

The Conceptual Resources and Realistic Exploration of Building moderately well-off society in all respects

全面建成小康社会的观念资源与现实探索

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Roland: Fengyu, I would like to talk about the topic “moderately well-off society in all respects.” Notably, in his comprehensive and important speech at the nineteenth congress of the CPC, President Xi Jinping spoke of securing a “decisive victory (决胜)” in building such a society. This carries on a tradition from Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, who spoke – respectively – of “building (建设)” and “striving to establish (努力建成)” a *xiaokang* society. Indeed, I suggest we use the pinyin for the term, since it is rather complex – the full meaning will become apparent as our dialogue proceeds.

罗兰·博尔：峰宇，我想谈谈“全面建成小康社会”这个话题。值得注意的是，习近平主席在全面而重要的中共十九大报告中指出，确保在建成这个社会取得“决胜”。这继承了江泽民和胡锦涛的传统，他们分别论述了“建设”和“努力建成”小康社会。实际上，我建议使用术语的拼音，因为它相当复杂，随着我们对话的进行，全部意义将变得明显。

Fengyu: Roland, completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way is one of the goals set by the 18th Congress of the CPC, which is in line with the “building a well-off society in an all-round way” proposed by the 16th Congress of the CPC and “achieving the goal of building a well-off society in an all-round way” proposed by the 17th Congress of the CPC. When entering the stage of decisive victory of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way, the policy orientation for China's development problems is more clear. It covers economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological civilizations and strives to lay the foundation for realizing socialist modernization.

臧峰宇：国强，全面建成小康社会是中共十八大提出的奋斗目标之一，这与中共十六大提出的“全面建设小康社会”和中共十七大提出的“实现全面建设小康社会奋斗目标”是一脉相承的。当进入全面建成小康社会的决胜期，针对中国发展难题的政策导向更明

确了，涵盖经济、政治、文化、社会、生态文明等方面，努力为实现社会主义现代化奠定基础。

I .What is “well-off” and how to create by a well-off society

（一）何谓“小康”与“小康”何为

Roland: Perhaps a good point to begin is with Deng Xiaoping’s adoption of the term in 1979. In a brief but important comment to the Japanese prime minister, Deng said: “The four modernizations we are striving to achieve are modernizations with Chinese characteristics [Zhongguoshi de si ge xiandaihua]. Our concept of the four modernizations is different from yours. By achieving the four modernizations, we mean achieving a ‘moderately well-off family [xiaokang zhi jia].’” Later in the same piece, Deng speaks of a “moderately well-off condition (*xiaokang de zhuangtai*)” and a “moderately well-off country (*xiaokang de guojia*).” But a careful examination of Deng’s published material indicates that his preferred usage was “moderately well-off level (*xiaokang shuiping*),” with “moderately well-off society” on a few occasions. However, for our contents at this point, the key is *xiaokang*. Given that Mao Zedong almost did not make use of the term, can you indicate how Deng Xiaoping picked up this specific term and what its ancient meaning may be?

罗兰·博尔：或许我们从讨论邓小平 1979 年采用这个词作为起点比较好。在对日本首相简短而重要的评论中，邓小平说：“我们要实现的四个现代化，是中国式的四个现代化。我们的四个现代化的概念，不是像你们那样的现代化的概念，而是‘小康之家’。”¹接着，邓小平在同一篇文章中谈到了“小康的状态”和“小康的国家”。但仔细研究邓小平发表的文献表明，他首选的用语是“小康水平”，也在一些场合使用“小康社会”。然而，就我们这里讨论的内容而言，关键是“小康”。鉴于毛泽东几乎没有使用过这个术语，你能说明邓小平如何采用这个特定的术语以及它的古老含义是什么吗？

Fengyu: The word “moderately prosperous (小康)” is derived from the chapter “daya” of *The Book of Songs* and refers to a social state of abundance and happiness. In *The Book of Rites*, Confucius’s feelings about “moderately prosperous (小康)” and “great harmony (大同)” can be seen: “moderately prosperous (小康)” is a rich and orderly society, in

1 《邓小平文选》第二卷，人民出版社 1994 年版，第 237 页。

which people follows “Courtesy (礼义)”, “ensures the relationship of monarchs and subjects”, “father and son devotes to each other”, “brothers have Peaceful relations”, “couples have conjugal love to each other”, while they are Longing for “great harmony (大同)”, in which “a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky; they cultivated was harmony. Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They show kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained.” It can be seen from the pursuit of the ideal society by ancient Chinese thinkers. Deng Xiaoping creatively proposed a “three-step” strategy. The first step is that China’s gross national product has doubled in the 1980s. The second step is to double the GDP at the end of the last century, so that people can achieve food and clothing and enter a well-off society. The third step is in the 21st century. After 30-50 years of development, China will complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way and basically achieved modernization. Over the years, Chinese people have actually understood the connotation of the “moderately prosperous (小康)”, which is usually understood as a materialistic socialist society, and “great harmony (大同)” is understood as a concept that symbolizes the future ideal society.

臧峰宇：“小康”一词源自《诗经·大雅》，指的是一种丰裕安乐的社会状态。在《礼记》中可见孔子关于“小康”和“大同”的感慨：“小康”是守“礼义”“正君臣”“笃父子”“睦兄弟”“和夫妇”的丰实有序的社会，生活在其中的人们向往“大同”，那是“天下为公，选贤与能，讲信修睦。故人不独亲其亲，不独子其子，使老有所终，壮有所用，幼有所长，矜、寡、孤、独、废疾者皆有所养”的社会，从中可见中国古代思想家对理想社会的追求。邓小平创造性地提出“三步走”战略，第一步是中国国民生产总值在1980年代翻一番，第二步是上个世纪末国民生产总值再翻一番，使人们从实现温饱到进入小康社会，第三步是在21世纪再经过30—50年的发展，中国全面建成小康社会，基本实现现代化。多年来，中国人实际地理解了“小康”的时代内涵，通常将其理解为物质丰实的社会主义社会，而将“大同”理解为一种表征未来理想社会的概念。

Roland: *Xiaokang* clearly has a long background in the Chinese tradition. We can stay with this dimension, before turning to the Marxist angle. To begin with, I understand that a commentary on the *Gongyang* is very important. This commentary, by He Xiu, rearranged the Confucian

ordering by speaking of three ages: the 'decayed and disordered [*shuailuan*]' world; one of 'rising peace [*shengping*]'; and one of *taiping*, the 'greatest peace'. Now let us focus on '*shengping*' (升平). What are the implications for He Xiu's reordering of the sequence from Confucius? Indeed, is the '*shengping*' equivalent to '*xiaokang*', at least in He Xiu's understanding.

罗兰·博尔：小康显然有着悠久的中国传统背景。在转向马克思主义角度之前，我们可以在这个维度讨论。首先，我知道讨论《公羊传》是很重要的。何休在解估中通过“衰乱”“升平”和“太平”三世说重新安置了儒家的秩序。让我们现在聚焦于“升平”。何休对孔子的社会秩序说的重新安置有何意义？事实上，至少在何休看来，“升平”就相当于“小康”。

Fengyu: The speaking of three ages is what He Xiu clearly put forward in the interpretation of the *Gongyang*. Of course, we can find the beginning of the idea in the *Gongyang*. He Xiu is known as who “wonderfully understand the original intention of the *Gongyang*”. He rearranged the popular Confucian ordering in the past, which actually extended and promoted the classics. As the core of the historical view of the *Gongyang*, the speaking of three ages shows that human society evolved along the course of “decayed and disordered”, “rising peace” and “greatest peace” world. Later, Gong Zizhen believed that “getting through the past and the present can be three ages”. He proclaimed that the decayed and disordered world was coming, and advocated the changes to avoid deep social conflicts.

臧峰宇：三世说是何休在对《公羊传》的解估中明确提出的，当然这在《公羊传》中即有端倪。何休以“妙得公羊本意”著称，他重新安置以往儒家流行的社会秩序说，实则对经典的引申和提升。作为公羊学历史观的核心，三世说表明人类社会沿着据乱世、升平世和太平世的过程演化。后来龚自珍认为“通古今可以为三世”，疾呼乱世即来，倡导变革以避免陷入深重的社会矛盾。

Roland: Another dimension of He Xiu's contribution was to develop a threefold distinction between words and worlds that are 'rumoured [*所传闻*]', heard of or 'recorded [*所闻*]' and 'seen [*所见*]'. My understanding is that these three categories are connected with the three worlds mentioned above. This would mean that the world that is 'heard of' is one characterised by the '*shengping*', or rising peace. It would seem, to my eyes, that this is close to or perhaps equivalent to the '*xiaokang*'.

罗兰·博尔：何休贡献的另一个方面是以“所传闻”“所闻”和“所见”提出了语词和世界之间的三重区别。我的理解是这三个范畴与上面提到的三世有关。这意味着“所闻”的世界以升平或和平崛起为特征。在我看来，这似乎接近于或相当于小康。

Fengyu: He Xiu further explained the saying in the *Gongyang*: "the seen is inconsistent statement, the recorded is inconsistent statement, and the rumoured is inconsistent statement". This is a very important saying. Taking the coordinates of the first year of Yingong, the second year of Huangong, and the fourteenth year of Aigong, Dong Zhongshu once divided the 242-year Spring and Autumn Period into "the seen world", "the recorded world" and "the rumoured world". It is generally believed that the three worlds correspond to "rising peace", "greatest peace" and "decayed and disordered" world. "Rising peace" reflects the situation of peaceful rise. You think that "rising peace" is equivalent to "Xiaokang", may be influenced by Kang Youwei's thinking.

臧峰宇：何休进一步阐释了《公羊传》中“所见异辞，所闻异辞，所传闻异辞”这句话。这是一句很关键的话，以隐公元年、桓公二年、哀公十四年为坐标，董仲舒曾将 242 年的春秋时期划分为“所见世”“所闻世”“所传闻世”。通常认为，这三世对应的是“太平世”“升平世”和“据乱世”。“升平”反映了和平崛起的态势，你认为“升平”相当于“小康”，或许受到康有为思想的影响。

Roland: This is what I want to say: another stage appears with Kang Youwei and his *Datongshu*. It is said that Kang Youwei was both very important in the transition from traditional to modern China, but also a somewhat ambiguous figure. But I am most interested in the following text, which I have also tries to translate since the existing English translation by Lawrence in 1958 is not so good:

The divine sage-king, Confucius, early on gave thought to and worried over this. Therefore, he established the law of three governments [*santong*]² and three ages [*sanshi*]: after a world according to disorder [*luan*] it will change into ascending peace [*shengping*], into the greatest peace [*taiping*]; after *xiaokang* it will advance to *datong*.

The text is brief and Kang Youwei's interest is in '*Datong*', but it seems to me that he makes an explicit connection between He Xiu's "*shengping*" and Confucius's "*xiaokang*". Did Chairman Mao refer to his work at any point? And did Deng Xiaoping have this in mind when he made his very significant proposals concerning a *xiaokang shehui*?

罗兰·博尔：这正是我想要说的：另一个阶段出现了康有为和他的《大同书》。据说，康有为在传统向现代中国的过渡中都很重要，但他也是一个有些令人捉摸不定的人物。我最感兴趣的是以下

2 *Tong* (统) has the sense of uniting, interconnecting and governing.

文字，我也试图翻译，因为现有的劳伦斯 1958 年翻译的英文版不太好：

神明圣王孔子，早虑之忧之，故立三统³三世之法，据乱之后，易以升平、太平；小康之后，进以大同。

这段文字简短，康有为的兴趣在于“大同”，但在我看来，他的阐述与何休的“升平”和孔子的“小康”有明确的联系。毛泽东在何种意义上提到过他的著作吗？邓小平提出的关于小康社会的非常重要的主张与此有关吗？

Fengyu: Kang Youwei's *Datongshu* draws on The Book of Rites and the thoughts of Gongyangxue, and systematically explains the three worlds, which also reflects the imprint of European utopian socialism, democracy and Darwin's theory of evolution. These ideas became the theoretical basis of the Reform Movement of 1898. You are right, he cares about "Datong". Moreover, he believed that China was in "decayed and disordered" world at that time, and the European and American countries had reached the "rising peace" world. China should pass through this world, and enter into the world of "greatest peace", which is "Datong". "In the world of Datong, a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky; there are no class, all else equal", this is his social ideal, which he believes should be achieved through gradual improvement.

Mao Zedong once appreciated Kang Youwei and his Datong thoughts in his youth. Later, he pointed out in the "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", "Kang Youwei wrote Datongshu, while he did not and could not find a way to Datong." As a Chinese who seeks progress in seeking truth from the West, Kang Youwei could not go through the road to the innovation. Until "the Chinese have found the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism, the face of China has changed." Deng Xiaoping's exposition on Xiaokang draws on Chinese traditional culture and gives it modern connotations, mainly from the perspective of raising the gross national product and the people's living standards.

臧峰宇：康有为的《大同书》借鉴了《礼记》和公羊学思想，对三世说进行系统化阐释，其中也映现了欧洲空想社会主义、民主主义和达尔文进化论的印记，这些思想成为戊戌变法的理论基础。你说的对，他关心的是“大同”，而且他认为当时中国处于“据乱世”，欧美国家已经达到“升平世”，中国要经过这个阶段，进入“太平世”，也就是“大同”。“大同之世，天下为公，无有阶级，一切平等”，这是他的社会理想，他认为应通过渐进改良的方式实现。

3 “统”具有团结、联合和管理的意思。

毛泽东在青年时代一度欣赏康有为及其大同思想，后来他在《论人民民主专政》中指出，“康有为写了《大同书》，他没有也不可能找到一条到达大同的路。”作为向西方寻找真理的求进步的中国人，康有为的维新之路没有走通。直到“中国人找到了马克思列宁主义这个放之四海而皆准的普遍真理，中国的面目就起了变化了。”⁴邓小平关于小康的论述借鉴了中国传统文化，为之赋予现代内涵，主要是从提高国民生产总值和人民生活水平角度立意的。

Roland: One more question from the tradition. In the *Liji*, Confucius uses *tianxia* in two ways. The first is “*tianxia weigong*”, which may literally be translated as ‘all-under-heaven is as common’. This relates to the age of *datong*. But when he comes to the *xiaokang*, he refers to *tianxia weijia*, which may perhaps be translated as ‘all-under-heaven is as family’. Kang Youwei repeatedly uses the four-character phrase *tianxia weigong*, although he refers specifically to the *datong*. And I understand that it was also a phrase used frequently by Sun Zhongshan. What are the implications of this saying? Is it too closely connected with the ancient ideas in China or is it also able to be reinterpreted in light of the Marxist tradition?

罗兰·博尔：还有一个来自于传统的问题。在《礼记》中，孔子以两种方式使用“天下”一词。首先是“天下为公”，它可以被译为“天下是天下人所共有的”。这与大同的时代有关。但是，当他谈到小康时说的是“天下为家”，这或许可以被译为“天下是一家人的天下”。康有为多次使用“天下为公”这四个字，虽然他特指的是“大同”。我知道这也是孙中山在世界其他地方经常使用的一个术语。这个说法的含义是什么？这是否与中国古代思想的关系太密切，还是能够根据马克思主义传统进行重新解读？

Fengyu: “*tianxia weigong*” and “*tianxiaweijia*” are used in *The Book of Rites* to illustrate the two social states. As a rule for an ideal society, “*Datong*” means a rich, harmonious and public society, where people “show kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease”. Many people regard it as a simple communist concept. It is said that Sun Yat-sen’s favorite inscription is “*tianxiaweigong*”, and the word he understands has obvious characteristics of the times. “40,000 people have sovereignty to manage the country’s events”, in order to realize the concept of “the government of the people”, “by the people” and “for the people”. Sun Yat-sen wants to develop capitalism in China, and also emphasizes the three major policies of uniting Russia, uniting the Communist Party, and supporting agricultural workers. As the forerunner of the Chinese democratic revolution, the bourgeois-democratic revolution led by Sun Yat-sen was “not yet been successful”, and later succeeded was the

4 《毛泽东选集》第4卷，人民出版社1991年版，第1470-1471页。

new-democratic revolution led by the Communist Party of China under the guidance of Marxism.

臧峰宇：“天下为公”和“天下为家”在《礼记》中被用来说明两种社会状态。作为对理想社会的一种规定，“大同”意味着丰裕、和谐而公有的社会，在这里“鳏寡孤独废疾者皆有所养”。很多人都将其视为一种朴素的共产主义观念。据说，孙中山最喜欢的题词就是“天下为公”，他所理解的这个词带有明显的时代特征。

“四万万人都拥有主权来管理国家的大事”，由以实现“民有”“民治”“民享”的理念。孙中山想在中国发展资本主义，也强调联俄、联共、扶助农工的三大政策。作为中国民主革命的先行者，孙中山领导的资产阶级民主革命“尚未成功”，后来取得成功的是中国共产党领导的以马克思主义为指导的新民主主义革命。

Roland: Many thanks for your insight and clarification of these points in the tradition. My knowledge of these matters is only at the beginning stage and I have much to learn. Let us turn to the Marxist understanding of *xiaokang*, especially since you have already indicated how both Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping made distinct and profound contributions. A little earlier, you mentioned that one of the influences on Kang Youwei was the Western utopian tradition. We do not need to go into the detail of this tradition, which deeply influenced by external transcendence, but I would like to ask two questions. First, the Chinese translation of "utopia [no place]" is “乌托邦”. Is this a loan word? If so, why does it not appear in the Chinese tradition? Second, in a very important section of the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels criticise utopian socialism, which was popular in the early stage of the communist movement. I am intrigued by the Chinese translation, 空想社会主义. The dictionary tells me that *kongxiang* means "empty thought," "fantasy" and "unrealistic daydream". Can you explain why this translation was chosen?

罗兰·博尔：非常感谢你阐明对传统中这些要点的见解。我对这些问题的了解只是处于起步阶段，还有很多需要学习的地方。让我们转向马克思主义者对小康的理解，特别是你已经表明毛泽东和邓小平都对此做出了独特而深刻的贡献。前面你提到康有为受到的影响之一是西方的乌托邦传统。我们不需要深入了解这一传统的细节，它深受外在超越的影响，但我想问两个问题。第一，“utopia（没有的地方）”的中文翻译是“乌托邦”。这是一个舶来语吗？如果是这样，为什么它没有出现在中国传统中呢？第二，在《共产党宣言》一个非常重要的部分，马克思和恩格斯批判了在共产主义运动早期流行的空想社会主义。我对“空想社会主义”的中文翻译很感兴趣。字典告诉我，空想的意思是“空洞的思想”“幻想”和“不切实际的白日梦”。你能解释为什么这样翻译吗？

Fengyu: Your question is very interesting and thought-provoking. “乌托邦” is a loan word. The first translator who brings it into Chinese is Yan Fu. The pronunciation of Chinese word “乌托邦” is similar to the English "utopia", and the semantics are quite compatible. In Chinese, “乌” is nothing, has the meaning “non-existence”; “托” means entrust or expect; “邦” is country. This translation is very close to the original intention of Moore’s *Utopia*. It is hard to say that there was no Utopia thought in ancient China, while there was no such clear concept. For example, the scene described by Tao Yuanming---“the old and children are fully of joy, contented and happy” (黄发垂髫，并怡然自乐)--- uses this symbol. There are many more examples of this. "Utopian socialism" is actually 乌托邦社会主义 (wutuobang shehuizhuyi) . This Chinese translation was translated from Japanese. It is better to understand “空想” from the perspective of synthetic words: “空” is nothing, “想” is thought. The meaning is relatively close. Of course, it is easily misunderstood as only unrealistic socialism in the process of circulation. Can you talk about the evolution of this word in Western tradition? In which there are something often be misunderstood.

臧峰宇：你的问题很有趣，也引人深思。“乌托邦”是一个舶来语，最早将其译为中文的是严复。中文“乌托邦”与英文“utopia”读音有相近之处，语义也颇为契合。在中文中，“乌”即无，有“子虚乌有”之意；“托”意为托付、寄托；“邦”即国。这个翻译很接近莫尔的《乌托邦》的本意。很难说中国古代没有乌托邦思想，只是没有这么明确的概念。例如，陶渊明在《桃花源记》中描述的场景——“黄发垂髫，并怡然自乐”就带有这种色彩。这样的例子还有很多。“空想社会主义”其实是乌托邦社会主义 (utopian socialism)，这个中文翻译是从日文转译而来的。大概从合成词的角度理解“空想”更好：“空”是 nothing，“想”是 thought，意思还比较接近。当然，它在流传的过程中容易被误解为只是不切实际的社会主义。你能谈谈这个词在西方传统中的流变吗？其中有些内容经常为人们所误解。

Roland: There are at least three matters here. The first is a deliberate pun on the Greek sense of “Utopia.” Let me put it this way: “Topia” comes from Greek “topos (τόπος)” meaning “place.” But the pun is with the first part of the word. On the one hand, “u” (Greek οὐ) means “no.” On the other hand, it can also sound like “eu” (Greek εὖ), which means “good.” So, ‘utopia is also ‘eutopia’: no-place is also a good place.

罗兰·博尔：这里至少有三个问题。首先，“乌托邦”的希腊文含义是一个刻意的双关语。让我这么说吧：“Topia”来自希腊语“topos (τόπος)”，意思是“地方”。但这个词的第一部分是双关语。一方面，“u”（希腊文 οὐ）意味着“无”。另一方面，它听起来像

“eu”（希腊文 εὖ），意思是“好”。所以，“乌托邦也是好地方”：没有的地方也是一个好地方。

Fengyu: This first question is intriguing. In the eyes of Chinese thinkers, “nothing” is a source of existence, or “existence comes from nothing”. “nothing” may be not anything at all, but may be “plenty of existence” or “marvelous existence”. It has something in common with the Greek word “οὐ”. In this sense, the Chinese word “乌托邦” is also a good place to feel, but this place has too many legends. It is difficult to say exactly whether it is, where it is, and is often understood as a possible existence.

臧峰宇：这第一个问题就耐人寻味。在中国思想家看来，“无”是有的来源，或者说“无中生有”。“无”既可能是什么都没有，也可能是“大有”或“妙有”。这与希腊文“οὐ”似有相通之处。在这个意义上，中文词“乌托邦”也令人感到可能是个好地方，但这个地方有过多的传奇色彩。很难确切地说它有没有、在哪里，往往被理解为一种可能性的存在。

Roland: This leads to the second question: why is such a “good” place also a “no” place? The sense is that it cannot actually be found by ordinary human beings. It is too ideal, too perfect, and human existence is not so ideal. The underlying reason is the Western tradition of ontological transcendence, or outer transcendence. Thus, a better or even a perfect world exists outside human perception and understanding, while the world of human beings is a poor copy of this more perfect world. Importantly, human beings have no access to this transcendent world, even though human beings keep on trying. This sense underlies the concept of Utopia, for it is a transcendent world, in a place that we cannot find or reach. The way this is represented in Western Utopian literature is that such a utopian world is on a far-away island (as in More’s *Utopia*) cut off from the rest of the world, or perhaps on another planet (as in science fiction), or in an unimaginable future (as with William Morris’s 1890 novel *News from Nowhere*).

罗兰·博尔：这导致了第二个问题：为什么这样一个“好”地方也是一个“无”的地方？这个意思是普通人实际上找不到它。它太理想化，太完美，人类的存在也没有那么理想化。根本原因在于强调本体论超越或外在超越的西方传统。因此，一个更好的甚至是完美的世界存在与人类的感知和理解之外，而人类的世界是这个更完美的世界的可怜的副本。重要的是，即使人类不断的努力，也无法进入这个超越的世界。这个意义是乌托邦概念的基础，因为它是一个超验的世界，再一个我们无法找到或不能到达的地方。在西方的乌托邦文学中表现出来的方式是，这个乌托邦世界在一个遥远的岛屿上（正如在莫尔的《乌托邦》中），与世界其他地方隔绝，或者可能在另一个星球上（如在科幻小说中），或者在一个难以想象的未来（正如在威廉·莫里斯 1890 年写的小说《乌有乡消息》中）。

Fengyu: I also think that “Utopia” has a close relationship with the Western ontological tradition. Traditional Western philosophers first set a better place than the existing secular world, and regarded it as the original existence of the human world. This reflects a beautiful desire and people's pursuit of a beautiful new world, but reverses the relationship between the original and the copy. As you said, the problem is that no matter how hard people try, they can't reach this transcendental world. In addition to Moore's *Utopia*, the *News from Nowhere* you mentioned is also known to many people in China. When people can't reach this Nowhere no matter how hard they try, they will understand it as a non-experienced, unrealistic world, or other-world, with an insurmountable gap with the world. In this way, “Utopia” has a certain religious nature. Some representatives of the early European utopian socialists had a Christian background, which also affected their understanding of socialism to some extent.

臧峰宇：我也认为“乌托邦”与西方的本体论传统有很密切的关系。传统西方哲学家首先设定有一个比现存的世俗世界更好的地方，将其视为人类世界应当存在的原本。这体现了一种美好的愿望和人们对美丽新世界的追寻，但颠倒了原本和副本的关系。正如你所说，问题是人们无论多么努力，也不能抵达这个超验的世界。除了莫尔的《乌托邦》，你提到的《乌有乡消息》在中国也为很多人所了解。当人们无论多么努力都不能抵达这个乌有乡的时候，就会将其理解为一种非经验的、非现实的世界，或者说是一种彼岸世界，与此岸世界具有不可逾越的鸿沟。这样，“乌托邦”就呈现出一定的宗教性。欧洲空想社会主义早期的一些代表人物就有基督教背景，这也在一定程度上影响了他们对社会主义的理解。

Roland: This is the third aspect I want to mention: this sense of Utopia also has a strong religious sense, since the ideal world may also be seen as a type of heaven, or paradise. Indeed, “utopian socialism” has a long history of connections with Western religions, especially Christianity. The early utopian socialists in Europe, such Fourier, Saint-Simon and Wilhelm Weitling, were influenced by this background, although they tried to turn it into a this-worldly focus. In fact, the religious tradition had both an ontological and historical dimension, which may be called “ontological transcendence” and “temporal transcendence.” While heaven was a different and perfect ontological type of existence, in the future, at the end of history, there would also be a “New Jerusalem,” a “heaven on earth.” The second aspect was particularly important for the utopian socialists, with many experiments in Europe and North America to establish – usually small – communities based on their ideals.

罗兰·博尔：这正是我要说的第三个方面，乌托邦的这种含义也带有强烈的宗教意识，因为理想的世界也可以被视为一种天堂，或天国。事实上，“空想社会主义”与西方宗教特别是基督教有着悠久的历史关联。欧洲早期的空想社会主义者，像傅里叶、圣西门和威廉·魏特林，都受到这种背景的影响，尽管他们都试图转而聚焦于世俗世界。实际上，宗教传统具有本体论的维度和历史的维度，可以被称为“本体论超越”或“世俗的超越”。虽然天堂是一种不同凡俗的完美的本体论的存在，但在未来，在历史的终点，还会有一个“新耶路撒冷”，一个“人间天堂”。第二点对空想社会主义者来说尤其重要，欧洲和北美的很多实验——通常都是小型社区——都是基于他们的理念建立的。

Fengyu: Yes, this other-world is a perfect ontological existence, and it is also regarded as the ideal transcript of the secular world. This generation of Utopian socialists as St. Simon was influenced by European enlightenment thoughts, paying attention to the development of natural science at that time, and even formed some philosophical ideas with positivism, emphasizing the industrial system and severely criticised the “inverted world” of capitalist society.

臧峰宇：对，这个彼岸世界是一种完美的本体论的存在，它也被视作世俗世界的理想摹本。圣西门这代空想社会主义者受到欧洲启蒙思想的影响，关注当时自然科学的发展，甚至形成了一些具有实证主义色彩的哲学思路，强调实业制度，对资本主义社会的“颠倒的世界”进行了严厉的批判。但他们的思想带有很强的乌托邦特征，在他们看来，理想社会依靠天才建成，实业制度需要“天然领袖”，这种重视一流科学家、银行家、企业家等的思路当然有一定道理，问题是社会结构和社会矛盾并未因此发生根本改变。相比而言，马克思恩格斯的社会主义观念具有明确的现实性特征，他们超越空想社会主义者的关键是，确认了未来社会的主要实现力量。

Roland: We can see why Marx and Engels criticized this Utopian Socialism. They began by appreciating their contributions, but also stressed that their thoughts were characteristic of the early stages of the communist movement. These utopian socialists believed that people would agree to join such communities of their own will, persuaded by the superior nature of the proposed societies. But they lacked two crucial features: careful scientific study of actual conditions, and the related question of how one actually gets to this desired world. This is precisely what Marx and Engels set out to provide.

罗兰·博尔：我们可以看到马克思和恩格斯为什么批评这种空想社会主义。他们首先赞赏这些空想社会主义者的贡献，但也强调他们的思想体现了共产主义运动早期阶段的特征。这些空想社会主义者认为，人们会同意加入按照他们的意愿建立的社区，并为他们

提出的社会的优越性而叹服。但他们缺乏两个关键的特征：对实际情况进行细致的科学研究，以及相应地研究人们如何实现这个理想世界的实际问题。这正是由马克思和恩格斯所提出的。

Fengyu: The experiment of utopian socialists stays at the exploratory stage. It is not scientific and meticulous enough. They also lack solutions to practical problems. In my opinion, what is more important is that they lack rational thinking about the social structure in the future. They never thought that the proletariat would become the protagonist of the future society, which is similar to the Enlightenment thinkers, reformists and even young Hegelians. According to Marx and Engels, only the proletariat can undertake the mission of human liberation. They will break the chains of the old world and liberate themselves then liberate all of humanity.

臧峰宇：空想社会主义者的实验停留在探索阶段，确实不够科学、细致，他们也缺乏对实际问题的解决方案。在我看来，更重要的是，他们对未来社会结构的思考缺乏合理性思路。他们从未认为无产阶级会成为未来社会的主人公，这一点与启蒙思想家、改良主义者乃至青年黑格尔派都是相似的。在马克思恩格斯看来，只有无产阶级才能承担人类解放的使命，他们将砸碎旧世界的锁链，在解放全人类之后解放自己。

Roland: My sense is that this Western tradition of Utopia and Utopian Socialism makes it more difficult for people influenced by the West to understand the Chinese project of achieving a moderately well-off society in all respects by 2021. They see it as “utopian.” It may be a better society, but they also think it is impossible, since it belongs to a “no-place.” In light of your earlier observations, we can now see how the Chinese tradition has a different approach to such questions, making the plan to achieve a *xiaokang shehui* very practical, with careful research, policies, planning and action. How to explain to the Western world how a *xiaokang shehui* can indeed be achieved? One aspect is of course the Chinese tradition, while another concerns the practical measures being taken to achieve such a goal. I would like to know, is there something in the Marxist tradition, developed in a Chinese context, that can shed light on this project?

罗兰·博尔：我的感觉是，这种西方的乌托邦传统和空想社会主义使受西方影响的人们更难理解中国在2021年全面建成小康社会的计划。他们将其视为“乌托邦”，它可能是一个更好的社会，但他们也认为这是不可能的，因为它属于一种“没有的地方”。根据您之前的观察，我们现在可以看到中国的传统如何对这些问题采取不同的思路，通过认真研究，制定政策，设计和行动，使实现小康社会的计划非常实用。如何向西方世界解释小康社会事实上能够实现呢？一方面当然是中国传统，另一方面则涉及为实现这一目标而

采取的实际措施。我想知道，有没有在马克思主义传统的中国语境中发展出来的某些观念可以用来揭示这个计划？

Fengyu: The Chinese people have a very practical thinking about a well-off society and have gradually made it a reality through years of efforts. Your sense are reasonable: there is a kind of cultural difference here. It is necessary to better explain the meaning of “well-off” to the world. It is not “no place”, but “great existence” that may become reality. Building a well-off society reflects China's political, economic, cultural, social, ecological and other aspects of needs of development, and thus is one of the important strategies of reform and opening up. Deng Xiaoping called it “Chinese-style modernization”, which is a path of developing country with Chinese characteristics with different modernization ideas from that of the West. Of course, there are also practical indicators, such as the increasing per capita gross domestic product, and the level of economic and social development reaching the level of moderately developed countries. An ancient Chinese politician Guan Zhong said, “When the granaries are full, the people follow appropriate rules of conduct, and when there is enough to eat and wear, the people know honor and shame.” This shows that a prosperous and prosperous economic life is of fundamental significance to the superstructure, such as philosophy, morality, religion and the rule of law. Therefore, over the years, China has emphasized “economic construction as the center” and constantly strengthened its cultural self-confidence. This also involves our understanding of the relationship between Marxism and Chinese traditional culture.

臧峰宇：中国人对小康社会有很实际的思考，而且在多年努力中逐渐使之成为现实。你的感觉是有道理的，这里存在一种文化差异，有必要更好地向世界阐释“小康”的本意，它不是“没有的地方”，而是可能成为现实的“大有”。建设小康社会，体现了中国政治、经济、文化、社会、生态等各方面的发展需要，因而是改革开放的重要战略之一。邓小平将其称作“中国式的现代化”，这种有中国特色的发展中国家的现代化思路与西方的现代化不尽相同。当然，这里也有实际的指标，例如人均生产总值不断增加，经济社会发展达到中等发达国家水平。中国古代政治家管仲说过，“仓廩实而知礼节，衣食足而知荣辱。”这说明繁荣富足的经济生活对于哲学、道德、宗教、法治等上层建筑具有基础性意义。所以，中国多年来强调“以经济建设为中心”，不断增强文化自信的底气。这也涉及到我们对马克思主义与中国传统文化之间关系的理解。

Roland: This is very interesting. I have noticed that all of the Chinese policies deploy this crucial Marxist method: focus on the economic base as the key to other dimensions. From contradiction analysis, through the

“preferential policies” for minority nationalities, to the reform and opening up itself. I recall a conference in early 2019, where a group of Chinese visitors to Australia presented papers at a panel on “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.” In the question and answer session after the papers, one of the audience asked a question: “What is the basis for China’s path? Is it culture?” The Chinese visitors thought the answer should be obvious: “It is the economy,” said one. The person who asked the question and nodded. “Yes,” he said, “I should have known: the Marxist approach is key.” People in the West do not always realise this point, and they often struggle to understand. But my sense is that with increasing international engagement by Chinese scholars, telling “China’s story” well, and of course the effect of Xi Jinping’s resolute focus on Marxism, more and more people internationally are beginning to realise how important the Marxist approach is.

罗兰·博尔：这很有趣。我注意到，所有的中国政策都采用了这种重要的马克思主义方法：将经济基础作为其他方面的关键。从矛盾分析，到对少数民族的“优惠政策”，再到改革开放本身。我记得在2019年初的一次会议上，一些从中国到澳大利亚的访问学者在关于“中国特色社会主义”的分论坛上提交了论文。在介绍论文之后的问答环节，有位听众提出一个问题：“中国道路的基础是什么？是文化吗？”中国的访问学者认为答案是显而易见的，一个人说，“是经济。”提问的人点了点头。“是的，”他说，“我应该知道，马克思主义方法是关键。”生活在西方的人并不总是能意识到这一点，他们常常很难理解。但我的理解是，随着中国学者越来越多地参与国际交流，讲好“中国故事”，当然，习近平坚定地重视马克思主义的影响，国际上越来越的人们意识到马克思主义方法的重要性。

Fengyu: This way of thinking for many Chinese people is common sense. It comes from people's understanding of the Marxist basic principle of "economic foundation determines superstructure", and also related to China's pragmatic cultural tradition. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China 70 years ago, economic and social development has made considerable achievements, providing a foundation for cultural construction and cultural modernization. From the perspective of education, the total amount of education in the country in 1952 was 1.16 billion yuan, and it increased to 4.6 trillion yuan in 2018. The conditions for education at all levels of education and the quality of education and teaching in China have been significantly improved over the years, and the scientific culture of Chinese people's literacy has been significantly improved. In this sense, the liberation and development of productive forces will of course release the vitality of cultural development as its proper meaning. Reviewing the achievements of China's

economic and social development, including cultural development, will feel the confidence of cultural self-confidence, which reflects the principle of the relationship between the economic base and the superstructure. This principle also shows that cultural development has an important counter-effect on economic and social development. This is one of the important contents of the "China's story". Therefore, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out: "Without a high degree of cultural self-confidence, without the prosperity of culture, there will be no great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation."

臧峰宇：这个思想方法对很多中国人来说是一种常识。它来自于人们对“经济基础决定上层建筑”这个马克思主义基本原理的理解，也与中国务实的文化传统有关。新中国成立70年来，经济社会发展取得可观的成就，为文化建设和文化现代化提供了基础。从教育领域来看，1952年全国教育经费总量为11.6亿元，到2018年增长为4.6万亿元。中国各级教育办学条件和教育教学质量在多年来得到明显改善，中国人的科学文化素养得到明显提升。在这个意义上，解放和发展生产力，当然将释放文化发展活力作为应有之义。回顾包括文化发展在内的中国经济社会发展的成就，就会感到文化自信的底气，这反映了经济基础和上层建筑之间关系的原理。这个原理也表明，文化发展对经济社会发展具有重要的反作用，这是“中国故事”的重要内容之一。因此，习近平总书记指出，“没有高度的文化自信，没有文化的繁荣兴盛，就没有中华民族的伟大复兴。”

Roland: This is exactly what I want to say, the other part of what you point out is very intriguing. You quote Guan Zhong: "When the granaries are full, the people follow appropriate rules of conduct, and when there is enough to eat and wear, the people know honor and shame." There is clearly an emphasis in China's long tradition not only on the importance of necessities of life, but also of the close connections with rules of conduct, ethics and social harmony. Can we bring this back to *xiaokang*? I am interested in the semantic field of *kang* (康). It is usually translated as "prosperous" or perhaps "well-off." Obviously, this translation brings out the crucial economic dimensions of the word. But some Western people may think it merely means "having a good income" in the hope that one can get rich. Would you be able to provide some of the other related meanings of *kang*?

罗兰·博尔：这正是我要说的，你指出的另一部分也非常有趣。你提到了管仲的话：“仓廩实而知礼节，衣食足而知荣辱。”中国的悠久传统显然不仅强调生活必需品的重要性，而且强调行为准则、道德规范与社会和谐的紧密关系。我们能否回到小康的话题？我对“康”的语义域很感兴趣。它通常被翻译为“繁荣”或“小康”。显然，这种翻译带出了这个词关键的经济含义。但有些西方人可能

认为，这只是意味着“拥有良好的收入”，希望人们能致富。你能否提供关于“康”的另外一些相关含义？

Fengyu: I have no research on the semantic domain of *Kang*, but your interest in this makes me think of *Da Kang*. The Book of Songs says: Don't be overly happy (*Dakang*), Keep your own status. Zhu Xi notes: "*Dakang*, too happy." Later, people used "Da Kang" to express wealthy, healthy and well, and some cities and counties were named after "Da Kang". In the Book of Songs, *Xiaokang* is also mentioned: "The people are too hard, but they can be a little more well-off (*xiaokang*). Love the people of the capital, the country is stable without cruelty." Of course, there is a meaning of "having a good income", but the connotation is obviously richer, including the social environment with a safe and secure life, considerable morality and pleasant mood. Modern people pay more attention to the comprehensive effects of social development. For example, they believe that the market economy should have a moral premise, and for this purpose focus on the "Smith problem." I would love to know your opinion on this issue.

臧峰宇：我对“康”的语义域没什么研究，但你对此的兴趣让我想到“大康”。《诗经》有云：“无已大康，职是其居。”朱熹注曰：“大康，过于乐也。”后来人们用“大康”表示安丰泰乐，也有市县以“大康”命名。在《诗经》中也提到了“小康”：“民亦劳止，汔可小康。惠此中国，以绥四方。”这里当然有“拥有良好的收入”的意思，但内涵显然更加丰富，包括拥有和平安定的社会环境、可观的道德风尚与心情愉悦等。现代人更重视社会发展的综合效应，例如，认为市场经济应具有道德前提，为此专注于探讨“斯密问题”。我很想知道你关于这个问题的看法。

Roland: My understanding is that Smith came at the end of a long debate and struggle in Europe, which concerned the difference between "greed" and "self-interest." These were initially understood on religious, or indeed theological ways, since greed was seen as a "sin" in both social and personal senses. Even Adam Smith's predecessor at the University of Glasgow, Francis Hutcheson, saw individual "greed" as a vice, although may have a positive social function. Smith took a step further and redefined "greed" as "self-interest," which he – as a moral philosopher – argued was an individual and social good. Smith famously wrote in *Wealth of Nations*, "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest." In other words, pursuing pure self-interest, making money, becomes a social good in itself; everyone in society – Smith believed – benefits from such self-interest. Clearly, Smith has been proved wrong, since an absence of the social good, of what is of moral benefit for the whole of society is of paramount importance.

罗兰·博尔：我的理解是，亚当·斯密是在欧洲一场漫长的辩论和争议的结尾加入的，这涉及到“贪婪”和“自利”之间的差别。这些最初是通过宗教或神学的方式理解的，因为贪婪在社会和个人的意义上都被视为“罪过”。即使斯密在格拉斯哥大学的前任弗朗西斯·哈奇森，也将个人的“贪婪”视为恶习，尽管它可能具有积极的社会功能。斯密往前走了一步，将“贪婪”重新定义为“自利”，作为道德哲学家，他认为这是一种个人和社会的利益。斯密在《国富论》中有一句名言：“我们期望的晚餐不是来自于屠夫、啤酒酿造者或面包师的仁慈，而是来自于他们对自我利益的关注。”换句话说，追求纯粹的自利，赚钱本身就是一种社会利益；斯密认为，社会上每个人都从这种自利中获益。显然，因为缺乏对社会利益的考虑，斯密被证明是错误的，道德利益对整个社会而言都是至关重要的。

Fengyu: This does involve an understanding of the legitimacy of self-interest. For a long time, people have no clear definition of the boundaries between “greed” and “self-interest”. Any desire to consider private interests seems to be problematic, even as you said, it is sinful. In the writing of Hutcheson, a famous professor of moral philosophy, “greed” is a vice. Smith affirmed the personal and social significance of “self-interest”. He believes that in modern society, the pursuit of appropriate interests is more important than benevolence. The benevolence is of course good, but people cannot ask others to be benevolent, while it is justified that everyone pursues appropriate interests. Ancient Chinese thinkers emphasized the discussion of the relationship between “righteousness” and “profit”, which also involved the well-being and justice of *Xiaokang*. Looking back at this view in a context that emphasizes the pursuit of practical interests, one can see the inspirational meaning: the problem is not to pursue interests, but to pursue who's interests, how to pursue legitimate interests, and how to understand the relationship between personal interests and social interests.

臧峰宇：这里确实涉及到对自利的正当性的理解。在很长的时间里人们对“贪婪”和“自利”的边界没有清晰的界定，任何考虑私人利益的愿望似乎都是有问题的，甚至如你所说，是有罪的。在哈奇森这位著名的道德哲学教授的笔下，“贪婪”是一种恶习。斯密肯定了“自利”的个人和社会意义，认为在现代社会，对利益的合宜追求比仁慈更重要，仁慈当然好，但人们不能要求他人一定要仁慈，而每个人追求合宜的利益是正当的。中国古代思想家强调对“义”和“利”的关系的讨论，这也涉及到小康的丰裕与正义的内涵。在强调追求实际利益的语境中回视这个看法，可以看到其中的启发意义：问题不在于追求利益，而在于追求谁的利益，如何追求正当的利益，以及如何理解个人利益和社会利益的关系。

II. An Analysis of the Contradictions in Building a moderately well-off society in all respects

二、全面建成小康社会的矛盾分析

Roland: Following on from this point, I think you make a very important observation that *xiaokang* includes a “social environment with a safe and secure life, considerable morality and a pleasant mood.” Actually, I did some research on the Book of Songs and found the following:

The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little ease [*xiaokang*] may be got for them.
The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little rest [*xiaoxiu*] may be got for them.
The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little relief [*xiaoxi*] may be got for them.
The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little repose [*xiaokai*] may be got for them.
The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little tranquillity [*xiao'an*] may be got for them.

The only variation of each line is in the last character, following *xiao*. The first is obviously *xiaokang*, but it seems – and please correct me here if I am mistaken – that the following lines offer further expansions on *xiaokang* to include *xiaoxiu*, *xiaoxi*, *xiaokai* and *xiao'an*. Do you think there had some of these senses in mind when we understand this ancient concept and reinterpreted it within a Marxist framework, with subsequent development?

罗兰·博尔：从这一点出发，我认为你特别重要地关注到，小康包括“安全、有保障的生活、可观的道德和愉悦的社会环境”。实际上，我对《诗经》做了一些研究，发现了这段内容：

民亦勞止、汔可小康。
民亦勞止、汔可小休。
民亦勞止、汔可小息。
民亦勞止、汔可小愒。
民亦勞止、汔可小安。

每一行的唯一变化是在“小”之后的最后一个字中。第一行显然是小康，但是，似乎——如果我弄错了，请你纠正我——后面几行对小康作了进一步扩展，包括小休、小息、小愒和小安。你认为我们在重审这一古老的观念并在马克思主义框架内对其进行重新阐释时，是否会对上述在后来得到发展的这段话有所理解？

Fengyu: You noticed that the passage of "The Book of Songs" emphasizes that "the people indeed are heavily burdened". It is said that the people are too laborious. The words behind the first sentence of the section are recommended the King to prevent the villain or the bad guys from committing evil or bad actions, in order to seek the peace and security. Here *xiaokang* refers to the fact that the people need a little more comfortable. Later, the meaning of the extension is to enjoy a relatively good life. As you said, people's understanding of this passage has been deepened. When we reinterpret "well-off" within the framework of Marxism, we not only emphasize the standards of productivity, but also profoundly recognize the people's character of social development, enable economic and social development to meet the fundamental interests of the people, and realize the people's need for a better life. The actual content is embodied in the needs of urban and rural development in the political, economic, cultural, social and ecological aspects.

臧峰宇：你注意到《诗经》中强调“民亦劳止”的这段话，讲的是老百姓太劳苦了，省去的段首句后面的话是建议君王防止小人和歹人的奸计或恶行，以求国泰民安。这里的小康指的是老百姓稍微舒服安康一点，后来引申的意思是享有比较殷实的生活。正如你所说，人们对这段话的理解后来不断深化。当我们在马克思主义框架内对“小康”进行重新阐释时，不仅强调生产力标准，而且要深刻地认识到发展的人民性，使经济社会发展满足人民的根本利益，实现人民对美好生活的需要，其实际内容具体体现在政治、经济、文化、社会、生态等各方面的城乡发展的需要中。

Roland: This seems to me an excellent point at which we can return to the present. It seems to me that Deng Xiaoping's genius was to draw on this long Chinese tradition and reinterpret it in light of a Marxist framework. In this sense, it seems that the Chinese people have been expecting and awaiting this possibility for a very long time, coming close occasionally but then falling away from it again. Clearly, it is only with the development of Marxism in Chinese conditions, led by the CPC, that such a *xiaokang* for the whole of society has become a real and concrete possibility.

罗兰·博尔：我认为这是我们回到当前的一个非常好的观点。在我看来，邓小平的伟大之处在于汲取了这一悠久的中国传统，并在马克思主义框架中重新解读。在这个意义上，中国人似乎已经期待和盼望了很长一段时间，有些时候走近了，但又一次从中跌落。显然，只有在中国共产党领导下的马克思主义中国化的发展中，这样的小康社会才具有一种现实而具体的可能性。

Fengyu: We really need to ponder the practical and concrete possibilities of building a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way.

At the beginning of reform and opening up, at the end of 1981, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China affirmed the road of building a socialist modern powerful country which was gradually established since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. It was proposed that in the primary stage of socialism, the main contradiction in Chinese society was the contradiction between the increasing material and cultural needs of the people and the backward social production. This is consistent with the view put forward at the theoretical retreat of the CPC Central Committee held in 1979 that “our level of productivity development is very low, far from meeting the needs of the people and the country, which is the main contradiction in our current period”. It is also consistent with the view pointed out in the report of the Eighth National Congress of the CPC in 1956 that “the main contradiction in our country is already the people's demand for the establishment of an advanced industrial country, that is between the reality of seeking common ground with the backward agricultural countries is the contradiction between the people's need for rapid economic and cultural development and the current situation that the economy and culture cannot meet the people's needs.” Over the past 40 years of reform and opening up, China's productivity level has been constantly improving to meet people's material and cultural needs. People have higher and higher requirements for the quality of life, and their understanding of happiness and Reflection on the limits of material life are gradually deepened.

臧峰宇：确实要深思全面建成小康社会的现实而具体的可能性。改革开放之初，1981年底，中国共产党十一届六中全会肯定了十一届三中全会以来逐步确立的适合中国情况的建设社会主义现代化强国的道路，提出在社会主义初级阶段，中国社会的主要矛盾是人民日益增长的物质文化需要同落后的社会生产之间的矛盾。这与在1979年召开的中共中央理论务虚会上提出的“我们的生产力发展水平很低，远远不能满足人民和国家的需要，这就是我们目前时期的主要矛盾”的观点是一致的，与在1956年中共八大报告中指出的“我们国内的主要矛盾，已经是人民对于建立先进的工业国的要求同落后的农业国的现实之间的矛盾，已经是人民对于经济文化迅速发展的需要同当前经济文化不能满足人民需要的状况之间的矛盾”也是一致的。改革开放40多年来，中国的生产力水平不断提高，不断满足人们对物质文化的需要。人们对生活品质的要求也越来越高，对幸福的理解以及对物质生活的限度的反思也逐渐深入。

Roland: This process seems to me to have a longer history and a more recent one. Already since Liberation in 1949, the process was begun, with a resolute emphasis on overcoming the old landlord-bourgeois system and

beginning the process of socialist construction. This took a whole new step forward with the Reform and Opening Up from 1978: from then poverty alleviation, improving standards of living, and liberating the forces of production took a great leap. More recently, I notice a return to emphasizing justice, in particular, that everyone should benefit from China's leap to prosperity: poverty alleviation for the last few percent; ecological civilization; and managing challenges from outside.

罗兰·博尔：在我看来，这一进程的历史更长，而且离现在更近。自1949年解放以来，这一进程就开始了，它坚定地强调克服旧的地主—资产阶级制度，并开始了社会主义建设的进程。自1978年的改革开放以来，又向前迈出了全新的一步：从那时起，消除贫困，改善生活水平和解放生产力量取得了巨大飞跃。最近，我注意到又重新强调正义，尤其是每个人都应该从中国走向繁荣中受益：消除最后百分之几的贫困，建设生态文明，并应对来自外部的挑战。

Fengyu: Indeed, since reform and opening up, China has made great efforts in poverty alleviation, especially in recent years, targeted poverty alleviation has achieved great results. China will build a well-off society in an all-round way, which means that absolute poverty will be completely eliminated, and the living conditions of those who were poor will be significantly improved. Of course, China has continuously responded to external challenges in its development process, and has also won respect and friendship in the process of advocating win-win cooperation. Building an ecological civilization, I think it is a landmark effort to build a well-off society in an all-round way. This not only shows that people realize the importance of harmonious coexistence between man and nature, man and man, man and society, but also reflects the inevitable Claim of steady improvement of China's economic society.

臧峰宇：确实，改革开放以来，中国在扶贫方面做出很大努力，特别是近年来的精准扶贫取得很大的成效。中国将全面建成小康社会，这意味着绝对贫困将彻底消除，曾经贫困的人们的生活状况将得到明显改善。当然，中国在发展过程中不断应对来自外部的挑战，也在倡导合作共赢的过程中赢得了尊重和友谊。建设生态文明，我觉得是全面建成小康社会的一个标志性努力，这不仅表明人们意识到人与自然、人与人、人与社会和谐共生的重要意义，也反映了中国经济社会稳步提升的必然要求。

Roland Boer: So let us turn to explicitly Marxist analysis, and especially the contradiction analysis developed further by Mao Zedong and then those who followed him. The question I would like to ask is: when the contradictions that arise on the road to achieving a *xiaokang* society have been solved, what may be the potentially new contradictions of a *xiaokang*

society? Will there be a primary contradiction and secondary contradictions? As far as I understand contradiction analysis, one needs to undertake thorough scientific analysis in order to identify such contradictions. So also with a *xiaokang* society.

罗兰·博尔：因此，让我们转向明确的马克思主义分析，尤其是毛泽东及其后继者进一步发展的矛盾分析。我的问题是：当建成小康社会的道路上出现的矛盾得到解决后，小康社会潜在的新矛盾可能是什么？是否会有主要矛盾和次要矛盾？据我所知，矛盾分析需要人们进行彻底的科学分析，以识别这种矛盾。对小康社会也是如此。

Fengyu: You are correct, we need to analyse the contradiction of a well-off society scientifically. Under the new social conditions, new contradictions will inevitably arise, and new solutions will be found. When socialism with Chinese characteristics enters a new era, the contradiction between better realizing the people's increasing needs for a good life and the imbalanced and inadequate development of the economy and society is the main contradiction faced by building a well-off society in an all-round way. Of course, the good life is a category of political philosophy that is rich in content. In the past 40 years of reform and opening up, people have become more and more perceptual in this category, and they have encountered many practical problems that can be regarded as secondary contradictions.

臧峰宇：你说得对，我们需要对小康社会做科学的矛盾分析。在新的社会条件下必然会产生新的矛盾，也必然会找到解决矛盾的新方案。当中国特色社会主义进入新时代，更好地实现人民日益增长的美好生活需要与经济社会不平衡不充分的发展之间的矛盾是全面建成小康社会面对的主要矛盾。当然，美好生活是一个内涵丰富的政治哲学范畴。改革开放 40 年来，人们对这个范畴有了越来越明晰的感性认识，也遇到很多可以被看作是次要矛盾的现实问题。

Roland: Yes, a question remains, and it relates to contradiction analysis, which in a Chinese context stems from Mao Zedong. A new primary contradiction in China is: the contradiction between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life. Chairman Xi connects this new contradiction with *xiaokang* society, in terms of basic needs and decent lives. However, he also points out that 'better lives' for which people long, are even more complex now: 'Not only have their material and cultural needs grown; their demands for democracy, rule of law, fairness and justice, security, and a better environment are increasing'. At the same time, even though China's production capacity has increased to the point of leading the world, this production capacity still faces the problem of uneven and unequal development, and so needs to be addressed.

罗兰·博尔：是的，问题仍然存在，它与矛盾分析，也就是毛泽东发端于中国语境中的概念有关。人民日益增长的美好生活需要与经济社会不平衡不充分的发展之间的矛盾，是中国新的主要矛盾：习近平主席从基本需求和体面生活的角度将这一新矛盾与小康社会联系起来。但是，他还指出，人们长期以来对“美好生活”的期待现在更加复杂：“不仅对物质文化生活提出了更高要求，而且在民主、法治、公平、正义、安全、环境等方面的要求日益增长。”同时，尽管中国的生产能力已经提高到世界领先水平，但这种生产能力仍然面临着发展不平衡和不平等的问题，因此需要解决。

Fengyu: Problems encountered in development must be resolved in the course of development. You're right, people's expectations for a better life are multifaceted. People's pursuit of a better life is the result of the constant satisfaction of material and cultural needs over the years. This is actually a case where the further needs of the people are reflected in the process of building a moderately well-off society in all respects, including what you called a decent life, which is constantly becoming a reality. China's production capacity has established a solid foundation to meet people's further needs, but there does exist an imbalance problem. To solve this problem, it is necessary to emphasize fairness and justice in the field of distribution and better grasp the main contradictions of the new era while further increasing productivity.

臧峰宇：在发展中遇到的问题必然要在发展的过程中解决。你说得对，人们对美好生活的期待是多方面的。人们追求过上更好的生活，是多年来物质文化需要得到不断满足的结果。这实际上是在全面建成小康社会的进程中反映的人们的进一步需要，包括你所说的体面的生活，这正在不断地成为现实。中国的生产能力为满足人们进一步的需要确立了坚实的基础，但其中也确实存在着不平衡的问题。解决这个问题，需要在进一步提高生产力的同时，强调分配领域的公平正义，更好地把握新时代的主要矛盾。

Roland: Hence, correctly identifying the primary contradiction is crucial, since it influences policy decisions. But I have a question: if China is to achieve a *xiaokang* society by the end of 2020, with basic needs met and decent lives for all achieved, how does the new contradiction work? Is it related directly to *xiaokang* society, or does it also relate to what follows, in terms of meeting the people's ever-growing needs for a better life (*meihao shenghuo*)?

罗兰·博尔：因此，正确识别主要矛盾至关重要，因为这会影响政策决策。但是，我有一个问题：如果中国要在2020年底之前建成小康社会，同时满足基本需求并实现所有人的体面生活，新矛盾将如何发挥作用？在满足人们对美好生活的不断增长的需求方面，是与小康社会直接相关？还是与随后的社会发展相关？

Fengyu: Contradictions are manifested as a series of problems and as a process. To resolve new contradictions, we must solve a series of new problems, and at the same time understand the appearance of contradictions and problems in the development process. Your question is very instructive. In my opinion, the way to better meet the growing needs of people for a better life is directly related to the comprehensive construction of a well-off society and the subsequent social development. Because people's needs for a better life will further increase, and the degree and way to meet people's needs will continue to improve, which will be reflected in the specific links of social development.

臧峰宇：矛盾体现为一系列问题，也体现为一个过程。解决新的矛盾，就要解决一系列新问题，同时在发展过程中理解矛盾与问题的呈现样态。你的问题很有启发性，在我看来，如何更好地满足人们对美好生活的不断增长的需求，与全面建成小康社会直接相关，也与随后的社会发展相关。因为人们对美好生活的需要会进一步提高，满足人们需要的程度和方式也将会不断完善，这将体现在社会发展的具体环节中。

Roland: This requires solving specific problems, after identifying a number of challenges that must be dealt with. Chairman Xi focuses on three key questions: 'we must take tough steps to forestall and defuse major risks, carry out targeted poverty alleviation, and prevent and control pollution, so that the moderately prosperous society we build earns the people's approval and stands the test of time'. The three points each deserve a discussion, so let me begin with the first. Do you think that, as a major milestone is reached in the construction of socialism, the intensity of the contradiction increases? It may happen because external enemies increase their actions in order to stall the process. Meanwhile, it may be that internal contradictions among the people become more intense, as Mao Zedong already pointed out. Indeed, how does one deal with such a situation become more important.

罗兰·博尔：这就要解决具体问题，在确定了必须应对的一系列挑战之后，习主席将重点放在三个关键问题上：“要坚决打好防范化解重大风险、精准脱贫、污染防治的攻坚战，使全面建成小康社会得到人民认可、经得起历史检验。”这三点都值得讨论，所以我从第一点开始。你认为作为社会主义建设的一个重要里程碑，矛盾的强度是否在增加？之所以可能发生，是因为外部敌人增加了行动以阻止这个进程。同时，正如毛泽东指出的那样，人民内部的矛盾可能变得更加激烈。确实，如何处理这种情况，变得更为重要。

Fengyu: Yes, solving these three problems must take tough steps in China. As President Xi Jinping said, this “requires a strong and tenacious fighting spirit”, “it is necessary to fight both a prepared battle to prevent and

defend against risks, and a strategically active battle to turn dangers into opportunities.” I think the intensity of the contradictions must be increasing, and the complexity of the problem is greater than ever. The external risks and internal contradictions, as Mao Zedong said, need to be “correctly handled”. It is necessary to have a correct foresight of contradictions and problems, to plan ahead, and to grasp the essence of complicated phenomena to improve the ability to resolve contradictions and risks. The completion of this systematic project requires bottom-line thinking and the flexible use of philosophical methods to resolve contradictions.

臧峰宇：是的，解决这三个问题在中国都是攻坚战。正如习近平主席所说，这“需要有充沛顽强的斗争精神”“既要打好防范和抵御风险的有准备之战，也要打好化险为夷、转危为机的战略主动战”。我觉得矛盾的强度一定在增加，问题的复杂性也超过以往。其中的外部风险和内部矛盾，就像毛泽东所说的那样，需要“正确处理”。既要对矛盾和问题有正确预见，做到未雨绸缪，也要在纷繁复杂的现象中把握本质，提高化解矛盾和风险的能力。完成这项系统工程，需要底线思维，需要灵活运用解决矛盾的哲学方法。

Roland: The question of poverty alleviation initially seems more straightforward and not so closely connected with contradiction analysis. Nearly everyone in the world recognizes China’s achievements in poverty alleviation. For example, the World Bank estimates what it calls an ‘unprecedented’ number of 850 million people lifted out of poverty in the last 4 decades. This achievement has also been called one the greatest human rights achievements in history – and even more so as 2020 sees a concerted effort to lift the remaining people out of poverty. At the same time, there are some in the West who are more skeptical. They follow an old saying that comes out of the Western religious tradition, ‘you will always have the poor with you’. Even more, they have become used to a capitalist system that produces many poor people in many parts of the world. With these ‘coloured glasses’, they think that China’s poverty alleviation is doomed to fail.

罗兰·博尔：精准脱贫的问题最初似乎更为直接，与矛盾分析没有那么紧密的联系。世界上几乎所有人都认可中国在扶贫方面取得的成就。例如，世界银行估计，在过去 40 年中，有 8.5 亿人摆脱贫困，这是“前所未有的”人数。这一成就也被称为历史上最伟大的人权成就之一，甚至在 2020 年，我们将看到一种齐心协力使其余人民摆脱贫困的努力。同时，西方有些人对此表示怀疑。他们遵循源自西方宗教传统的一句古老谚语：“你们将常有穷人与你们同在”。更有甚者，他们已经习惯了资本主义制度在世界上许多地方产生了许多穷人。他们戴着“彩色眼镜”认为，中国的扶贫注定会失败。

Fengyu: Getting rid of poverty is an important task for socialist construction, because poverty is not socialism, and the essence of socialism is to achieve common prosperity. China has indeed made considerable achievements in this regard. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, President Xi Jinping has put forward "seeking truth from facts, adapting to local conditions, classified guidance, and targeted poverty alleviation", emphasizing resolutely winning the war against poverty and providing an important guarantee for building a well-off society. In fact, poverty is also a global problem. I have seen some homeless people in the western countries and also visited some communities where the poor live. Although there are differences in the economic development status and people's cultural cognition of this phenomenon in different countries, this problem needs to be addressed by all countries. I agree with you very much, and I think this kind of "colored glasses" interfere with vision and make some people not see the greater reality.

臧峰宇：摆脱贫困是社会主义建设的一项重要任务，因为贫穷不是社会主义，社会主义的本质在于实现共同富裕。中国在这方面确实取得了可观的成就，党的十八大以来，习近平主席提出“实事求是、因地制宜、分类指导、精准扶贫”，强调坚决打赢脱贫攻坚战，为全面建成小康社会提供重要保障。其实，贫困也是一个全球性问题。我在一些西方国家看到过很多流浪汉，也到过一些穷人居住的社区。尽管不同国家的经济发展状况和人们对这种现象的文化认知存在差异，但这个问题需要各国携手解决。我很赞同你的看法，而且我觉得这种“彩色眼镜”影响视力，让有些人看不到远方。

Roland: In the end, the contradiction in question is not so difficult to identify: it is between socialist and capitalist systems. Those who have been brought up in the capitalist system tend to see the rest of the world in the same way. By contrast, those who come from a socialist system see the world quite differently: what is not possible in a capitalist system is possible in a socialist system.

罗兰·博尔：最后，确认矛盾问题并不那么困难：它介于社会主义和资本主义制度之间。那些被资本主义制度熏陶的人倾向于以同样的方式看待世界上其他地区。相比之下，那些来自社会主义制度的人对世界的看法则截然不同：在资本主义制度中不可能做到的事在社会主义制度中是可能的。

Fengyu: Yes, the answer to understanding poverty is different from the perspective of different social systems. Some Western scholars question the legitimacy of poverty alleviation, or whether providing more help to the poor is what they deserve. However, starting from the socialist values that emphasize equality and sharing, poverty alleviation is undoubtedly justified.

臧峰宇：是的，从不同社会制度的角度理解扶贫的问题，答案是不同的。有些西方学者质疑扶贫的正当性，或者说质疑为穷人提供更多的帮助是不是穷人所应得的。如果坚持自由至上主义，这种质疑还有一种坚固的学理基础。但是，从强调平等和共享的社会主义价值观出发，扶贫无疑是正当的。

Roland: The final problem concerns environmental pollution, or in Chinese terms, 'ecological civilisation' (*shengtai wenming*). Perhaps we can discuss the meaning of the Chinese term on another occasion, since here I would like to focus on its relation to *xiaokang* society. Obviously, a moderately well-off and healthy society is one that enjoys a clean and healthy natural environment. As we know, Marx wrote that 'human beings live on nature', so this should be a non-antagonistic contradiction. However, there is another contradiction relevant here, and it is related to the previous one: a capitalist system, which is a slave to the capitalist market economy, can see solutions only in terms of 'market forces'. Is this enough? Or does ecological civilization require resolute government policies?

罗兰·博尔：最后一个问题涉及环境污染，或者用中文来讲是“生态文明”。也许我们可以再讨论一下这个中文术语的含义，因为在这里我想着重讨论它与小康社会的关系。显然，小康社会和健康的社会是享受清洁健康的自然环境的社会。我们知道，马克思写道：“人类在自然中生活”，因此这应该是一个非对抗性的矛盾。但是，这里还有另一个矛盾，它与前一个矛盾有关：资本主义制度是资本主义市场经济的奴隶，只能看到“市场力量”的解决方案。这充分吗？还是说生态文明需要政府坚决的政策？

Fengyu: Ecological civilization is a new form of civilization that reflects the current state of social progress. In the Chinese context, it mainly refers to the harmonious symbiosis of man and nature. In fact, ancient Chinese philosophers had many views against the destruction of the ecological environment. For example, Mencius was very opposed to the practice of "fishing in the water which is dried, hunting in the forest which is burned". Marx emphasized that nature is the organic body of humankind, and Engels reminded people not to be overly intoxicated by the victory over nature, which shows that human beings and nature are not in an antagonistic relationship. Environmental pollution is also a global problem. Of course, the solution to this complex problem only through "market forces" is inadequate. It also requires firm and strong public decision-making and its effective implementation. I remember you did some in-depth research in this area.

臧峰宇：生态文明是反映当今社会进步状况的一种新文明形态。在中文语境中，它指的主要是人与自然的和谐共生。其实，中国古代哲学家有很多反对破坏生态环境的观点，例如，孟子就非常反对

“涸泽而渔，焚林而猎”的做法。马克思强调大自然是人类无机的身体，恩格斯提醒人们不要过分陶醉于对自然界的胜利，都表明人与自然不是一种对抗性关系。环境污染也是一个全球性问题，只通过“市场力量”来解决这个复杂问题的方案当然是不充分的，还需要坚定有力的公共决策，并使之得到切实有效的执行。我记得你在这方面做过一些深入的研究。

Roland: Can we say then that the overall socialist system is superior to the capitalist system in dealing with contradictions? It was Deng Xiaoping's dream that socialism would eventually prove superior to capitalism. His focus was on liberating the forces of production under socialism, to provide the foundations for communism. As we know, capitalism prefers a 'zero-sum' approach: you win, I lose. This is very destructive approach to contradictions by what now may be called the 'zero-sum stragglers' (that is, a few countries in the world – former colonizers – who still think and act in this way). Most countries in the world these days do not follow this old approach. So my final question is: how does Xi Jinping's alternative approach – win-win – reflect Chinese Marxism's very different approach to contradictions?