of the world, its internal and external contradictions are numerous and its abilities fall short of its wishes. Second, Western Europe has formed a community to save the central position of the West; it has moved from being a follower to being a competitor of the U.S. Third, Japan has continued to say “no” to the U.S.; it has competed fiercely with the U.S. economically and displayed remarkable political ability. Fourth, Russia has inherited most of the assets of the former Soviet Union, especially its military force; it remains strong, though its vitality has been sapped due to the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. Fifth, China has developed rapidly since the beginning of its reform and opening and is gradually manifesting its strength. In the world, from the perspective of comprehensive national strength, the U.S. ranks first; militarily, the U.S. and Russia predominate; in economy, the U.S., Japan and Europe form a tripod; politically, there are five power centers, the U.S., Russia, Europe, Japan and China. The above pattern has appeared in embryonic form; it is difficult to determine how many poles the world will be divided into in the future.

Under the situation of a multi-polar world pattern, mutual respect and tolerance between countries appear especially important. As early as 1988, when meeting Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Deng Xiaoping pointed out, “Two things have to be done at the same time. One is to establish a new international political order; the other is to establish a new international economic order.” As for establishing a new international order, we should take the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as norms for international relations.² However, the U.S. has not abandoned the effort to establish a “unipolar” world dominated by itself. It assumes the responsibility of leading the world, promoting U.S. values and safeguarding U.S. interests all over the world. The essence of the so-called U.S. responsibility for leadership³ is to continue to establish U.S. hegemonic position in the world. Maintaining this position and advancing U.S. values, including cultural values, are twin aims. Maintaining the former is beneficial to promoting the latter, while promoting the latter maintains the former. At the moment when a new world pattern is in the shaping, the U.S. is stepping up pursuit of cultural power as part of its plan for acting as a “world leader”.

Historical Source of Cultural Power

Deep-rooted Western Centralism

In research on world civilizations, many Western philosophers and historians have elaborated the following view: In the world, there is only one real civilization, that is, Western civilization. Other civilizations either lack vitality or have converged into Western civilization, which is a “universal civilization suiting everyone” just as Western values are global values. For instance, the great philosopher, Hegel once stood on the “holy” world philosophic rostrum in Europe and solemnly foretold with European pride that the development of the heart of the history of humankind like the route of the sun, rises in the East and falls in the West. But after falling in the West, it will no longer rise in the East, for the West occupies the center of the world.⁴ British writer Rudyard Kipling nakedly declared that the burden of the whites lies in subjecting the East to the high British civilization either by belief or by violence.⁵

The dissemination of modern Western civilization accompanied the imperialist aggression and expansion. Western centralists deny that the development of any cultural type is the result of choice according to its own distinct cultural background, conditions and needs. They hold stubbornly that only their approach to the world, value standard and pattern of behavior is correct and civil. They have never seriously listened to the voice from the East and have always sized up the East at a distance and from a height. Even in the face of the fact that in recent years East Asian countries have risen one after another and accomplished economic miracles, some Western thinkers still hold a suspicious and negative attitude to East Asia's important role on the world. They even think that this is the result of importing Western culture.

The formation of Western centralism is based first on the sense of superiority resulting from the development of Western industrial revolution. Then it reflects the fact that Western Christians consider themselves to be the chosen of God who must shoulder the mission of disseminating civilization to the whole world. Hence, they are always overweening, like to play the role of "Savior," and cannot tolerate any phenomenon contrary to Western cultural values. As early as 90 years ago, Sun Yat-sen acutely pointed out that Europeans regarded themselves as disseminators of orthodox cultures and posed as cultural masters. Any cultural development or independent thinking outside the European was regarded as a revolt. This was an "overbearing culture".

Lingering Cold War "Customs"

In the Cold War period hegemonic countries confronted each other as enemies. Since then geopolitical enemies no longer existed, but by habit and out of their political and economic needs, countries accustomed to the Cold War shifted their struggles to the more extensive field of civilization and culture, and extended their target to the whole Third World. They vowed to conduct "a war without gun smoke" with all non-Western civilizations and attempted to use their value standards to unify the world; they have raised civilizational and cultural issues as a new excuse for interfering in other countries' internal affairs.

The U.S. regards the drastic changes in East Europe and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union as a victory of the tactics of peaceful evolution or of U.S. cultural values. In his agenda, Bush wrote that political and economic ties have been favored by the attraction of U.S. culture for the whole world; this is a new "soft power". Some important U.S. Government officials have also put forward in their speeches about foreign policy an "expansion strategy" of spreading the market-oriented family of democratic countries to the rest of the world. Under this thinking, the U.S. has actively intervened into Latin America to build a so-called "democratized hemisphere"; it has also set up "Radio Free Asia" based on the earlier "Radio Free Europe" with ulterior motives. The U.S. has made it clear that Radio Free Asia will also play a proper role in the ideological field.⁶ Its motive in pushing cultural power and making Cold War noises is all too clear: the Cold War has passed away as an era, but its habits remain.

Cultural Power Contrary to the Trend of World Cultural Development

World Cultural Pluralism

Cultural connotations are very rich. Its central content is a deep value system, a characteristic national psychology evolved over a long history, and a kind of lifestyle. Different economic, political, historical and geographic environments, climate conditions and "genetic codes" have

caused many differences between various ethnic groups in custom, habit, ideology and concept. In this view a cultural historical typology takes the expression of the diversity of the human lifestyles as its mission and holds that culture is plural. Development of any cultural type is the result of choice and is created according to its own cultural law, cultural background, historical conditions and realistic needs; this develops various cultural modes in reality. However, some Western centralist scholars often mechanically look on and analyze the complicated reality of other cultural types according to the Western model of cultural development, and deny the diversity of various cultures and their ability to choose their own development road. This is quite absurd and not in conformity with objective facts.

As all know, four countries with ancient civilizations of different cultural types have made great contributions to world culture. Other countries' national cultures have also more or less enriched the cultural treasure house. Since modern times, because of the industrial revolution in the West, "Western centered theory" and "Western cultural superiority theory" have prevailed for a time. Western cultural values long occupied a dominant position in the world. Modernization became almost a synonym for Westernization. Western culture naturally has its own strong points, but is not universally applicable and cannot be imposed on countries and peoples with different national conditions.

"East Asian economic miracles" have presented a development road different from the West. Though much influenced by Western culture, some countries are quite different on a series of issues such as ideology, concept and interrelations between individuals, family, the collective and the state. Even Japan actively absorbing Western culture has always combined the Japanese spirit with Western learning and tenaciously defended its national spirit.⁷ Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, guided by Marxism, China has had as its objective the realization of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Especially since the beginning of its reform and opening China has insisted on the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. It has made giant strides in socialist modernization and formulated socialist culture and values with Chinese characteristics, attracting world attention. These facts strongly prove that in contrast to the opinion of Western scholars, it is not only Western culture that can help bring about a sole successful mode of modernization in the history of humankind.

Economic success has strengthened the cultural self-confidence of East Asian and Southeast Asian countries, which no longer consider that the "Western moon seems more full" and have clearly recognized that Western values are not adapted to Asia. But they do not rule out an absorption of the strong points of Western cultures. Some insightful Western personages have begun to realize the limitations and drawbacks of Western culture. Some have pointed out that the problem of Western culture is that it can successfully reduce mortality from diseases, but it can not reduce the suicide rate from the collapse of values. They advocate learning from ancient Oriental culture, resulting in an "Oriental fad" in some regions.

Each culture has its inherent value. There is only difference between cultures, but no distinction between the good and the bad. Taking Western cultural values as the sole choice of the whole of humankind is unrealistic, unscientific and unreasonable. The world is developing towards a multi-polarization that promotes cultural pluralism. With the world economic center moving eastward, it is fully possible for East Asia to become the third largest cultural center in the world, following North America and West Europe.

Cultural Blend and Conflict

Each culture has its own national characteristics. With the construction and hookup of information superhighways and the close interrelation between the economies of the world, different countries and ethnic groups have forged unprecedented interrelations. This greatly increases the chance of exchange and collision between different countries.

Generally speaking, in contacts with different cultures, one ethnic group always measures the others by its own value standards, either deepening understanding and blending or broadening the divergence and causing friction and conflict. Neither blend nor conflict is absolute; there is conflict in the process of blending, while there is slow mutual infiltration tending towards blending even in the process of conflict. This is an unavoidable phenomenon in contacts between different cultures. One major advance in the modern cultural theory is that people universally realize that cultures are mixed, different, interrelated and interdependent. Edward Said held that the development and maintenance of each culture needs another different and competitive culture, that is, the existence of an alter ego.⁸ Undifferentiated culture is unrealistic and can be said to be lopsided.

Divergence does not mean conflict, while blend does not mean the elimination of national individuality. Correct realization of blend and conflict in cultural development lies in exploring how to make different cultures blend and avoid conflict; this is the requirement of peaceful development in human society. Historically, there have existed many civilizations such as Islam, Confucianism and Buddhism on the Asian continent. Over thousands of years they have been marked by exchange and coexistence. Only after meeting with Western civilization, have relations between rule and subjection appeared. Since the beginning of its reform and opening, China has felt that it can absorb advanced technology and managerial experience favorable to its modernization drive in contact with other (including Western) civilizations. Facts have proved the coexistence of different civilizations to be possible. Here the key lies in the attitude of mutual respect, the position of equality, and in the full realization that this is a two-way choice. Marx showed how history transfers into world history by bringing to light from the angle of productive forces the importance of the extension of universal human contacts to cultural accumulation and evolution. We must realize that the interaction between Eastern and Western civilizations is the fundamental condition for the progress of humankind. The 21st century is an era of the globalization of the coexistence of plural cultures and requires a corresponding “global awareness”. The whole world cannot have but one kind of cultural values and one voice. Exchanges, learning from each other’s strong points and blending between different cultures will promote friendship between peoples of various countries and ethnic groups. But taking an overweening attitude to push cultural power goes against the trend of the times; it is bound to trigger or intensify contradictions and conflicts between different cultures and to create a tense international situation.

The “Clash of Civilizations” Theory Is a Cultural Power Theory

After the Cold War, some Western scholars have actively cooperated with U.S.-led Western countries in pushing cultural power on developing countries and put forward in succession such theories as “the end of history”, “the clash of civilizations” and “post-colonialism”. They have attempted to create theoretical foundations for their cultural infiltration and expansion under the cloak of rationality and legality. Among these views, the “clash of civilizations” theory has had

the most extensive influence. It holds that in the next century, conflict between civilizations will supplant ideological and other forms of conflict as the dominant form of global conflict. We must analyze this theory in order to detect its crux.

Behind Heavyheartedness

First of all, it must be noted that here the concept of civilization is basically equal to the concept of culture. The two can be interchanged. For example, “Confucian civilization” can also be called “Confucian culture”. Civilization is an existential form of culture. Then to what does the “clash of civilizations” theory specifically refer? Professor Samuel Huntington of Harvard University wrote in the article “The Clash of Civilizations?” that non-Western civilizations no longer remain objects, but have become actors. The centerpiece of international politics will become the interaction between the West and non-Western civilizations. In the near future, the focus of conflict will concentrate on relations between the West and some Islamic-Confucian countries. He means that non-Western civilizations have gone up on the international stage and stood up to the West as equals, leading to cultural conflict.

In essence, this is entirely a cultural power theory that regards Western civilization as the orthodox one which embodies the “absolute spirit”, to which other civilizations should be subjected. Once non-Western civilizations have an independent spirit and move from being “objects” to “actors”, there will be a deluge of rebellion which should be “contained” and struck down. This thinking represents the aspirations of some Western centralists. For instance, an article in the German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* said that the clash of civilizations between Islam and the West is obvious and that political Islam seeks to replace Western civilization so that Islamic civilization occupies the world’s leading position.⁹ An article in German *Die Welt* also held that Oriental culture is weakening the infiltration of Western ideology. It pointed out that with the end of the Cold War various civilized societies outside the West seem to emit a new radiant force, which is crippling the imported principles of Western life and strengthening local cultural awareness.

As described above, world culture is moving towards diversification. There is not only conflict, but also a blending of different cultures in their exchanges and interchanges. The key lies in mutual respect and inclusiveness, which is beneficial to cultural blending and coexistence. The “clash of civilizations” theory has absolutized local ethnic and religious cultural conflicts in history and reality. It has turned a blind eye to the megatrend of peaceful coexistence, exchange and development between ethnic groups and cultures. In cultural development history, while Western culture has made great contributions to human civilization, Oriental culture is also a gem of human ideology. They should exchange with each other and learn from each other’s strong points in order to benefit humankind, rather than be used to repel each other and contend for hegemony.

If Not Power, What?

The “clash of civilizations” theory has naturally been criticized in many quarters. For this reason, S. Huntington wrote another article entitled “If Not Civilization, What?: Paradigms of the Post-Cold War World”, reiterating that civilization is the source of post-Cold War conflicts.

Cultural power is bound to accompany political power. For example, U.S. foreign policy has always included a plan of disseminating U.S. cultural values to the rest of the world, of which exporting the mode of U.S. political development is one of the major elements. In the international

political arena, the U.S. has always brandished a menacing club, now sanctioning this country, now punishing that country. The world has on occasion been divided into four types of countries -- "law-abiding," "newly-emerging," "barbarous" and "gloomy". To guarantee U.S. interests, it has been considered imperative to have an operable international system in conformity with U.S. standards. The U.S. has been regarding China as its potential rival and after the "clash of civilizations" theory very many pages about the so-called "China threat" theory have appeared in some overseas newspapers and periodicals. China has always adhered to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and advocated settling international disputes through peaceful means. In its modern process of seeking national and ethnic interests, it has never expanded to other regions and fields outside its homeland. Where did the "China threat" come from?

The so-called human rights issue is a political slogan of which the U.S. is most fond and a main means by which the U.S. pursues its cultural power. It accuses Singapore of being an Oriental authoritarian state on the grounds of infringing on human rights. For this reason, Lee Kuan Yew has made a series of statements. On the one hand, he expounds the divergence between concepts of family, society and state in Oriental civilization and those in Western civilization. On the other hand, he criticizes Western values based upon individualism and various problems occurring in U.S. society.

However, the U.S. has managed with difficulty to subject other countries to its cultural values. Time and again it has issued human rights reports with vicious slanders and charges against human rights situations in Eastern countries, especially China, interfering in other countries' internal affairs. This has aroused dissatisfaction and resistance from many countries. In reply to the question: "if not civilization, what?" aimed at establishing the dominant position of Western civilization, we would counter with a question "if not power, what?"

Marxist cultural theory, based on the fundamentals of historical materialism, fully affirms the diversity of various ethnic and social cultures and firmly opposes an absolutization of any culture. It opposes cultural expansionism and rejects cultural relativism. As early as the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels predicted the trend of world integration:

In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.

Today, when the world has become a "global village", all ethnic cultures should join hands in creating a more rational and healthy world culture based on maintaining and developing individuality.

Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialist culture with Chinese characteristics is the result of combining the universal truth of Marxism with concrete Chinese cultural practice. Under the guidance of this thinking, the CCCPC "Resolution on Several Important Issues in Strengthening Socialist Spiritual Civilization" put forward the concrete objectives of the struggle to build a socialist spiritual civilization. We will not only actively absorb excellent foreign civilizational achievements and carry forward our country's traditional culture, but also prevent cultural refuse from dissemination, clear it away, and withstand the attempts of hostile forces to "Westernize" and "split" China. In international cultural exchanges, we will insist on the Five Principles of

Peaceful Coexistence and in order to contribute to the progress of human civilization oppose any exercise of cultural power.

Notes

1. Quoted from Dai Wenrong, "From 'Orientalism' to 'Cultural Imperialism'", *Foreign Social Sciences*, No. 6, 1996.
2. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. 3, p. 275.
3. *Washington Post*, October 7, 1995.
4. See Jiang Danlin, *Eastern Path of Rejuvenation* (Guangdong Education Publishing House, 1996), p. 2.
5. Quoted from *Abstract of Foreign Modern Philosophy and Social Sciences*, No. 12, 1991.
6. Gu Ping, "Asia Is Disgusted with Cold War Noise", October 11, 1996.
7. Quoted from Fang Li, "Post-Cold War Cultural 'Invasion' and 'Anti-invasion' in International Relations", *Strategy and Management*, March 1, 1996.
8. Edward Said, "Orient Is Not Orient---Orientalist Era on the Verge of Dying Out", *Foreign Social Sciences*, No. 6, 1996.
9. Quoted from Fang Li, "Post-Cold War Cultural 'Invasion' and 'Anti-invasion' in International Relations", *Strategy and Management*, March 1, 1996.

Part II

Cautions and Concerns

4.

Deng Xiaoping's Human Rights Theory

Zhu Majie

The human rights issue is one central concern of the international community. Since its founding, the United Nations has worked out over 70 documents relating to human rights. These have set the universal principles of human rights for the international society and raised the protection of human rights to the level of international law. But in practice there have been severe contradictions and tensions. The most prominent manifestation of this is that some Western great powers have interfered in other countries' internal affairs and pursued power politics under the pretence of human rights. Deng Xiaoping went to the heart of the issue in one pertinent remark, pointing out that "Our concept of human rights is, in essence, different from that of the Western world, because we see the question from a different point of view".¹ Combining theory with practice, he made a penetrating exposition of the dialectical relations between individual and collective human rights. He pointed out that national sovereignty is far more important than human rights, laid special stress on the importance of realizing the right to development and peace, and criticized Western traditional human rights theories and individualism. All these showed clearly the correct direction for the contemporary international community's practices on human rights.

Collective Human Rights above Individual Human Rights

The human rights generally recognized by the international community are basically of two categories: individual human rights and collective human rights. The documents relating to human rights passed by the United Nations, especially *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, *The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* and *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, set the universal principles of individual human rights and collective human rights. The two are different, but closely related. How the contradictions between them are dealt with is one of the principled differences on the human rights concept between China and Western countries. Deng Xiaoping spoke out on: "What are human rights; how many people are they meant for; and whether these rights belong to the minority, to the majority or to all the people in a country?"² The Western world puts undue emphasis on individual human rights, the basic content of which is "natural rights". Individuals seek rights to democracy, freedom, equality and property.

This kind of human rights concept is also embodied in the U.N. documents on human rights:

- Everyone has the right to life, liberty and personal security. No one should be held in slavery, subjected to torture or to cruel treatment.
- All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law.
- No one should be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy.
- Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence.
- Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy asylum from persecution in other countries.
- Adult men and women have the right to marry.

- Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, of belief, of communication, of opinion and expression, of peaceful assembly and of association.
- Everyone has right to vote and stand for election.
- Everyone has the right of equal access to public service.
- No one should be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Meanwhile, U.N. documents on human rights stress collective human rights. They include economic, social and cultural rights, rights to national autonomy and racial equality, rights to development and peace, permanent sovereignty over natural resources, rights to participate in and enjoy human common heritage, to protect the human environment and unconditionally to accept humanitarian aid. Through the long-term efforts of developing countries the international community has come to recognize these collective rights. The human rights stressed by Deng as belonging to the majority or the people are a summary of collective human rights. He also pointed out that “personal interest” should be “combined with the overall interests of the collective, the state and society”.³ “Were we to do the opposite and pursue personal, local or immediate interests at the expense of the others, both sets of interests would inevitably suffer.”⁴ Obviously, negating collective human rights by individual human rights will certainly lead to individual privileges which infringe upon the interests of the others. Therefore, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* stresses that everyone has duties to the community and everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others. Individuals and collectives are all subjects and players in human rights, and both should work in concert and harmony. But in practical life, contradictions and conflicts between individuals and collectives on rights and interests may often occur. The principle for resolving contradictions and conflicts is that the rights belonging to the collective are above individual human rights and personal interests must be combined with the overall interests of the collective.

National Sovereignty Far More Important Than Human Rights

National sovereignty is the highest and most important embodiment of collective human rights.

Deng Xiaoping pointed out that “Actually, national sovereignty is far more important than human rights, but the Group of Seven (or Eight) often infringe upon the sovereignty of poor, weak countries of the Third World. Their talk about human rights, freedom and democracy is designed only to safeguard the interests of the strong, rich countries, which take advantage of their strength to bully weak countries, and which pursue hegemony and practise power politics.”⁵ Looking back on the history of over 100 years, colonial and imperialist aggression, plunder and oppression have reduced many countries in the world to the status of colonies and semi-colonies; their peoples live in an abyss of misery. After a country loses its sovereignty it is impossible for its people to enjoy real human rights. Historical experience tells us that the “first priority should always be given to national sovereignty and security.”

“Some Western countries, on the pretext that China has an unsatisfactory human rights record and an irrational and illegitimate socialist system, attempt to jeopardise our national sovereignty. But countries that play power politics are not qualified to talk about human rights. How many people’s human rights have they violated throughout the world!”⁶ In fact, it is the third world developing countries which pay most attention to human rights. Their people most bitterly hate

the power politics and hegemony of the great powers which take advantage of their strength to bully weak countries, through cruel colonial and imperialist invasion.

People know well that only when national sovereignty is maintained and is in their own hands can individual human rights be ensured. The realization of both individual and collective human rights cannot be divorced from the jurisdiction of the country. The improvement and enhancement of the human rights in each country are bound to rely on the gradual strivings of a country according to its conditions; no foreign country can take another countries' job into its own hands, still less meddle in their internal affairs and infringe on their sovereignty on the pretext of human rights.

The Charter of the United Nations points out that the peoples of the United Nations are:

determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human being, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, . . . to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, . . . for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

But, some Western big powers act in a contrary fashion and have attempted to pursue their own values and human rights standards as universal principles. They make frequent indiscreet remarks or criticisms and unwarranted charges against other countries. All systems, methods and modes that differ from theirs are rebuked without exception as autocracy, dictatorship, wanton trampling on democracy, and infringement of human rights. In the U.S. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* each year and in the activities of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, almost all countries criticized by name are developing countries. In fact developing countries have made important contributions to international human rights activities and constantly improve their own human rights situations. Most having suffered from foreign aggression and oppression, understand more deeply that national sovereignty is the fundamental premise for realizing their human rights. The U.N. *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples* points out that all peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, the exercise of their sovereignty and the integrity of their national territory, as well as to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

In the current international community, all states have their respective political, economic, cultural and social background, and naturally adopt different ways and methods in the process of promoting and protecting human rights. But in dealing with the relations between national sovereignty and human rights, national sovereignty must be given the top priority. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "People who value human rights should not forget the rights of the state. When they talk about human dignity, they should not forget national dignity. In particular, if the developing countries of the Third World, like China, have no national self-respect and do not cherish their independence, they will not enjoy that independence for long."⁷ "In studying and handling problems, both of us place the highest importance on the national interest."⁸

Development Is the Absolute Principle

The right to development is one of the important and inalienable human rights universally recognized by the international community, and most countries and peoples in the world are very

concerned about it. Deng Xiaoping pointed out that “Some countries have problems basically because they have failed to push their economy forward. In those countries people do not have enough food and clothing, their wage increases are wiped out by inflation, their living standards keep dropping and for a long time they have had to tighten their belts.”⁹ Therefore, to enable members of these nations fully to enjoy human rights, “it is crucial to expand the economy”. “Development is the absolute principle.”¹⁰ The fact is that in our global village poverty is the main obstacle to most countries and peoples realizing universal human rights principles. To poverty-stricken people, freedom, democracy, equality and happiness can only be an unattainable dream. Vast numbers of the people living in misery yearn for adequate food and clothing. Only by developing the economy can a necessary material foundation be laid for a comprehensive guarantee of human rights.

Development is one of “the two really great issues confronting the world today, issues of global strategic significance”.¹¹ The reality of the current society is a wide gap between the North and the South in economic development, the increasingly strong scientific and technological superiority of the North, the developing knowledge-oriented economy and information technology bringing about a great development in productivity with each passing day. Monopoly capital represented by transnational corporations is further strengthening its control of the world economy and increasing its share and competitiveness in the world market. In recent years, developing countries in the South have made encouraging progress, but their economies are still at a low level and very fragile. A single financial storm can wipe out all their achievements over many years. Three fourths of the world’s total population live in impoverished countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Many developing countries remain in the difficult position of being debt-ridden and unable to make ends meet. Economic crises, grain crises and energy crises have succeeded one another. Many customers of the large banks of developed countries can use ATM to withdraw money all over the world, while many poor people in developing countries have to borrow money from nearby persons practicing usury. This is the harsh reality of the gap between the North and the South. The U.N. *Teheran Declaration* points out that the increasingly wide gap between economically developed countries and developing countries has hindered the realization of human rights in the international community.

Realization of the right to development is an urgent need not only of developing countries, but is of the same importance to developed countries. Deng Xiaoping pointed out that “some Third World countries are becoming more prosperous, but they cannot yet be considered developed. And many others are still extremely poor. Unless their economic problems are solved, it will be hard for all the Third World countries to develop and for the developed countries to advance further”. “In short, if the countries in the South are not duly developed, the countries in the North will find only very limited outlets for their capital and products; indeed, if the South remains poor, the North will find no outlets at all.”¹²

If the North-South problem is not solved, it will hinder the development of the world economy. The solution, of course, lies in North-South dialogue. . . . But dialogue alone is not enough; cooperation among Third World countries -- in other words, South-South cooperation -- should be stepped up as well. Exchanges, learning from each other and cooperation among these countries can help solve many problems, and the prospects are promising. The developed countries should appreciate that greater development of their economies is impossible without growth in the economies of Third World countries.¹³

As far as China is concerned, he pointed out that China is still poor; a GDP of US\$ one trillion will mean a higher standard of living for its people and China will be able to contribute more to humankind. "More important, it will allow us to approach the standard of the developed countries in another 30 to 50 years' time."¹⁴ It is evident that the realization of right to development is a long-term and arduous task for all the countries in the world. This gives the guarantee of human rights in the international community a new aspect.

Opposing Hegemony and Safeguarding Peace

This is one of the themes of the current international community for realizing the right to peace. The U.N. *Declaration on the Right of Peoples to Peace* solemnly declares that "the peoples of our planet have a sacred right to peace" and "the preservation of the right of peoples to peace and the promotion of its implementation constitute a fundamental obligation of each State". Safeguarding international peace and security is the aim of the United Nations and also an important element in realizing fundamental human rights. Deng Xiaoping pointed out that peace is one of "the two really great issues confronting the world today, issues of global strategic significance". "To work for peace one must oppose hegemony and power politics."¹⁵

Since WWII, the peace issue has not been resolved and the world is still not too tranquil. From 1945 to the early 1990s, over 100 major conflicts occurred in the world, causing more than 20 million deaths. According to statistics, after the end of the Cold War, from 1990 to 1997, 273 local wars and armed conflicts on various scales occurred in the world, of which 79 were new. In Africa, tribal and racial conflicts, border disputes and civil wars have emerged for years on end. In the Balkans, the Bosnian War lasted for four years, then the Kosovo crisis broke out and NATO brutally trampled on the Charter of the United Nations and conducted wanton bombing and air attacks against Yugoslavia. In the Gulf area of the Middle East, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait triggered the Gulf War, which was the local war with the largest number of countries participating, the most advanced weapons and on a scale unprecedented since WWII. Incidents were again provoked because of Iraqi weapons inspection issue and the U.S. and Britain carried out military strikes against Iraq. In the Caucasus there are endless disputes and frequent wars with the smoke of gunpowder filling the air. In those countries and regions suffering upheavals, conflicts and wars, there is no peace, people suffer and large numbers of refugees flee abroad. One cannot begin to talk about enjoying fundamental human rights.

The causes of this lack of peace in the world are complicated, but the main source is the hegemony and power politics that threaten world peace and stability. Deng Xiaoping pointed out that in inciting unrest in many countries, the Western world, especially the U.S., is "actually playing power politics and seeking hegemony. They are trying to bring into their sphere of influence countries that heretofore they have not been able to control".¹⁶ This is the essence of the issue. Some Western great powers rely on their superiority in economy, military affairs, science, technology and culture. Regardless of the norms of international relations, they make use of such issues as human rights wantonly to interfere in other countries' internal affairs. They assume the airs of the "world leaders" and "world police" and try to impose their own social system and values on others. They exert pressure and even sanctions and armed intervention on all those not to their taste, thus causing disputes or tense situations. Taking a broad view of the wars and armed conflicts all over the world in recent years one can find the hand of some Western great powers.

Realizing the human right to peace requires the establishment of a new order of international relations. "The key principle governing the new international order should be noninterference in

other countries' internal affairs and social systems. It won't work to require all the countries in the world to copy the patterns set by the United States, Britain and France."¹⁷ This is the universal voice of the vast countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Practice has also proved that "allowing a few countries to monopolize everything, as they have done for years, has never solved any problems, and it never will." "If the Western developed countries insisted on interfering in other countries' internal affairs and social systems, it would lead to international turmoil, especially in the developing countries of the Third World".¹⁸ Therefore, the only correct solution "is peaceful coexistence and cooperation of all countries with different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles, not interference in other countries' internal affairs and provoking disorder".¹⁹

Stability Is of Overriding Importance

Summing up the practical experiences of China and the world at large, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "stability is of overriding importance." "Human rights and democratic rights are not related to this question." "The reason is very simple. In China, which has a huge population and a poor economic foundation, nothing can be accomplished without good public order, political stability and unity."

As soon as they seized power, the so-called fighters for democracy would start fighting each other. And if a civil war broke out, with blood flowing like a river, what 'human rights' would there be? If civil war broke out in China, with each faction dominating a region, production declining, transportation disrupted and not millions or tens of millions, but hundreds of millions of refugees fleeing the country, it is the Asia-Pacific region, which is at present the most promising in the world, that would be the first to be affected. And that would lead to disaster on a world scale.²⁰

In order to maintain political stability and unity it is imperative to oppose bourgeois liberalization. "In developing our democracy, we cannot simply copy bourgeois democracy". If we copied Western systems, "that would only make a mess of everything".²¹ "The democracy in capitalist societies is bourgeois democracy -- in fact, it is the democracy of monopoly capitalists. It is no more than a system of multiparty elections, separation of judicial, executive and legislative powers and a bicameral legislature. Ours is the system of people's congresses and people's democracy under the leadership of the Communist Party; we cannot adopt the practice of the West."²² According to China's conditions, the building and improvement of a democratic system requires a very long time. But Western countries "are unhappy that China adheres to socialism". So they make use of human rights to stir up troubles, interfere in other countries' internal affairs and even exert sanctions against them. Their final strategic objective is "to bring about the peaceful evolution of socialist countries towards capitalism".²³ This is the essence of "human rights diplomacy" of some Western countries.

We cannot abandon the people's democratic dictatorship. Deng Xiaoping pointed out that to maintain political stability and unity, "we cannot abandon the people's democratic dictatorship".²⁴ China implements the policy of reform and opening-up and insists on the socialist road. Though it has developed rapidly in the last 20 years, it is still in the initial stage of socialism, which will last for a very long historical period. "For a fairly long period of time the proletariat, as a new, rising class is necessarily weaker than the bourgeoisie. If it is to seize political power and build socialism, it must therefore impose a dictatorship to resist capitalist attack." "If some

people practise bourgeois liberalization and create turmoil by demanding bourgeois human rights and democracy, we have to stop them.” “It is right to consolidate the people’s power by employing the force of the people’s democratic dictatorship. There is nothing wrong in that.”²⁵

In sum, “if China wanted to shake off poverty and modernize, stability was crucial.”²⁶ To maintain stability, it is imperative to oppose bourgeois liberalization. Implementing the people’s democratic system is just to protect the majority’s human rights, safeguard national sovereignty and realize rights to development and peace.

For judging the soundness of a country’s political system, Deng Xiaoping put forward three criteria: “First, whether the country is politically stable; second, whether the system and policies help to strengthen unity among the people and to raise their living standards; and third, whether the productive forces keep developing.”²⁷ Practice has proved that China’s implementation of the people’s democratic system has safeguarded political stability, promoted the rapid development of productivity, constantly improved the people’s living standards and ensured the people’s enjoyment of human rights. Deng Xiaoping laid much stress on improving the legal system and pointed out that “to ensure people’s democracy, we must strengthen our legal system. Democracy has to be institutionalized and written into law.” “We must stress the need to effectively restructure and improve the systems of the Party and state in such a way as to ensure institutionally the practice of democracy in political life, in economic management and in all other aspects of social activity.”²⁸

Under the new situation of reform and opening-up, China has paid special attention to strengthening and improving the legal system. It is under the fundamental national system that the human rights of the Chinese people have been strongly protected. According to China’s conditions and under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping’s human rights theory, China’s human rights practice has been developing and improving. What needs repeated emphasis is that “stability is of overriding importance.” and that “we cannot abandon the people’s democratic dictatorship.” China is the largest developing country in the world and a stable and developing China is a firm force to maintain world peace. It will make due contributions to the human rights undertaking of the international community.

Notes

1. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. 3, p. 130.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. 2, p. 236.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
5. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. 3, p. 334.
6. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. 3, p. 336.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
9. *Ibid.*., p. 342.
10. *Ibid.*., pp. 363, 365.
11. *Ibid.*., p. 111.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 336.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 347.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 348.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 321, 347.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 196.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 351-352, 367.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 336.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
28. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. 2, pp. 156, 334.

5.

Western Civilization: Its Essence, Features and Impact

Zhu Majie

Since the end of the Cold War, the effect of cultural factors on international relations has been increasing. Of the rich and colorful cultures of the world, Western civilization occupies an apparently dominant position and its influence is thus particularly significant. This article tries to explore the essence and features of Western civilization, and their impact on international relations.

The Evolution of Western Civilization: The Essential Role of Human Rights

Regarding the meaning of culture, scholars tend to different views, but the majority agree that in a broad sense and generally, it is the totality of physical and spiritual wealth created by humankind in historical social practice. In a narrow sense, culture stands for the social ideology and its corresponding systems and institutions. These include ideas, thoughts and relevant regimes and involve politics, law, morality, art, religion and science.

Some see civilization and culture as the same thing, but most believe that culture includes civilization, and that under given conditions the latter will re-create culture. Civilization is culture developed to a higher level; it is relatively stable, but does not stop at one level. Western civilization is a high level or stage of Western culture in the process of its evolution. Modern Western civilization reached one peak, but contemporary Western civilization has reach even higher. The study of the impact of Western civilization on international relations generally is conducted in its narrow, rather than its broad, sense. It begins from its essence, and explores the impacts of the values and mentalities of Western civilization on the behaviors of the actors, that is, the impacts and constraints of civilization on sovereign states, state blocs, as well as their leaders. Apparently, in foreign affairs, leaders' alternatives in international behaviors often are based on their ideals, faiths and value orientations.

After great changes through the feudal to the capitalist society, Western civilization developed step by step and took its shape particularly in modern times. In the evolution of European civilization (mainly in Western Europe), the Middle Ages lasted more than 1000 years. During the dark period of the feudal society there was great social turbulence and great migrations of nations. Consequently, the Roman World was replaced by the Germanic World.

Following "the Renaissance" in the 14th century to 16th century, the "liberal spirit" has become the world spirit in Europe. Thereafter, Europe underwent "the Enlightenment," "the Industrial Revolution" and "the Scientific and Technological Revolution." People freed themselves from "God" in their minds, and there was a great leap in their understanding leading to enormous development in social productivity. On the European Continent, the development of commerce, the rise of the handicraft industry, the emergence of the cities and towns and the formation of civil society resulted in capitalist society in Europe. The rising capitalist class gradually became a force that could not be ignored in society. These changes in the economic and ideological spheres had created conditions for political revolutions. The British "Glorious Revolution," the French "Bourgeois Revolution" as well as the America's "War of Independence" brought the Western

bourgeoisie to the political stage, where they have had great influence on the process of human history, and raised Western Civilization to a new level.

In the long process of history, European civilization rose from Greece, and North American civilization rose from Western Europe: both have shown their vigor only in modern times. The American civilization is rooted in the Anglo-Saxon tradition which is homogenous with Western civilization: the main body of the American civilization was inherited from, and developed on the basis of, European civilization. Although it was formed in the process of opening up the new continent of North America, its basic features and essential intention can be traced back to the same origins as Europe.

The essence of the Western civilization is nothing but human rights. Samuel P. Huntington at Harvard University regarded the *Magna Carta* as the essence of Western civilization, pointing to basic laws to protect civil and political rights, which are exactly what human rights mean in the West. Its most basic contents are democracy, freedom, equality, the right to pursue happiness and property, and the corresponding institutions. These contents express Western values. In modern history, Western civilization has constantly had great impact on the world. Western civilization is in large part found in Western developed countries, and that of the United States and Western Europe in particular are dominant in the world. U.S.-led Western countries have tried hard to set Western civilization as the model for the rest of the world by their advantages in the economy, politics, military and science, the purpose of which is to turn Western civilization into the universal civilization of the whole world. The “human rights diplomacy” they pursue is the reflection of Western values and begins with their need for an overall strategy to dominate the world. The human rights issue has thus become one of the major issues with regard to cultural factors in contemporary international relations. It is one of the hot-spots that have created friction and collision when the various civilizations in the world intermingle.

Fundamental Features

Western civilizations rose from the same origin, though, their respective development differs, and the levels of development in different historical periods are not the same. However, they share the following common features:

First, a salvationist spirit and sense of mission. With self-arrogance this runs all through the history of the West, led by the United States. This spirit came from Christianity. In the Western society, the impact of Christianity on people’s spirits and morality has been both long and profound. Christianity, as an ideology to which people devote themselves for their destiny, beliefs and expectations due to its holy nature, has penetrated into every part of society. as a paramount subject for worship, God dominates human being’s thought, freedom, customs and ideas. This Christian doctrine engenders a universal spirit among its followers, so that saving the world becomes their mission. In the past, the soldiers of the West marched out to conquer the world “for God.”¹ Today, Western leaders stress the importance of taking the leading role and feel an obligation to defend the free world and to promote and strengthen democratic values in the world as their “Holy Mission.” At this point, all this is focused on the United States as the only superpower, though the “sense of superiority,” “the salvationist spirit” and the sense of mission with self-arrogance have always been a “main spiritual pillar” of the American people.²

Second, expansionism. Western civilization constantly expanded outward in the process of modern social development and therefore is labelled the “blue civilization.” The color of blue symbolizes the ocean which attracts to adventure, aggressiveness and conquest. In modern history,

Netherlands Spain, Britain and the US successively have dominated the world. At the peak of Western capitalist development, many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were reduced to being their colonies or semi-colonies. The Western lifestyle, ideology and social system were also spread there. Westerners used gunboats to open up new frontiers, and the Bible to spread God's will. They took new markets with the force of goods and advanced science and technology. Therefore, the history of the Western civilization is also the history of expansion.

After World War II, there was the movement of national liberation all over the world, and many former colonies and semi-colonies became independent countries. But the Western countries have never changed their attitude and ideology toward the newly independent countries. They will try hard to impose Western social models and values on others. In the second half of the 20th century, what the US-led West has done to Asia, Africa and Latin America clearly demonstrates the expansionist nature of Western civilization.

Third, individualism. The most important value of Western civilization is individualism, which is one of its most prominent marks. Individualism was an ideological weapon used by the rising European capitalist class to oppose autocracy and the oppression of the feudal nobles. In the West, people advocated independent struggle and the pursuit the rights of individual emancipation, individual choice, and individual freedom and happiness. The pursuit of individual rights is known as the "Romeo and Juliet Revolution." Individualism was very popular in the West in the 19th century, and reached its peak in the 20th century, dominating the ideological sphere.³ Western individualism has now become a standard of morality. In the United States, individualism has become a highly evaluated moral virtue: the cowboy who can do whatever he wants is a heroic image. The mentality of self-importance, unrestricted behavior and an aspiration for outlaw conduct have become an important component of the nation's ideology.

Fourth, liberalism. Individualism and liberalism are the twins of the Western civilization. The concept of freedom is the main ideology and pillar in Western society. One of the flags used by the capitalist class to fight against the feudal nobles was to strive for freedom. They flaunted the freedoms of faith, speech and pursuit of property. "The Statue of Liberty" has become the symbol of the West. Francis Fukuyama said that the two world wars in the last century and the following revolution and the great turbulence "forced Europe and North America, which are at the forefront position of human civilization, more progressively to carry out their freedom."⁴ The "four freedoms"⁵ by the former US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Western "Atlantic Charter" both feature the concepts of freedom and democracy of Western civilization, known as the Western liberal democracy. In the economic area, the West also stresses the importance of such freedoms as free market, free trade and free competition. Fukuyama believes that the fundamental change that took place in the 20th century was the victory of "economic and political liberalism." From now on, liberalism dominates the material world,⁶ and apparently is regarded as its most representative feature of Western civilization.

Fifth, utilitarianism. The search for effectiveness and self-interest is the ethical concept of Western civilization. IN the West, especially in the United States, utilitarianism is presented sometimes as "idealism" and sometimes as "pragmatism." To seek utility and to be bent solely on interests is a typical feature of the Western bourgeoisie. In the West what must be maintained is interest, rather than principle: there are no friends but only interests; these become the paramount object of worship. S. Huntington is correct in saying that the westerners, while conquering the world, "fought not only for God, but for gold." Focusing on utility and interest is both a norm of conduct and value orientation in the West. The US-led Western countries handling of international affairs is a clear demonstration of the ethical concept of utilitarianism. Their "utility" lies in the

desire to dominate the world, and their “interest” lies in the desire that their demand for self-interest be met. Whether the human rights issue is linked with the trade issue, or whether sanctions are imposed on other nations, or whether aid is given to other nations, the most fundamental criteria by which they make these judgements is their interest.

Power Politics under the Pretext of Civilization

Western civilization has significant influence in the process of human history. It is like a two-edged sword with one edge having the positive and observe function, and the other the negative and reverse function. In modern history, the 19th century was the time of the magnificent development of human civilization. The Japanese Meiji Restoration made Japan richer and more powerful by its modernization program. Western “natural rights” thought and the ethical concept of utilitarianism had a deep influence on the Japanese society. But the Chinese Reform Movement of 1898 failed, leading to the execution of some reformers and the flight abroad of others. In the 20th century, humankind suffered greatly from the disaster of two world wars. Great turbulence, divisions and reconfiguration of the world system took place along with liberation movements for national independence. The colonial system collapsed completely. The economy of the four Asian dragons took off, China has risen, and the Southeast Asian nations also have seen fast development. In addition, other non-Western countries have undoubtedly borrowed useful experience from the West in their process of modernization. But they do not intend to accept those things from the West that were negative, dispirited and destabilizing in their national conditions when they wanted to promote their own excellent cultural traditions. This makes some westerners uncomfortable; they cry in surprise that “the clash of civilizations will be the battle lines of the future,” and “the Western people must unite closely or they will be hung one by one.”⁷ Faced with the changes of the world situation, the US-led Western countries, despite differences among themselves, adopt almost the same stance in the following aspects due to their common values.

First, Pursuing “Human Rights Diplomacy.” Western politicians active in the international arena are concerned mostly with their own interests. Western values have become the tools to pursue these interests, and the most universally valuable tool is human rights. Western politicians see human rights diplomacy as their “excellent weapon,” “the most important advantage for democratic countries to extend their influence.”⁸ Some Western countries led by the United States constantly criticize other countries at the meetings of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and those that are accused are almost without exception developing countries. They do so arrogantly because they always think that their heavenly mandate is to spread the so-called freedom and social justice to the whole of mankind by setting their democracy as the example. The Western lifestyle is the only beacon to be followed by other nation states, and the Western social system is the example that should be copied by other societies. Therefore, Western values should serve as the standard for the international order and international behaviors. Anything that goes against Western values can never be seen as right but should be criticized as “autocracy,” “dictatorship,” or “evil empire”; it must thus be contained and sanctioned.

While discussing human rights issues, Deng Xiaoping once pointed out that,

Some Western countries, on the pretext that China has an unsatisfactory human rights record and an irrational and illegitimate socialist system, attempt to jeopardize our national sovereignty....National sovereignty is far more important than human rights, but they often infringe upon the sovereignty of poor and weak countries of the Third World, Their talk about

human rights, freedom, and democracy is only designed to safeguard the interests of the strong, rich countries, which take advantages of their strength to bully weak countries, and which pursue hegemony and practice power politics.⁹

Western countries, led by the United States, have followed an absurd logic, that is, they see those people who oppose legal governments as human rights fighters. Any country that punishes in accordance with the law those who jeopardize the national security will be accused of “violating human rights.” Any country that does not allow activities aimed against its political system will be accused of “violating civil liberties.” Some Western countries use human rights issues to interfere in other nations’ internal affairs, violate others’ national sovereignty, and even overturn others’ state power. That is the essence of the human rights diplomacy of the West.

Second, *Dominating International Institutions*. Western countries impose their own will on international institutions in order to make them reflect Western values and serve the interests of the West. In his article “The Clash of Civilizations” Huntington identifies one of the realities of today’s world, that is, that the West led by the United States, is at an extraordinary peak of power. It dominates international political and security institutions, and replaces the free world by the term “the world community.” Decisions made at the United National Security Council or in the International Monetary Fund that reflect the interests of the West are presented to the world as reflecting the desires of the world community. “The West in effect is using international institutions, military power and economic resources to run the world in ways that will maintain Western predominance, protect Western interests and promote Western political and economic values.” They are trying every means “to induce other peoples to adopt Western ideas concerning democracy and human rights.”¹⁰

It must be pointed out here that, the United Nations human rights activities are often seriously disturbed by some Western countries. They are trying to impose their own values and human rights standards as universal principles so that the UN could be used to play a role according to Western interests, and influence the world ideologically and strategically. The humanitarian interference by the UN constantly falls into the hands of the West, and some Western countries use it as an excuse to play power politics, to interfere in other nations’ internal affairs, and to violate other nations’ sovereignty. The Somali case is an outstanding example. The UN peace-keeping operation in Somali was totally dominated by US. The United States at the beginning favored use of force, thus escalating military conflict there; then, when the issue could not be solved, the US immediately pulled troops out and got away. No wonder the Secretary General of the United Nations Boutros Boutros Ghali at that time had to speak publicly that it was “a failure,” and even the Congress controlled by the Republican Party acknowledged that “it was a complete failure and the shame of the Americans.”

Third, *Using Commercial Power*. Under the new world situation, it is much less feasible to impose Western values on others arbitrarily. Instead, the West increasingly uses the influence of the market economy to spread their free democracy ideas and values. This has become a very important cultural strategy of the West. In the Western society today, the market has become increasingly important, dominating and commercializing almost all other social aspects, including the cultural. The US-led West constantly stresses the importance of the production and export of its cultural products because this can produce not only enormous commercial profits, but also great political and social effects.

The West sees trade not merely as commercial activities, but as a basic channel of personal contact to exchange views and values. In the advance of the modern market economy towards globalization, the export of Western cultural products, especially those of the United States, has been increasing. The application of high technology to cultural products has made Western cultural products more stimulating, attractive and competitive. Western countries are trying very hard to support industries relating to ideology, such as movies, television, broadcasting and compact CDs, fax machines and computers for Internet, etc., and to create conditions for them to enter other markets. Through satellite relays, the spread of Western culture has been increasingly powerful.

The West adopts a protection policy on intellectual property rights, and constantly launches attacks on some developing countries, aiming at better extending Western values. In his article "Western Culture Clashes with the East" in *The Christian Science Monitor*, American correspondent Dunklton Jones wrote that, in Asia, the rapid development of trade, technology, and the tourism industry has been combined with the great flow of ideas, personnel and pop culture formed in the post-Cold War era. He also noted a change in the social values of Asians due to the flow of the Western culture. The fact that their social values are remodeled after being reduced has upset the Asians, but this is the social effect the West is pursuing.

The Challenge Ahead

The challenges that Western civilization faces are mainly of two aspects. One is the increasing Western social crises, the other is the collision with other civilizations. Anyone who has been to Western countries must see such realities as the increase in suicide, drug abuse, violence and crime; this has become a chronic and stubborn disease in society. In the "free lands" of the United States, the most powerful country of the West, there are two million violent crimes on an annual basis with up to six million victims. The United States has been the country with the highest criminal rate in the world. In the US there are half a million rape cases annually, almost one case every minute. Again in the US the private possession and carrying of arms is legal according to the Constitution. It is estimated that there are 220 million guns in private hands, nearly every citizen with a gun, leading to one million shooting incidents every year. The US is the country that has the largest number of prisoners in the world – a total number of one and half million. It has the world's largest drug market and also has the highest rate of drug abuse among developed countries: twenty million people abuse marijuana, six million people take cocaine, five million use heroin, with a half million people dying every year due to drug abuse. Facing such a serious social problem, President Clinton once cried out in alarm: "If we do not take action against crime, violence and drug abuse, we will be destroyed."

The Futurist, a US journal, once published an article entitled "The Increasing Cultural Crisis of the West," which said that, according to the World Health Organization, "since the early 1950s, the number of men and women who committed suicide in developed countries has been increasing. The sorrowful thing in particular is that the rising number of suicides are mainly from teenagers and young adults." This is the modern "pestilence" of Western civilization. "Modern Western culture does not supply them with any strong guidance, proper world outlook and clear morality. Facing the transition period of life, they are at a loss as to what to do." They always feel caught in a confused world and experience a crisis of belief in the future. This reflects the collapse of Western values. Western civilization has made it possible for many people to enjoy a rich life, but young people cannot overcome perplexity and sadness. Even if the merciful God got to the

abyss of misery, he would be less likely to make them really enjoy the freedom and happiness of the Western civilization.

The friction and collision in the convergence of different civilizations in the world also strikes a blow to the Western civilization. The West that always regards itself as the center sees this challenge as a threat. As a result, various theories of threat and conflicts spring up. While some people in the West are celebrating the victory of liberalism and of the Western civilization in the world, they may also find that it is not at all the peaceful prosperous world in which Western civilization is dominant. Since the Cold War ended, the world has moved into a transitional period towards multi-polarization. It will take a long time to shape a new order of international relations, but the key principle governing the new order “should be noninterference in other nations’ internal affairs and social systems. It would not work to require all the countries in the world to copy the patterns set by the United States, Britain and France.”¹¹

Under the new situation, the collision of various kinds of cultures is much greater than before. The main cause of this is that the developed Western countries are using their economic, political and military advantages to impose Western cultures on other countries. This leads to counteraction and resistance by these countries, especially the developing countries. Such resistance is regarded as a revival of “nationalism”; anyone who dares to say “no” to the Western developed countries is listed as “nationalist,” and subjected to enormous accusations. In order to protect the Western interests and enable Western civilization to continue to play a global role, Huntington proposed nine measures, stressing in particular cooperation, between Europe and North America, enhancing control over the international institutions that could reflect and legitimize Western interests and values, and encouraging non-Western countries to participate in these institutions. He believes that the West should set the basic objective of NATO as “protecting and maintaining Western civilization.” The major responsibility of Western leaders is to “protect and promote the precious and unique interests, values and culture of civilization commonly held by the West.” This clearly reflects what Huntington wants. But if Western countries do this, imposing the values and interests of the Western civilization on other countries, the result will not help promote the proper development of international order and relations, but on the contrary will make things worse.

There are over 200 countries in the world with many different peoples. All have their own cultural tradition and features. This is the reason why our world is full of colors and vitality. Any culture or civilization that has lasted till now must have its rationale to exist and develop. In the confluence of the Western civilization and non-Western civilizations, the result of the meeting need not necessarily be a clash. It could be integration and then evolution towards a new and higher level of civilization.

In the history of the development of human civilization there have been many such examples. Having inherited West European civilization, the United States has become the most powerful country in the world. Absorbing the essence of Western civilization, but not necessarily giving up their national and cultural features, Japan, Singapore and South Korea have been developing prosperously. Exchanges among different civilizations could lead to mutual learning and complementarity for common development to a higher level and new integration.

Moreover, different civilizations could seek common ground while reserving differences, and can promote the good while eliminating the bad. If Western civilization could not even cure its own social diseases, it might be the right time for the West to reconsider what should be done, to play down its salvationist posture, to give up the arrogance of seeing itself as the world center. Instead it could seek common ground for different civilizations, learn from the strong points of

other civilizations, and enhance a better understanding and respect among different civilizations. That could be very helpful to developing Western civilization itself.

Notes

1. See Samuel Huntington, "The West: Unique, Not Universal."
2. James M. Berens, *The American Democracy* (Chinese version) (China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1993), pp. 1143-1156.
3. Huntington, "The West: Unique, Not Universal."
4. F. Fukuyama, "The End of History," *National Interest*, Summer 1989.
5. In his State Union Address to the 77th Congress on January 6, 1941, American President Roosevelt put forward the famous four freedoms, namely, freedom of speech, freedom of belief, freedom of fears and freedom of shortage. In August the same year, he and Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, drew up the Atlantic Charter, and by the end of September that year 15 countries had signed the charter.
6. Fukuyama, "The End of History."
7. Huntington, "The West: Unique, Not Universal."
8. Zhang Hongyi, ed., *American Human Rights and Human Rights Diplomacy* (Beijing: The People's Publishing House, 1993), p. 282.
9. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1994). pp. 334, 336
10. See S. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1993.
11. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, p. 346.

Part III

Culture: How to Succeed in International Relations

6.

An Outline of International Culture

Yu Xintian

The Significance of Research on International Culture

The history of cultural research can be traced far back. However, in the past the cultural research in international relations, even if involved, is only scattered through international political and economic treatises. This kind of research seems to have prospered only since the 1990s. Researchers engaged in research in this field use the concepts of “civilization” or “culture”. The original meaning of “culture” in the Latin language was cultivation or manipulation as applied to human activities. The original meaning of “civilization” was civil and organized, referring to norms, standards or ethics in social life. Classical German philosophers differentiated culture from civilization as follows: the former concerns religion, philosophy and the arts in the deeper ideal state and spiritual life, while the latter belongs to the results of surface technology and materials. Engels held that the invention of writing and the use of ironware marked the beginning of civilization, but humankind had culture for hundreds of thousands of years before. This shows that the scope of culture is wider than civilization. In modern times, culture and civilization often are used as synonyms. For example, Edward Burnett Tylor in Britain regarded them as synonyms in his *Primitive Culture*. Besides, civilization is often referred to as civilized society, that is, people with reasonable behavior in their material and spiritual lifestyle constitute an interrelated whole. In this sense, it may become the basis of some particular nation-state or states.

Because the concepts of civilization and culture have something in common and differ in the special emphases of their meaning, the term “international culture” seems more appropriate. Research on international relations generally has two subdivisions: one is world politics and the other is world economy. Neither can escape its extensive cultural background, which was only indistinct in the past but now becomes distinctly prominent. Thus a third subdivision should be made: world culture. But, the term of “world culture” is liable to cause misunderstanding by suggesting erroneously that a unified world culture exists. For this reason, the term “international culture” is more accurate as an abbreviation for cultural research in international relations.

The difference in definition reflects a difference in real life. International politics has not yet been fully integrated into “world” politics, and all countries have not been under the unified leadership of a “world government” or “world federation”. The international economy has not yet been completely “globalized” and contradictions and conflicts in economic interests often occur between various countries. The UN is the landmark organization of world politics, and economic interests have greatly strengthened the interdependence between countries through the development of finance and information. People have accepted the concepts of “world politics” and “world economy” as common practice. However, in the cultural field, a “world culture” has not yet appeared and probably will not take shape in the foreseeable future.

In the past hundreds of years with Western colonial powers taking the lead modernization has moved across the rest of the world with the force of a thunderbolt, throwing open the doors of backward countries with gunboats, goods and missionaries, and spreading Western culture upon gaining political independence. In order to realize modernization developing countries have consciously learned from Western countries their thinking, concepts and culture. However,

developing countries do not agree that “modernization means Westernization”; they pay increasing attention to their unique ways of combining traditional culture with modernity. They also stand against Western countries judging everything with Western value standards. So, “world culture” probably will not be created in-depth, though a kind of worldwide industrial culture and popular culture begins to emerge as modernization makes progress in every country. The concept of “international culture” reflects the interaction between the different cultures ranging from learning, absorption and integration to isolation, struggle and conflict.

There are a number of reasons why research in international culture has been growing since the 1990s. Firstly, after the Cold War, severe ideological struggles between the two camps came to an end and many originally covered or constrained contradictions have broken out of a “Pandora’s box”. Most of the conflicts in the world since the 1990s have involved ethnic conflicts, national divisions and religious wars. To understand religious, national and ethnic contradictions and conflicts we must give greater attention to the identity, thinking, feeling and cultural psychology of peoples. Existing geopolitical and geo-economic explanations are far from sufficient to deal with the new issues emerging in an endless sequence.

Secondly, the development of economic globalization at an unprecedented speed, the scale of the worldwide flow of materials, funds and personnel, and the rapidly deepening economic interdependence between countries have made possible an intensification of mutual antagonisms between various cultures in all countries. In recent years, the eruption of a new technological revolution, especially in information, has rapidly reduced distances over the world both in time and in space. Developed transportation has enabled people to leave in the morning and reach any place in the world by evening. The improvement of telecommunications and of coverage by broadcasting and TV networks have made any event at any place the focus of concerns all over the world. If in recent centuries it was Westerners who conquered the world or migrated to other regions, now a tide of migrants from developing countries pours into Western countries. If in the past there was a one-way exportation of Western thinking, it now has turned to a two-way interchange of thinking between East and West, as well as between the South and the North. European scholars note the new trend as the “Europeanization of the world” changes into the “globalization of Europe”. This cultural interaction has produced results in international relations. For instance, on the controversial issue of human rights, not a few developing countries have begun to pay attention to their importance, while some insightful people in developed countries have begun to integrate rights to subsistence and development in the scope of human rights. This requires further research in international culture.

Lastly, at the turn of the century, humankind is faced with many common problems whose resolution must be coordinated through new international relations. This requires changes in the accustomed thinking, principles and norms in order to reach new consensus. This calls for research in international culture. Drugs, AIDs, environmental pollution, ecological destruction and terrorism cannot be resolved on the basis of the national strength of a single country. If the simplest term is to be used to summarize modern humankind’s achievements, it is probably scientific and technological progress which originates from Western scientific and rational thinking and its concept of conquering nature. However, worship of science and technology may be blind, hampering the development of humankind. A variety of absurd theories challenge humankind, to which there can be no response while one sticks to traditional concepts. This requires research in international culture in order to absorb the quintessence of pluralism so as to shape the new thinking and values guiding humankind.

The development of research in international culture has significance that cannot be reduced to past theoretical structures for understanding or conducting international relations. The formation of international relations in a modern sense was occasioned by the expanding colonialism of Western powers throughout the world. War, conquest, manoeuvre among the great powers, the outbreak of two world wars, and the birth of nuclear weapon all appeared in this period. The Cold War occupied people's vision and geopolitical theory unified and almost became the synonym for international relations. In fact, it reflected only the political dimension of the theory of international relations. After WWII, especially since the 1970s and 1980s, the song of peace and development has gradually increased in volume and economic regionalization and integration has made rapid progress. Not only do developing countries increasingly depend on developed ones, but the flourishing of the latter cannot be separated absolutely from the prosperity of the former, spurring the constant innovation of world economic theories. The political Economy of International Relations, International Trade Relations, Development Economics and Geo-economics have emerged as the times demand, adding an economic dimension to the theory of international relations.

In spite of this, the theory of international relations has considerable flaws and cannot explain many international phenomena. For example, the international community defines nuclear and chemical weapons as "weapons of mass destruction" and bans their use which will be morally condemned. But there are reasons to ask: Cannot conventional weapons "cause mass destruction"? It is hard to say that the ban of one kind of weapon will be more important than the ban of another. That definition to a considerable extent depends on people's concept of humanity and morality. Also according to geopolitical theory, one country's military interference in other countries always results from a rational calculation of egoism. However, in recent years, multilateral interjection has become the main form of international involvement. Many countries participating in interference have no direct or indirect relations of interests, which emerge from a collective understanding of some kind of morality. The emergence of research in international culture, as the third dimension of the theory of international relations, is of necessity aimed at remedying the defects of research in international relations. This will make the theory of international relations more multidimensional, richer and deeper. Though Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations* has greatly promoted people's concerns with this issue, research in international culture did not start from him and has not been a simple response to his argument. In reality, since the 1980s, many researchers began such exploration and a considerable number of works have paved the way.¹

Furthermore, the rise of world economic theories cannot replace world political theories, while research in international culture, cannot, of course, substitute for research in world politics and world economy. Each has its own theoretic emphasis to help people observe international phenomena from different angles. However, these three dimensions are not isolated; they are different aspects of the overall historical process of international affairs. Only by conducting cultural research can the process be grasped overall. Strictly speaking, humankind can learn only from its own history. As views on the past exert influence on the development of humankind's collective awareness generation after generation, there is need for a clear explanation of history (including that of international relations), for this has much to do with the future destiny of humankind. Till now most explanations have focused on the parts of the whole, such as economy, politics, technology and warfare, rather than on the whole itself. This can result in one-sided and even distorted understanding.

The explanation of history from the perspective of culture is conducive to overcoming these drawbacks. Culture has a bearing on all the activities of humankind -- artistic, social, political,

educational, religious, spiritual, economic and technical. People throughout the world try every means to explain the world, organize themselves, handle various kinds of affairs, improve and beautify their life and fix their own position in the world. In this, culture is particularly inclusive and integrative. If research in international relations transcends the level of event description and explanation, through cultural research it can be upgraded to the theoretic deliberation of historical philosophy. On the other hand, only by breaking through the national boundaries and answering all questions raised by the integrated world, can cultural research enter a new realm.

Straightening out Value Orientations

Values provide the sole basis for fully understanding culture, because the core of all cultures is values. In international culture, different values have an objective reality. With the cultural issue increasingly prominent, controversies over different values are becoming rather fierce. Approaches to Western values, East Asian values, global values and future values in recent years reflect concerns over the core of research in international culture. Before conducting research in values, we should first of all straighten out our value orientation. In general the following main value orientations are found in China and the world at large.

Ethnic Cultural Centralism

Ethnic cultural centralism firmly believes in the superiority of the native ethnic culture and holds that it is not only of utmost value to the native ethnic group, but has universality and should be spread to other ethnic groups. As cultures of various ethnic groups in the world have arisen under separate historical conditions, almost all ethnic groups once had similar views. This is understandable in the environment of the times. This view contains positive and negative aspects. Positively either at the level of group, society, region and country or at the international layer, all cultures have made important contributions to international development and to the cultural heritage of humankind. Their spread reflects initiative in retaining and developing native ethnic cultures. Negatively, all cultures have their drawbacks. Unbelievably savage and brutal acts, war, violence, oppression, exploitation, infringement on human rights, racial purges and terrorism, are all more or less manifest in various cultures. Ethnic cultural centralism turns a blind eye to this, and even tries by every means to defend it, leading to a blind sense of national superiority.

With the isolation of various countries having been broken so that people can witness the reality of multicultural coexistence in the world. Now they can correctly evaluate the strong and weak points of their native ethnic cultures with reference of other cultures. Remaining with ethnic cultural centralism at this moment is regarded as narrow, one-sided and stubbornly biased -- or worse, preaching a national chauvinism and playing down other ethnic groups for some purpose. This will not only harm other ethnic groups but also bring great suffering to native ethnic groups. History has repeatedly proved this truth, which deserves close attention.

“Western centralism” is the most conspicuous manifestation in the world of ethnic cultural centralism. Though the view that Western culture is universal has been criticized, its force is still very strong. For instance, Forer wrote that the quintessence of Western political values is universal and unavoidably will spread extensively. This cannot be denied,² and numerous such expositions are available. On the other hand, we cannot but recognize that in developing countries, including China, many people hold an ethnic cultural centralism. Western cultural centralism has a

“controlling nature”, while in developing countries it takes the form of “resistance”. The two are different, but cultural centralism is still incorrect and must be studied.

Cross-cultural Relativism

Cross-cultural relativism holds that there is no morale or truth which can become central for the world, and that all cultures are relative and coexist. Though various cultures differ and are subject to time and place, they are equal. Culture is the result of ethnic historical life. In the 20th century, very extensive investigation and research by cultural anthropologists has promoted this view. Relative to Western centralism and cultural superiority theory, this represents great progress. At least theoretically, it recognizes and looks squarely at world cultural pluralism. Not a few insightful Westerners hold this view with sincerity. But it cannot fundamentally eliminate the influence of Western centralism. On the contrary, it may enable Western centralism to take on a more moderate and covert appearance. The positivist research of cultural anthropology has only provided arguments which to some prove Western culture to be advanced while others are uncivilized and primitive. While bare faced ethnic cultural centralism is notorious, some regard their own values as advanced while playing down other ethnic cultures under the cover of cross-cultural relativism. For instance, criticizing Huntington for holding the view of Western centralism did not strike home, because Huntington said Western culture was unique rather than universal and cannot be imposed on others. But this does not stop him from insisting on Western cultural superiority at heart, and expressing his worries about the “only valuable” Western culture suffering challenges from different cultures. His attitude is somewhat representative.

It is interesting that many Asian, African and Latin American countries also favor cross-cultural relativism, but at the other pole. Constrained by Western centralism for hundreds of years, they need to prove themselves through ethnic cultural rejuvenation in order to enhance the people’s confidence, beyond political independence and economic development. Faced with the assaults of strong Western cultures, they are unable to upgrade their own to universal cultures. They must hold the bottom-line of cultural relativism in order to gain equality with Western culture. Cross-cultural relativism is also highly influential in Chinese academia. Many people, including this author, have written articles stressing that all cultures are equal.

However, conceptual introspection reveals cross-cultural relativism to be not unassailable. Stating cultural specificity and its local significance is, to a considerable extent, a description of the objective situation, rather than a judgment of values. We cannot withhold comment on the drawbacks of various cultures or even speak highly of them on the basis of recognizing cultural equality. Acts of killing babies, murdering elderly people, oppressing women or mutual slaughter in cultures should not be accepted, but must be criticized. Value judgments either within or between cultures must have an acceptable standard.

Empirical Global Minimum Morale

This view holds that not only are the values within a particular culture precious, but experience has proven that there exist global minimum common values. Not a few cultural anthropologists have observed that the majority of cultures have rejected deception, stealing, violence or incest; no culture takes pain as a value, has no respect for life or fails to memorialize death. Even areas where revenge is considered legal strictly limit the number of deaths. To substantiate this theory, some have put forward arguments in biology, namely, that morals originate from a moral gene. If

the genes are identical, there is no relativism; if genes are different, culture is also different. Others have advanced arguments in sociology, that is, the universal process of socialization has led to a universality of moral awareness. For example, all babies require attention by others. In this process, humankind has attained some common characteristics.

However, these arguments are inadequate. We are in no position to explain whether the biological and sociological arguments have nurtured egoism or altruism. Proceeding only from experiences to prove the existence of the minimum values is also questionable. For instance, preservation of life is the most universal and fundamental value in the world, but often it is related to betrayal of belief, violating the law and sheltering family or tribal members. Furthermore, this argument is premised on global acceptance. The morale supported by the majority seems stronger than that supported by the minority or minor cultures. But there are reasons to ask: if all societies discriminate against women (or migrants, the disabled or some the group), can this prejudice be proved reasonable? This view is rare in Chinese scholars, but with the extension of cultural exchanges between countries it has gradually influenced the Chinese academia, especially young researchers.

Universal Value Theory

The universal value theory was first put forward by Western scholars. Its core is the recognition that everyone has the right to existence or human rights. Its original contents were limited to the rights of citizens and political freedom, but in recent years, due to the response of developing countries, some scholars have added basic economic and other rights. Amitai Etzioni holds that human rights is a demand upon all countries and societies, rather than being directed against some only. Though the concept of human rights historically was created in the West, it does not reflect only Western values, but rather is a demand on everyone. He has also observed that in recent years Asian countries have begun to pay attention to improving human rights and have no longer regarded human rights as an instrument of foreign oppression, but as a means of enhancing Asian specialization. He has quoted Bilahari Kausikan, a Singaporean diplomat, as saying “Human rights have become a legitimate issue in interstate relations. How a country treats its citizens is no longer a matter for its own exclusive determination”. This has been creating a global culture about human rights.

Amitai Etzioni’s criticism of the theory of Western universal values is also thought-provoking. First, people always quote the U.N. Charter, international law, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and various resolutions and international conferences to prove the rationality of human rights. However, these have not been extensively recognized; for lack of participation by representatives of all the countries in the world they lack the foundation of a global moral dialogue. Second, it should be admitted that Western developed countries can afford political freedom, while developing countries can achieve political development only after economic development by leaps and bounds. Under conditions of extreme poverty, subsistence is humankind’s primary choice; other things are secondary. To those countries knowing nothing about peace, stability and progress, it is nonsense to talk about rights of citizens and political rights. Nevertheless, he still demands moral voices and global dialogue, and opposes imposed dialogues or rebukes at the slightest provocation.³ This view reflects a revised theory of universal Western values.

In the Chinese academia, wide differences exist on the theory of universal Western values. Some hold that now that modernization is the goal being sought and that Western society has taken the lead in carrying forward modernization, our cultural orientation naturally should draw closer

to that of developed societies. Some consider that the West has made use of its powerful cultural force to pursue colonialism and hegemony, so Chinese people should increase their own cultural cohesion to deal with “a clash of civilizations”. This author opposes simple approval or simple opposition. It should be recognized that Western culture does provide some values of universal significance. Though taking the human as the foundation and respecting human existence is manifested in various cultures, enhancing it to the level of human rights in a modern sense is indeed the result of processes of extraction and distillation in Western civilization. It is because of their universality, that they have been increasingly accepted by developing countries including China. Except for the drawbacks Etzioni has criticized, this author wants to supplement what is perhaps a more important drawback, namely, that universal values are not limited to the human rights provided by the West; all cultures have the possibility of providing universal values. If human rights values did not absorb such basic rights as that to subsistence and economic rights raised by developing countries, they might not be so complete, and in that sense universal. So, universal values are not those which only the West can provide, but should integrate various kinds of excellent values found in the world; they are not a finished and established moral system, but are still in the process of formation.

Cultural Internationalism

This orientation is based on the theory of universal values. Furthermore, it holds that only by cultural interaction across national boundaries can we redefine the world order and determine the future face of the world. Akira Iriye pointed out that a sharp increase of transnational trade and the recognition of international law by all the countries have laid the initial foundation for forming theoretically a common international system. In the 20th century, cultural internationalism made rapid progress, such as exchange of information, coordination of weights and measures; cooperation across national boundaries of scientists, artists, educators and many others to promote mutual cross-cultural understanding; and various international organizations which form a network covering the whole world. The telephone, radio, cinema, TV and Internet have provided brand-new technology and means for cross-cultural communication. Even after suffering the destruction of two world wars and the Cold War, cultural internationalism has still kept its flames alive. Since the independence of developing countries cultural internationalism has become more comprehensive: non-European countries have been increasingly active, more common issues facing mankind such as environmental protection and human rights have been put on the agenda, and there has been an unprecedented enhancement in the self-awareness of world diversity. If this kind of position can be agreed to by more countries, there may eventually emerge a new international order in which culture will be returned to its central place.⁴ Chinese scholars have also expressed similar views. For instance, Chen Lemin wrote that, from the perspective of a general world history which stresses political struggles, conflicts are everywhere in the human society. However, from the angle of the history of human civilizations, the general trend is toward integration, even in the midst of fierce conflicts.⁵ But no one has clearly put forward the concept of “cultural internationalism,” perhaps, on the one hand, because of the difficulty of differentiating cultural conflict from cultural integration, and, on the other hand, because of a certain taboo on “internationalism”. If a breakthrough can be made on the basic issues of universal values, the turn toward cultural internationalism may be confirmed.

In short, the value orientation of Chinese scholars is bound to be varied and difficult to unify. However, no matter what attitude is taken, we should first make clear the starting point, the strong

and weak points of this position in fulfilling the objectives, and how to remedy the defects so as to achieve a more rational explanation. Otherwise one can easily fall into the trap of blindness. Research in international culture based on objective scientific theories is beneficial in bringing about a new value orientation. This process must transform beneficial values, Eastern or Western, from the many cultures in the world, extract and distill excellent values from the native ethnic cultures, and integrate them into new values capable of guiding humankind in its way forward. As Cheng Zhongying discussed, the universality of ideologies and concepts is related to the depth of their taking root in subjectivity and is closely connected with the horizontal network of meaning.⁶

Chinese culture goes back to ancient times, has extensive and profound knowledge and can provide rich cultural factors. The challenge is to modernize and upgrade these ideological factors and then transmit them to the rest of the world. This requires arduous efforts at cultural building, rather than a simple overall presentation, for otherwise they cannot be accepted and integrated. In the practical situation, the facts that Western countries possess strong technical means and that they began earlier the process of value modernization and globalization are very favorable to their dissemination of values. Relatively speaking, developing countries have just begun. But we cannot wait to see and bungle the chance. If we cannot attend to our research in earnest, we will lose the right to speak in the cultural upsurge of the new century.

A Framework for Research in International Culture

The aim of research in international culture is to recognize and understand more deeply contemporary international relations, and to explain how cultural factors play a role in the formation of international relations and how cultural research can enlighten international relations. Cultural research must involve the fields of ideology, concept and consciousness in order to be sure to reflect the realistic base of international relations. Denial of this point will lead to a break with historical materialism. However, ideology, concept and consciousness are not entirely passive reflections of objective reality, but at the same time play a counteractive role in the real situation of international relations. Not to see this point will lead to being entrapped in a mechanical materialism. In this sense we can say that changes in concepts cause changes in the world. Now when people see the world, what often appears in their minds are geopolitical concepts such as military power, security strategy and balanced diplomacy. Using these concepts to understand phenomena and explain results in turn strengthens geopolitical relations. For example, dealing with potential enemies by means of war or alliance often makes them real enemies. This is called “Cold War thinking”. Any phenomena which are hard to explain by geopolitics often are regarded as “confusions”.

In fact, cultural forces have existed and been developing, and have constituted the contemporary world. Only because geopolitical theory has occupied the central position in international relations, has people’s sight been obstructed. The development of transnational cultural forces linking different countries, societies and peoples cannot be fully understood within the geopolitical and geo-economic framework. Only by making use of the concepts and methods of cultural research can the interrelations between various domestic and international forces and the cultural interaction between individuals and groups transcending national boundaries be explained. Besides, some “confusions” are not real confusions; if cultural views are accepted then a clear explanation can be achieved. Therefore, we must build a framework for research in international culture.

The first layer of research in international culture looks into the conditions of time and place in which new concepts, ideas and principles are put forward, and how they change people's recognition and understanding of international relations. China's definition of the current era has changed from "war and revolution" to "peace and development"; this is a great transformation. To a considerable extent, "war and revolution" did reflect the world political situation in the greater part of the 20th century. There were two World Wars, the Cold War and a series of conventional wars; developing countries, except in Latin America, gained independence; most adopted the means of revolutionary wars, others went through peaceful transitions. However, this definition ignored the adjustment of modern capitalism on the basis of the new technological revolution and the change in the tasks of newly emerging countries after independence.

In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, when foreign scholars first advanced a new definition of "peace and development", China regarded it as the main melody of the current era and proposed it. Deng Xiaoping noted that "peace and development" do not refer to two fulfilled tasks, but rather to the orientation of our efforts. On the basis of this view, the differences between social systems will no longer become an obstruction to exchange between countries. To fulfill the task of development, we should fall in line with the world economy, properly deal with contradictions with other countries, and strive for a peaceful and safe environment. In the same era, the U.S. definition diverged widely from China's. It stressed "market and democracy" and "security and order". The aim of the U.S. definition is to maintain the current order, prevent any country from threatening its status, and strongly promote U.S.-style marketization and democratization. The difference between China and the U.S. in the definition of the current era endowed their foreign policies with both cohesive and conflicting contents. Definition and concept are the overall reflection of the realistic situation, and the guideline for behavior that changes the status quo.

The second layer of research in international culture is the analysis of the collective recognition of various concepts and ideas. The higher the degree of collective recognition, the greater the influence on international relations. Definition, concept, idea and principle not only guide the behavior of various actors in the world, but also impact common behaviors by collective recognition if the actors generally accept some idea and principle. Recently, Tanaka Akihiko, professor of Tokyo University in Japan, advanced the idea of "word politics", that is, that the main point of current politics lies in "stating one's views", "daring to create marvelous words," the "force of speech".⁷ Why does speech have such force? This is because it must achieve recognition by other countries. Otherwise, it is only soliloquy and can only guide a country's foreign policy with limited force. The *1998 Strategic Review* by the U.S. Department of Defense pointed out that in analyzing the Asia-Pacific situation almost all the countries in the region had accepted the economic values of such core countries as the U.S., which were conducive to promoting economic relations between the core countries and this region. However, some countries continued to resist and reject the values of democratic politics, thereby generating suspicions and worries in interrelations with them.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence initiated by China have become the common ground for many developing countries. Therefore, it is easy for them to achieve equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect in their relations. Because the degree in which Western developed countries' recognize these principles is lower, anti-power sentiments often crop up in developing countries' dealings with them. This shows that initiating creative ideas and principles for world affairs, which are subsequently accepted by other countries, will be an important mark of a country's ability.

This kind of ability depends on whether its material carriers are strong, that is, that it is taken for granted that more and better goods and cultural products are delivered to the world through these carriers. In this respect, developed countries, especially the U.S., are strong. What Coca-Cola and McDonald market is not only beverage and food, but also the meaning of the culture and lifestyle attached to them. Hollywood's swift and fierce attacks move triumphantly with hundreds of millions of people enjoying US movies. From the angle of culture, the ability of producing collective recognition takes root first in domestic cultural recognition and innovative awareness.

If the people even of one country have divergent and confused awareness, how can they convince peoples of other ethnic groups? To reach domestic consensus in culture, a country is bound properly to deal with relations between foreign and native cultures and to better resolve contradictions between traditional culture and modernity. Only on the basis of a collective national recognition can innovative ability sharply increase.

Secondly, it depends on a country's awareness of the world. If a country takes care only of its own domestic affairs and speak only when having something to do with its own direct interests, its ability to promote collective recognition will certainly be extremely low. Only by paying close attention to international affairs, upholding the force of morality and holding humankind's future destiny in mind, can such a culture contribute more ideological elements to international relations.

The third layer of research in international culture is the ability to explore systems of culture. Where a number of countries recognize some kind of concepts, ideas and principles, this provides only a common ground in thought and speech. Turning this into behavior in international relations requires the support of a system. Some cultures have a strong ability at systematization and some, though contributing new thinking, lack initiative in systematization, and thus fall short of success for lack of an integral effort. After the victory of WWII, Roosevelt and Churchill did their utmost to design the U.N. to put the spirit of the "Atlantic Charter" into practice. To prevent the economic crisis in the 1930s from reemerging, all the countries set up a series of economic organizations at the Bretton Woods Conference. All these reflect the U.S.-led ability of Western culture for systematization. Western countries occupy great superiority in cultural systematization, because they have advanced most of the basic principles of international law and the world system, and hence dominate the current world order. The system of innovation comes down in one continuous line from the original culture and is well reasoned.

Developing countries must take into account current international law and the world system in pursuing their own cultural systems in international relations so that there will be no great conflict and their cultures will be widely accepted. Their cultures and Western culture do not belong to the same system, so their combination and integration requires a lot of work. But this does not mean that developing countries cannot make innovations in cultural systems. On the contrary, their non-Western pluralistic traditions can inject new strains of thought into the world. China has advanced the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" and achieved ideas such as "pursuit of joint development while preserving differences". These are all full of creativity; their drawback is that their systematization has not been explored. Fortunately, in recent years, some progress has been made. The border security guarantee of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan is a successful example of systematization of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" on the issue of the border between China and Central Asia.

Putting forward new thinking demands a creative and forward-looking culture. Promoting systematization requires flexibility, coordination, inclusiveness and pragmatism of culture. New thinking often reflects the ideal appeal of international relations, while systematization takes into greater consideration feasibility and serviceability. The perfect combination of the two is a severe

test for any culture. Both the development and dissemination of concepts and the initiation of systems need the support of the comprehensive national strength.

However, simply to equate cultural ability with economic or military strength is mechanical and one-sided. The solution of difficult problems depends on wisdom. The role of culture can also be manifested in the ingenuity of “moving 1000 *jin* with 4 *liang* force”. It is especially so under the conditions of the post-Cold War new technological revolution and in the environment of the development of both globalization and diversification. For instance, Canada initiated the Anti-Mine Treaty, gaining a reputation all over the world. Australia-advanced APEC has become one of the most important organizations in the Asia-Pacific region. ASEAN has raised its international position by actively launching dialogues and cooperation between East Asian countries, between Europe and Asia, as well as across the Pacific.

The fourth layer of research in international culture is the above-mentioned role of culture in world politics and the world economy in dynamically changing and delineating international relations. First, let us look at the impact of culture on the world economy. As Francis Fukuyama pointed out, the key field where culture plays the most direct role in domestic welfare and international order is the economy.⁸ People have a misunderstanding: Economy seems to be a field separated from other sectors of the social life and ruled by an independent law. In the economy or market natural forces dominate everything and man is seen as only a cold-blooded animal haggling over everything. In fact, the economy has to operate against a non-economic background, where culture is the main factor. Today everyone marvels at the width, depth and speed of economic globalization, whose powerful motive force is scientific and technological progress. But both science and technology belong to culture in a broad sense. At the turn of the millennia there has appeared an inkling of a knowledge economy depending mainly on intellectual resources. Human resources have become central to economic development and input from science, technology and culture has become the main motive force of social development. Without a rapid development of information technology, there will possibly be no putting out the Southeast Asian financial storm and no reexamination of the world economic system and mechanism.

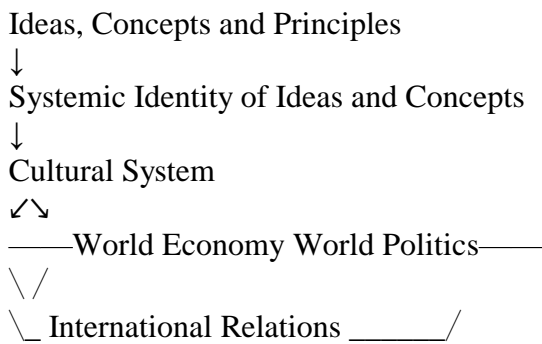
The economy is also the most fundamental and active field in the socialization of humankind, and modern economic activity needs the cooperation of people. Through economic activity, individuals and state are linked and are recognized by other and by the world. In the past, people won recognition through cold blooded wars and conquest; now they do so through economic activity and the social benefit derived from creating rather than destroying wealth. This is historic progress. The increase of interdependence in the world economy has made cultural exchanges between ethnic groups more central. The world market is, of course, an indispensable system, but if what flows in the market is only economic capital and there is no social capital to bind it, the market will not create maximum value. If the ethnic groups think only of their own interests and shift their own troubles onto others, they will finally damage their own development. So, what a culture proposes in social capital for the world operation will be a new issue for research.

Let us observe the impact of culture on world politics. Obviously, the basic contradiction of world politics is that between effective rule in various countries and anarchism of the whole world. The current world pattern is one superpower, as several great powers and multi-polarization and diversification develops. Although the U.N. and various international organizations advance equality between countries in the hope of creating a democratic system in the world family, in practice, “one vote for each country” is incapable of resolving questions. Most countries are unsatisfied with the current political world system and have put forward a variety of reform options, but with very little effect. A change of cultural concepts is of vital importance for the

better integration and resolution of imminent common questions. Hegemony and power politics have met with opposition from more and more countries.

But what kind of world order is fair, reasonable and efficient? How to make use of the achievements in world politics in order to overcome its malpractice? Without applying the cumulative cultural heritages of humankind, people cannot look forward to the future. World politics was originally referred to as the sum total of behavior between sovereign states. Proceeding from that reality, sovereignty remains the key concept in world politics. Safeguarding sovereignty is an important aspect of increasing the political resources of developing countries in particular, which have gained their independence more recently. But the concept of sovereignty also took shape in the modernization process of Western countries. This has been spread to the rest of the world with the occupation by these countries of the dominant position in the world system. The EU countries are no longer scattered entities with distinct identities, but have created a common political identity from within, transcending the definition of traditional theories. Though other countries and regions have not reached such a high degree of integration, there have appeared frequent contacts between the government and economic and civil organizations, non-governmental organizations and individuals, as well as between individuals, enriching and supplementing the relations between sovereign states. A change in concepts is often the precursor of political reform; this is the task of cultural research.

The framework of research in international culture can be shown with the following diagram:



As for the new field of research in international culture, it is better to say that this paper has put forward questions, rather than given answers. The hope is to stimulate criticism and discussion, and to ask for advice from all.

Notes

1. See this author's article, "A Summary of America Cultural Research," *Pacific Journal*, No. 1, 1999, p. 38.
2. Graham Forer, "The Next Ideology", *Foreign Policy*, Spring 1995.
3. Amitai Etzioni, "Conclusion", *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society* (New York Basic Books, 1997).
4. Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
5. Chen Lemin, "Widening the Fields of International Politics Research", *Pacific Journal*, No. 2, 1997.

6. Cheng Zhongying, “The 21st Century: Blend of Chinese and Western Cultures and Globalization of Chinese Culture”, *Pacific Journal*, No. 1, 1995.

7. Tanaka Akihiko, “Japanese Diplomacy in the Era of ‘Word Politics’”, *Chuokoron*, Sept. 1998.

8. Francis Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtue and the Creation of Prosperity* (Free Publishing House, 1995), p. 6.

The Destiny of Culture: Relationships between Foreign and Native Cultures in the Process of Modernization

Yu Xintian

In recent years, concerns about culture have been rising, yet the focus of discussions over culture seems to remain on the relationship between foreign and native cultures. As a matter of fact, after Western powers broke open the door of China with gunboats, the Chinese have been thinking hard on this issue and discuss it fiercely. Culture has always borne the destiny of the Chinese and directed China's path forward. One of the shortcomings in previous explorations is that they failed to examine closely the relationship between foreign and Chinese cultures against the world background and thereby lacked a broader field of vision. This article wishes to make some attempt at this. Ascending the heights to enjoy a distant view may make it possible to relax our long pent-up cultural complexes and approach China's development with a tranquil and adaptive mind.

The Common Problem of Cultural Duality

Tradition was the highest value for pre-modern societies, for the more scientific and technological means were lacking, the greater the value of experiential results. Only by strictly following customs from the ancestors could social order and civilization be maintained. However, culture has been constantly innovating and changing. To the long-term accumulation have been added discovery, invention and contacts with other nations as new conditions for cultural change. Contacts between nations have often exerted influences on both sides. Generally speaking, more backward nations may learn more from the cultures of the technically more advanced societies. In an environment of peace or conquest, cultural dissemination is a long and slow process. Nations absorbing cultures may make new applications of cultural forms, function and meaning, integrating them into their own cultural traditions as new cultural factors.

When the Western powers, taking the lead in modernization, began to colonize the rest of the world and conquered backward countries with gunboats, commodities and missionaries, some countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were faced with unprecedented cultural assaults. As Marxism earlier brought to light, the impact of capitalist expansion on oppressed nations was dual and the invasion of Western culture also dual effects. On the one hand, Westerners destroyed most of the original civilizations and societies in the world, denied or changed local ethical standards, and arbitrarily determined the destiny of other nations according to Western standards and on the premise of this being beneficial.

This revealed the power of culture. Bring advanced industrial civilization, and disseminating modern theories, ideologies and values gave the oppressed weapons to criticize the shackles of pre-modern societies. In this sense Western colonialists served as "unconscious historical tools". The entry of Western forces enabled backward nations to gain from the outside world the driving force of modernization. Colonialists disseminated some advanced technologies and trained suitable managerial personnel, but they were unwilling really to develop their colonies. This resulted in a striking contrast, summarized by Arthur Lewis as a dual economy, which produces the phenomenon of a dual culture. Any national culture has the contradiction of refined and popular

tastes, as well as of superiority and inferiority; but both were still within the one system. Local customs and modes entered the larger tradition and spread far and wide through the process of universalization, while the larger tradition was revised through localization and competes with and integrates the original local modes.

However, too wide a gap exists between Western culture and native cultures. With independence the newly emerging countries have more room for self-determined cultural choice. But political changes have not been a panacea for all problems and the tension between Western and native cultures has not been eliminated. The phenomenon of dual culture cannot be fundamentally eliminated due to the slow progress of modernization and the antagonisms generated the dual economy. Without the push of industrialization, freedom of immigration and incentives to urbanization, it is almost impossible to reform traditional social structures, ideologies and concepts.

After repeated setbacks of modernization for over a century, the intervention of the ultra-“Left” line and the ten-year great calamity after the founding of the Republic, China did not set its mind on modernization until the beginning of the reform and opening-policy. Though its achievements are outstanding, the time has been too short. The majority of the Chinese people are peasants and the gap between town and country, intellectual and peasant remains wide, with each sticking to its extreme. This forms the huge hotbed of the dual culture. Extrication from the difficult position of dual culture depends not only on in-depth research and improved ways of thinking, but also and more importantly on the progress of modernization.

The Breakthrough to Self-Determined Cultural Choice and Creation

It is a matter for rejoicing that some developing countries and regions have caught-up and established newly emerging industrial economies in their modernization drive, while at the same time making breakthroughs in resolving historical problems in cultural building, offering us fresh experiences. Progress in modernization has promoted resolution of cultural problems, while success in cultural building has helped the process of modernization. The academy has split over the relationship between culture and modernization. In sum, there are only two schools: “system theory” and “culture theory”. The former considers the cultural role to be very small and sees economic development as depending on special economic policies and conditions. The latter holds that each social culture and system is extremely unique and plays a great role in economic development.

Actually, the two are not absolutely antagonistic. Firstly, the cultural factor cannot play a role on its own without the support of other political and economic conditions. East Asian countries have similar cultural conditions, but some go ahead of the rest and others lag behind. We absolutely cannot seek “causes” of economic development simply in culture, but we can expect to find there the “juncture” of economic development. That is to say, we can identify the cultural factor which does not act by itself, but which can vitalize the economy. Secondly, the role of this cultural factor cannot be ignored. The correct policy and rational system will, of course, encourage the people to struggle. But how to work out the correct policy, how to make a system rational to a particular nation, and how to create entrepreneurs and the people willing to follow the government’s policy cannot avoid the cultural background. For example, that the ratio of saving of some East Asian people is high, while that of Westerners is low, cannot be attributed to the difference in the wage system and banking policy. Thirdly, we recognize the impact of culture in a very broad field of vision, turning culture into one of variables. Culture not only determines the scope of policy and

system, but also casts the special style and features of development. Almost anything will be filtered through culture. The same economic policies may produce different results in different countries. In short, system and culture move forward in interaction and coordination.

The fresh experiences of newly emerging industrial countries and regions in culture building can be summarized as the nativization of Western culture or inculturation, and the transformation of native culture or aculutralization. We see this process in China. Since the beginning of the reform and opening, Deng Xiaoping repeatedly reiterated that keeping the door closed is equal to maintaining backwardness. All the civilizational achievements in the world must be learned. Thus began an unprecedented tide of large-scale learning from foreign cultures started. This has greatly assaulted the traditional thought left over by the feudal society as well as many concepts of traditional socialism, leading to drastic changes in the views and concepts of the Chinese people. However, China has been highly vigilant against the Western democratic system, individualism and liberalism, which it cannot accept completely. On the other hand, Deng Xiaoping attached importance to progress in Chinese culture and ideology. Especially in recent years, social consensus on progress in culture and ideology has been increasingly enhanced, proving that people will pay more attention to the exploration, transformation and development of Chinese ideology, ethics and culture. Understanding the significance of culture building in newly emerging industrial countries and regions will encourage the Chinese to deal more consciously with the relationship between foreign cultures and native culture in the process of modernization and enable China to develop more smoothly.

The Nativization of Western Culture

To achieve modernization and become developed, any country must boldly open to the outside world. It should also take the initiative in opening to foreign cultures while introducing large numbers of investors, making great efforts to push forward foreign trade, learning from advanced science and technology, and imitating effective management systems. Latecomers in modernization can use the experiences of forerunners for reference and shorten the process of catching-up. This is to their advantage but has created perplexity over whether to accept wholesale foreign modes or totally to reject them, and whether to believe absolutely in the universality of foreign systems or selectively to adapt native system to modern functions. Facts have proved that copying foreign models often leads to social turmoil and sometimes ends in failure. Furthermore, backward countries are generally in an unfavorable position in the world system and can easily be pessimistic or radical. This hinders them from considering the adaptation to modern functions in terms of the national reality. To open to the outside world, one should learn from Western culture. This is an issue of attitude and method.

In the process of industrialization, newly emerging industrial countries and regions have not only learned Western instrumental culture (technology) and the (management) systems of that culture, but also have introduced its key concepts. To realize individual aspirations and national rejuvenation, the modern fatalism of attempting nothing is questioned and replaced by awareness of competition, of actively forging ahead and changing destiny. In the process of establishing and perfecting market mechanisms, traditional concepts such as the idea of prerogatives -- of honorable men and humble women, of noble officials and humble people -- are replaced by the concept of equality before opportunity. In the transition from a small-scale and self-sufficient peasant economy to large-scale industrialized production such new concepts as national and ethnic identity, submission to law and the observance of disciplines grow strong. However, the absorption

of Western culture by newly emerging industrial countries and regions should be self-determined and selective.

The nativization of Western culture implies not only learning and absorbing Western culture but also its screening. There are two basic reasons for this. One is the difference in time between Western and native cultures. Western countries have entered the post-modern stage and face very different challenges than industrializing societies. The other is the difference in their traditions. One of the main origins of Western culture is ancient Greece. Scattered city-states generated special democratic thinking and systems. This is widely divergent from the train of thought of centralized Oriental countries. The natural environment of the East and its mode of production and life have generated a mentality of greater respect for authority and submission to government. Of course, developing countries can transform their systems and change their concepts in the process of modernization, but the force of cultural traditions cannot be ignored.

The Transformation or Universalization of Native Culture and Its Significance

To some extent, it can be said that the transformation of native culture is more important than the nativization of Western culture. The reason is that the learning and absorption of the quintessence of Western culture is, in the final analysis, not to change native cultures into offshoots of Western culture, but to transform and develop native cultures. Only on the stock of native cultures can the transplanted Western culture find its point of growth. The direction of the transformation of native cultures also determines the choice of the points of Western culture to be introduced. However, scientific rationality, the spirit of change and norms of the legal system of Western culture exercise a huge incentive on native cultures to change, which of themselves would stick to convention, tend to conservatism and rely on rule by men.

In the process of transformation of native cultures we should differentiate traditional culture from cultural traditions. Traditional culture refers basically to the cultural heritages of traditional societies, while cultural traditions are cultures retained in the present social environment by means of the cultural style accumulated from the ancient times. In the process of modernization, cultural traditions are more important than traditional culture. Sticking to the letter to ancient ways may ossify traditional culture and make it unable to take advantage of an opportunity to change into cultural tradition. This shows that we must meticulously transform traditional culture, abandon dross not adaptable to the needs of modern societies and explore and carry forward factors useful to future development on the basis of which new creations can occur. Without efforts to process and create, it is difficult for people to inherit and feel proud of their own culture.

To facilitate analysis, this article will separately recount the nativization of Western culture and transformation of native cultures. In fact the two processes are simultaneous and intertwined; the two promote, supplement and complement each other.

Success in the modernization of developing countries and regions has enabled people's recognition of universalization of native culture to take a great leap. The question of whether the development of non-Western nations has been hindered because of culture has been lurking in people's minds. At various international seminars in the 1960s, most held a negative attitude toward East Asian modernization. One of the reasons was that Confucian culture as it lays stress on harmony and coordination, the collective and social stability was seen as incompatible with modernization. Moreover, as it attaches importance to humanism and ignores science and technology, it cannot be counted on to guide modernization. But after the 1970s, there have been dramatic changes. The rise of the Asian "four dragons" has been looked at with new eyes. Their

unique development modes were traced to their cultural source and the Confucian values which had been criticized in the 1960s came to be regarded as the driving force of economic growth.

We should not follow the track of Westerners and take a “man or mouse” attitude towards culture. If it can be said that native cultures originate from a special social formations, that is its historical layer, this does not mean that it has no potential for universalization. All great traditions have similar potentials. The key lies in how people choose and transform culture. Though nations may enter the road of modernization earlier or later, faster or slower, this cannot be the reason for being overweening or excessively humble with regard to some cultures.

From the perspective of history, the foreign-born-type of modernized cultural process of developing countries and regions is a last, very painful resort. However, it has also brought along unexpected results: compatibility of learning from, and integrating with, foreign cultures and a sober rationale for reviewing and assessing native culture at any time. This is of inestimable significance in this “global village” era of ever greater interdependence between nations. Western culture has not undergone threats of foreign cultures -- which is its good fortune in modern times. But as a result, it is difficult to understand the greatness of other cultures. Hence, it recognizes less the need to learn from others -- which is its misfortune for the future. Western countries have given full play to the humankind’s ability to conquer nature and have enhanced individual freedom to an unprecedented level. But they are faced with many problems before which they feel quite helpless. For example, cultural and moral degeneration, the gap between the rich and the poor, a lax society, the break-up of the family, school dropouts, pampered youth, alienation of human nature, and environmental damage. Such modern social “diseases” are hard to cure only by Western culture; “consultation” with various cultures in the world are needed.

Modernization in the world has provided many fresh experiences and China’s progress since the beginning of its reform and opening has also broadened our thinking, so that China possesses better conditions for dealing with the relationship between foreign and native cultures. However, the thinking of our nationals has not kept up with these drastic changes of the situation and they lack adequate understanding of these conditions. Undoubtedly, we should continue to implement Deng Xiaoping’s policy of all-round opening and absorb all of humankind’s excellent civilizational achievements, whether Eastern or Western.

But, when the economy fell in line with the world market, we also heard of the culture falling in line with the world and integrating into mainstream world civilization. This seems open to question. If these arguments mean the transformation of Chinese culture to adapt to modern needs and the change of China from an agricultural into an industrial civilization this has its truth. However, it may easily produce misunderstanding, as if Chinese culture overall would be integrated into the Western culture dominant in the world and only by emulating Western civilization could one enter the world mainstream. As is known to all, cultures in different social stages have different features. One of the results of industrialization is to narrow the gap in the stages between different cultures, while narrowing the gap in technology. However, special national cultural features will not disappear with modernization and “Western centralism” should be avoided.

The interest in Chinese traditional culture has greatly increased, which is great progress compared with national nihilism. But in the view of some people, national rejuvenation lies in a Confucian revival. This also seems one-sided. Confucianism as academic thinking contains the wisdom of the Chinese nation, but it also has many dregs since it was long combined with feudal political rule. If we hope to revive it and use it to push forward modernization regardless of conditions and without any analysis, things may turn out contrary to our wishes. We should indeed

make in-depth research and analysis of the Confucianism dominant in the history of Chinese culture and carry it forward on the basis of developing what is useful and discarding what is not. Vague and general affirmations or negations will be of no help.

Further, to understand native culture only as Confucian is biased. Chinese culture should include Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, the Legalists and various schools of thought and their exponents. It should include 56 splendid national cultures and folk cultures. Such rich and profound cultural resources are awaiting development, transformation and utilization. To enable China's modernization to develop more smoothly, we must cherish the huge role traditional resources can play and shape the characteristics of Chinese cultural construction.

We cannot lump together China's ongoing modernization drive and the post-modernization phenomena of developed countries. But the problems facing post-modernization of developed countries may be a warning to China, which must make efforts to avoid or at least reduce the negative impacts of some post-modern phenomena in its modernization drive. Therefore, we must pay more attention to the exploration of traditions and their creativity. The reason is fundamentally that only from its own experience can humankind find the weapons to overcome future crises. In this regard, Chinese culture has notable advantages in counteracting the weaknesses of Western culture. It stresses on "Heaven and man combining into one" in the relationship between man and nature, on the harmony between individuals and the masses in interpersonal relations, and on ethical integrity in the moulding human reason. With the stimulation of the times these features are bound to prove more beneficial to the progress of mankind.

We must not forget that Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought and Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics have entered Chinese cultural tradition as new factors of thought and culture and determined the direction of cultural development. If the pioneers of the Chinese ideological circle had to grope their way in the dark, we can explore the way of cultural building in developing the Republic at its apex. With the destiny of Chinese culture in the hands of the Chinese, the river of Chinese culture from ancient times will bring all creeks to the plain to water the world of the 21st century.

8.

The Japanese Spirit: Foundation of Japanese Peculiarity

Guo Jiemin

Each ethnic group has its own cultural features, but it is indeed rare in the world that the Japanese not only “bring in” foreign cultures as they please, but also possess a clear-cut stand for tenaciously defending their own traditional culture. People often bemoan their inadequacy in understanding this “puzzle”. For example, the U.S. philosopher Moore held that Japanese culture is the most mysterious and most fantastic of all the great traditions.¹

China and Japan are close neighbors separated only by a strip of water, both belong to East Asian Confucian cultural circle. Because of historical origins, they have many similar traditions, giving people the impression of “the same culture and the same clan”. But, in-depth understanding reveals that the Japanese are “much different from” and less similar to the Chinese or “apparently the same, but actually different from” the Chinese, especially at the deep layer of culture. For example, in belief, we “proscribe one hundred schools of thought and espouse one as the orthodox ideology, while the Japanese pursue the trinity of Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintoism. In aesthetic conception, we advocate the satisfactory acme of perfection, while the Japanese enjoy the “beauty of incompleteness”. Chinese emperors could abdicate and hand the throne to others, while the emperors of Japan have come from the same family generation after generation.

As Chen Bohai pointed out in his book entitled *The Chinese Cultural Road*, different ethnic groups created different cultures according to their own needs and possibilities in their historical development process. Culture embodies the wisdom of subsistence and is determined by its inherent “soul”. To have an in-depth understanding of an ethnic group’s culture, nothing is more necessary than firmly grasping and exploring its “soul”.

The Japanese Spirit: The Identifying Mark of the Japanese

Many foreigners living in Japan for years have had a common experience: The Japanese are exclusive. Though they are always polite and courteous, they will never treat you at heart as one of them.

The difference between the Japanese and Chinese is not simply one of race and extraction. Some years ago, a number of Japanese “war orphans” brought up by Chinese of goodwill, out of their yearning for their native place flew to Japan from Northeast China in order to embrace their native ethnic group. However, these genuine Japanese have not really integrated into the Japanese society of the “so-called 100 million of Japanese brothers” and some have returned to China. The reason is that, growing up against a different social and cultural background, they lack tacit interaction with native Japanese in their hearts and have been regarded as foreigners.

As the Japanese have long been of a single ethnic group and the emperors of Japan have always come from the same family, their ideology is relatively stable and their “soul” is relatively identical. They have a strong sense of cultural identification with each other and can often have a tacit understanding in expressing feelings. In interpersonal contacts, it is a taboo to speak candidly or sharply, or to persist in one’s old ways. Thus the whole Japanese society has an “ambiguous” tendency. The speech made by Oe Kenzaburo, famous Japanese writer and the winner of Nobel Prize in Literature 1994, was entitled “I Am in the Ambiguous Japan”.

To foreigners, this kind of ambiguity is hard to adapt to. Many Westerners consider understanding the Japanese code of conduct to be more difficult than decoding the secret code of Japan used in dispatching special agents in WWII. In his book *How to Do Business with the Japanese*, Michell Doidge said bluntly that contacts with the Japanese were one of the most difficult and intolerable experiences in his career.

The Japanese regard the Japanese spirit or style of soul which causes many peculiarities, such as ambiguity, to be very important. Except for the Japanese spirit, all can be replaced in time. From the ancient “combining of the Japanese spirit with Chinese learning” to the modern “combining of the Japanese spirit with Western learning”, “learning” can be either “Chinese” or “Western”. But the “spirit” remains unchanged. In the drama *Sargasso* by the famous Japanese writer Mori Ogai, one passage in the dialogue between an old and young man who believe in the theory of “combining Japanese spirit with Western learning”, is representative. One says that, if European and US customs and habits are indeed good, undoubtedly they can be used as a good lesson, but that won't do without “Japanese spirit”. The other says that there is no need to talk about Western material civilization. Examining Western ethics and religions, we can also choose and follow what is good, but the reason why the Japanese become Japanese cannot be abandoned in the final analysis. The reason must naturally be the “Japanese spirit,” without which the Japanese will not be Japanese. Obviously, the Japanese spirit is the hallmark of the Japanese. Even if of the same race and pure extraction, Japanese without the Japanese spirit (for example, the above-mentioned war orphans) are not the Japanese in a real sense, at least not in the Japanese subconscious.

The Definition and Essence of the Japanese Spirit

The explanation of the Japanese spirit in Japan's *Kujien* is first that it is the wisdom and ability in real life related to Chinese learning, and second that it is the national spirit of the Japanese ethnic group.

In literature, the term “Japanese spirit” first appeared in Japan's classic *The Tale of Genji*. The hero Genji, talking to the queen mother about the education of his son, says that the ordinary person must take learning -- here referring to Sinology actively imported from China -- as the foundation; if he also possesses the Japanese spirit and applies the Sinology in practice, he will be the strong. The whole sentence stresses the importance of the Japanese spirit. After that, in Japan's ancient books and records such as *Tales of the Past and Present*, *Imakagami* and *Gukansho*, the term “Japanese spirit” frequently appeared.

From the beginning “Japanese spirit” implied living knowledge and the ability needed in reality. However, its contents were changeable. With the strengthening Japanese national awareness and a swelling sense of superiority, Japanese traditional culture represented by Japanese spirit was crowned with the name of “spirit of national prestige” and given enormous publicity. It became the quintessence of Japanese culture. Later, out of political needs, Japanese rulers combined it with Bushido, the way of the warrior, to unify national awareness, to instigate the Japanese people to follow them in external aggression and expansion, and to “sacrifice their lives for the country”. For example, Motoori Norinaga, the modern Japanese national cultural master, chanted, “If asking what Japanese spirit on the treasured islands is, that is the wild cherry blossoms whose scent is wafted under the rising sun.² Wild cherry blossoms are splendid for a short while and then leave fallen petals in gay profusion. This symbolizes timely withering like autumn chrysanthemum and spring cherry, that is, the spirit of facing death unflinchingly. What is more, Miyake Setsurei nakedly propagated that “Japanese spirit” is composed of self-respect and

patriotic feeling (that is, feeling of love for the emperor's family). The spirit of Bushido is Japanese spirit of "controlling selfish desire, laying stress on virtue and righteousness and making the country powerful and prosperous, . . . exactly the close to affinity between organizing the country and the indispensable quintessence of Japanese culture".³

In WWII, it was in upholding such "Japanese spirit" that the Japanese imperialists committed the crime of aggression against China and many Southeast Asian countries and peoples, which remains fresh in memory. As Oe Kenzaburo said, upon hearing "Japanese spirit", people studying Japan's modern and contemporary history will not possibly calm down, for "Japanese spirit" has become a dangerous term in modern and contemporary times.⁴ "Japanese spirit" in this sense has been swept onto the rubbish heap of history together with the specter of Japanese militarism. Kenzaburo advocated recovering the initial meaning of Japanese spirit including commonality and the resonating power of such human psychological activities as reason, emotion and imaginations.⁵ Japanese spirit expressed in such classics as *The Tale of Genji* -- living knowledge and ability conforming to actual needs -- is exactly the concrete explanation of "common feeling".

Upon what is Japanese spirit or "common feeling", based? This can in fact be summed up in a word "wa". "Wa", first of all, is in particular referred to Japan, for instance, "wafuku" (Japanese clothes), "waka" (Japanese ode) and "washoku" (Japanese-style food). Then it can be understood as praising "harmony". The Japanese use "wa" as the pronoun of their country, embodying their yearning for harmony. "Wa" came from China's classic *Book of Changes*, meaning everything should be in a harmonious proportion. Since ancient times, Japan has had the idea of "all things in creation having intelligence", holding that all lives and substances are equal, human, animal and plant or mountain, river and even soil and stone. Therefore, when the spirit of "harmony" was passed on to Japan together with Chinese characters, it was soon accepted by the Japanese, who had the greatest esteem for it and further took advantage of Japanese euphony to use "wa" as their country's name. This act was not a sudden impulse; but their ideal and pursuit was built upon it.

In the early stage of Japan's Heian era, after Korean Confucianist Wang Ren brought *The Analects* to Japan, the idea of "harmony being prized" struck root in the hearts of the people and was known to almost all. As Japan was an isolated island in a vast sea and natural disasters (earthquakes and volcanic eruptions) were unceasing, they needed a common basis of thought to unite, aid each other and pull together in times of trouble. This cannot be done without "harmony". In 604, Shotokutaishi promulgated a seventeen-article constitution which stipulates that harmony is prized. The Japanese society should be built on such a basis: The prime principle of all social civilized contacts is "harmony", that is, harmony between social members. From then, the principle of harmony became the principle of the Japanese society and the natural core and characteristic of Japanese culture. Many Japanese regarded "harmony" as a creed and hung horizontal inscribed boards of the word "wa" in their rooms and working places. Many mottoes related to harmony were derived therefore, for example, "meiroaiwa" and "iwaseisanwa". In 1937, the Japanese Education Ministry compiled a book entitled *The Original Meaning of National Prestige*, discussing Japanese culture with "harmony" at the core. It held that people could find the spirit of "harmony" by tracking the facts of Japan's founding and its historical orbit. "Harmony" was presented as the force pushing the Japanese history forward since the founding of Japan and also the indispensable ethics of human relations in daily life.

This shows that Japan had long taken "harmony" as an honor and managed state affairs with "harmony". The soul of the Japanese has always been nurtured in the idea of "harmony" and their basic values have been based on the principle of "harmony". In other words, the most universal and important "common feeling" is "harmony" ("harmony being prized" and "harmony above

all”). So, it is not forced or distorted to explain the Japanese spirit as the Japanese-style of soul stressing “harmony”.

The Property of the Japanese Spirit

In the Japanese “common feeling”, there is no firm belief or idol they are ready to die in defense of like the God in Christianity, or no complete theoretical system or teaching of sages like China’s doctrine of Confucius and Mencius. Shintoism in Japan’s homeland is based on the worship of life. All unusual objects of reverence are “gods”, including humans, birds, beasts, mountains, rivers, grasses, trees and other things. They are quite different from the Buddha, bodhisattva and sage in other religions. This property of the Japanese spirit can be specifically divided into the following two aspects.

No Sense of Principle

The Japanese spirit, that is, the “common feeling”, has many values. It does not recognize one sole correct ideological system or absolute justice. Managing with difficulty to distinguish right from wrong, superiority from inferiority or nobility from humbleness, certainly will lead to quarrels and even drawn swords. How then can “harmony” then be taken into consideration? The Japanese do not like to get entangled in an absolute theory. In extreme terms, what all agree to is “correct”. It is no wonder that Japanese thinker Nakae Chomin said frankly that Japan has had no philosophy from ancient to modern times.

So, the Japanese have no such mode of thinking that separate one to choose this or that; they take in everything. People often say that the Japanese receive Christian baptism at the time of birth, abide by the rules of Shintoism at the time of marriage and ask Buddhist monks to chant scriptures at the time of death. Generally they do not take extreme measures even for some decree. For instance, when the Meiji government ordered nationals to trim their hair worn in a bun and have short hair, it solved the issue mainly by “guiding,” rather than “banning”.

Famous Japanese cultural anthropologist and sociologist Nakane Chie pointed out that there is no fully independent frame, form and skeleton in Japanese culture. Compared with China and India, Japan is like a mollusk, while China and India are similar to mammals such as horses and lions, which have clear-cut bones. It can be said that Japan is close to living beings without bones similar to the sea cucumber, which in principle does not present an obvious form and often changes it.⁶ This vividly summarizes the Japanese lack of a sense of principle.

It is hard to infer normally and explain logically this mollusk of Japan; it leaves an elusive impression. For example, in the days of the Tokugawa government, as supporting the government system was regarded as “correct”, “honoring the monarch and resisting foreigners” became “correct”. But some years later opening the door and absorbing foreign cultures was correct. In WWII, Japan devoted major efforts to propagating a “great world harmony”, but after defeat, peace and democracy became Japan’s highest objectives. To the Japanese in different times the meaning of justice is different. The so-called just cause changes, subject to social conditions.⁷ It was a ferocious wild animal yesterday and may become a docile lamb today. Upon Japan’s defeat, the US occupation army was astonished at the Japanese immediate change of attitude to positive cooperation. Japan’s emperor set a good example and specially visited General MacArthur. This is because they soberly recognized that they had been defeated completely and must submit to US will to rally their forces. Due to Benedict’s *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, Americans more

or less understood Japan and did not go so far as to be at a loss on what to do in the face of the Japanese 180-degree turn. After decades, the Japanese “common feeling” to the U.S. has again begun to change; publicly and privately it is held that Japan should say “no” to the U.S.

Pragmatism

Because of “no sense of principle” of the Japanese, their “common feeling” lacks absolute values pursued at all costs. They neither look forward to the next life nor have blind belief in heaven. This results in their regarding interests of this life as of prime importance and giving their value orientation and national character an obvious pragmatic trend. Japan’s earlier concept of good and evil was directly related to good or ill luck and fortune or misfortune in people’s daily life. All favorable is good; all harmful is evil. This is based on the awareness of community.

Japan’s monks can marry. The founder of the Pure Land Sect Shinran was married twice and had four sons and two daughters. Sitting in meditation has been popular in Japan, but the purpose is generally to nurture the ability of self-restraint rather than to transcend worldliness and attain enlightenment. From this we can see a touch of Japanese pragmatism.

Attaching importance to pragmatism is influenced more or less by the Confucian spirit of real learning and empiricism. It is a common feature of such East Asian nations as the China, Japan and Korea, but it manifests itself most prominently in Japan. This is manifested first of all in attaching importance to science and technology. Generally speaking, what the Confucian states in the continent pay attention to is tempering personality and art while looking down upon industrialists, businessmen and craftsmen. But in Japan it is not so. Even in “the era of cutting off the country from the outside world”, Japanese rulers were lenient. They allowed numerous Western advanced sciences and cultures to enter Japan, including astronomy, geography, mathematics, navigation and medicine. They were aware that advanced science and technology in Western culture were useful real learning for Japan. History has proved that without long-term active fostering and the earnest introduction of science and technology, Japan would not have fruitfully gotten onto the road of modernization after the Meiji Restoration, or risen rapidly after the defeat of WWII to become an economic power.

Second, the pragmatic sense has made regulations and restrictions appear unnecessary. As long as it is useful, no matter how multifarious or grotesque, just bring it. Japan has the ability to resolve and restore foreign cultures and abandon some impractical contents or those not conformable to the Japanese “common feeling”. Thus it achieves a coexistence and integration of Eastern and Western cultures and shapes the open structure of Japanese culture. Someone vividly likened Japanese culture to an apple pear: it appears to be an apple, but tastes like a pear. It is neither an apple nor a pear; it is not only an apple but also a pear.⁸

Of course, it has many other names like “two-layered culture”, “cross-breed culture” and “half-breed culture”. These names all reflect the pluralism of Japanese culture. The Japanese are good at making different things peacefully coexist. For instance, their belief is the trinity of Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintoism. Their written language is composed of Chinese characters, kana and foreign words. The Japanese usually eat Western-style food such as bread, coffee and milk in the morning, Japanese-style food such as slices of raw fish at lunch and dinner, and go to restaurants to taste Chinese food in holidays and festivals. Such cultural spectacles can be seen everywhere in Japan.

Third, no sense of principle and pragmatism complement each other. The former helps bring about the latter, while the latter strengthens the former. In history, out of their own needs, Japanese

rulers sometimes relied on Shintoism, sometimes made use of Buddhism, and sometimes praised Confucianism highly. This kind of pragmatic behavior without principle has caused the Japanese nation and its culture to lack rational rays, but has endowed it with perceptual color. As a Japanese Shinto master pointed out, the strong point of the Japanese mentality does not lie in logic and philosophic reasoning, and still less in building a huge ideological system by putting various ideas in order. This is because the Japanese have not been nurtured in abstraction, so in the history of knowledge they show no profundity of thought. What the Japanese are best at is grasping the most profound truth by intuition and relying on superficial phenomena to show it in an extremely realistic way. Thus Japanese culture is called a “perceptual culture”.

In daily life, compared with law and contract, “justice and charity” (including conscience, honor, feeling and chivalry) play a greater role and to some extent form a business ethics. For example, in Japan’s business circles, a popular sentence is, “I can not treat my partners unfairly, as this will destroy the principle of justice”. In the past, business people in Osaka often added the following postscript in their contracts: “I will never violate this agreement. If by any chance there is any violation, I will not have a grudge against others, even if meeting with ridicule.”⁹ This shows that “meeting with ridicule” is more humiliating than “violence of agreement”. In Japanese awareness, a contract is nothing more than a form to maintain an outward show, so there is no need to take it too seriously. Both parties to the agreement are Japanese with the same nation, language and culture, so regardless of the contract matters can be settled through consultation. What is important is that justice and charity cannot be violated.

Because of the perceptual feature of Japanese culture, Japanese aesthetics is extraordinarily developed, creating such aesthetic concepts as “sensitiveness to beauty”, “quiet beauty” and “quietness” and enriching the treasure house of world culture in such fields as fine arts, drama and literature. Especially the “do culture” combining aesthetic with concrete skills, such as floral art, the tea ceremony, calligraphy and fencing, is unique and matchless.

The Japanese deeply understand that to ensure the maximum “profit” they must seek the maximum “harmony”. Some shopkeepers know the truth well and simply choose the name of harmony and profit for their shops, such as “walikan” and “waliya”. On the basis of this “common feeling” group awareness has naturally emerged. This is a main feature of the Japanese society. It has made members of a community interdependent in feeling and to share a common fate. It has brought Japanese enterprises and even all parts of the whole country together in order effectively to bring the utmost energy into play. As individuals the Japanese are not very outstanding, but once they unite to form groups they work as one to produce tremendous energy. Through long-term accumulation, group awareness has been integrated into Japanese cultural psychology and become the inherent demand and conscious action of every social member. In Japan, an individual’s self-value does not depend completely on personal struggle, but is realized through the group. Individual and group are not antagonistic, but mutual conditions for achieving their respective interests.

To sum up, the properties of Japanese culture with the Japanese spirit at its core are “no sense of principle” and pragmatism, from which derive a series of cultural elements rare in the world.

Understanding the Japanese Spirit Means Understanding Japan

Because of Japan’s tremendous achievements in modernization and its important contributions to world economic development, people have treated it with increased respect. The

fact that the Western G-7 summit had to include Japan, an Eastern country, showed its decisive position as an economic power.

Exploring the puzzle of Japan's success will certainly be linked with its culture, which has developed a school of its own. A large number of scholars (including Chinese scholars) hold that Japanese culture indeed has its own superiority. In *Relations between Eastern and Western Cultures and Modernization*, Cai Zukuan said that the current Japanese culture is a new one growing up sturdily after integrating the strong points of Eastern and Western cultures.¹⁰ And in *Approaching Oriental Culture and Modernization from the Perspective of Japanese Rejuvenation*, Song Yuelun said that post-war Japan has become a sufficiently rich and stable country to represent Oriental culture.¹¹ Their view is that to advance Oriental culture, Japanese culture is "enough to represent Oriental culture" and should be developed first. Japan's sense of self is particularly good, given that it has always been introducing foreign cultures. Now it is time to export Japanese culture to the rest of the world. The Japanese Government has set as a new objective becoming a cultural power.

However, we should note that the Japanese "soul", that is, the "common feeling" lacks a sense of principle and is only pragmatic. So it is a two-faced animal like the god of dual nature in Japan's mythology. In normal times it is a god of peace, mild and composed; in times of emergency it becomes a fiendish and brutal god. For example, was it not Japan's group awareness that promoted Japan's rise and also has almost pushed it to the verge of destruction? The Japanese national character also has a contradictory or dual nature, not only fighting, warlike and with self-respect, but also docile, beautiful and self-abased. Japan's pattern of behavior is hard to understand. Obviously it took "harmony" as the base to build up the country,¹² but it just as hastily launched wars. The Japanese tend to turn into the opposite, sometimes in masterstrokes. One commentator likened the Japanese to a swarm of small fish. They swim in good order in one direction till a stone falls into the water and throws the ranks into confusion. Suddenly they turn to the opposite direction, but the ranks remain in good order.¹³

Of course, there is indeed much in Japanese culture that we can make use of, such as the ability to incorporate things of diverse nature; this has played an important role in Japan's rise. No matter what the perspective, Japan is a country worth attaching high importance to and well worth in-depth research.

To understand Japan, nothing is more important than first understanding its spirit. Only by grasping the Japanese spirit can we successfully understand not only the past and present of Japan, but also its future. The reason is that all have been created or occurred under the role of the "Japanese-style soul". Though the concrete contents of the Japanese spirit change subject to the times, and the Japanese adjust their "common feeling" according to their own needs at all times and places, the properties of the Japanese spirit will not change. This has provided a point of reference for understanding Japan. The Japanese spirit is the foundation of the Japanese peculiarity, and thus a key to understanding Japanese ideology and behavior.

Notes

1. Quoted from *Japan Studies* (Beijing University Press, 1990), no. 2.
2. *Bushido* (The Commercial Press, 1993), p. 95.
3. *Nationalism in the First Half of the Meiji Era* (Miraisha, 1958), pp. 60-61.
4. Quoted from Zhang Guoan, "Ambiguous Culture: Japan's Atomic Bomb Ignited by the Human Body", *Mengya*, No.2, 1996.

5. *Ibid.*
6. *The Japanese and Japanese Culture*, p. 81.
7. Sakaiya Futoruichi, *Knowledge Value Revolution* (Oriental Publishing House, 1986), p. 278.
8. Chen Weili, *Appearance of Wholesale Westernization and the Body of Oriental Civilization* (Hunan Art Publishing House, 1988).
9. *Mysterious Japanese Cultural Psychology* (Congqing Publishing House, 1992), p. 131.
10. *Oriental Culture Research* (Beijing University Press, 1994).
11. *Ibid.*
12. *The Current Japanese -- Tradition and Change* (The Commercial Press, 1992), p. 114.
13. *Ibid.*

Part IV

Culture and Contemporary Conflicts in International Relations

Cultural Factors in Arab-West Relations

Li Weijian

One of the important features of the Islamic culture is that its religion is not only the source of the whole cultural system, but also its quintessence and core. The revival based on Islam targets both the secular regimes of the Islamic world and the US-led Western hegemonic forces. The collision between the Islamic culture and the Western civilization results in two conflicting social trends of thought, a so-called “division of values”.

In dealing with the relations between modernization and their national features, many countries go to two extremes, either full Westernization or overemphasis on their tradition. The integration of their traditional culture with foreign cultures is of key importance to Arab modernization. The contemporary Islamic movement is fundamentally an inward social reform. Islamic culture has the trait of integrating and assimilating fine cultures of other nations. The so-called “Islamic threat” is actually a “Devil” fabricated by the West.

The concepts of national power, military security and geopolitics emphasized by Western realism long dominated the theory and practice of international relations. However, other relevant factors, covered over by the ideological confrontation between blocs led by the United States and the former Soviet Union, did not receive enough attention. After the end of the Cold War, with the strengthening of nationalization and the pluralism of world cultures, the role of culture in international relations has become prominent; this is obvious particularly in Arab-West relations. The conflicts and clashes between Arab cultures with Islamic traits and Western capitalist culture have a long history and were subordinated to US-Soviet contention for hegemony in the past nearly half century. The Islamic revival in the late 1970s renewed once again ethnic, national and cultural consciousness among Arabs. The transformation of the international configuration has added a strong Islamic cultural color to the politics and foreign relations of Arab countries. The Arab voice for the reestablishment of Islamic cultural identity and value norms has become ever stronger. Such a social thought trend has deeply affected the orientation of cultural values in the policy making of Arab countries. This has caused deep worries in the West which thinks that it “will certainly make the relations between Islamic countries and the West more complex”.¹

Islamic Culture and Arab Nationalism

Islamic culture is a unique cultural system based on the fine cultural heritage of Arab nation and integrating the fine cultural elements of other nations. What makes it different from other cultures is that the religion is not only the source of the cultural system, but continues to be its quintessence and core. This is determined by the ideological features of Islam itself.

Islam is both a religion and a whole set of social, economic and cultural systems. Its ethical and moral systems reflect its socio-economic foundation with broad and profound connotations. This enables it to form a close relationship with Arab society of the same structure since its birth in Arabia in the early 7th century. Hence, Islam suits Easterners, especially Arabs. That is to say, Engels noted that, on the one hand, it suits the businessman and craftsman living in the city; on the other hand, it suits also the nomadic Bedouins.² The lifestyle enlightened by this religion suits all the fields of human existence. Thus it is regarded as the guideline of every Muslim and becomes

the norm for every social event, transformation and cultural alienation. This implies that “a development, an event, or a social change viewed in one fashion in the West may be seen in a totally different light by an Islamic society”.³

Having experienced centuries of changes and development, Islam, as the dominant culture of the Arab world, has permeated every level of society and life, becoming the coordinate of social values and directing the mode of thinking and the behavioral trends of most Muslims. Many famous Arab thinkers including Jemaleddin Afghani, one of the pioneers of Muslim reform, used Islam merely as a vehicle to express their political views because “he had no other way to express his views so as to make them relevant to the Muslim audiences except by reference to Islam.”⁴

The Arab nation shares all the elements to define a nation: the same language, land, customs, descent and history. However, nothing can continuously combine all kinds of Arab groups except Islam which has played an important role in the formation of Arab national consciousness. In his book, *The Historical Roots of Arab Nationalism*, the famous Arab scholar Abd al-Aziz al-Duri said, “Arab nationalism is essentially cultural. It is not based on a racial concept, since the conception of the Arab nation was drawn from the language, the process of Arabization, the cultural heritage, and the historic role of the Arabs.”⁵ Arabs

were unified through the Islamic movement and became one nation. Islam furnished Arab consciousness with a clear content and a well-defined direction, provided this Arab nation with a humanistic message that it carried throughout the world, and gave the Arabs a comprehensive foundation for the creation of a new society and a new civilization.⁶

It was not until the late 19th century that nationalism as an influential ideology emerged in the Arab world. “Muslim Arabs, however, did not experience a truly nationalist awakening until the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.”⁷ In the past, the Arab elite used to interpret social and political changes according to relevant Islamic principles. After World War II, however, all kinds of nationalist consciousness dominant in the Arab world and Muslim national awakening were consistent with the struggles against colonial rule and for national independence.

The two are different by nature. Nationalism originated from the West, and its values have more or less Western vestiges. What is more, the purpose of nationalism is to build a non-religious national state. Therefore, it cannot survive without secularism as a condition. Muslim society is against secularization, thinking that secularization would damage the Islamic cultural tradition and result in Muslim nations' loss of political independence.

Besides, Islam is also incompatible with the West in ideology and values. The participation of Muslim society in the national movement is actually an instinctive reaction to the colonial expansion of the West. It is an undeveloped, but strong, desire embraced by the majority of Muslims to be rid of the heretic oppression, resist foreign rule, and safeguard their liberty. Because of the essential contradiction of the two, nationalists obviously lowered the position of Islam in national politics and Islamic forces were repressed to different degrees during the first more than a decade when they were in power.

However, Arab nationalism has never got rid of the influence of Islam because of the restriction of its historic condition and social foundation, its congenital deficiency, and particularly close link with Islam through the language and culture used as its basis. That is why Islam is often put forward immediately as a substitute value choice when nationalism meets with frustration. Abd al-Rahman al-Bazzaz, a former Iraqi ambassador to Egypt and later Prime Minister, expressed to

his view on the relationship between nationalism and Islam in the 1950s, which has been influential up to now. Arab nationalism and Islam, according to al-Bazzaz, are intimately connected. Islam is a kind of national religion; its inner core being Arabic. The Prophet was an Arab, the language used in the revelation from the Koran is Arabic, and Islam retains many customs of the Arabs. Therefore, “notwithstanding its universality, Islam had an inner appeal to the Arabs and, through its language, formed the core of Arab nationalism.”⁸ Though his view caused some dissatisfaction among non-Arab Muslims because of its overemphasis on Islamic Arab features and their resulting sense of superiority, the intimate and inherent connection of Arab nationalism with Islam it reveals is believable.

From a general survey of the political and social movements in Arab history, one finds that very few occurred without an Islamic background; almost all the important Arab nationalist movements took place under the banner of Islam in modern times. It was through allying with the fundamentalist Wahhabi Movement at the very beginning and unifying the ideologies of different tribes with Islam that the Saudi royal family was able to establish a nation state. Islam also played a decisive role in the national movements in Libya, Sudan, Yemen, Morocco and Oman.

Though secular nationalists led the national movements in Egypt and the crescent, at the beginning they made full and effective use of Islam to call on the common people. For example, Nasser, the Arab national hero, took power, to a great extent, because of the support of Muslim Brotherhood. He endowed Islam with a new explanation in terms of nationalist ideas, holding that “all the revelations of God are actually embodied in revolution, the goal of which is to resume human dignity and well-being.”⁹ During the first years when he led the reform in Egypt, though emphasizing the Pan-Arabism, he did not interfere in the then religious regime. He preserved all the Islamic institutions and even tried to endow them with some modern functions and gradually include them in his national state. In foreign policy, Nasser also paid attention to making use of Islam to fight against imperialism. In 1955 when the Islamic Conference was held in Cairo, he called on Arab Muslim countries to unite to oppose the Baghdad Treaty Organization. Even when the Muslim Brotherhood became increasingly strong and at last posed a threat to the power of his national state so that Nasser had to take measures to ban it, he also did it in the name of Islam by denouncing its leader for disobeying the “true” Islamic spirit. To seek support from religious circles including fundamentalist organizations and individuals, Sadat, Nasser's successor, emphasized the religious color of the state immediately after he took office. He made Islam the state religion, its doctrine the source of state legislation, and also promoted a series of measures to Islamize social life. However, his pro-American attitude and policy of “free opening” to the West, particularly his trip to Jerusalem, the signing of Camp David Accord and the Arab-Israel Peace Treaty, resulted in the strong dissatisfaction in Islamic community, and finally led to his murder by Islamic extremists.

Generally speaking, nationalism can arouse enthusiasm and fidelity to achieve its objectives only by stimulating emotion. That is to say, only when regarded as a universal value system can nationalism be widely accepted. In the Arab world, Islam has been thought of, up to now, as a major cultural pillar and a binding force of all social values. Therefore, nationalism without Islamic culture as its background can never be strong. That is also the reason why westernized nationalism, though conflicting with Islam in many aspects, has to rely on it. In some Arab countries, nationalist political propositions carry certain ideas of Pan-Islamism. Such a close combination of nationalism and Islamic culture is called Islamic nationalism, which is a very popular ideology in the Arab world. Those national cultural features of Arab countries lead to the strong religious influence on state politics.

Meanwhile, the resistance of the Islamic community to Western culture as well as the difference between Islam and the West in ideology and values will certainly have far-reaching influence on Arab-West relations. The Islamic revival, which swept the whole Arab world in the late 1970s as a cultural revival phenomenon, is a product of the ideological struggles, as well as a social movement dominated by the Muslim masses. It targets the US-led Western hegemonic forces, as well as the secular ruling class of the Islamic world. Its aim is to oppose the material and spiritual (cultural) invasion of the West, to reestablish cultural identity among Muslims, and to form “an Islamic order” without oppression from Western hegemony. Therefore, some Western scholars consider that “the clash between Islam and the West is one of civilizations”.¹⁰

The Iran-Iraq war in essence was not a religious war. However, to prevent the interests of the West from being threatened by Iran exporting its Islamic revolution Western countries supported Iraq overtly or covertly. The Gulf War was not a religious war. However, Saddam's appeal in the name of “Jihad” to fight against Western allied forces stimulated religious emotions in the Muslim world. “Islamic fundamentalists all backed Iraq not the Kuwaiti or Saudi governments, which were supported by the West”.¹¹ In not a few countries, contradictions between the Muslim masses and the ruling class were intensified because of the latter's support of the US-led Western military operation and presence. Fundamentalists think that their rulers have been reduced from nationalists to complete vassals of the US-led West and protectors of its interests in Middle East. Therefore, they must be overthrown. The Saudi royal family had to ask the U.S. to send troops to protect them from being “threatened by Iraq”. But the US military base in Saudi Arabia itself was bombed twice within a year. In fact, of all the major international events related to Arab-West relations in recent years, none took place without a profound Islamic cultural background.

Islamic Culture and Modernization

Modernization is a revolution with the most profound implication in human history and requires a historic transition from agricultural to industrial society. To the Islamic world, it is also a process of mutual conflict and integration between Islamic culture and Western civilization. Following colonialism Western industrial civilization and modern science and technology has poured into the Arab world since the 19th century. Arab countries got rid of colonial rule through the national liberation movement, but they were not able to prevent Western civilization from spreading. After the nationalists came to power, most of them took up a non-religious political ideology, and adopted the development model of the West, which involved the Arab world in the tide of modernization. This accelerated the progress of secularization in Arab society and had great impact on traditional Islamic values: this, in turn, generated resistance in Muslim society. The clash of different cultures resulted in the emergence of two opposite social trends of thought in the Arab world: this is “the division of values”.

One is the revolutionary trend, whose representative figures are mainly nationalists, their proponents and some intellectuals having received Western and secular education. They identify with modern values naturally and reasonably; at the same time they look upon traditional culture with a critical attitude. Some admire Western civilization; others disagree with the expression “Western civilization”. They think that though Western civilization played an important role in the creation of modern civilization and made its own impression upon it, that does not mean that it should be called “Western”. In their opinion, modern civilization actually belongs to humanity.

The above two opinions about the concept of Western civilization are different, but both intend to accept it in its totality. The reason is that “there is no other alternative, for people who wish to

live and do not desire to become fixed in a past which is over, but to accept and assimilate it in its totality".¹² To them, the process of modernization is that of reforming their own culture (i.e., traditional Islamic culture) and learning from and assimilating advanced Western civilization. The political trends of thought of the secularization of Islam such as Kemalism of Turkey, Nasserism of Egypt, the doctrine of the Arab Socialist Baath Party in Iraq and Syria, and Bourguibaism of Tunisia all had a great influence on the Arab world in Middle East in the 1950s and 1960s. Most Arab countries after independence established their non-Islamic systems following the model of the West, and began their way of capitalism.

Another trend is conservative, supporters of which are mainly the broad Muslim masses in the middle and lower strata. They accept traditional ethics and values, hold strong belief in their religious concept, and are strongly resistant to Western culture. Their "popular logic" is to regard all the injustice in society, the frustrations and failures of their states and nations, the corruption of social values and the loss of morals as the consequences of secularization and corrosion from Western culture. They oppose modernization because, in their opinion, modernization is nothing but Westernization with secularization as its premise, which is against their Islamic tradition. They think that to restructure their society by the model of the West is actually to promote a "colonial culture" and to impose Western values and lifestyle on their Muslim society. This would result in the alienation of politics, economy and social system and the loss of the traditional values of Islamic states.

Edward W. Said, a famous scholar, in his book *Orientalism* published in 1978, criticized the fact that some people in the West belittle Arab culture and describe it as the opposite of Western civilization in order to establish cultural hegemony worldwide. He called on Arabs to resist Western civilization and to set up their own cultural identity, warning them not to accept Western culture as a universal norm of values. His book evoked a huge reaction both in the Arab world and in the West. In Muslims' eyes, Islam in history made great contributions to world culture in such fields as literature, philosophy, arts and science. At the beginning of Middle Ages, when Europe was still in its dark ages in science and culture, the brilliant Islamic culture and that of China's Tang Dynasty had already reached the peak of human realization. Islamic culture brought prosperity to the Arab Empire, and stepped up the development of both eastern and western civilizations. The present backwardness and social problems facing the Islamic world are just the consequences of the colonial reign and imperialist invasion by the West.

Therefore, he concludes that Islamic civilization is an overall system, "which is infinitely more accomplished, more pure, more glorious, more complete and more beautiful than all that has been discovered up till now by social theorists and reformers".¹³ It can solve all the problems produced in the development of modern society with its own resources as "there was no blemish against which the social organization of a watchful Islam could not guard (its people) by showing them its fearful consequences."¹⁴

There is another compromise point of view besides the two above; it thinks that only the science and technology indispensable for progress should be absorbed from Western civilization and that anything else should be discarded, especially in morals. When talking about Arab-West relations, Abd al-Aziz al-Duri pointed out:

the Arab contact with the West, first as a culture and then as an imperialist power, was very important in clarifying the historical roots of Arab nation, in consolidating these roots, and in establishing their true implication. The Arabs welcomed the implications of freedom and tried to imitate the West in bettering their way of life and their economy. But they were not prepared to

forsake their heritage or deny their identity. They took troubles for not losing this heritage and identity and did their best to emphasize these [national] characteristics.¹⁵

This compromise position was deeply affected by different kinds of Islamic reformist trends in the second half of the 19th century, holding that Islam is capable of adapting itself to the modern situation, and confident that advancement toward modernization is not against the basic principles of Islam. The difference between this point of view and the first trend is that the latter evaluates traditional Islamic culture more in line with the general principles and universal rational norms of Western modernization. It considers this to be a historic burden that must be reformed and revised in order to be adapted to the needs of modernization. However, the former holds an attitude of cultural relativism, emphasizing more the Islamic traditional cultural features of the Arab world and regarding it as an inherently restrictive factor unavoidable in the modernization process of the Arab world. It proposes a development model rooted in its own Islamic traditional culture and different from that of the West and other parts of the world.

This point of view is widely accepted by many Arab countries. On the one hand, they try to assimilate Western advanced scientific and technological achievements and management experience through a so-called “transformation of values” to revive the national economy. On the other hand, they keep sharp vigilance on the “cultural imperialism” of the West in ideology and stick to an independent “Islamic development road” in state strategy. For example, Gulf countries, while introducing a lot of oil exploiting equipment and modern technology, carry out strict Islamization measures in religious belief and social life. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates still act according to the doctrine of Islam. Western -- American in particular -- cultural products such as movies, TV and radio programmes, audiovisual products, compact discs, books and magazines are restricted.

It has been more than two centuries since the industrial revolution took place in Europe, and modern science and technology has advanced by leaps and bounds, changing the face of the world day by day. However, for the Arab world, how to meet the challenges of the times and realize the transformation to modern society is still a pending problem.

The fact that the Arab world lags behind in the process of world modernization can have several reasons. From the angle of culture, the key to this question is that the ruling class has not dealt properly with the relations between modernization and traditional Islamic culture. As is known to all, there exists a huge paradox between religion and modernization: Religion theoretically is grounded on unreasonable beliefs, while modernization takes reason and science as its norm. Generally speaking, with the spreading of science and technology and the accelerating process of modernization, the role of religion in modern society should be gradually weaker – as already has been proved by the present state of Christianity in developed European and American countries. However, the relations between the two are more complex in the Islamic world. Today, we can still see that though the Arab world has already experienced the impact of more than half a century of industrialization and modernization, most nations still retain their Islamic features. The cultural tradition of Islam remains a very important factor affecting Muslim values. On the one hand, modernization and industrialization have been permeating the Arab world irresistibly; on the other hand, Muslim society has been displaying a strong resistance against Western culture, ideology and lifestyle carried by modernization. The contradiction and conflict between the cultural and social conservatism and the industrialization process have severely obstructed the Arab world’s joining modern states.

As we all know, modernization with modern science and technology and large industry at its core is a material and economic force beyond national cultural difference. Such a material and economic force marked by standardization and generalization brings to the world not only the positive results of modern civilization, but also negative ones. The global structural similarity brought by modernization usually subtly weakens the cultural tradition and the characteristic features of different nations, thus making the human spiritual world and cultural space similar and singular. The Western modernization model has been dominant in modern and contemporary world history. With advanced science and technology and industrial forces, Western countries disintegrate and ruin many traditional national cultures including those of the Arab world.

But, this kind of disintegration or ruin is not unavoidable, and non-western countries do not necessarily need to give up or transform their own cultural features to realize modernization. On the contrary, each nation should pursue a development type and way based on its own cultural features and according to its own ideological and behavioral structure. “Only when all cultures are able to enjoy equal dignity can modernization be of real significance.”¹⁶ Such Asian countries as Japan and Singapore have already had successful experience in this aspect.

Let us take Japan for example. Its modernization was started and realized under the fierce impact of Western civilization. After the Meiji Restoration, Japan began to introduce Western civilization on a large scale in politics, law, economy and lifestyle, as well as in technology. But, Japan processed and digested it subtly instead of copying it mechanically. On the one hand, Japan assimilated the fine achievements of modern civilization; on the other hand, it preserved its traditional cultural features, and made them suitable for the actual conditions of Japanese society. During the Meiji era, influenced by modern Western politics, Japan started to set up a new form of government. At that moment, there was a strong appeal for a Western form of government at home. However, after many years' exploration, a constitutional monarchy called the Tenno system finally came into being. This brought in Western democratic and legal elements, and maintained its national cultural tradition. On the whole, it suited the Japanese society. “The function of such a system was essential in Japan's rapid industrialization and practical modernization since the late 1880s.”¹⁷ Integration or introduction and inoculation of civilizations should be moderate. If too radical, it would result in “more haste, less speed”; if too conservative, it would hold back social modernization. Japan managed this issue well and therefore “promoted modernization steadily instead of obstructing it”.¹⁸

Looking back into the modernization process of Arab countries after World War II, we find that a number of countries went to extremes when dealing with the relations between modernization and their national characteristics. They either accepted Westernization totally or over-emphasized their traditional cultures. The former, in order to catch up with the current of modernization, absorbed the capitalist experience in its totality, introduced the Western economic development model blindly, and spared nothing in encouraging foreign investment in the search for rapid economic development. As a result, the economy lost its balance, the divide between the rich and the poor widened, corruption became serious, and domestic conflicts intensified. Under such circumstances the impact on, and erosion of, local culture by Western culture would more easily cause discontent and resistance from traditional forces, resulting in social disintegration and impeding the process of modernization.

Other countries chose the socialist development model or the mixed economy, but neglected the humane background on which modernization is dependent and the restrictions of the native, i.e., the traditional, Islamic, culture on their politics, economy and technical behavior. As a result, they failed to produce a constant and stable effect for lack of the inner cultural support of the Arab

world. However, the latter over-emphasized the restrictions and influence of Islamic cultural features on the reality of Arab states, and simply attributed the contradictions and problems that emerged in Arab modernization to inappropriately copying Western development model. For example, Iranian religious leader Khomeini decided that Islamic countries must follow the guideline of “no West, no East, but only Islam” in their modernization. The theory called Islamism was positive in opposing foreign intervention and moral corruption and erosion and in reestablishing Islamic cultural identity and value norms. But it was going backward by totally objecting to economic and social development models and the successful experience of Western or other non-Western countries, and trying to seek a road out from “Islamic substitute option”.

There is no denying the fact that Islam still carries a dominant “political vitality” in Muslim society with its special historic tradition, social customs and severe religious rules. However, such “political vitality” also influences Muslim society in their absorption of new ideas. Most Islamists only emphasize the “vitality” of Islam, and disregard other factors beneficial to social development. Such self-confining theory, lacking conformity with present world currents and contradicting the objective laws of the development of modern society, is the fundamental reason why Arab countries cannot join modern states. Once a national traditional culture is developed in the process of modernization, it will produce huge dynamic force, as has been proved by successful experience of many countries. Therefore, for the Arab world, what is essential in pushing forward modernization is not whether or how to introduce Western or other foreign cultures, but how to integrate their traditional culture with foreign cultures. This is the most important problem that the Arab world needs to solve in order to realize modernization in this and even the following centuries.

The Islamic Culture and Western Culture: Conflict and Integration

Modern theory on international relations holds that differences between cultures is an important factor leading to international conflicts. Samuel P. Huntington, a famous expert in political science at Harvard University, pushed this theory to the extreme attributing maximum human divergence and conflicts to cultural difference. In “The Clash of Civilizations” he asserted that under the new situation, the causes of human conflicts are no longer ideological or economic ones, but the cultural differences or factors which differentiate civilizations. When talking about the relations between the West and Islamic world, he argued that the clash between the two is that of civilizations, and such a clash in the future “will be more intensified instead of being weakened.”¹⁹ Among all the popular points of view toward the Muslim world in the West, Huntington's is typical: the Islamic movement as a threat to the West, and clash and confrontation between the two civilizations in the foreseeable future is objectively unavoidable.

In history, clash and confrontation has existed between the Arab world and the West. From the creation of Islam in the 7th century, such a clash and confrontation has been deeply rooted in the conflict between Islamic and Western cultures, covering such fields as politics, economy, culture, ideology, lifestyle, spiritual beliefs and ethical values. The conflicts and struggles between the two cultures have almost never ceased during more than one thousand years. They include the first four caliphs' Islamic expansion in the Middle Ages resulting in extending the territory of the Arab Empire to the borders of Spain and then of France and later Vienna, areas once controlled by the Roman Empire, and Christian crusade against Arabs for over-two-century. They also include the Western colonial invasion and ravaging of the Islamic world in modern times, the Islamic revival in the late 1970s with an anti-Western tendency, and the Gulf War in the early 1990s.

However, can we conclude from the above facts that such conflicts and struggles will be intensified in the future and further assert that next human clash will necessarily be an all-out confrontation between Islamic and Western civilizations?

The answer is negative and for three reasons:

1. The so-called “Islam threat” is the “Devil” fabricated by some Western countries, the U.S. in particular, on the theoretical ground of “power politics”. This is the theory of international relations generally adopted in Western countries during the Cold War. Its basic point of view is that just as everyone wants to dominate others whenever possible, every country wants to dominate other countries whenever possible, or at least be free of other countries' domination. Such impulse of domination and anti-domination urges each country to realize self-expansion by all means possible (forming alliances with other countries is one of the means to realize self-expansion). Even though purely defensive, it will inevitably increase other countries' sense of insecurity. Though the Cold War is over today, the West has not retreated from “power politics”. The reason is that such a theory is rooted in the basic worldview of Christian culture, reflecting the deep-rooted conception of the Christian West regarding the “secular world”.

According to this the Devil will exist as long as the secular world. As one Satan yields, another will arise. Therefore, the West must seek another threat when the communist threat disappeared after the Cold War. Through a comprehensive survey of post-Cold War world political situation, the West has found that the Chinese community and the Middle East countries will be the main forces resisting the West in the future. The former headed by China is powerful both militarily and economically; and the latter controlling the world energy lifeline is fairly powerful militarily and with an anti-Western tendency. Military cooperation between the two could possibly cause a loss of balance in international politics. Huntington's conclusion, drawn on this basis, is that the connection of Confucianism and Islam will challenge Western interests, values and power. Therefore, his “clash of civilizations” is not only the international strategic analysis of power politics, but also the only logical and natural conclusion for the Christian West after the Cold War.²⁰

No doubt there is in essence an aspect in which Islamic and Western cultures conflict, and the rise of radical Islamic forces does challenge Western, especially U.S., hegemony in Middle East. However, the initiation and development of the Islamic revival are due completely to the fact that Muslim countries have long suffered from the invasion of Western colonialism and have been interfered with and constantly bullied by the West in every way since their independence. Western colonialism constantly puts pressure on Islamic society -- in politics, economy, education, culture and social affairs. Under such circumstances, the resistance of the latter is logical. Robert N. Bellah, an influential contemporary American social thinker and religious sociologist commented on the so-called connection of Islam and Confucianism in challenging Western civilization. He pointed out that the main reason why Huntington has such a serious illusion is that some special problems were triggered in the Islamic revival, which are irrelevant to Buddhism, Confucianism or other religious groups. The reason why the Islamic movement sometimes goes to the extreme is that the majority of Islamic societies, after experiencing a painful colonial reign, have lost their self-esteem, and need to confirm their own dignity and cultural value. Bellah argued that during an era of abrupt social changes, men's self-identification is threatened, so all kinds of religious organizations arise at that historic moment; these produce senses of union and self-identification. They are likely to be stubbornly imperious, but also to help people to transit to a broader

understanding of the world. This cannot be avoided and new religious groups emerge in any society all over the world.”²¹

2. The contemporary Islamic revival is fundamentally an inward social reform. This can be demonstrated by the background of the origin of Islamic revival and its internal and external reasons. The background of this movement lies in the Arab countries’ disastrous and disgraceful defeat, loss of territory and complete discrediting in the third Middle East War; and the economic difficulties in most Arab countries, unjust distribution and a series of severe social problems such as corruption. The secular governments led by the nationalists were neither able to defeat Israel’s invasion nor able to solve economic problems and achieve social justice and common prosperity. When this caused disappointment and pain among Muslims in those countries they turned to Islam for a way out. The social sources of the Islamic revival were complex, whether internal factors such as politics, economy, religion, culture and ideology or external stimuli. Generally, however, it was based on internal factors and reflected Muslims’ mentality of yearning for a suitable road for development. Therefore, whatever threatened, it mainly targeted the secular governments of the countries in the region. Of course, the contemporary Islamic movement targets external as well as internal forces. But as far as the external forces are concerned, it is mainly manifested in its opposition to external domination and intervention, the foreign despoiling of the natural resources of the region, and the decadent Western capitalist cultural erosion and destruction of their traditional national culture. Some countries once tried to “export the Islamic revolution”, the major targets of which were the countries of the same cultural background; but they were not successful. Terrorism against Western countries and individuals by a few extremists can by no means be identified with Islamic civilization. Just as Bellah pointed out, no matter how strong the so-called Islamic fundamentalism, among Muslims we know that there are many moderates and reformists who do not believe in fundamentalism. So there is no truth in regarding Islam or any other religion as being of that nature.²² This shows that it is indeed groundless that “the contemporary Islamic revival is mainly against the West”. In fact, some Western scholars and experts on Islam do not agree with this either. They have noticed the latest ideas of some influential contemporary Islamic thinkers, such as Sudanese religious leader Hassan at-Turabi, who said, “awakened Islam has no interest in confrontation and fight against the West”. What it cares almost is mainly the recovery of the society and economy severely damaged under the decades long rule of the incompetent, corrupt and autocratic “nationalist” and “socialist” regimes.²³ Western scholars think that the need of wielding political power and keeping ties with the international market will mitigate Islamic nations’ hatred toward the West, and will possibly further their bilateral relations, “because Muslim nations cannot avoid being affected by the image, technology and ideology of Western modernization”.²⁴

3. Islamic culture has the trait of integrating and assimilating fine cultures of other nations. As stated above, the Islamic cultural system integrates the essence of other nations’ cultures, based on the inheritance of its fine Arab national cultural heritage. In history, Arab culture matured later than those of other nations in the world, so it has been very assimilative from its beginning. Arabs “brought out of the desert sharp sense organs, a strong curiosity, a desire for knowledge that was difficult to satisfy and great talents and potentials. When they contacted and conquered more ancient and advanced nations, they soon became the beneficiary and heir of those ancient cultures. . . . What Greece developed in hundreds of years was totally assimilated by Arab scholars within decades.”²⁵ The “unique ability of the Islamic culture to assimilate other cultures” enabled it miraculously to “unite two contradictory cultures within one society. One was the divergent traditional Greek, Roman, Israeli and Near Eastern cultures in the Mediterranean region with a

history of a thousand years; the other was the colorful Persian culture, which had its own life and ideological models and adequate contacts with the great Far Eastern culture.”²⁶ Islam itself constantly absorbed the cultures of the conquered nations to substantiate its expansion and make itself persuasive, attractive and strong in combat strength. It was in this process that Islam gradually became the general name of a sociopolitical system, economy, lifestyle, with cultural and moral regulations.

History has proved that the mutual integration and mixture of cultures which are different in essence will promote cultural development. The Arab Empire at its peak was exactly the time when its culture best integrated with other cultures. As we all know, Arabs began to introduce foreign cultures from the Umayyad Dynasty and reached its peak in Abbassid Dynasty, symbolized by the famous “translation movement”. During this period of time, it widely absorbed the cultural quintessence of India, Persia, Greece, China, etc. For example, in philosophy, Arabs not only did a very good job in inheriting the color of Aristotle's school, but also integrated the theories of Hippocrates, Plato and Aristotle into Arab thought and spread them to the Latin world. All these produced a decisive influence on European philosophical studies during the Middle Ages and enabled Arab culture to bloom in the garden of world cultures. Engels summarized this in his article “Dialectics of Nature” noting that in the nations who speak Latin, the basic thought had been absorbed from the Arabs and nourished by the newly discovered Greek philosophy. It was more and more absorbed in making preparation for the materialism of the 18th century.²⁷ It is no exaggeration to say that if Arabs had not spread to West Europe the academic works of India, the papermaking technology of China, and the ancient Greek academic works lost in Europe, thereby preparing for the European Enlightenment and Renaissance, the brilliant history of the Renaissance in Europe would not have been written. Arabs made distinguished contributions to world culture in the Middle Ages while absorbing the quintessence of all kinds of cultures all over the world and enriching the content of the Islamic culture. The development of the Arab Empire reached its peak during the Abbassid Dynasty. After that, each dynasty tended to be conservative in culture, gradually changing from opening outward to a self-confining inwardness. The brilliant Arab history in the Middle Ages thus gradually ended.

Today, there exists also a modernist tendency in the Islamic world. It is obviously a bourgeois reformism, holding that the Prophet Mohammed himself was the pioneer of reform, namely, of Judaism and Christianity. The representative figures of this tendency brought in from the West new moral standards suitable for modern life such as equality between man and woman and free competition. Some countries such as Syria, Iraq and Egypt adopted the policy of separating politics from religion. Islam is no longer the major source of legislation, the religious court is no longer the major judicial organ, and Islamic doctrine is no longer a country's basic law. It is merely “private law” dealing with such private affairs of Muslim citizens as marriage, wills, property inheritance and religious funds. Even the Gulf states, once famous for their conservatism, have adopted some reform measures in recent years, epitomized by the ulemas’ (theologians) breakthroughs in the traditional interpretation of Islamic doctrine and tenets. Governments require these clergymen to give religious interpretation and judgements relevant to present social problems. Up to now, more and more Arab countries have realized that on issues relating to national economy and people's livelihood such as national sovereignty, ethnic rights and economic development, it is not wise to take a conservative self-confining pose and to overemphasize traditionalism.

There are already many common factors helpful for the integration of different cultures in today's world: the common language of modern technology and the production techniques it

entails, frequent cultural exchanges and mutual transmission of resources. In recent decades, breakthroughs in communication and tourism have made it possible for modern ideas to penetrate the most remote areas in the widely dispersed Muslim world. These factors are the common conditions for the integration of human society. No cultural group can exclude itself from these conditions or escape the constant integration caused by such conditions. The interactive role between cultural groups should provide each other with factors for co-existence, and there do exist some basic common standards and ethical norms among the great civilizations.

Today's Islamic society is in a period of change, seeking its own cultural features. This is a long process in which Islamic culture cannot avoid colliding with Western culture. Overall, however, it surely will achieve the best integration of its national culture with those of other nations, including Western culture. The West should be fully aware of this. It should be noted that any civilization that can have a long and sustained development in the world is sure to contain at its core a culture and quality which manifests the maturity of human reason. Modern scientific and technological civilization, though begun from the West, has not long been a Western monopoly. What is important, then, is how the dominant Western civilization drops its pretentious airs and sincerely begins an equal and reasonable dialogue with non-Western civilizations, instead of adopting the high profile of an attempt to assimilate other civilizations. This is of decisive importance in determining whether cultures that are different in essence can realize effective integration.

Notes

1. S. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations", *Foreign Affairs*, Summer, 1993.
2. Engels, "On the Early History of Christianity", *The Complete Selection of Marx and Engels' Works*, Vol. 22, p. 526.
3. Kemal H. Karpat, *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (revised and enlarged edition, Praeger Publishers), p. 90.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
5. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Duri, *The Historical Roots of Nationalism* (Beirut: Dar al-'ilm lil-malayin, 1960), p. 25.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
8. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Bazzaz, *Arab Nationalism*, p. 37.
9. See *A Handbook of Middle East* (Ninxia Publishing House, December 1989), p. 572.
10. Huntington.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Muhammad Wahbi, *Arabism and Humanism*, quoted from *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*, by Kemal H. Karpat, p. 206
13. Al-Duri, pp. 24-25.
14. Hasan al-Banna, "The Direction of the New Renaissance in the Islamic World", *The Muslim* (Damascus, February 1958), pp. 55-56.
15. Al-Duri, pp. 24-25.
16. See *Practical Guideline: Ten Years' World Cultural Development*, compiled by UNESCO.
17. Zhang Luping, *the Clash and Integration of Civilizations--Modernization Research in Japan* (Tianjin Publishing House, July 1999), p. 231.
18. *Ibid.*

19. Huntington.
- 20 Gan Yang, "Diplomacy Is Not the Extension of Domestic Politics", *The 21st Century*, bimonthly (Hong Kong, August 1995).
21. "Citizens' Religion' and Social Conflicts -- Exclusive Interview with Bellah", *The 21st Century*, bimonthly (Hong Kong, August 1995).
22. *Liberation* (France, August 8, 1994).
23. "Citizens' religion' and Social Conflicts".
24. *Liberation*.
25. Hidi, *A General History of the Arabs* (Commercial Press), I, p. 357.
26. *Arabs in History* (China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1979), p. 160.
27. Engels, "Dialectics of Nature" (People's Publishing House, August 1971), p. 7.

Cultures and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Li Weijian

The contemporary Middle East issue refers largely to vying for *lebensraum* between Israel and the Arab world, with the Palestinian issue as its kernel. The Arab-Israeli conflict has a history of over one hundred years in terms of the Zionist movement that emerged in the late 19th century.¹ The Arab-Israeli conflict is the most complicated, most intractable and most spectacular for the international community at the beginning of the 21st century. Many books and articles have been published in China and abroad on the issue, but most of their authors are realpolitik analysts. In fact, this international conflict, the most enduring and most complicated of the century, is deeply rooted in the ancient feud of the religions and cultures that imbue the two nations, Arabs and Jews. Although the Judaism and Zionism connote different meanings, “it is impossible to think of Zionism without Judaism and of Israel without both of these ideologies -- at least as the state stands today”.² Likewise, the anti-Israeli fanaticism of the Arabs is also inconceivable if one is ignorant of the religious and cultural backgrounds of the two.³

The Genesis of the Zionism: Religion and Culture

Zionism has been the immediate cause of the Arab-Israeli conflicts. The theory of the Zionism stems mainly from the two sources: Jewish history⁴ and the Jewish religion.

Historically, the Jews were among the oldest inhabitants of Palestine. About 1800 BC, a Jewish tribe, led by its chieftain Abraham, migrated from the valley of Euphrates to settle in Canaan -- Nablus in the present-day Palestine -- to be called “Hebrew” by the indigenous people.⁵ In 1720 BC, during the reign of the Hyksos in Egypt, Canaan was in famine and Jacob, the grandson of Abraham, led the Hebrews to Egypt, settling in the Nile Valley as farmers. Due to their different religious beliefs, they were pressed by the natives and finally reduced to slaves, subject to Ramses II of Egypt. In 1227 BC, the Israelites could not bear the persecution of the Pharaoh, and the Exodus took place under the leadership of Moses. Moses died after his followers sojourned in the Sinai Peninsula for over 40 years, and Joshua brought the Israelites back to Canaan. There they gradually formed a confederation of tribes and established Judah and the state of Israel. Notwithstanding, Palestine was successively conquered by the Empire of Yashu, Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, Rome and so on, during which the Temple built by the Jews in Jerusalem was twice destroyed.⁶ Under Roman rule, over one million Jews were slaughtered. The last forced Israeli exile from Palestine was in the year 132 A.D. By the middle of the twelfth century A.D., there were only 1,400 odd Jews living in Palestine. Afterwards, surrounding tribes migrated to this land one after another. These were the ancestors of the present Palestinian Arabs. Since the exile of the Jews, Arabs have inhabited this land and lived together peacefully with the Jewish minority.

Zionism owes its origins to complicated causes, one of the most important of which is that the Jews believed in Judaism and were persecuted because of that. As Engels explains, so far as the passion of religion-obsessed masses are concerned, tremendous storms can be launched by putting their life interests under the cloak of religion. Perusing the evolution of Zionism, one finds that the religious culture has been the force that set in motion the whole history of the Zionism. Without

religion, Zionism is but Utopia. As Josef Hermoni, an Israelite, comments, “Zionism is mysticism. . . . It is a secular expression of Judaism. . . . No intellectual acrobatics can stop Zionism from withering away once it has been cut off from its mystical, Messianic dimension, the very root of its existence.”⁷

Pristine Zionism was manifested mainly in the form of religion for Judaism was the only spirituality that could bind together the Diaspora Jews since they were expelled from Palestine by the Roman legion. The Rabbi of Orthodox Judaism, Abraham Kuktan (transliteration) wrote that the re-association of the Jews and the land of Palestine is indispensable to the renaissance of Judaism. Thus, he advocated that the Jews return to the land of Palestine, the land promised by God. Jerusalem was the symbol of the Jewish national unity and the center of their cultural spirit.

Religious Zionism appealed to religion as the *sine qua non* for the cause of the return of the Jews to Palestine, so as to internalize the Jewish vision of returning to Palestine as a sacred religious pursuit. The school of cultural spirit, which emerged from within Zionism led by Ahad HaAm, advocated resurrecting Jewish culture and Judaism in particular in Palestine. They promoted Zionism by exploiting the religious belief of rank-and-file Jews. They spread Zionism by using Judaism as a powerful vision and spiritual pivot, and made the return to the Holy Land the tenet of the Jewish Zionist movement.

As facts prove, this was quite effective, for the vision of “exile inhabitants” -- i.e., the thought that the Jewish people should move from temporary settlement all over the world to the Israelite homeland, which permeated in the Bible and late Hebrew literature -- was deeply rooted in the heart of world Jewry. Long persecuted for religious reasons, unless assimilated or converted, Jews regarded Jerusalem as the Holy Land of Judaism and never forgot to restore the “Temple” and the Kingdom. Though they reside far from homeland, they pray towards Jerusalem three times a day. They leave a part of a new house undecorated so as to remember that Jerusalem is yet to be finished, break a glass in a wedding ceremony to remind people not to indulge in bliss before the recovery of the Temple, and put a small bag of earth in the tomb of a recently dead person to symbolize his Sabbath in the holy and pure land. They bless in prayer: next year in Jerusalem and they cherish the memory of the Holy Land, Palestine, every minute.⁸ This idea was first accepted by the Russian Jews who were being harshly persecuted by the czars and started to plan and organize the migration to Palestine from 1882.

The resurrection of the Hebrew language in the late 19th century showed the robust ability for rebirth in the Jewish nation. It became an important ingredient of the Zionist movement and the striking symbol of the resurrection of Hebrew culture. The publication of the book *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) by Theodor Herzl and the convention of the First Zionist Congress heralded that the Zionism had become a worldwide organized political movement. It set in motion the transformation of the early spiritual and cultural Zionism into a political ideal. “The truth is that, like all other ideologies that have come to be accepted as the basis of a nation-state, the ideal of Zionism has been embellished and related to all historical, spiritual, and cultural manifestations and achievements of the Jewish people.”⁹ However, despite the integration of the Jewish religion, nationality and culture, religion is still the most external formation. The vision of the Jews returning to the Samaritan rockhills and Judean mountains is the very stuff of the Zionist vision. Whoever derides and mocks this vision is mocking the entire Zionist vision and deriding the Jewish People’s undertaking in Eretz Yisrael.¹⁰ Undeniably, the desire of return has gained greater motives as religious zealots have acquired political footing.

Today, Israelis still claim that the Zionism began when the Lord said to Abraham, “Unto thy seed will I give this land” (Genesis XII, 7). They consider Moses the first great Zionist, for he led

his people out of Egypt. Although scholars dispute the authenticity of the historical accounts, and some are even skeptical, Jews take it for gospel. Biblical accounts undoubtedly enlighten the entire Judaic culture, including the Zionist movement. They have cherished the basic spirit in the creed of Judaism and were the starting point of all the activities in the ensuing thousands of years.

Religious Cultures and Their Impact on Modern Arab's and Israel's National Politics

The form and content in the case of the two cultural phenomena have yet to be probed in works on philosophy and culture. Though no definition has been as yet given to the contents of spiritual culture, religion is certainly a basic and essential component and exerts tremendous impact on the other components. Religion has been one of the important elements that have greatly affected the interactions between nations and spiritual cultures. Judaism and Islam in particular are more civilizations, than religions, though religious elements have been crucial and inseparable in these two civilizations.

In the Israeli and Arab worlds, religion is found in family customs and social conventions; it directly affects people's life and way of thinking. The two religions, as profound cultural phenomena, are in fact two sets of cultural systems. Though complicated, they cast the national identities, shape the national traits, enforce the national cohesion and embody the national values. Though they share the same roots and have some similarities, their cultures and languages are almost totally different, as are Jews from Muslims.¹¹ They shape their respective national policies, domestic and external, in their own ways.

Yahadut and the Polity of Modern Israel

The literal meaning of the term Yahadut in Hebrew may be translated as Judaism, Judaica or Jewishness, depending on the various contexts. Yahadut is one of the three indispensable elements that form the national identity of Israel and the cornerstone underpinning her national politics, economy and culture. Since the majority of Jews associate Zionism with Judaism, Yahadut and Zionism have inevitably become ideological sources of modern Israeli, with other minor thoughts surrounding it.

Due to the fact that there is a special relationship between the Jews and Judaism, and that Yahadut is the ideological foundation and the norm of life and behavior of all the Jews, it is hard to talk of the Jewish nation without Judaism, and vice versa. Here, Judaism is no longer a religion in its pure sense, but is the kernel of the Jewish spiritual culture. Likewise, Jews are but the materialized shell of the Judaism. Judaism therefore has a particular status in Israel: legally, it is not defined as the state religion, but in reality it is ubiquitous. Constitutionally, Israel is a secular democratic republic with separation of government from religion, but in reality the government is basically integrated with religion.

Over the last 40 years since the founding of the state of Israel, religion has been deeply involved in secular politics. Judaism has left its sacred altar to involve itself in the political maelstrom. Religious parties exert great impacts on the Israeli politics. These religious parties are small in scale and number, and over the years have commanded an average of 17 seats or about 13% in the Knesset. Nevertheless, power and influence of the religious parties surpass their appearance. They have managed to dissolve several governments and called for early general elections. Three factors contribute to their influence.

Firstly, religious parties are relatively stable. For over 40 years of the history of Israel, secular parties have experienced frequent splits, realignments and mergers based on their different political philosophies. By contrast, religious parties have been relatively stable political forces, for they have had relatively stable political programs and therefore relatively stable voters. For exactly the same reason, the other major parties consider their alliance as necessary.

Secondly, Israel's political system and the status quo of her politics determine that the majority parties must cooperate with minority ones. The Basic Law, the Government (1968) provides that the cabinet take office upon confirmation by the Knesset. The support of 61 or more out of 120 Knesset members are required to form a government. Since the founding of the state, the Israel Labor Party and the Likud Bloc have been the two dominant parties, with each about 35% of Knesset seats. As too many parties participate in the election fragmenting the seats, and for various other reasons, neither of the two major parties has ever garnered enough seats to form a government. Thus, a party with the majority of seats must form a coalition government. As coalitions between the two major parties are rare, religious parties are ideal candidates as allies of the majority party as they have a relatively stable number of seats, which can supply for the shortage in those required. As a result, religious parties have invariably been members of coalition governments of either Labor or Likud in the history of Israel's government.

The religious parties in their turn capitalize on the situation by asking a high price. The majority parties have to make compromises, even at the expense of part of their own political views in order to form a coalition government. On important issues in particular, the predicaments which result from the antitheses between real political needs and religious passions, diminish the policy-making power of governments. For example, the collapse of Rabin's government in Dec. 1976 and the Peres' failure to form a government in March 1990 were both the results of the stance of non-cooperation and non-support taken by the religious parties when their demands were not fulfilled.

Lastly, religious parties could weather government policies by their religious privileges. Since the very beginning of the state of Israel, the synagogue has enjoyed certain privileges in the national life thanks to the special position of Judaism in the Jewish heart. Though these privileges mostly involve social issues, they wield enormous influence in politics. For example, in 1976, Rabin's government was forced to resign and thus the Labor Party lost control of the government for the next 15 years. The reasons were that the religious parties charged the government and raised a no-confidence bill against it because the government had held a ceremony handing over a new-type American fighters to the Israeli Air Force on the Sabbath day, which, to them, was blasphemy. Furthermore, Israel has nine Basic Laws, but no comprehensive written constitution. The postponement of the solution to this lack has been due to the fact that the synagogue would not surrender on the issues of the definition of the Jews, the relationship between religion and the state, and so on. In addition, though the top leaders and the members of supreme committees of the synagogue do not participate in government functions, they can play their roles in the Knesset by controlling their religious parties.

Islam and Arabic Traditional Culture in the Politics of Arab Nations

The Arab world is not politically monolithic. Political systems of Arab countries vary. Egypt and the like are secular parliamentary democracies; Iraq, Syria and so forth are military or civilian autocracies; Saudi Arabia and other Gulf nations are monarchies; Sudan is a state that integrates government and religion. Notwithstanding, Arab nations are not nation-states in the strict meaning

of the phrase. A single nation, a common religion and traditional culture constitute the striking nature of the Arab nations.

The word “nation” here contains a religious connotation. The Arabs are unified and have become a nation via the Islamic movement. In Arab nations, all ideological systems are based on the heritage of the religious culture; Islam is still the customary way of thinking and political language for all Muslims. Islam either dominates the ideologies of the Arab nations, or wields key influence on them. Egypt, a country that has separated religion from government and imposed a secularist policy long ago, prizes and hence relies on Islam to a great extent, bases her domestic and foreign policies on it, and justifies her legislation by it. This is the more true of the Arab monarchies which merge religion and government. Indeed, in the Arab world, no matter how powerful the nationalists are, they can never take precedence over Allah and Islamic authority. The Quran is the source of spiritual culture and the culture of reason alike; it is the source of both Arabic literature and academics.

All that may answer the question of why protests invariably take religious forms when social upheavals and political crises emerge in the Arab states, and Islam is bound to be picked as an alternative value orientation whenever nationalism stumbles. For instance, the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque in East Jerusalem in 1969 triggered an outburst of the whole Muslim world. The political and territorial contention between the Palestinians and Israelis turned in no time into that of the two politicized religious cultures: the Muslims of the Islamic world and the Judaism of Israel.

Religion and the cultural tradition are two essential components of Arab national identities. Apart from religion, modern Arabs are imbued with a traditional culture derived from the desert. In Arab history, the Bedouin factor should not be neglected. Their influence was especially crucial in the period of the spread of Islam. The Bedouins referred to the nomadic or semi-nomadic Arabs on the Arabian Peninsula and the desert areas in North Africa. Several important migrations were seen in Bedouin history which lasted for about 500 years from the seventh century when Islam began to expand to the eleventh century. In the course of this, Bedouins gradually mingled with the indigenous nations and hence their tradition permeated the entire Arab nation. Bedouins are generous, hospitable and loyal to friends, on the one hand, and, on the other, aggressive and revengeful. Those traits can be observed in the Arabs. Revenge was the sole cause of the incessant pre-Islamic tribal wars. Over thousands of years, revenge has been the responsibility of every Bedouin; it is sacred in their, and even Arabs, eyes. According to the primitive law of the desert, debts of blood must be paid in blood: if a man from tribe A has been killed by tribe B, a man from tribe B must be killed to pay for the life, no matter if he is or is not the actual killer. No punishment other than revenge is valid.¹² That might be the root-cause behind the indifference of persons concerned towards their own frequent terror and violence against innocents in Arab states even today, which has been repeatedly denounced by international opinion.

Clash or Meld: Religious Cultures in Arab-Israeli Relations

Since the founding of the state of Israel in 1948, Arabs and Israelis have been in conflict. Four large scale wars have taken place in this period as well as skirmishes, and there have been innumerable “border” disputes, for which the religious cultures of the two sides have been catalysts. As a well-known American scholar of religious affairs, L.M. Hopf (transliteration), commented, other aspects aside, religious differences are the most impressive and important reasons behind the conflicts between Jews and Muslims.

The immediate cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict has been Zionism. As described in the first section of this article, Zionism has fulfilled its historic mission on the foundation of the biblical accounts and the Israelites' overwhelming passion and unflinching longing for the "promised land." At the beginning of independence, Israeli soldiers were buttressed to a large extent by nationalist fervor with strong religious features in their combat with Arab troops which outnumbered them many times. Their continuing expansionist behavior embodies the idea of "an everlastingly expanding country" put forward by the first Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion. This originated from the words of Jehovah to Joshua, "Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that I give unto you, as I said unto Moses" (the Book of Joshua). Israeli authorities translated these words to mean that the land under the feet of the Israeli soldiers is Israel's. Under this idea, Israeli military forces have expanded the land under its control to 87,019 square kilometers, 6 times that of the area provided to Israel by the 1947 UN Partition of Palestine Resolution.

During the entire process of the Zionist movement, Israel has received the all-out support from the Jews residing all over the world. Though not all overseas Jews want to settle in Israel and some are even well integrated into their resident countries politically and economically, their cultural and religious mentality and their nationalism are strong. Though some Jews omit religion in terms of their daily life, more often than not this is unconscious. It is quite difficult for Jews totally to avoid the Jewish religious culture whenever or wherever they want to. The religious belief and religious life of the Jews across the world today are still the most central display of Judaic culture. To them, to be concerned with Israel is to guard the dignity of Judaism. Thus, the fate of Israel touches them to the heart, more than that of any other country. Not only did Jews everywhere in the world donate money and materials to Israel in the Arab-Israeli wars, but also tens of thousands of Jewish youths came to Israel as volunteers to fight. Ten million or more Jews in the world are the powerful backers of Israel.

In the Arab world, whenever an Arab nation is in crisis, the traditional religious faith is prone to externalize itself into human behavior, to become the source of value orientations, and even to cause irrational fanaticism that appears weird to others. One of the prominent features of Islam is the Arabs' deep-seated spiritual phenomena. As Karl Marx wrote, Islam, as a religion full of combative spirit, reduces the geography and humanities of disparate nationalities into one simple formula dividing them into two states and two nations -- the Orthodox and the heathens. He continued, the heathens are "harbi (transliteration)," or enemy. Islam claims that heathens are under no protection of law which engenders a regular mutual hostility between Muslims and heathens. Though, the word 'Jihad' refers not only fighting against the enemies of Muslims, but also contains richer meanings, Arab leaders have been appealing to it as the most efficient weapon for mobilizing the Muslim masses in dealing with the demon Israel. Some Islamic extremist organizations such as Hamas are against Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, conceiving that the divinely blessed land is not negotiable, and only Jihad can liberate the Palestinian people.

The Quran directs the people to do justice, be charitable, kind, merciful, continent and tolerant, but it does not provide for the avoidance of violence. On the contrary, it spells out that violence can be used in defending faith, and considers those who partake in the struggle more likely to be admitted into the paradise than those who do not. It is not difficult for such wording to be abused by extremists. The assassination of the former Egyptian President Sadat by extremists, a Palestinian youth exploding a bomb on himself and Israeli riders on a bus, and Iraq launching SCUD missiles against Israel, albeit in its war with the United States in the Gulf -- weird thought they may seem -- connote profound religious cultural codes.

Furthermore, Jerusalem is unique for the Arabs. It is the Holy Land of Islamism, as well as of Judaism and Christianity, so it has particular religious status and spiritual symbolism in the Islamic world. The present situation in which it is under the control of Israel alone increases to a large extent Arab disgust and hostility towards Israel.

The above analysis tries to testify that the different religious cultures have, as one of their facets, induced and catalyzed the Arab-Israeli conflicts. But it does not indicate that Judaism and Islam were doomed to repel each other from the very beginning, or that the two peoples are diametrically opposed to each other forever. On the contrary, Judaism and Islam, or Jews and Arabs, share a common origin. Jews are geographically close neighbors of the Arabs, racially they are close kin.

The Bible itself came into being with the profound influences of the civilizations of Egypt and ancient Babylon. More specifically, it was a collection, modification and recompilation of different genres of ancient Semitic literature, including classics, documents, myths, epics, dramas, novels, poems, axioms, essays and so on. As Engels commented, the so-called Holy Book of the Jews records but religious and tribal legend. The only difference is that those legends have been modified since the Jews were separated from their nomadic cousins. He continued that Palestine was surrounded by desert, i. e., the land of the Bedouins, which was the reason of the uniqueness of the accounts. He emphasized that the inscriptions on tablets, sagas, Quran and all the pedigrees of the ancient Arabs are easy to explain and prove that the main contents were about Arabic culture, or more precisely, Semites in general, just like the Edda and the German epics.

Islam is the third monotheism following Judaism and Christianity. Historically speaking, it is a branch of the latter two religions and is closest to them among other religions. All three are the products of the one common Semitic spiritual life. Quran's historical accounts and religious legends can virtually find their counterparts in the Bible. The Quran claims to be a Book revealed in the wake of Moses, which testifies to the previous Holy Scripture. Holy Scripture means the Old Testament and the Bible; testifying means that the Quran and Bible can be traced to the same origin.

The Arab nation traces its origin back to its earliest ancestor, Abraham, the same grandfather respected by the Jews in the Old Testament. Islam claims that Abraham was neither Jewish nor Christian, but the ancestor of all those in the world who hold monotheism. They firmly believe that there has been only one true religion in the world, that is, the worship of the One Omnipotent. They have no doubt that Judaism and Christianity preceded Islam, regard the Pentateuch (Torah), Psalms and Gospel as revelations from God, and consider Moses, David and Jesus also as prophets. While religious sagas about prophets in the Bible are coherent and consistent, in the Quran they are but evidence of instructions and commandants, and are mentioned only for the sake of context. Muslims are very familiar with those figures and their stories, which indicates that compilers of the Bible were Semites like Arabs. They used to have a shared history and also shared biblical accounts, which prove that Judaism, Christianity and Arab culture had for a long time collided and melded into one another.¹³

Notably, the absorption, exploitation and transformation of existing cultures have been conducted in the manner of the idiosyncratic culture of the receiving nation. There is a mechanism of cultural choice: the formation of the new culture was a result of cultural choice by the receiving nation as the subject of the choice. It should not be deemed as a simple compound of the received cultures; rather, they were localized and nationalized.

Jewish and Arab relations used to be amicable. Europeans are those who have most persecuted the world Jewry. Almost all the European states, except Italy, have a history of anti-Semitism. On

the contrary, since medieval times, Jews living under the Muslim rulers were fairly protected; within the scope of the Arab Empire, the rulers pursued a relatively lenient policy towards the monotheistic and Biblical Jews. So long as they were subject to the Islamic rule, they were allowed to practice their own religion and were a protected people.¹⁴

Uri Avnery, the former M.K. of Israel and a famous author and journalist, commented in his book, *Israel without Zionists*, that the stalemate between Arab and Israel at present was caused by the clash of two authentic historical movements. External forces played a certain role, but were not major factors. Therefore, he suggested that the solution had to be found between the two sides themselves (Arabs and Jews).¹⁵ One of the solutions he proposed was to set up a great Semitic confederacy composed of all the countries in the region. "Thus," he wrote, "a solution in Palestine is almost a prerequisite for a general Semitic peace settlement." He noted that the reason he used the term Semitic has nothing to do with race.

The term Semitic should, rather, be viewed as emphasizing a historical heritage, common to all peoples speaking languages of the Semitic family -- Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic, and so forth. It also emphasizes the common cultural and spiritual background of all the peoples of our Region. . . . It automatically includes Arabs and Hebrews, explains itself readily in the Region and throughout the world, and has the same meaning in all languages.¹⁶

Avnery's solution might not be feasible insofar as the status quo of Arab-Israeli relations is concerned. Nevertheless, what merits further research is that he proposed a new type of relation on the basis of the common cultural and spiritual background of Jews and Arabs.

In the world today, nations differ in their levels of economic and social development and vary in political systems. They even vary in their structures of life, standards of living and ways of life, all of which have been formed historically. All those cultural particulars coexist and influence one another. Every nation can make its own contribution to the general development of the world culture, since every nation has its unique historical experience that entails a universal essence. It is the varieties of the national experiences that create the premises, on which they interact more efficiently and reinforce one another's ideas, values and achievements. This, in turn, creates conditions for the development of each nation. All in all, Arab and Israel share common cultural origins and used to live together peacefully for a long time. Even though they have encountered some setbacks in their peace process, there is no ground for doubting that the two nations will eliminate hostility and coexist peacefully.

Notes

1. Zionism derives from the name of Mt. Zion in Jerusalem. The hill with an area of 5,000-6,000 square meters is deemed by Jews as the Holy Mountain, for a story is told in the Bible that Jews would gather at Mt. Zion. According to the Isaiah in the Old Testament, Zion was the only exception in the invasion of the Kingdom of Judah by foreign powers. The prophet Isaiah predicted that through Zion salvation would come.

2. Kemal H. Karpat, *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (Praeger, 1982), p. 286.

3. Michael Curtis: *Religion and Politics in the Middle East* (Westview Press, 1981), p. 75.

4. The history of the ancient Jews usually interwoven with legend, hence further textual research is needed in some aspects.

5. The word Hebrew in Semitic means “later crossing”. Since Jews arrived at Palestine by crossing the river Euphrates, the natives gave them that name. The word Israel was the name given by the Lord when Jacob, the ancestor of Jews, won the battle with a god. The term Jew derived from the name of the state of Judah which itself was named after Jacob’s fourth son.

6. From 1003 BC to 965 BC, under the rule of David and Solomon, the Kingdom of Israel reached its apex. Jerusalem was then made the capital of the kingdom, and Judaism as the state religion. Solomon built the magnificent Temple of Jehovah which made Jerusalem gradually the center of Jewish religion and culture. The dynasties of David and Solomon provided the Jews with a splendid culture. The period was termed that of the “First Temple”. In 585 BC, the new Babylonian Empire under Nebuchadnezzar occupied Assyria and conquered the Kingdom of Judah. Jerusalem was sacked, the Temple destroyed, and the bulk of Jews was exiled to Babylon, referred to by historians as the “Babylonian exile”. This was the first Diaspora in Jewish history when the era of the First Temple ended. In 538 BC, the Persian Emperor, Cyrus the Great, defeated the Babylonians and permitted the Jews to return to their homeland to rebuild Jerusalem and the Temple; then the time of the Second Temple began. In 63 BC, the Roman Empire occupied Jerusalem and the whole of Palestine, and the Temple was destroyed again. Rebellions were all suppressed by the Roman Legions. Over a million Jews were slaughtered and tens of thousands more were taken as slaves. The rest were exiled from Palestine. The period of the Second Temple was over and the Jews began the Great Diaspora.

7. Yosef Hermoni, *Jerusalem Post Weekly*, June 22, 1976.

8. Xu Xiangqun and Yu Chongjian ed, *The Third Temple—The Rise of Israel* (Yuandong Publishing house, 1994), p. 26.

9. *Ibid.*, 2, p. 287.

10. Yosef Hemoni, “Gush Emunim View of Zionism,” in Kemal H. Karpat, *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East* (Praeger, 1982), p. 296.

11. John F.H. Sawyer, “Islam and Judaism,” in Denis Maceoln, *Islam in the Modern World* (Routledge, 1983), p. 27.

12. *The Third Temple*, 8, p. 284.

13. Zhong Qikun, “Pre-Islamist Sources of the Relations of the Arab Culture and the World Culture,” *The Arab World* (Chinese Journal), No. 3, 1987.

14. *Ibid.*, 8, p.12

15. Uri Avnery, *Israel Without Zionists: A Plea for Peace in Middle East* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), p. 208.

16. *Ibid.*

11.

Ethnic and Religious Contradictions and Their Impacts in Central Asia

Qian Zongqi

Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan in Central Asia are located in the central area of Eurasia, an area influenced by the three great religions. In history, this area was influenced by various cultures, especially Islamic and Christian. Today, the majority of the population in this region is local ethnic Muslims and Russian Orthodox. The politics and economy of the five Central Asian countries have been stagnant, and even gone backward since their independence; the living standards of the citizens have lowered and various contradictions have been prominent. What poses the biggest threat to the regional stability is the increasingly intensified contradiction between the governments of these Central Asian countries which advocate the separation of religion from politics and the anti-government organizations which attempt to establish regimes combining religion with politics. Armed conflicts frequently occur. The turbulence of Central Asia can be attributed to both the problems in their own development and the influence of the outside world. This article will start from the present ethnic and religious contradictions of Central Asia, and elaborate their threats to the security and stability of this region and the surrounding areas it.

The Formation of Multi-Ethnic Groups and the Process of Islamic Renaissance

The five Central Asian countries cover an area of 4 million square kilometers with a population of 55 million and 130 ethnic groups. The distribution of the ethnic groups in this region is quite special, with the same ethnic group usually scattered in different countries and regions. This can be attributed to historical reasons, but more to artificial reasons. In history, the formation of the native ethnic groups in Central Asia experienced constant movement and integration. In the 15th century, after the nomadic ethnic groups in Central Asia began to settle and take up agricultural production, the major ethnic groups such as the Kazaks, Uzbeks, Kyrgyzs and Turkman began to emerge. The Tajik, originating in the 10th century, have the longest history. Today, on the vast land of Central Asia, not all the major ethnic groups reside in their own regions, but different ones mix together. For example, in Ferganskaya Dolina, where Uzbeks, Tajiks and Kirghizes reside there are frequent ethnic and religious contradictions and inter-ethnic conflicts. Certainly, the former Soviet Union's constant change of the border at will is another major reason for the scattering of the same ethnic group.

Another major ethnic group in this region is Russian. In the mid-19th century, Russians began to migrate to Central Asia. After waves of immigration such as the Czarist Russia's expansion toward Central Asia, Stolypin's land reform, WWII and Khrushchev's construction of a new Central Asia, a large quantity of Russians migrated to Central Asia. By the end of the 1980s, more than 5 million Russians had migrated to Kazakhstan, 2 million to Uzbekistan, over 0.9 million to Kyrgyzstan, 0.38 million to Tajikistan, and more than 0.3 million to Turkmenistan.¹ Russians occupied a dominant place in the Central Asian society since the day they stepped onto the soil of Central Asia and discriminated against the local residents, regarded as backward and ignorant.

After their independence, the local residents have become the masters of their own territory, while Russians have been included in the list of non-native ethnic groups being squeezed out.

Another obvious change on this area after independence is the rapid religious renaissance, especially of Islamic consciousness. Native ethnic groups have been under the influence of external forces and religions. They became Muslims under the powerful and prosperous rein of the Muslim world. Under the rule of Czarist Russia and the Soviet superpower, Islam was severely damaged and during the period of the former Soviet Union Islamic and Christian cultures were replaced by the Communist ideal. After the Soviet Union disintegrated, an ideological vacuum appeared in Central Asia. However, Islam, which had had strong influence in this area, spread widely and filled the vacuum immediately. In Uzbekistan the Islamic renaissance developed the most rapidly. According to the materials of its National Commission of Religious Affairs, up to the end of August 1999, this Republic had more than 1,700 registered religious organizations, among which 1,566 were Islamic 30 were Russian Orthodox. The number of mosques increased from 300 in 1989 to 6,000 in 1993. It has 9 secondary religious schools; there are Islamic colleges and an Islamic University in Tashkent; 90% of Uzbeks claim to be Muslims.²

In Kyrgyzstan, where only scores of Muslims made the pilgrimage to Mecca in the early 1990s, the number had amounted to over 3,000 by 1998, 95% of whom came from Ferganskaya Dolina. More than 1,200 mosques and about 30 religious organizations have appeared since its independence.³

In Kazakhstan, more than 5,000 mosques have been built within the past ten years. Many theological seminaries have come into being, and young men have been sent abroad to learn religious scriptures and done mission service after returning home.⁴

It is the same with Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. The Muslim world played a decisive role in the Islamic renaissance in Central Asia. Muslim countries such as Turkey, Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia have provided most of the funds for the construction of the mosques and religious schools. In addition, many foreign missionaries have poured into Central Asia and some have brought Islamic extremist thinking into the region. Religious belief itself is not a threat, but religious propaganda may become the catalyst of the social contradictions when the social and economic situation is worsens.

Major Factors Leading to Ethnic and Religious Contradictions

Central Asian countries have not had effective economic development since their independence. The division between the rich and the poor has become serious, with the poor stratum constituting the majority of the population. In Uzbekistan, the monthly per capita income of most of the poor residents is only 2 to 9 dollars; things in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are even worse. Under the circumstances, someone sedulously propagandizing radical ideas with the aid of religion would undoubtedly be pouring oil on the fire, and conflicts would be intensified. At present, among all the contradictions and conflicts in Central Asia, the armed conflicts between the extremist forces who attempt to set up Islamic regimes combining religion with politics and the secular states which advocate separation of religion from politics are the most threatening. Furthermore, issues concerning territory, water resources, migrants have also developed into factors leading to conflicts between ethnic groups that cannot be neglected.

The Rise of Islamic Extremist Forces

With the renaissance of Islamic consciousness in Central Asia, Islamic extremist forces began to enter Central Asia and generally grow stronger and stronger. They oppose the present political power by force, and attempt to establish Islamic republics in the region. The civil war of Tajikistan is a specific example. After its independence, the issue of the character of the state sparked fierce debates among the parties. The government authorities advocated a democratic, law-ruled and secular republic, with separation of religion from politics and non-Islamization as a fundamental national policy. Opposition organizations such as the Islamic Renaissance Party insisted on establishing an Islamic state combining politics with religion. The Islamic Renaissance Party also formed an alliance with the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, the Renaissance-People's Movement and the Pamir Movement, and built up their own military forces. Certainly, the conflicts between Tajikistan government authorities and the opposition have some elements of ethnic antagonism left over from history. The civil war was unceasing. In 1997, the "General Agreement of Peace and Ethnic Reconciliation" was signed between the Tajikistan Government and the opposition under the mediation of the U.N., Russia and Iran. Tajikistan Islamic organizations obtained legitimate status and were accepted into the government. However, political power and national stability, influenced by hostile forces at home and abroad, are still weak. There are signs that Tajik Islamic organizations are assisting other countries' Islamic organizations in subversive activities against their secular governments in Central Asia.

Influenced by the Tajik civil war, the Uzbekistan Islamic Movement (UIM) proposed to build an Islamic republic as well. They recruited soldiers and set up armed forces to oppose their government. In 1999, under the leadership of Dzhuma Namangani, who once fought side by side with the Tajik opposition alliance and the Afghan Taliban and the spiritual leader Takhir Yuldashev, the UIM had frequent armed conflicts with government forces in the southern parts of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.⁵ They also adopted extreme measures carrying out a series of terrorist activities such as kidnapping, bombing, murder in Central Asia. Instead of negotiating with them as did Tajikistan, the Uzbekistan government authorities took up means of suppression to solve the problem of Islamic extremists. In 1999, Kalimov's suppression made 1,500 Islamic refugees accept the protection offered by Tajikistan opposition alliance and become an effective power against the Uzbek authorities. As a result, Uzbekistan-Tajikistan relations cooled. Kalimov's suppression did not at all weaken the anti-government Islamic forces. They set up bases in areas where there exist territorial disputes and Ferganskaya Dolina, shared by Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan where pro-Islam sentiments are very strong, recruited young men from poor areas and Islamic extremists abroad offered them military training in local areas or abroad. In 2000, they rallied again and waged larger-scale and longer-lasting armed conflicts with government forces. The armed conflicts escalating year-by-year pose a great threat to the security and stability of Central Asia.

The Rise of Territorial Disputes

Territorial disputes between Central Asian countries have resulted from the former Soviet Union changing the border at will. When the Soviet Union was demarcating the borders of its republics, it gave very little consideration to the ethnic and political realities, and changed the borders of its republics at will many times. As a result, there are more than ten "disputed territories" over which two ethnic groups claim to have sovereignty at the same time. Another result of

demarcating the borders at will is that a lot of residents of one republic reside in another. In 1924, the Soviet Union put several counties and townships, which had more Uzbeks, under the administration of Kazakhstan. Kallarpak Autonomous Region under the administration of Kazakhstan from 1925 to 1930 was incorporated into Uzbekistan. In July 1946, the Council of Ministers' of the Soviet Union passed a resolution, agreeing to rent out 151,600 hectares of land in Kazakhstan to Uzbekistan for ten years. Kazakhstan also rented 8,500 hectares of land from Uzbekistan. The period of rent was extended until April 1991. In 1956 and 1963, Kazakhstan returned to Uzbekistan respectively Hunger Prairie and Bastanlykskij District in southern Kazakhstan and Kilov District, Mahktalar District and Zhedsa District in southern Kazakhstan went to Uzbekistan. In 1971, the latter three districts were returned to Kazakhstan except two state-owned farms, but these districts were full of Uzbeks.⁶ At the beginning of 2000, Uzbekistan proceeded to demarcate its border unilaterally, leading to territorial disputes between the two countries.

Border disputes also exist between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, with 130 border sectors unsettled today. Tashkent is always pushing forward the border in its own favor in negotiations, increasing border outposts, strengthening border regulations, even laying mines along some sectors of the border. Uzbekistan also exerts pressure on Kyrgyzstan by threatening to cut off the energy supply, resulting in a rift in relations between the two countries.

The disputes between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are more than where to draw the border. There are many Tajiks in Buhara and Samarkand, two large cities put under the administration of Uzbekistan in 1924. Tajiks regard the two cities as the centers of their own ancient national culture and believe that only when Buhara and Samarkand are returned to their motherland can Tajikistan be an integrated state. However Tajikistan thinks that Uzbekistan has a plot for the Hujand region, where live a great number of Uzbeks. In 1998, a force led by the former Tajikistan army colonel Mahamud Khodabertiev, who had been against Tajikistan Peace Agreement, went into this region from Uzbekistan and launched an abortive but bloody coup. Tajikistan thought that the forces of the rebellion were obviously approved by Uzbekistan authorities, thus putting the two countries on bad terms.

The border between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan is very odd with a lot of enclaves and frequent frictions between local ethnic groups. Though the territorial issue has not risen as the principal contradiction in Central Asia, territorial disputes have caused bloodshed. Local Uzbeks in the Osh Region in Ferganskaya Dolina think that this region has been their own territory since ancient times. Hence, they act arbitrarily in commercial and political fields, which often leads to conflicts with the Kyrghize, causing many deaths.

Water Resources: A New Focus

Water resources are of special significance to Central Asian countries, whose agriculture and animal husbandry make up most of their economy. Water resources are not well distributed in this region. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are the two countries with the most water resources. The southern part of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are short of water resources. During the era of the former Soviet Union, the use of water resources was based on a unified principle and financially supported by the central government. Now water-using countries still follow the same principle of the former Soviet Union, but they do not make compensation to Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan for the expenses necessary for maintaining normal operation of those water conservation facilities, thus causing disputes over the use of water resources.

In addition, water reserves in Central Asia are decreasing, which will directly threaten water use in middle and lower reaches. In recent years, Central Asian countries have experienced disastrous drought, resulting in total crop failures and shortages of food even in rich Uzbekistan.

The lack of water resources has also become the focus of ethnic contradictions and conflicts in the areas short of water. For example, in the Osh Region disputes over water occur between the local Tajiks and the Kyrgyz every summer.

Tides of Migrants and Refugees

Russians began to be suppressed by local governments from the day of the independence of the Central Asian countries. They are discriminated in employment and excluded from all government organs. Semi-official newspapers make every effort to abuse them all of this caused unhappiness which moved quite many Russians to migrate to Russia. Though the Russian Government has coordinated with Central Asian countries many times, and local governments have adopted a series of measures such as granting Russians turn nationality, nearly one million Russians have left Central Asia according to incomplete statistics and the tide has not stopped up to now. As Russians usually have higher cultural qualities and technical, capabilities their departure is undoubtedly a great loss of talent for these countries.

Another problem is the tide of refugees caused by wars. A large number of refugees have poured into Central Asia, not only adding many factors of instability, but also laying heavier burdens on the already poverty-stricken local governments. The civil war of Tajikistan made nearly one million refugees leave their hometowns and escape to adjacent countries, especially in Central Asia. Hundreds of thousands moved to Ferganskaya Dolina. A large number of refugees caused by Afghan civil war have also poured into Central Asia.⁷ Leaders of Central Asian countries have expressed many times that they are powerless in solving the refugee problem for lack of funds. Today, Ferganskaya Dolina with a great many refugees has become a source of turbulence and a place of frequent ethnic and religious conflicts in Central Asia.

The Threat of Ethnic and Religious Contradictions to Regional and Peripheral Security and Stability

After breaking away from the control of the former Soviet Union, Central Asian countries entered upon the difficult path of independence and founding their own states, though lacking in experience and separated economically from the former Soviet Union. The economy of Central Asian countries cannot escape this difficult situation and move to normal development because of both their inborn weakness and the Russian economic crisis. The worsening of the residents' social and economic situation and the authorities' lack of ability to supervise and control the situation have given greater prominence to both old and new contradictions.

At present, Islamic extremist forces whose goal is to overturn the governments of these countries are a realistic threat to the security and stability of this region and its periphery. The legitimate status of the religious parties in Tajikistan undoubtedly will become the example that religious groups and organizations in other Central Asian countries will follow. There are signs that Tajikistan religious forces are secretly supporting the Islamic anti-government movement in Central Asia, with which leaders of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan have already expressed their dissatisfaction. Anti-government armed elements entered Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan through Tajikistan in 2000. In fact, Islamic extremist forces in Central Asia are only a subdivision of global

religious extremist forces. Today, a turbulent belt where ethnic and religious extremist forces make frequent trouble is coming into being from Southeast Asia, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Chechenia to Kosovo. Ethnic separatist forces, and international terrorist forces coexisting with religious extremist forces, have been generally acknowledged as three evil forces threatening global security. Central Asia has become an ideal region for their development due to its backward economy, weak security forces, chaotic ethnic situation and Islamic tradition.

In recent years, religious extremist forces in Central Asia have become stronger and stronger with the support of the three international evil forces, which have provided funds for establishing strongholds in Central Asia and Afghanistan and recruit and train armed elements. The composition of Central Asian anti-government armed elements also develops from localization to internationalization: They include mercenaries from the Muslim world, Chechens from Russia and Muslim Uighurs. These mercenaries are sent to fight in Chechenia, and steal into Xinjiang, China to organize separatist activities besides fighting in Central Asia. In 2000, armed conflicts broke out in Uzbekistan and the southern part of Kyrgyzstan with the internationalization of the elements and the short distance from the spot of the conflicts to the locations of national administrative organs. This shows that Central Asian anti-government armed forces have become a threat to the government of the present Central Asian countries. If they are allowed to develop with no restriction, the stability and security in countries and regions surrounding Central Asia will be threatened.

The provocative actions of Central Asian Islamic armed elements have aroused the concern of Central Asian countries, Russia and China. In July 2000, the “Shanghai Five” Summit in Dushanbe, capital of Tajikistan consulted on coordination in such fields as cracking down on international terrorist activities, religious extremism, separatism, drug trafficking and illegal migration.

In August 2000, in Bishkek, capital of Kyrgyzstan, a regional summit was held, at which leaders of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan decided jointly to eliminate the Islamic extremists groomed by international terrorism. In September of the same year, a regional rapid response force was formed. However, if Central Asian countries can’t solve the complex domestic economic and social problems, and have no ability to supervise and control the political situation, a turbulent situation will be unavoidable in this region. The impact will spread to the wanton activities of separatist forces in China and Russia.

Notes

1. Xinhua News Agency, February 7, 1994.
2. M. Kafarlyn, “How to Fight a War against Religious Extremism”, *Independence Newspaper*, October 2, 1999.
3. E. Kaptadiev, “Islam in Kyrgyzstan”, *Kyrgyzstan TUZ Newspaper*, December 12, 1998.
4. U. Kasenov, *Security of Central Asia* (Alma-Ata Publishing House, 1998).
5. *James Defense Weekly*, September 1, 1999.
6. See Wang Zhilai, *History of Central Asia* (Social Sciences Publishing House of China, 1980).
7. K. Bolot, “Southern Part of Kyrgyzstan Facing Another Threat,” Eurasia website, October 10, 2000.

September 11th Incident and Trends in Middle East Social Thought

Li Weijian

Middle East's response to the September 11th incident is complicated and thought-provoking. Some extremist organizations attempted to take this opportunity to "drag the whole Islamic world into an all-round anti-Western war". They held that the U.S. military operation in Afghanistan was a "surprise attack on poor Muslims", aimed at "destroying Islam". So Muslims throughout the world should unite to launch a holy war against the U.S. Other "universalized Muslim elites" stood up to "clarify their stance on Islamic fundamentalism". They held that "all Muslims developing themselves in a multi-technological, multi-cultural and multi-belief world should defend an Islam advocating tolerance".¹

When leaders of Middle Eastern countries condemned the terrorist act and expressed their support for the U.S. fight against terrorism, the anti-U.S. sentiments of the masses of people in these countries rose. Besides, almost all these countries held that while the incident occurred in the U.S., the long pending Middle East issue no doubt was one of the hotbeds of terrorism. This author holds that, in recent years, the indignant, despairing, anxious and helpless sentiments and feelings of insult which have long been accumulating in the Arab and Islamic world have been rapidly swelling. A socially extreme trend of thought has risen again, which is being used by terrorists because the region has long been treated unfairly. Western countries have seriously distorted the image of Islam and Arabs, while globalization has subjected it to various negative assaults.

The September 11th Incident and the Anti-Globalization Trend of Thought

The impact of the globalization process on Middle Eastern countries will not be discussed in a comprehensive way in this paper. Moreover, the September 11th incident has no direct relation to these countries' response to globalization. This paper will attend mainly to the role of extreme social thought trends in the Middle East region resulting from the negative impact of globalization in the formation of terrorism. The reactions of Middle East countries to the globalization process reflect the analysis of humankind's current stage of development by current Middle East political and social thinking in terms of Islamic values. They reflect also the effort to safeguard national characteristics in the face of the irresistible trend of globalization. This kind of social trend of thought and values exerts direct influences on the attitudes of Middle East countries and their countermeasures toward globalization.

Generally speaking, globalization is mainly an economic process pushed by market forces, but the practical situation is much more complicated. In the Middle East, globalization is still hard to grasp. Its importance lies not only in economic forces, but also in cultural experiences of the Islamic world, that is, the Muslims' way of understanding daily life. Globalization involves nationality, national culture and nationalism; it may become a decisive factor in the fields of culture, politics and economic life and change the mechanism of a people's daily life. Therefore, it poses an unprecedentedly great challenge to Islamic traditional culture and lifestyle.

Undoubtedly, many countries in the region have a clear understanding of the advantages and disadvantages globalization may bring to them. Some countries are making positive preparations

for meeting the challenge of globalization in order to guard against any loss of national characteristics and cultural values. But this cannot offset the dissatisfaction of the Islamic world with the current globalization with its various drawbacks and strong “tendency toward Westernization and Americanization,” nor can it impede the swell of socially extreme trends of thought resulting from this dissatisfaction. The criticism of globalization by the Islamic social elite is full of such worries. Hussain Kamal Bahaeddin, Egyptian Minister of Education, pointed out the undesirable reactions globalization may cause, for example, rise of stubbornly biased sentiments and extremism, increase of desire for revenge, and feelings of isolation.²

The radical anti-globalization social trend of thought emerging in Middle East has something to do with its weak position and unfair treatment in the global economic system of Middle East countries (except Israel). To many, the current world economic order is based on the unfair “world system”. This system’s structural features are that the prosperity of developed countries at the cost of the poverty of developing countries, and the prosperity of a few countries “depending” on the poverty of most countries. The superpower is working out the rules of globalization, unabashedly insisting on placing its own national interests above other considerations, while eulogizing the merits of globalization.³ Such rules of the game will weaken the national role of Middle Eastern countries and put them in an unfavorable position in global competition. Some countries will even be “marginalized” and in reality become victims of globalization.

Secondly, the rise of socially extreme trends of thought has a bearing on the attempt of the U.S. and the West at large to build a new international order, which represents the interests of the great powers and rich states while ignoring the interests of developing countries in the post-Cold War period. Many Arab countries think that this new international order may widen the gap between various members of the international community. This is because it disregards the interests of developing countries and poor societies, flaunts the banner of trade freedom while stifling the attempts of developing countries, and adopts a dual standard and a non-objective position on human rights. It does as it pleases, sometimes turning a blind eye, sometimes making trouble. This makes societies, organizations and countries belonging to the Third World, in the past and present, suffer grave oppression and difficulties and to be feared by many peoples.⁴ Thirdly, the rise of socially extreme trends of thought is related to the long-term distortion and mortification of the Islamic world and the masses of Arab people. Arab countries see the West’s view of them to be based on such “unorthodox” theories as “the end of history” and “the clash of civilizations” and other “improper” concepts. These wrong theories and irresponsible remarks have sowed seeds of suspicions in the international order and made the West unable fairly to coordinate and lead the world. Especially when it exerts non-objective impact on suspected international organizations, it often regards Islam and Muslims as formidable enemies, and then Arabs and people being inclined to support Arabs.⁵ For a long time, Islam has been misinterpreted and reprimanded as a backward and rigid religion by the West and Arabs and Muslims residing in the West also have often been discriminated against. After September 11th many incidents occurred, in which innocent Arabs and Muslims were attacked in the Western world. The practice of distorting and vilifying Arabs and describing them as terrorists has been long standing and even has become a fixed mode in the media and works of literature, film and television. Amr Moussa, former Egyptian Foreign Minister and current Secretary General of the League of Arab States, pointed out recently that Arabs are faced with unprecedentedly huge challenges. These result from the latest equipment made with advanced technology, the most dangerous theories put forward according to Western concepts, and the most severe distortions and slander.⁶

To sum up, the extreme social trend of thought in the Middle East results from many factors which have been brewing over the long-term. The assault of the negative impacts of globalization has added fuel to the flames in this trend of thought. A noteworthy phenomenon is that the extreme trend of thought in the anti-globalization movement has often merged with terrorism in recent years. Violence occurs in the anti-globalization movement not only in Middle East, but also in other parts of the world. The WTO ministerial meeting in Seattle in December, 1999, was suspended due to violent demonstrations. Confusion appeared at the G-8 Summit in July 2001. The IMF and World Bank conference scheduled for September 2001 in Washington shortened its agenda by a wide margin due to an expected large-scale demonstration at that time; after the September 11th incident its date was forcibly delayed. Mohammad Malaek, Iranian Ambassador to China, stated that various passive consequences of globalization obviously are harmful to the spirit of freedom, cultural diversity and pluralism; they can easily incite turbulence and violence.⁷ Historical experience tells people that terrorism always looks for support from the socially extreme trends of thought.

Globalization has enlarged the distance between the rich and poor states. For a long time, the advantages of the transnational links contrasted sharply with the social inequality between them. Since the September 11th incident, the new anti-terrorism coalition composed of rich states may drive a wedge between developed and developing countries. This geopolitical wedge may enlarge the long bred economic disparity and further estrange the developing countries.⁸ All this may become the soil of terrorism.

Moreover, in a sense, terrorism benefits from globalization without effective management. This globalized flow with loopholes of such essential factors as fund, information and personnel has created material conditions for the worldwide operation of terrorism.⁹ Therefore, Wang Yingfan, Chinese Permanent Representative to the United Nations pointed out, when stating China's position on fighting and eliminating international terrorism, we must look into its root causes and symptoms and make efforts to remove its source. The issue of development should be energetically resolved to make the people of all social strata in all the countries benefit from the globalization process.

The September 11th Incident and Extreme Islamic Thought Trends

It must be pointed out that Islam, as a worldwide religion, certainly is not the source of terrorism. But like other extreme religious trends, Islamic fundamentalist extremism often becomes a theory in support of terror and other violent activities. In recent years an Islamic force, politically and socially autocratic in color, has been rising and constitutes some armed gangs advocating a lopsided explanation of Islamic doctrine.¹⁰ Violent and terrorist activities plotted by these armed gangs tend to rise. At the same time, pan-Islamist thought is also reviving in Muslim society.

Ghali, former UN Secretary General, wrote in his memoir, *Unvanquished*, that issues in the Arab world are often interwoven with the pan-Islamic unity movement. Not only to fundamentalists but also to many Arabs, the sole Islamic community is Muslims -- Umma -- which must be placed above the Arab nation. Individuals should unreservedly support Muslims in Bosnia, Kashmir, Chechen, Cyprus and the Nagorny Karabakh region.¹¹ This passage is in fact an annotation on the pan-Islamist thought active in the Arab world.

Pan-Islamism rose in the middle of the 19th century, resulting from the invasion and enslavement of the Islamic world by Western colonialists and imperialists and responding to the

challenges with which Muslims were faced. It stressed that people of all nationalities who believe in Islam should have common historical and cultural traditions and common interests and unite to safeguard and rejuvenate Islamic belief. Its ideological base originated from Islamic self-understanding as a universal religion without limitations of nationality, color, language or national boundary. It called on Muslims all over the world to unite, to form an extensive community on the basis of common belief, and to conduct a holy war against the invading European colonialists under the leadership of a caliph of noble character and high prestige till final victory.¹² The pan-Islamist thought created by Afghani (1838-1897) was strongly anti-imperialist in color and expressed the dissatisfaction of the lower strata with society because of the Western capitalist's entry into Middle East.¹³ This has exerted great impact on arousing the national consciousness of peoples of various Islamic countries; it is one of the most important social thought trends and movements in the modern and contemporary history of Islam.

Though as a movement, pan-Islamism ended in failure, this traditional religious social trend of thought still has extensive influence. This desire for recognition by the belief community of pan-Islamism led to the anti-U.S. sentiments and irrational sympathy for the Taliban and bin Laden by the masses of Muslims in the Islamic world after the U.S. military operation in Afghanistan.¹⁴

Strictly speaking, pan-Islamism is not an extreme trend of thought: it is a social trend of thought easily to be misinterpreted by the West and made use of by Islamic extremists. The reason is that it follows the banners of Islam, anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism, thus having broad influence on the masses of Muslims.

Though many people know that Islamic extremism does not represent Islam, the two are often mixed up wittingly or unwittingly, causing confusion in the judgement of ordinary people. After the September 11th incident, the U.S. Government stressed repeatedly that anti-terrorism was not anti-Islam. Henry Kissinger also warned that the U.S. and its allies must act with caution and cannot represent this new anti-terrorist policy as a clash of civilizations between the Western and Islamic civilizations; even Huntington came out to state that the incident was not a clash of civilizations. But some people still associated the two consciously or unconsciously. Recent polls show that 60 percent of Americans do not trust neighbors of Arab descent, and over 100 racial crimes targeting American citizens of Arab descent have occurred. This spontaneous racial discrimination is hard to control. President Bush made a slip of the tongue and referred to the U.S. military operation in Afghanistan as "a new crusade". Though the U.S. Government itself remedied the mistake in time, many Arabs still considered that this wording reflected the true mentality of many Americans. Moreover, after the incident the mainstream world political words were only of condemnation of terrorism and paid no attention to its source.

Western definitions of terrorism are also questionable because they concern only the phenomenon of violence itself, especially individual retaliatory actions targeting developed countries. They seldom explore the in-depth source of the phenomenon of terrorism. Especially they ignore its cultural and religious meanings and the antagonism caused by the present international system, thus losing historical insight into terrorism.¹⁵ Such definitions certainly are incomplete; often they are mixed up with special interests and value judgments which easily create a misunderstanding of Islam in ordinary people unaware of the truth.

Conversely, careless stated words and deeds of some Americans, can enrage the broad masses of Muslims in the Islamic world. For example, someone named the U.S. military operation in Afghanistan as a "unlimited just action". However, to Muslims, it is a blasphemy to attribute sacred power to humankind, because only Allah can ensure unlimited justice. Besides, after the September 11th incident, some angry Americans assaulted and censured Muslims

indiscriminately. In so doing, they probably were not at all aware that they had, in fact, done a favor to those terrorists hoping to provoke a struggle between the Islamic and Western worlds.

The Impact of the September 11th Incident on Middle Eastern Trends in Social Thought

The September 11th incident will no doubt exert great and deep impact on trends of Middle East social thought. But as the follow-up on this incident is far from over, the widespread and far-reaching influences it will bring to the Middle Eastern society are uncertain and will depend on the results of this incident. From the perspective of the current situation, the incident's direct impact on Middle East social trends of thought may be manifested in the following two aspects. (a) With the development of the fight against terrorism, the international community has paid ever more attention to various issues in the Middle Eastern extremes of social thought. Various countries have gradually reached consensus on issues of improving the Middle East political and social situation and on removing the sources of international terrorism. (b) The incident has led the Arab and Islamic world to look into many of its issues and to make efforts to overcome the negative impacts of globalization and its own social maladies, thereby achieving peace and development together with the international community.

The above judgment is a mainly positive consideration with a more or less personal emotional coloring, but events may develop in an opposite direction, namely, the visible terrorists are defeated while the invisible extreme trends of thought continue to swell. In the Middle East, the statement that after bin Laden is destroyed many people may turn out to follow his example is not simply alarmist talk. All depends on the follow-up on the incident. This is a long and complicated process, in which the international community can play a positive role to push events in a favorable direction.

Firstly, the international community must help the Middle East root out the sources of terrorism, including attention to the unjust treatment suffered by the Islamic world, removal of poverty and more concern to promote a Middle East peace process while combating international terrorism. Bullying and oppression, compulsion, poverty, despair and life in the shadow of an occupation army can only cause indignation, violence, extermination and sacrifice.¹⁶

Arab scholars hold that the utmost value for Islamic culture is the pursuit of justice. Muslims can even tolerate limitation of their freedom, but absolutely cannot tolerate unjust treatment. They oppose the treatment of the similar people according to different standards. They consider that this unfair state must be changed, and see U.S. unfairness on the issue of Arabs and Israel to have led to a great extent to the attacks on the U.S.¹⁷ When talking about the U.S. position on the Arab-Israeli issue, Arabs often give the following example: no resolution of the UN Security Council recognizes occupation by force. After the outbreak of the Third Middle East War in 1967 and the Gulf War in 1990, the UN adopted respectively two important resolutions for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territory and Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. But the former did not result in force to make Israel withdraw from the occupied territory while the latter resulted in the formation of a U.S.-led multinational force which applied military force. They see this as an unfair U.S. position. On this issue, a Japanese professor wrote after the September 11th incident that if this terror activity is an act of Islamic radicals it is not hard to imagine the following background. In the view of Islamic believers, many unfair events have taken place in quick succession in the past half century. From the angle of the world, fair countermeasures must be taken toward Muslim societies and hostility toward them as a source of terrorist activities must be reduced. If many

Islamic believers think that fairness has been achieved, terrorist organizations will lose support and perish of themselves. However, if acts of war unfold aimed at non specific Islamic believers, hostility will evoke hostility and the possibilities of a clash of civilizations becoming a reality will increase.¹⁸

Secondly, the international community should redress the portrait of Arabs and Muslims in Western eyes and help improve relations between Western countries and the Islamic world. For historical reasons, the Islamic and Western worlds have had a long and fundamentally tense relationship. In the 18th century, the West stepped up its infiltration into Middle East, first through trade ties and then with colonialist and aggressive imperialist political and economic policies, bringing about a qualitative change in the earlier relations between Christian West and Muslim East. The equal relations between the Islamic society and the West were transferred into a relationship in which Islamic society was subordinated, ruled and exploited. Each Muslim social group in all walks of life was affected by the consequences of this change.

From the religious angle Muslims expressed their response to this politically subordinate and economically exploited position, as well as to the social and cultural alienation this caused. In the past half century the West, especially the U.S., has taken a position partial to Israel on Arab-Israeli relations, making its relations with the Islamic world more tense. In recent years, violent terrorist activities of Muslim “extreme organizations” have been aimed mainly at the U.S. and they regard West at large as “Satan”. Meanwhile some Western countries and Western public opinion have often linked terrorism with Islam indiscriminately, and some media have not hesitated to vilify Arabs and describe them as terrorists.

Alawi holds that as for the hatred incurred between the Islamic world and the West, the West of course should bear the responsibility, but “we can’t also shirk our own responsibility”. He thinks that most Muslims hope their religion can coexist peacefully with other beliefs and hope to benefit from the new opportunity offered by the modern world. They do not in the slightest want to force Muslim citizens and non-Muslims in a country to live according to a single way, or to declare war on the world for the sake of publicizing their own religion. The U.S. and the West at large should review their own policies to Arabs and the Islamic world.¹⁹ Alawi’s views are representative of the mainstream Arab society.

Thirdly, the international community must prevent further extension of such wars as Afghanistan, especially from evolving into a religious war. All the countries including Israel in Middle East hope not to extend the war into other Arab countries. They see extension of the war only as encouraging extreme Middle Eastern thought trends.

In Islamic countries, people’s awareness of Islam is stronger than that of the state. At present, anti-war sentiments of the broad masses of Muslims are closely linked with anti-U.S. sentiments. Though the Taliban terror regime is not attractive in the Islamic world and the Afghan holy warriors’ behavior in the name of Islam is everywhere despised, nonetheless they are Muslim brothers who believe in the same religion. To many Islamic countries, supporting a Western Christian anti-Muslim coalition is a risky action.²⁰ More and more people in Western countries have begun to suspect that terrorism cannot be destroyed by only military attacks. The *Chicago Tribune* published an article pointing out that, by declaring war on Islamic terrorism without clearly pointing out some particular country and even some particular target, the Bush administration had set foot in a region that was becoming particularly dangerous because of religious conflicts and the history of colonialism and economic exploitation. The long-standing

hatreds have incited Islamic extremism; bombs and missiles can only intensify this extreme sentiment.²¹

Notes

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2. Hussain Kamil Bahaeddin, *Patriotism in a World without Identity--Challenge of Globalization* (Shanghai Foreign Language Education Publishing House, Sept. 2001), p. 66.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
4. Amr Moussa, Secretary-General of League of Arab States, speech at the meeting celebrating the 10th anniversary of the founding of Middle East Radio and TV Center, Sept. 20, 2001.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Mohammad Malaek, Speech at the 2001 seminar "21st Century Forum---Dialogue among Civilizations" sponsored by CPPCC.
8. *The Financial Times*, September 27, 2001.
9. Yang Mingjie, "International Social Trends of Thought and the September 11th Incident", *Contemporary International Relations*, No. 10, 2001.
10. Abdullah Alawi, "Muslims and World Citizens", *Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 2001.
11. Ghali, *Unvanquished -- Ghali's Memoir* (World Knowledge Publishing House, January 2001), p. 190.
12. See *Chinese Encyclopedia of Islam* (Sichuan Dictionary Publishing House, March 1994), p. 148.
13. *Contemporary Middle East Political and Social Thought* (China Social Sciences Publishing House, February 1992), p. 137.
14. *Die Welt*, September 25, 2001.
15. Wang Yizhou, "How to Define Terrorism?", *Contemporary International Relations*, No. 10, 2001.
16. Moussa.
17. Egyptian Consul General in Shanghai to SIIS scholars.
18. *Tokyo Shimbun*, September 25, 2001.
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21. "Military Force Is not the Way of Winning the War against Islamic Terrorism", *Chicago Tribune*, September 24, 2001.

Epilogue

Cultural Issues in the Context of Economic Globalization

Yu Xintian

Economic globalization has formed two parallel and contrary cultural trends. It has not only created the current industrial and popular cultures in the world and brought about the acceptance to a certain extent of some Western values. But also it has promoted cultural nationalization and localization and reaffirmed and protected the unique meaning of each culture. Cultural intercourse cannot be obstructed, like mercury rushing down. World culture is also constantly spreading outward and extending its influence. Only by opening to the outside world, can the objective of China's cultural development be achieved.

This is no longer the colonial era. Whether the thinking and policy of cultural hegemony can work depends to a great extent on the response of developing countries. To achieve "cultural security" by closing doors is not only impossible technologically, but also will run counter to people's desire. Only by facing the world with an open mentality and strengthening the national culture through extensive cultural exchanges can one resist foreign invasion.

Western capitalist countries have taken the lead in realizing modernization and have used some of the methods of their opposition, the socialist countries. On the contrary, for socialist countries it is far from enough to learn from capitalist countries and draw lessons from them. China's modernization will not take the path of capitalism, but this does not mean casting away the cream of Western culture. Only by pursuing a policy of opening-up, can we resist and criticize the reactionary propaganda of hostile domestic and foreign forces and various decadent, superstitious and pornographic ideologies and views.

"Economic Globalization" Does Not Mean "Cultural Globalization"

Economic transnational development and internationalization can be traced back one century or more, while economic globalization began after WWII. Trade contacts and mutual investment between developed countries increased tremendously, various international economic mechanisms began to take shape and transnational corporations became the engines of world economic growth. Meanwhile, large numbers of developing countries entered the international economic system and all the countries interpenetrated and depended upon each other and tended towards economic integration. By the 1980s, economic globalization appeared in an embryonic form. Since the 1990s the international economy and politics have undergone historical changes and economic globalization has proceeded with accelerated momentum. Transnational distribution of essential factors of production reinforced the interdependent global system of division of labor, and information technology has promoted global capital flow and technology transfer, causing in turn new changes according to the laws of economic cycles. Today, economic globalization has become an irresistible tide. Observing the current and future trends of the times, economic globalization cannot but be its basic characteristic and broad context; it must be the starting point for analyzing any important issue.

Therefore, in recent years, not a few articles have put forward the concepts of "cultural globalization" and "political globalization", or more concisely, "globalization". In the author's opinion, they are improper.

The suffix: “-ization” means from beginning to end and from inside to outside. But there is no such “globalized” culture. Of course, economic globalization is only in its initial stage. The extent of globalization depends on the difference in the participation of countries and regions. The economy of many countries has not even entered within the scope of economic globalization. But the foundation of globalization has been laid and a global market and network have begun to take shape. The state of culture is different from this. Another meaning of the suffix: “-ization” is process. Just as modernity is a state, modernization is a process. The reasons why economic globalization can be realized are: Firstly, only by establishing a worldwide market economic system and integrating the world market can economic internationalization and integration be expanded across the world. Secondly, the information technology revolution has promoted the formation of a global economic network. Therefore, the process of economic globalization has been expanding and deepening. The situation of culture is different. Though in the past half century, the frequency of cultural exchanges between various countries in the world has exceeded any previous period in the history and cultural absorption and integration has been unprecedented, cultural difference has not been gradually eliminated. Wars for nation and religion (culture in a broad sense) occur also after economic development. In some parts of the world, people drive cars to herd sheep and cattle and conduct Internet transactions, but they still conform to the caste system and polygamy. Though cultural development is influenced by economic globalization, it is not in direct interrelation with the latter. It has a more complicated inherent developmental logic.

Economic globalization has profound impact on culture, however, and current research on this is quite insufficient. The impacts can only be summed up as follows: economic globalization has formed two parallel and contrary cultural trends. The first trend is that it has created current industrial culture and popular culture in the world and has caused some Western values to be accepted to a certain extent. In previous times, the elite culture always dominated one country’s cultural process and a specific tension was maintained between the elite and the popular culture. But industrialization and modernization have enabled large-scale mass consumption, including cultural consumption. The original tension between elite and popular cultures has been completely destroyed. Popular culture has surged on an unprecedented scale and simply submerged the elite culture in quantity. In the past, only phoenixes seemed qualified to flutter, while today sparrows and crows blot out the sky and the sun. The popular culture has such characteristics as superficiality, commercial and mechanical nature, focused on the stimulation of the senses. It has ridden the wind of economic globalization and spread quickly across the world. In the past, the popular cultures in various countries also had strong national and local distinctive features. But now the sparrows and crows throughout the world all sing karaoke and dance to music machines. No matter how the U.S. and the Soviet Union confronted each other in the Cold War era, or no matter how tense the US relations with countries such as Iran, the young people in the U.S., the Soviet Union, Iran and even other countries follow similar fashions in jeans, disco and hair-dying. No matter how the intellectual elite turn up their noses at the popular culture, they cannot but face up to its positive aspects in breaking the monopoly of the elite on culture and opening up vast spaces for the masses to create culture. The challenge is to absorb the strong points of the popular culture, overcome its weak points and enable the attractive forces behind the elite culture to join in guiding popular culture.

It is deeply significant that economic globalization has promoted the dissemination of Western values. Western countries have set forth a series of values such as democracy, freedom, human rights, market competition, legal contracts and individualism. Though elements of these values exist also in other cultures, the modernized abstraction of these values has been completed in the

West. The enhancement of these values corresponds with the Western modernization process, and they have gradually been improved in the process.

When developing countries began their efforts to catch up with and surpass Western countries in modernization they had to recognize that they must learn and absorb some cultural values of the West, while introducing its science, technology and management experience.

However, modernization does not mean Westernization. It is on the basis of their native cultures that various countries must learn Western culture and use it for reference. Western values are of universal significance to a certain extent, otherwise they cannot be accepted by other countries. Economic globalization has promoted more developing countries to accelerate their modernization, and newly industrialized countries (regions) have set an example of catching up with, and surpassing, Western countries and have provided experience in this respect. After choosing the path of modernization, developing countries have more consciously accepted some Western cultural values. Because of the global currency of the popular culture and the dissemination of Western values, some people have asserted that economic globalization must bring about cultural globalization. However this assertion is one-sided.

The reasons are: firstly, there is another tendency in the impact of economic globalization on culture, that is, promotion of cultural nationalization and localization and reaffirmation and protection of the unique meaning of each culture. The inundation of popular culture and the acceptance of Western values have evoked heated debates in almost all non-Western countries. In this all trends of thought have appeared from the “school of Westernization” to the “school of nativism”. Given that many cultures in the colonial era were suppressed under Western gunboat and missionary policies, developing countries are now able to protect their own interests, including their cultures with state power while being aware that closing door can only protect backwardness and that only opening-up can help cultural rejuvenation and development. What is more hopeful is that some developing countries (regions) have not only succeeded in catching up in economy, but have found a way to answer the difficult problems of absorbing external cultures while keeping native cultures or nativizing external cultures and modernizing native cultures. These are two aspects of the one process. Weaving together the two concur and complement one another.¹ In this way, the native culture is rejuvenated while being retained, and its dissemination and inheritance are promoted. It will neither be extinct nor assimilated and contained, but greater stress will be put on the characteristics of national development. Modernization as a general concept will be expressed in a specific form through the unique infiltration of the national culture. In fact, it is a good example that although Western countries have reached a very high level of modernization, they still retain their respective national cultural features. Asian, African and Latin American countries are so numerous and diverse in culture that it is still less possible for them to reach unanimity.

Secondly, the formulation and expression of humankind’s common cultural values require that various cultures, especially non-Western cultures, contribute their excellent values. In some sense Western values have many strong points, but they have shortcomings as do any cultural values. For instance, the unchecked spread of individual freedom has caused social problems; over-competition has triggered contradictions in interpersonal relations; attending only to conquering nature has resulted in its retaliation; and strong religious mentalities have obstructed intercultural absorption and tolerance. These shortcomings can not be remedied by the Western culture itself. In their own processes of modernization, developing countries are learning from and absorbing some Western values, but they are also developing what is useful and discarding what is not in

their native cultural values in order to counteract the inadequacy of Western values and enhance their own. This is of universal significance to countries all over the world.

Lastly, only cultural diversification can ensure that humankind not be destroyed should a unitary “cultural gene” face future challenges. At the turn of the century, humankind made unprecedented progress, but also met unprecedented problems, for example, the population explosion, ecological deterioration, environmental pollution, frequent wars, ignorance and backwardness, the wide gap between the rich and the poor, severe crimes, violation of moral norms and the break-up of the family. The new scientific and technological revolution brought more expectation and hope to humankind, but also concealed huge crises: e.g., the information network has narrowed the distance of time and space, but also bred online crime and speculation. What the Southeast Asian financial storm showed may be only the tip of the iceberg. The breakthrough in biological technology will bring about unexpected glad tidings to the life of humankind, but will also cause confusion and perplexity in law and ethics. A greater threat lies in unforeseen changes. Various national cultures are extremely rich and varied and are a vast storehouse of experience and wisdom with which humankind can handle crises; only by drawing on this experience from the historical cultures can humankind forge ahead. If culture is “globalized” or “Westernized,” as some people have said, it will be a very sad future for humankind.

The impossibility of “cultural globalization” has been considered above. Now, greater stress will be laid on what can be done, because the attitude of people is also very important. When all cherish more the garden of national cultures under the condition of economic globalization and make more efforts to explore, develop, transform and enhance these cultures, then cultural diversification will develop in a healthy manner.

Strong and Weak Cultures

“Economic globalization” does not mean “cultural globalization”. Entering the world market is also not equal to “falling fully in line with Western culture”. However, in the ideological circles of developing countries views about this are very confused because there are huge differences among the cultures of the world. Western culture as a strong culture is aggressive while the newly emerging national cultures are in a weak state. How to understand this phenomenon has attracted more and more attention.

When Western powers moved across the world with the power of thunder, they destroyed the original social economy through trade and dumping, besides conquest by force; they negated and changed local values and moral concepts with Christianity, education and law. Westerners capitalized on the superiority of European cultures and its ability effectively to set new standards throughout the world. They assumed themselves to be the teachers of other nations in spirit and morals. Colonists arbitrarily determined the destiny of other nations on the premise of egoism based on their own standards. Power politics was swollen with cultural arrogance: the “European heartland theory” or “Western heartland theory” are of long standing. Though an undisguised preaching of Western superiority is criticized also in the West, its influence is deeply rooted.

At present, Western research and its publicity on universal values are powerful and dynamic. By referring to Western cultural values as “universal” and “common in the world” they obscure the particularity of Western culture. According to Roland Robertson, a British scholar, globalization can be regarded as a dual process including universalization of particularity and particularization of universality in the most general sense.² With economic globalization, some Western scholars desire urgently to universalize Western culture. This author holds that some

Western values, such as democracy, human rights and freedom, have a certain universality; otherwise they could not be accepted. But, it is completely wrong to regard the path of the West as a model and impose it on others.

During the Cold War, fierce struggles between political systems and ideologies covered equally fierce cultural struggles. As socialism was at a low ebb after the Cold War, Western cultural hegemony caused a great clamor. Especially the U.S., the sole superpower in the world, aspired again and again to change the world with its values. President George W. Bush took the expansion of U.S. political values as the main component of security. Former President Clinton listed the spread of U.S.-style democracy as one of the three pillars of U.S. diplomacy. *Strategic Review 1998* of the U.S. University of National Defense pointed out in analyzing the Asia-Pacific situation that almost all the countries in the region had accepted the economic values of core countries such as the U.S., and that this was very favorable for the promotion of economic relations in this region. However, some countries continued to resist and even refused to accept values of democratic politics, so doubts and concerns existed in the relations between core countries and other countries. Thus the spread by the U.S. of its cultural values is aimed at maximizing its national interests and realizing its hegemonic strategy of “leading the world”. Socialism being at a low ebb further enabled Western cultural values to exercise strong influence in the political system. Some declared “the end of history,” while others predicted the extinction of socialism. The U.S. Government’s definition of the era is “market and democracy” and “security and order”. In fact, it holds that the capitalist system will last forever.

The strong force of Western culture is also embodied in the richness of its material base and its absolute superiority in the cultural industry, products and market. In the late 1990s, the world film box-office value was about US\$15.5 billion, in which the U.S. accounted for over two thirds, US\$10.5 billion. The telecommunications industry is the U.S. largest exporting industry, while the film industry ranks fourth. This shows the strength of the cultural industry. What Coca Cola and McDonald market is not only food and beverage, but also the meaning of culture and the lifestyle added to them. Hollywood’s swift and fierce attack has been moving forward successfully and their products are enjoyed by millions across the world. Japan’s Fuji Sankei Communication Group ranks first among the world’s five largest mass media groups; its annual income reaches US\$10 billion. After 1998, it has been forging ahead towards “complete digitalization” and has established international digitalization media jointly with such media groups as Australia’s Murdoch Media. In the emerging networks, over 80 percent of information come from Western countries and only 5 percent originate from Chinese. Western countries provide over 90 percent of online service, while the Chinese mainland provides only 1 percent. The weakness of developing countries is not only because they lack strong economic strength and capital input, but also reveals that their greatest shortcoming scientific and technological backwardness and dearth of human resources.

The strong cultural force of Western countries dominates the world because of the support of the international political and economic systems they led. To introduce cultural concepts, ideas, principles and values all over the world, the guarantee of the system is of the utmost importance. The system uses organizational force and legal recognition to create the situation. They compel others to submit without firing a shot and, even if using force, they “have just cause”. After the victory in WWII, Roosevelt and Churchill designed the United Nations, putting the spirit of the “Atlantic Charter” into effect. To prevent the economic crisis in 1930 from resurfacing, various countries set up a series of organizations at the Bretton Woods Conference. Later, there were arranged such systems as GATT, WTO and APEC. Though theoretically, in organizations such as

the UN, all the countries are equal, in reality, strength always determines the weight of speech. Western countries are superior in the system, because they have initiated most of the fundamental principles of the international law and the world system and they dominate the current world order. System innovation and its original culture can be traced to the same origin, and are well reasoned. To pursue their own systems and cultures in international relations, developing countries must take into account the existing international law and the world system, and not come into conflicts with them. Only by so doing can their systems and cultures be accepted. As the cultures of developing countries and Western culture do not derive from the same system, the integration of the two requires a great deal of work. At the turn of the century, people pay close attention to the reform of international political and economic organizations to adapt them to the changes in era. The key lies in putting forward their own new ideas and principles and seeking a path for their collective recognition, as well as exploring the feasibility of systematic arrangements. This is a severe test for the cultures of developing countries.

The fact that the cultures of developing countries are weak is undisputed; this will not change for a considerable period. Under these circumstances, “wholesale Westernization” is not desirable and extreme cultural nationalism is also very harmful to developing countries. Some intellectuals advanced the concept of “cultural colonialism”, “cultural imperialism” or “neo-colonialism” in a broader sense. This deserves careful analysis. No doubt, there really exist cultural hegemonic trends of thought in Western countries which sometimes are reflected in the policies of some countries. But, today is no longer a colonial era. Whether cultural hegemonic thinking and policies can work depends, to a great extent, on the reaction of developing countries. “Cultural security” through closing doors is not only impossible technologically, but also will run counter to people’s desire. Only by facing the world with an open mentality and reinforcing the building of national cultures through extensive cultural exchanges can we resist foreign invasion.

Furthermore, although the concepts of “colonialism” and “imperialism” are borrowed, cultural issues and economic and political systems differ in characteristic manners. Political and economic systems can be clearly divided into capitalist and socialist systems, planned and market economy. However, it is not easy to judge whether a country is reduced to the status of a colony by means of quantitative and qualitative analysis, and, given the basic termination of the colonial system, whether the culture of a developing country is reduced to the status of a “colony”. Spoken and written language is really an important mark of culture, but many developing countries have had to inherit the legacy of the colonial period and use English, French and Spanish. Meanwhile, their governments have been protecting the national spoken and written languages. In some developing countries, the multi-ethnic, multi-national and multi-linguistic state has sometimes made the official designation of one official national language harmful, so they cannot but adopt Western languages.

Perhaps more important is ideological identification, cultural values and the moral system. Through education reflecting national liberation and independence, the national identity and pride of newly emerging nations have been greatly enhanced. This is basic. Of course, there exists the trend of urban youth pursuing Western culture and imitating Western lifestyle, but their proportion in the population is worth research. It is also an universal phenomenon that young people return to their mainstream culture after a “traitorous period”. Developing countries have different national conditions. Only by analyzing the specific situations of various countries can one gain a correct view. Without this, this author can only report that of the developing countries she has visited no country can be called in general a cultural “colony”. India was one of the colonies with the longest history in Asia and English is also the official language, but the national pride and patriotic feeling

of the Indians are very strong; national culture goes back to ancient times and is well preserved. South Korean leaders from Kim Young-Sam to Kim Dae-jung have stressed the learning of Western values, but the South Korean Government and people have been rather successful in developing what is useful and discarding what is not in the traditional culture. Therefore, national cultural pride has struck root in the hearts of the people. Vietnamese characters have been Latinized. Though undergoing long-standing colonial rule, war destruction and system alternation, continuity in the inheritance and renovation of its culture is very clear. There are not only influences of Chinese and Buddhist cultures, but also vestiges of Western, especially French, culture, while retaining characteristics of Vietnamese culture. In sum, national independence is a strong guarantee against cultural “colonization”.

Speaking of strong culture, we generally refer to Western culture, because the cultural values of Western countries are relatively almost identical and they are quite different from developing countries on issues such as freedom, human rights and democracy. But, if carefully observed, we may find that Western countries are not monolithic; they differ greatly in culture and their foreign cultural policies are widely divergent. The French Government has stipulated that French language must be used during at least 40% of time in French television and broadcasting programmes, and Hollywood’s films can account at most for one fourth of the films shown in 4500 cinemas. The Canadian Government advocates a “mosaic culture” at home, that is, each ethnic culture is a part of Canadian culture and the government will not compel it to be assimilated. After driving US “country music radio stations” out of Canada in 1995, the Canadian Government began to put into effect C-55 bill in 1999, which stipulates that Canadian enterprises are not allowed to advertise in foreign periodicals distributed in Canada, lest a high fine be imposed on them. The protection of national culture has been attained through cutting off the financial resources of US periodicals in Canada. Therefore, if the leader of cultural hegemony is the U.S., other Western countries may also share common concerns with developing countries in opposing US cultural hegemony. For this reason, specific research should be done on the cultural policy of each Western country, industry, market and relations with developing countries. We will firmly oppose what is really cultural hegemony, but deal differently with what is not.

Besides, there are normal contacts between countries and also various non-governmental cultural exchanges. The U.S., the sole superpower, is no exception. To fulfil their historical task of modernization, developing countries must open to the outside world and absorb all the achievements of human civilization. They cannot forget this in resisting cultural hegemony. If they stand still on the path of modernization, this will fundamentally endanger their national destiny and prospects; it will be impossible for their national cultures to be prosperous and vigorous. Culture is related to all the activities of humankind: artistic, social, political, educational, religious, spiritual and economic. It has a broad tolerance. If opposition to “cultural colonialism” is pursued, it may impact all the foreign contacts and will certainly impair a country’s opening-up and development.

Hollywood films are an example. In the perspective of film producers, film production is an economic activity aimed at gaining box-office values. When exporting to other countries, films involve trade contacts and cultural exchanges between countries. The artistic works reflect US culture and values, but if there is no severe political prejudice or propagation of sex and violence, cultural exchanges are more advantageous than disadvantageous. We should educate the people to absorb nutrition and reject dross in cultural comparison and trust people to have such ability. If a bad work uses advanced scientific and technological means as well as strong technique of artistic

expression, we should allow professionals to learn the technique so as to enhance their ability to disseminate our national culture.

In the final analysis, a cultural closed-door policy is impossible and unacceptable. We must let the people enhance their cultural discrimination so as to absorb the true, the good and the beautiful and discard the false, the bad and the ugly. Only when the national cultural promotion achieves remarkable success and blends the feelings of the people with a culture geared to modernization, the world and the future, can the people have the cultural backbone to enhance their discrimination and absorbency in the cultural mix.

While recognizing the fact of strong and weak cultures, weak cultures are not fully passive. Cultural intercourse cannot be obstructed, like mercury rushing down. Weak culture is also constantly spreading outward and sending out its own influence. Swiftiness of information and communication has made it possible for any event occurring in any corner of the world to become the focus of worldwide attention. The past hundreds of years have witnessed Western attempts to conquer the world and migrate outward, but now a trend of immigration from developing countries into Western countries appears. Among the immigrants there are not only laborers, but increasingly excellent talents in various fields. European scholars speak of the new change from “world Europeanization” to “European universalization”. The past one-way export of Western thinking has changed into a two-way dissemination of Eastern and Western, as well as Southern and Northern, thinking.

Cultural interaction has produced some results in international exchanges. For instance, on the highly controversial issue of human rights developing countries have begun to attach importance to them, while developed countries have had to recognize the rights to subsistence and development as their basis, which has been written into UN conventions on human rights. Not a few Western scholars used to look down upon East Asian culture, but the very rapid development of this region has aroused the interest of the world in East Asian culture and the blend of Eastern and Western cultures. If developing countries devote themselves to modernization and culture building, weak cultures can be changed into strong. Therefore, this author holds that the concepts of strong culture and weak culture and the formulation of opposition to cultural hegemony are more accurate than “cultural colonialism” and “cultural imperialism”.

China's Cultural Choice

The aim of China's cultural construction is very clear; it is to build national, popular and scientific socialist culture in the process of modernization. President Jiang Zemin pointed out that as long as the Communist Party of China continues to represent the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, it can establish itself in a lasting unassailable position. The “three represents” constitute an integral whole. They are not only the fundamental guiding principle for Party building, but also the strategic policy for developing a prosperous socialist culture. China's socialist cultural building will be a very long historical process. Its background is the new scientific and technological revolution and economic globalization which add fuel to the flames in the mix between various cultures where strong culture and cultural hegemony are overbearing. Faced with severe challenges, China's cultural choice can be only a cultural opening in a wider and deeper way. Economic globalization has made cultural closure almost impossible and technically unrealizable. When satellite television covers the whole world and the computer network links innumerable households, the mutual cultural mix will

become very specific. The Chinese Government's decision to join the WTO brings the Chinese market completely into line with the international market. The developed countries' commodities, including cultural products, will enter into the Chinese market in quantity. Besides commodities, cultural meanings, value trends and even ideological coloring will be manifested. This is an unavoidable problem which lies ahead for the Chinese people. Why must China answer it with a wider and deeper opening policy?

Firstly, only by opening, can China make use of the opportunities created by economic globalization, overcome the challenges brought about by economic globalization and fulfil the dual process of catching-up in its modernization drive. In the past twenty years, China has made considerable progress in catching-up in its industrialization; people now enjoy a higher standard of living; they have progressed from simply having enough to eat and wear. But before China had finished catching-up in industrialization, it began to face the threat of being left farther behind in knowledge-based economic competition. The new scientific and technological revolution has offered the opportunity to leap-frog in development, for in a sense it can be said that all the countries stand at the same starting line. On the other hand, developing countries lack sufficient economic strength to support the knowledge industry, are backward in science and technology, are weak in education and are not good in the marketization and industrialization of scientific and technological achievements. Only by opening up in a wider and deeper way, can they gain the qualifications to begin running.

In fact, not only developing countries, but also developed countries recognize that to win in the future, they can not depend only on their own potentials but must possess the ability to fuse and absorb external innovative thinking. In recent years, Western countries have intensified the recruitment of senior talents in developing countries, and large enterprises have sought out promising inventions all over the world. The investment of transnational corporations in the Chinese mainland has expanded from processing and manufacturing to knowledge-type service fields such as training, retail, and research and development. The setting up of institutions of research and development has become a new investment trend. Corporations such as Intel, P&G, DuPont, Nokia, Ericsson and Matsushita have set up research centers, technological development centers and laboratories in Beijing and Shanghai. Their purposes are to seize China's huge market and to make use of its talents.

This will greatly advance the development of China's new high-tech industries, and the reform of its modes of management of scientific research institutions. It will also nurture excellent young talent. For instance, the opening of the information network in attracting people's attention may enable us to get a lift on the development express, but also subject us to the surprise attack of cultural garbage and even run a certain risk. No opening-up can be protected from negatives for a short period, but in the long-term to block the path towards world expressways causes the greatest insecurity.

Secondly, the goal of Chinese cultural building can be achieved only by a cultural opening. The socialist culture representing the progressive course of China's advanced culture and with Chinese characteristics certainly will be geared to modernization, the world and the future; certainly it will be open. China's cultural modernization has been accelerated under the attack of external cultures and through opening will be pushed forward in handling relations with external cultures. The concepts and ideas such as rule of law, science, democracy and innovation all are introduced from the West, extremely enriching China's thinking and culture and promoting the establishment of the socialist culture. Moving from a society with a relatively comfortable life to the level of a moderately developed country, it becomes more urgent for China to absorb all of

human civilization. In the long ideological progress of the achievements, feudalistic remnants still exert their effects and ignorance and backwardness still opposes science and civilization, so cultural modernization shoulders a heavy responsibility.

Western capitalist countries have taken the lead in modernization and have used some practices of opposition socialist countries in promoting their own development. On the contrary, learning and drawing lessons from capitalist countries by socialist countries is far inferior. In learning and drawing lessons from the latter, we must sort out the achievements of human civilizations from the capitalist system and understand fully what they are and how to fuse and absorb them. Though Chinese modernization will not take the road of capitalism, this does not mean rejection of the cream of Western culture. If we are unable to sort out in Western culture what is of the essence and what is dross, we shall make the wrong choice in the process of opening and delay China's modernization. Of course, our cultural opening is omnidirectional. We shall incorporate cultures of diverse nature and adopt the strong points from all cultures, whether Western developed countries or Asian, African and Latin American developing countries or transitional countries.

Thirdly, China should make more contributions, including cultural ones, to humankind; only by implementing an opening policy can this objective be reached. The Chinese nation has a long history; its culture goes back to ancient times and has been splendid. It made tremendous contributions to the history of human civilization, but its backwardness in modern times made it look like a bright pearl covered with dust. We have implemented an opening policy and learned and absorbed the cream of external cultures with the aim of distinguishing the differences and developing through interaction. We have modernized the transformation of Chinese culture to enable it to reach the level of the times. For example, in the feudal society "loyalty" meant "to be loyal to the sovereign and devoted to the country". We should inherit the tradition of patriotism and remove the feudal flavor. "Filial piety" was the basis of the feudal social ethics. We must assimilate it with discrimination, transforming it into the principle of relations between generations in the family. Only on the basis of a modernized transformation can we spread it to the rest of the world. The new scientific and technological revolution and economic globalization have promoted various unprecedented cultural exchanges and provided a golden opportunity and a marvelously fast means for spreading Chinese culture. China needs to enhance its awareness in this regard and explore a huge space. To spread the excellent Chinese culture to the outside world, the way, method, means and mechanism should be brand-new, convincing, compelling and penetrating. This requires an opening policy, in-depth understanding of the state of cultures in different countries of the world and of the people's psychology of acceptance and popularization. Cultural dissemination, of course, cannot do without the material support, but it is mechanical and one-sided simply to equate cultural ability with economic or military strength. Wisdom can resolve difficult problems.

Lastly, only by implementing the opening policy can the reactionary propaganda of hostile domestic and foreign forces and various decadent, superstitious and pornographic ideologies and views be resisted and criticized.

That Marxism is the guiding ideology of our socialism is unshakable. The truth of Marxism has been established and developed through its struggles against various falsehoods. Today, the Chinese people accept rich, numerous and jumbled information rapidly and have active minds. Great changes have taken place in their cultural level, psychological state, cognitive ability and appreciation, so it will not work to educate them by means of closed doors. Only by implementing

the opening policy to allow people to make comparisons in practices, can socialism become their conscious choice and can their beliefs be unshakable.

After the ten-year great calamity, some Chinese lost their self-confidence when the country was opened to the outside world and stayed abroad by every possible means. But after a 20-year opening, China's comprehensive national strength has been enhanced, the Divine Land has taken on a new look, the people's standard of living has been raised, the confidence in socialist modernization has been strengthened and students studying abroad have begun to return. All these are good contrasts. The development of information technology, especially the internet technology, has provided new means of opening. There is much progressive, healthy and beneficial information, but there is not a little reactionary, superstitious and pornographic content. Domestic and foreign hostile forces want to make use of them to attract the masses and confuse people's hearts. This should arouse our vigilance, but we can rely only on opening in two ways in this struggle. One is to strengthen Marxist and socialist education in enabling the masses to have their own judgment. The other is to take the initiative to launch attacks and make use of the Internet to defeat the false, the bad and the ugly with the true, the good and the beautiful. In sum, only by a cultural opening to intensify cultural construction can the success of economic, political and social opening-up be guaranteed and can a foundation be laid for China's national rejuvenation.

Notes

1. See the author's article entitled "The Destiny of Culture -- Pondering over Relations between External Culture and Native Culture in Modernization Process", *Cross-century Development Strategy and Cultural and Ethical Progress* (Shanghai: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Publishing House, 1997 edition), p. 669.

2. Roland Robertson, "Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture" (London: Sage, 1992), p. 102.