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景 军

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麻国庆 蒙祥忠

作为方法的云贵高原

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目 次

中国特色社会主义理论研究

谢茂松

“中国共产党和中国人民”的文明意义 13

专题一: 国家治理(一)

周黎安

行政发包制与中国特色的国家能力 28

贺雪峰 桂 华

农村公共品性质与分配型动员 51

曹 舒 张肇廷

迈向“无县时代”? 62

——当代中国撤县设区的实践总结及反思

阮汭君

国家荣誉制度的宪法整合逻辑 78

专题二: 中国传统学术资源与当代社会理论发展

沈 毅

人缘取向: 中国人儒道互补的“关系”实践 92

——兼论“差序格局”的性质再判定

李长春

儒家政治哲学中的“霸道” 109

王东美
历史的共情 129
——基于中国知识传统的心理治疗可能

经济社会

黄宗智
从二元对立到二元合一:建立新型的实践政治经济学 141
景 军
尊严死之辨 162
林 子
与谁相干:1950年《婚姻法》宣传的策略转向与话语建构 179

“他者的世界”

麻国庆 蒙祥忠
作为方法的云贵高原 198
——从费孝通的区域板块研究看中华民族共同体
寸云激 马健雄
坝子社会:一种历史人类学的视角 215

英文目次 5

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OPEN TIMES

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CONTENTS

THEORETICAL STUDY OF SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

The Civilization Significance of “the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People” 13

Xie Maosong

Abstract: The Chinese Communist Party, as leader and organizer, and the Chinese people, as the object of organization and mobilization, are actually outgrowths of the same body, and the two always stand together through thick and thin. If the Chinese Communist Party is divorced from the people, it will become nil. On the other hand, without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people will be like a sheet of loose sand and will no longer be the Chinese people in the strict political sense. Mao Zedong’s assertion at the preparatory meeting for the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party that “there has never been such a people since ancient times, and there has never been such a communist party since ancient times” best highlights the fact that the Chinese Communist Party has forged the strongest ever organization and has consequently brought the Chinese together as a people so fully organized and mobilized. This is the political significance of “the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people.” The two can be said to have jointly constructed a new political order and a new political principle of Chinese civilization.

Keywords: the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, party organization, civilization significance

FEATURE TOPIC I: STATE GOVERNANCE (I)

Administrative Contracting System and State Capacity with Chinese Characteristics 28

Zhou Li'an

Abstract: The academic circle has so far adopted two different approaches to the issues of China’s governance model and China’s state capacity respectively, with the former taking a principal-agent perspective and stressing the role of incentive, and the latter focusing on the “infrastructural power” at the state level. The two approaches, however, have long been unconnected. This paper attempts to bridge the two approaches. On the one hand, with the western theory of state capacity as the frame of reference, this paper explores the administrative contracting system, the normalized model of China’s state governance, as the characteristic institution and governance logic of China’s state capacity, with a view to revealing the uniqueness, richness and inherent logic of the Chinese-

style state capacity and correcting the orthodox but biased interpretation of China's state capacity in terms of the western theory. On the other hand, this paper attempts to incorporate the insights of the western theory of state capacity to enrich and develop the theory of administrative contracting system and, by introducing the concept of "infrastructural capacity" and taking China's water environment governance in the past 30 years as the object of analysis, explore the interaction between state governance and the improvement of infrastructural capacity. This paper aims at a deeper understanding of the changes in the state governance of China and a theoretical frame of reference for exploring the modernization path of China's state governance system and governance capacity.

Keywords: administrative contracting system, state capacity, foundational capacity, state governance

The Nature of Rural Public Goods and Distributive Mobilization

51

He Xuefeng & Gui Hua

Abstract: After abolition of the agricultural tax, the state began to transfer a large amount of resources to the rural sector for the construction of rural public goods, and the relationship between the state and the peasants underwent a fundamental change. With the movement of resources to the rural areas, the power of the state has become so prevailing as to drastically cut back on the autonomy of grass-roots governance, and the peasants have changed from the providers to the beneficiaries of rural public goods. Grassroots governance is suffering from involution, and efficient governance has become a problem. In the past ten years, along with the construction of urban-rural coordination pilot zone, Chengdu has provided each village in the zone with public service funds and encouraged the peasants to allocate resources through village councils to build up village public goods. In this way, a distributive democracy with Chengdu's characteristics has been formed. To be more specific, the state transfers part of the agriculture-aid resources to the villages on a per capita basis, which will be freely used by those villages as public service funds. The villages then allocate the resources through internal democratic procedures. In the process of resource allocation, the Party will play the role of leadership in recruiting activists and mobilizing villagers. As a result, the villages are galvanized and a mobilization system for distribution is formed to ensure effective use of national resources. In this way, truly efficient grass-roots governance is realized, leading to the shaping of a strong society that matches a strong state.

Keywords: movement of resources to rural areas, village autonomy, distributive mobilization, rural public goods

Towards A County-Free Era? Summary and Reflections on City-County Merge in Contemporary China

62

Cao Shu & Zhang Zhaoting

Abstract: As an important means of implementing new urbanization and coordinating regional development,

city-county merge has been widely practiced in many cities in recent years, sparking the talk of a “county-free era”. This paper aims to answer the “what”, “why” and “whither” of city-county merge in contemporary China. By reviewing the temporal and spatial evolution of city-county merge since the founding of new China, the authors argue that city-county merge has entered an overall contraction stage, with economic factors still domineering and increasing regional concentration shifting from coastal to inland areas and from central cities to sub-central cities. In the new development stage, the implementation of the “double circulation” strategy and the request for the modernization of urban governance provide a new powerhouse for city-county merge. From the perspective of legal analysis, city-county merge is essentially a constitutional institution related to the allocation and interaction of the state power, so it should obey the rule of law, follow the norms, principles and spirit established by the Constitution, and conform to the logic of its own development. On the whole, city-county merge will not lead to the disappearance of the county system. An “Administrative Division Law” should be formulated to build a legal protection system for administrative divisions.

Keywords: city-county merger, administrative division changes, 14th Five-Year Plan, rule of law, county system

The Constitutional Integrative Logic of the National Honor System

78

Ruan Mijun

Abstract: China’s national honor system is not a sheer reward and punishment system, but a constitutional integration mechanism formed in the dialectical individual-community relationship. The Constitution provides for this integration mechanism a value premise which is composed of the symbolic meanings and core values implied in the narrative of people sovereignty. Based on this value premise, the national honor system establishes a civic image that can be emulated by individual citizens, and, through a set of procedures to ensure fair and just selection, the civic image is produced and reproduced in order to achieve the institutional purpose of forging consensus and building national identity. At the same time, the national honor system constantly tests the value premise in the process of integration to ensure the fluidity and vitality of the constitutional order and the rule of law in the communication between citizens and the national values.

Keywords: constitutional integration, honor system, core values, symbolic meanings, civic image

FEATURE TOPIC II: CHINESE TRADITIONAL SCHOLARSHIP RESOURCES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL THEORY

Popularity Orientation: The Complementarity of Confucianism and Taoism and the Nature of “the Differential Mode of Association” Re-examined 92

Shen Yi

Abstract: The debate between righteousness and benefit has constituted the internal tension of the “the differen-

tial mode of association". The Chinese people, each with an assigned role in a network of ascribed relationship, practices moderate social interaction by showing how to use the harmonious principle of "restraining oneself and returning to the rites" to resolve the conflict over fame, gain and resources and sustain harmony in general human relationship. Compared to this, the interaction and relationship developed from ethical interaction is characterized by "indebtedness and reciprocity rule" based on long-term rewards and somewhat uncertain reciprocity, so that the "gratitude-owed relationship" may develop into a "faithful-buddy relationship" under the need rule. Therefore, the popularity orientation, with a dynamic and expanding nature, surpasses beyond social egoism and represents delicate balance of the relationship principle of "one for all and all for one", which underlies the deep foundation of the traditional righteousness and benefit structure of the complementarity of Confucianism and Taoism. In my opinion, this is the essence of the maintenance and development of human relationship under the principle of "the differential mode of association".

Keywords: popularity orientation, debate between righteousness and benefit, the differential mode of association, the complementarity of Confucianism and Taoism, indebtedness and reciprocity rule

"Ruling by Force" (ba dao) in the Confucian Political Philosophy

109

Li Changchun

Abstract: It has been widely acknowledged that the basic stance of Confucian political philosophy is to favor "ruling by virtue" (wang dao) over against "ruling by force" (ba dao). However, a careful review of the intellectual history shows that this may not have always been the case. Ruling by force was not only not "bad politics" in the early Confucian classics, but was affirmed by Confucius as a kind of virtue politics with its institutional roots in the classical and historical tradition. Mencius honored ruling by virtue and despised ruling by force because of his need for political rhetoric. Xunzi regarded ruling by force as a "suboptimal" type of politics. The Han Confucians saw ruling by force as inadequate benevolent governance. The perception of ruling by force took a turn in the Northern Song Dynasty. Shao Yong saw it as power politics, and the Cheng brothers relegated it to utilitarian politics. From Zhu Xi to Wang Yangming, ruling by force was continuously debased until it eventually became the source of all bad politics. The disparagement of ruling by force by the Song and Ming Confucians led to three theoretical consequences. First, the space for political thinking was so greatly narrowed as to be unable to accommodate realpolitik. Second, preoccupation with moralism indirectly contributes to the divorce of politics and morality. Third, from the pan-pacifist imagination which turns a blind eye to the eternal conflict between political bodies there can never develop a mature politics of friend and foe.

Keywords: virtue politics, power politics, utilitarian politics

Historical Empathy: The Possibility of Psychotherapy Based on Chinese Intellectual Tradition 129

Wang Dongmei

Abstract: Psychotherapy as a culture is participating in the shaping of the spiritual structure of today's Chinese society. Reflections on the literature in psychotherapy, psychological study and individualization show that the mainstream assumptions of humanity in western psychotherapy are mainly based on individualism, which is categorically different from the conception of humanity in the Chinese intellectual tradition. Under the influence of the traditional Chinese cultural concept of harmony between man and nature, human beings are usually assumed to be a kind of relational beings with physical and mental interaction as well as transformational communication with social history and the nature of the universe. Under this premise, "historical empathy" is being proposed, which aims to break through the existing assumptions based on individualism by emphasizing the empathic understanding of the client's physical and mental experiences in the relational as well as social-historical context. Further, the relationship structure of psychotherapy restricted by professional settings and professional power will be transformed to bring about beneficial interaction and understanding between human beings in a social-historical context and achieve humanistic healing based on historical-social-cultural-psychological understanding.

Keywords: psychotherapy, relational being, empathy, historical and humanistic healing

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

From Dualistic Opposition to Dyadic Integration: Toward a New Political Economy of Practice 141

Philip C. C. Huang

Abstract: This article argues for the construction of a new political economy based on Chinese practices. It begins with an explanation of the research approach of starting from practice, and from a distinctive mode of thinking that is akin to that of medicine, rather than Newtonian physics and mathematical logic. Then it discusses the present-day Chinese practices of combining socialism with market economy, state enterprises with private enterprises, the peasant economy with an industrial economy, and the party-state with the economy—all distinctive realities about the new Chinese political-economic system. The foil for the discussion is the long-standing hegemonic ideology and worldview of Anglo-American classical and neoclassical liberal economics and law. This article suggests that we employ China's traditional dyadic integration worldview, evident in today's practices, to arrive at a new integrative cosmological view that rises above both. To a considerable extent, this article is also a re-interpretation of classical Marxist political economy. What the article advocates may be termed a "participatory socialist market economy," to be distinguished from a bureaucratized and controlling socialist planned economy. This is a system that is still very much in the process of formation, its particular content and characteristics yet to

be clarified and specified through a sustained period of searching through practice.

Keywords: deduction - induction vs. medical reasoning, mutually opposed binaries vs. complementary dyads, small peasant economy and modernization, “party-state” and “party-army,” the Chinese Communist Party and bureaucratism

The Enigma of Death with Dignity

162

Jing Jun

Abstract: In the mounting discussions of death with dignity in the Chinese academic circle, living will and palliative care have been regarded as part and parcel of dignified death under patient autonomy. The merit of this approach is its protection of patient choice and self-determination. The downside of it, however, is its egoistic thinking. The present paper proposes the ideas of negotiated choice and care-in-reverse, with a view to broadening our understanding of death with dignity. The discussion will center around three personal narratives about death and dying and two texts of living will.

Keywords: death with dignity, living will, negotiated choice, care-in-reverse.

Who are Impacted: The Change of Publicity Strategy and the Rhetoric Construction of the Law of Marriage 1950

179

Lin Zi

Abstract: The Publicity of the Marriage Law, which began in 1950, once used class struggle tactic and abrasive styles, causing confusion and reinforcing resistance of opponents. The masses and cadres' opposition to the Marriage Law was motivated by self-interests and value identity in upholding feudal patriarchal and marital order, their fear of being liquidated in a feudally oppressive fashion, as well as their confusion about new democratic marriage and family relationships at the time. As a result, the Marriage Law's Publicity efforts veered to an ideological struggle within the population. This ideological struggle aims to make the cadres resist feudal oppression without causing new misunderstandings and disputes. Followed by the struggle, the discourse construction of this new propaganda changed as well. The two paths of discourse construction are drawn out in this paper. The first is to criticize and educate feudal oppressors who afflicts women. The other is the creation of a new marriage institution and family relationship. This paper examines how the CPC understands and employs class, sex, economic interests, and emotional needs to overcome the conflict between the ideal of a new democratic marriage and family and socio-economic realities. In the process, the CPC adjusted the discourse in order to eliminate the above-referred real contradictions.

Keywords: Publicity tactic, discourse construction, mobilization means, the Marriage Law of 1950

“THE WORLD OF ALTERITY”

The Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau as Method: Understanding the Community for Chinese Nation through the Lens of Fei Xiaotong's Regional and Territorial Studies 198

Ma Guoqing & Meng Xiangzhong

Abstract: This paper places the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau in the genealogy of the ethnic corridor to highlight its methodological significance in the study of the community for Chinese nation. It expounds the critical position of the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau, which is a hub of diversified cultural systems, in the pattern of unified multi-ethnic Chinese nation and analyzes its spatial and cultural significance in the study of community for Chinese nation as well as of community with a shared future for mankind. As a cross-regional social system, the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau also provides a research vista for the academic community to understand the mechanism of ethnic corridor and regional inter-ethnic interaction. This regional study has always been an elemental field for ethnological theory and practice in China, and has methodological significance for the study of Chinese society and culture.

Keywords: the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau, ethnic corridor, cross-regional social system, the diversified yet united pattern of the Chinese nation, Community for Chinese Nation

The Bazi Society: From An Historical Anthropological Perspective 215

Cun Yunji & Ma Jianxiong

Abstract: Bazi is a regional political, economic and cultural center, as well as a transportation hub between the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau and highland Southeast Asia. Taking Bazi as the point of departure, this paper attempts to re-examine the construction process of the southwest frontier as a regional society, looking at its agricultural production, community relations, religious etiquette, local markets, transportation systems, military households, and the long-term interaction between local governments and aboriginal officials. The paper tries to get rid of the limitations of the single-ethnic perspective that has long shackled the academic community and explore a set of interpretive models that transcend the diehard conception of binary opposition between highland and lowland societies.

Keywords: the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau, Bazi society, regional culture, historical anthropology