




跨越太平洋的握手

——纪念尼克松访华40周年

张德广 杨文昌 / 主编

 世界知识出版社

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图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

跨越太平洋的握手: 纪念尼克松访华 40 周年 / 张德广, 杨文昌主编.
—北京: 世界知识出版社, 2012. 1
ISBN 978 - 7 - 5012 - 4218 - 4

I. ①跨… II. ①张…②杨… III. ①中美关系 - 文集
IV. ①D822. 371. 2 - 53

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2011) 第 281615 号

责任编辑
责任出版
责任校对

贾如梅
林 琦
陈可望

书 名

跨越太平洋的握手
——纪念尼克松访华 40 周年
Kuayue Taipingyang De Woshou
——Jinian Nikesong Fanghua 40 Zhounian

主 编

张德广 杨文昌

出版发行
地址邮编
排版印刷
经 销
开本印张
字 数
版次印次
标准书号
定 价

世界知识出版社
北京市东城区干面胡同 51 号 (100010)
科鑫苑图文设计制作中心排版 北京楠萍印刷有限公司印刷
新华书店
787 × 1092 1/16 21¼印张 8 插页
289 千字
2012 年 1 月第一版 2012 年 1 月第一次印刷
ISBN 978 - 7 - 5012 - 4218 - 4
39.80 元

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序 言 一

作为《跨越太平洋的握手——纪念尼克松访华 40 周年》文集的首批读者之一，我首先要对本书顺利付梓表示衷心祝贺。由张德广理事长和杨文昌会长主编的这部文集，凝聚外交界、学术界有识之士的真知灼见和思想火花，既是对美国总统尼克松访华 40 周年这一重要历史事件的回顾和纪念，也是对中美关系未来发展的研究和探索，具有重要文献价值和现实意义。

尼克松总统把他 1972 年 2 月的中国之行称作“改变世界的一周”。这一震撼世界的历史事件不仅开启了中美两个伟大国家关系改善和发展的新纪元，而且对国际关系格局产生了深远影响。40 年来，中美关系虽历经风雨但始终不断前行，两国由当年相互隔绝对立到今天已是利益交融、密切合作，两国高层和各级别保持密切交往，签署了 30 多项政府间协议，建立了中美战略与经济对话等 60 多个对话机制。经贸关系持续快速发展，互利格局不断深化，两国已互为第二大贸易伙伴，今年双边贸易额有望突破 4000 亿美元。中美在能源、环保、科教文卫等广泛领域的交流合作稳步推进。两国每年人员往来已突破 300 万人次，人民友好日益加深。在应对国际金融危机、气候变化等全球性挑战和诸多国际地区热点问题上，中美保持密切有效沟通协调，进一步凸显了两国关系的战略意义和全球影响。

抚今追昔，中美关系一幕幕生动历史画卷呈现在我们眼前。毛泽东主席、周恩来总理等中国老一辈领导人与尼克松总统、基辛格博士等一道，以非凡的政治智慧和战略眼光，毅然打开了中美关系大门。邓小平同志与卡特总统审时度势，突破重重阻力做出中美建交的决定。江泽民主席与克林顿总统就中国加入世界贸易组织达成共识，推动中美关系驶入快行道，并与小布什总统一道，把一个健康、稳定、充满活力的中美关系带入新世纪。今年1月，胡锦涛主席对美国成功进行国事访问，与奥巴马总统就共同努力建设相互尊重、互利共赢的中美合作伙伴关系达成重要共识，开启了中美关系新的发展篇章。

当前国际形势正在发生复杂深刻的变化。中美作为当今世界最大的发展中国家和发达国家，作为当今世界两大主要经济体，加强对话、培育互信、深化合作、增进友谊，不仅事关两国人民的福祉，也关系到世界的和平、稳定、繁荣。回顾过去40年，我们可以得出三条重要历史经验，这既是历经时间和实践检验的箴言，也是中美关系未来发展必须遵循的重要原则：

——中美之间是互利共赢的合作关系，而不是零和竞争关系。两国广泛重要的共同利益始终是第一位的。同舟共济、携手合作是双方唯一正确的选择。

——中美关系是一组战略性关系，远远超越双边范畴。双方应始终从两国人民和世界人民根本利益出发，从战略高度和长远角度出发，维护好、发展好中美关系。

——相互尊重是中美关系健康稳定发展的重要前提。中美社会制度、历史文化、发展水平不同，双方应求同存异、平等相待，充分尊重彼此核心利益和重大关切。这对增进两国战略互信、加强双方互利合作至关重要。

尼克松总统在40年前访华时曾引用毛泽东主席的诗词“一万年太久，只争朝夕”，比喻发展中美关系的重要性和紧迫性。中美

共同建设合作伙伴关系无疑是 21 世纪国际关系中的一个重要变革，同样需要只争朝夕、与时俱进的精神。我相信，在双方的共同努力下，中美一定可以实现合作共赢、共同发展，中美关系下一个 40 年的前景一定更加美好。

中国外交部长

杨洁篪

2011 年 11 月 10 日

序 言 二

40年前，隔洋相望的中美两国关系相互疏远、相互敌视。政府之间除了间或指谪，几乎毫无来往。民间交往稀少而短促，双边贸易几乎为零。双方嫌隙颇深，整整一代人都把对方视为无法改变的敌对国家。

此后双方的看法出现了难得一见的一致。两国的最高领导者分析世界形势时，不约而同地认为两国相互打开大门既符合本国利益，也有利于世界和平。中国刚刚经历了“文化大革命”的浩劫，开始努力扩大国际交往。美国则寻求在国际事务中重建某种均势，希望将民众的注意力从国内分歧和一场不得人心的战争中转移出去。双方都认为，一个搞扩张的苏联对各自的威胁超过了中美对彼此的威胁。

中美两国重新发现彼此的历程由此开启。双方克服此前20年的敌对，帮助彼此了解各自对世界的看法，为建立合作的双边关系奠定基础。当初由少数人进行的秘密的、试探性的接触而今已经发展成为具有相当深度和广度的双边关系。两国日常交往频繁，内容涉及人类生活的方方面面。中美关系已经成为影响新的世界秩序的核心因素之一，也是决定21世纪和平与繁荣的重要力量。

1972年2月尼克松总统访华，把开启中美关系的进程推到顶点。本论文集纪念的就是这一事件。此次访问使心怀坚定信仰的人

坐到一起，尽管有时他们的信仰截然相反。毛泽东主席和周恩来总理毕生追求共产主义革命和中华民族的复兴。而尼克松政治生涯的根基却是反对共产主义，并且他一贯崇尚美国应大力在世界上，特别是在亚洲发挥作用。而正是在亚洲，美中两国有一些战略性的对立。双方领导人没有放弃自己的信仰倒向对方一边。但他们都认识到，正如尼克松对毛泽东说的那样，“虽然我们之间有分歧，但是我们可以找到共同点建立一种世界体系，使双方都能安心按照各自的模式，沿着各自的道路发展”。在这一过程中，任何一方都不期望对方与自己的目标完全一致，但都认为自己有责任为了子孙后代寻找利益的汇合点。毛泽东也对尼克松说到，无论中国还是美国，都没有威胁到对方的根本安全利益，但“我们两家也怪得很，过去二十二年总是谈不拢”。即使双方的看法注定不同，这些差异不应阻碍双方积极接触。“我们谈得成也行，谈不成也行，何必那么僵着呢？一定要谈成？”毛泽东肯定了双方关系新的发展方向，告诉尼克松将由周恩来负责具体事宜。

尼克松的中国之行在国际首脑会晤的历史上非同寻常，因为中美刚刚恢复接触，由于20年的隔阂，两国之间几乎没有具体的战术性的问题。因此，尼克松与毛泽东和周恩来会晤时，双方谈的几乎都是概念或想法。而这恰恰为重启双边关系建立了良好机制，使历史背景和国内政策取向极大不同的双方，能够了解对方在世界秩序演变中的长期、总体目标。这种机制使双方相信，即使今后出现变数，也不需要了解相互立场方面“从零做起”。这种机制也培养了双方相互合作、相互协商的习惯，这种习惯一直延续到尼克松之后的历届政府，并不断扩大到更加广泛的领域。

此后的几十年间，八任美国总统和中国四代领导人无论始点有何不同，始终能够处理好这一微妙的关系。双方都不允许历史包袱或对国内秩序的不同看法成为干扰两国发展实质性合作关系的障碍。

40年后，世界发生了更大的变化，变化之大超出了美中领导人首次会晤参与者们的预期。中国已跃居为经济超级大国，其利益遍布世界各个角落。美国在冷战中胜出，后又经受了金融危机的冲击，并开始大刀阔斧重建与穆斯林世界的关系。新技术将世界联系得前所未有的紧密，国际事务和金融活动也因之而瞬息万变。2011年1月胡锦涛主席与奥巴马总统会晤，之后拜登副总统访华并与习近平副主席会晤，双方都强调美中关系对于21世纪的和平与进步至关重要。

当今世界，我们面临诸多共同挑战和机遇，而非一个共同威胁。我们面对着一个新的现实，以及由此带来的共同责任：21世纪诸多重大问题，如防扩散、反恐、环境保护、气候变化、网络空间、国际金融体系的健康运行、能源安全等，只能通过美中两国的对话与合作解决。相反，如果我们两国相互敌对，将给世界的发展前景蒙上阴影。正如戴秉国在中国人民外交学会与中国国际问题研究基金会最近举办的纪念美中开启双边关系的会议上指出的那样，以前，我们两国的目标是将美国与中国这两艘大船拉近，而现在我们“都在同一条船上”，只有同舟共济，才能到达我们共同的彼岸。

在今后的几年和几十年间，美国和中国必将在世界各地互有交集；其中一国将成为另一国日常生活的一部分。目前面临的挑战是要让双方登高望远，考虑他们可以与其他国家一起缔造一个什么样的世界。两个有着不同历史和文化背景的伟大国家，两个既追求自身利益，又以其为人类发展所做贡献而自豪的国家，正试图在一个合作的框架内协调彼此的目标。

中国人民外交学会和中国国际问题研究基金会组织了一批卓有建树的中国学者和官员，其中包括许多过去几十年间在构建美中关系中发挥了举足轻重作用的人士，来分析双边关系的方方面面，抚今追昔，从历史中吸取经验教训，以资未来。

多年来，我有幸与本文集的多位撰稿人有过接触，并从各位对

于双边关系和国际事务的真知灼见中获益。文中所选的议题涵盖经济、环境、安全、外交、技术和文化交流，这本身也体现了21世纪中美关系的广度和重要性。文集的多位作者在最高层面参与了中美关系的发展。他们强调双边关系应建立在相互尊重、互利共赢的长期基础之上，这符合我们两国乃至整个世界的利益。他们希望，美中双方能够认识到彼此的分歧，并尽可能地携手合作。这是尼克松访华时提出的概念，同样也能在书中讨论的“和而不同”这一中国传统概念中找到共鸣。

作者们没有故意回避敏感议题。书中录有中方在台湾、朝鲜、伊朗及其在中美关系中的作用等问题上的鲜明观点。两位前高级军官对双边军事关系也作出了深刻的剖析。作者们虽都承认两国关系偶尔会发生摩擦，但同时也强调合则两利的重要性。

正如这些文章所述，推动中美关系向前发展，需要双方敏锐地把握和理解彼此的观点，并且创造性地憧憬未来——一个双方领导人继续坚信携手共建世界新秩序符合两国共同利益的未来。

美国前国务卿

亨利·基辛格

2011年9月于纽约州纽约市

(序言二原文)

**Preface to Chinese People's Institute of
Foreign Affairs and China Foundation for
International Studies 40th Anniversary
Collection of Essays on US – China Relations**

Forty years ago, China and the United States faced each other across a gulf of estrangement and hostility. Governmental contact was virtually nonexistent, and confined to periodic recitations of grievances. People – to – people contacts were rare and fleeting. Bilateral trade was nil. Suspicions ran deep on both sides, as an entire generation had grown up in each country supposing the other implacably hostile.

Then, in a rare convergence of analyses, the top leaders in both countries analyzed the world situation and concluded – independently and simultaneously – that it was in the interest of their country and of a peaceful world to open up to the other. China, emerging from the upheavals of the Cultural Revolution, sought to expand its range of international options. America sought to restore a measure of equilibrium in international affairs and raise its people's sights beyond domestic divisions and an unpopular war. Both sides assessed that an expansionist Soviet Union threatened each of them more than they threatened each other.

Thus began a process of mutual rediscovery in which China and the

United States sought to overcome two decades of animosity, educate each other about our perspectives on the world, and lay the groundwork for a cooperative bilateral relationship. What began as a tentative and secretive process undertaken by a handful of individuals has now grown into a bilateral relationship of considerable depth and breadth, involving countless daily interactions across the full range of human endeavor. The US – China relationship has become one of the central factors in the emerging world order and an essential determinant of 21st – century peace and prosperity.

The Sino – US opening culminated in President Richard Nixon's visit to China in February 1972, whose anniversary the present volume commemorates. The trip brought together men of deep, occasionally opposite, convictions. Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai had devoted their lives to the cause of communist revolution and China's national resurgence. Nixon had built his domestic political career on vocal anti – communism and had long advocated a robust American world role, including particularly in Asia, where the United States and China had found themselves on opposing sides of strategic confrontations. None of these leaders had changed his convictions or come to convert the other. What they recognized, as Nixon told Mao, was that “we can find common ground, despite our differences, to build a world structure in which both can be safe to develop in our own ways on our own roads.” In this process, neither side supposed that the other would share all of its aims; but both concluded that they had a responsibility to future generations to seek areas where their countries' interests overlapped. As Mao told Nixon, neither China nor the United States threatened the fundamental security interests of the other, and yet “the situation between our two countries

is strange because during the past 22 years our ideas have never met in talks.” Even if there were bound to be differences in perspective, the two sides should not be afraid to meet: “It is alright to talk well and also alright if there are no agreements, because what use is there if we stand in deadlock?” Having endorsed a new direction for the relationship, Mao told Nixon that he was entrusting Zhou to manage the details.

Nixon’s China visit was unusual in the history of international summits in that, in these early months of the US – China rapprochement, there were still almost no day – to – day tactical issues between the United States and China, a legacy of our two decades of separation. Thus when Nixon met with Mao and Zhou, the leaders exchanged largely conceptual perspectives. This turned out to be a salutary mechanism for reopening relations. For it gave both sides, so different in our historical experiences and domestic orientations, the ability to learn each other’s principal long – term goals for the evolving world order. It established confidence that, in future contingencies, we would not need to “start from scratch” in understanding each other’s positions. And it built habits of cooperation and consultation that endured well into the tenure of succeeding administrations, and that expanded to include an ever – broader range of subjects.

In the decades since, eight American Presidents and four generations of Chinese leaders have managed this delicate relationship in a consistent manner, whatever the difference in starting points. Both sides have refused to permit historic legacies or different conceptions of domestic order to interrupt their essentially cooperative relationship.

Forty years later, the world has changed further, beyond the expec-

tations of the participants in the original US – China summits. China has become an economic superpower with interests in every corner of the globe. America has prevailed in the Cold War, weathered financial crisis, and engaged in a major reinvention of its relations with the Muslim world. New technologies have united the world to an unprecedented degree and made international affairs and financial activity instantaneous. When in January 2011 President Hu Jintao met with President Obama, and Vice President Biden traveled to China for meetings with Vice President Xi Jinping, they affirmed the importance of a bilateral relationship essential to peace and progress in the 21st century.

Today we face common challenges and opportunities, rather than a common threat. We encounter a new reality, and the shared responsibilities it entails; many of the 21st century's most significant questions – counter – proliferation, anti – terrorism, environmental preservation, climate change, cyberspace, the health of the international financial system, energy security – can be addressed successfully only through US – China consultation and cooperation. Conversely, were our countries to fall into an adversarial dynamic, it would blight prospects for progress. As Dai Bingguo remarked at a recent conference organized by the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and the China Foundation for International Studies to commemorate the Sino – US opening, previously our two countries' goals were to move America's and China's "boats" closer together; now we are "in the same boat," and only by working together can we reach our common destination.

In the coming years and decades, the United States and China are bound to interact all over the world; each will be part of the other's daily

reality. The challenge now is for both sides to raise their sights to consider the kind of world we can build together with other countries. Two great nations with different histories and cultures, each one pursuing its own interests and each proud of its contributions to humanity, are striving to merge their aspirations within a framework of cooperation.

The Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and the China Foundation for International Studies have assembled an accomplished group of Chinese scholars and officials – including many of the crucial participants in building US – China relations over the past decades – to analyze the relationship in all of its facets, and to reflect on the past and draw from it lessons for the future.

I have had the good fortune to interact with many of the contributors over the years and learn from their insights on bilateral relations and international affairs. The issues they have selected demonstrate the breadth and importance of the 21st – century US – China relationship, ranging across economic, environmental, security, diplomatic, technological and cultural exchanges. The authors, many of whom have participated in US – China relations at the highest levels, stress the determination that the relationship will be founded on a long – term basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit, both for our own countries' sake and for the sake of the broader world. They reflect the hope that the two sides, recognizing their differences, will cooperate where possible. This concept, put forward by Nixon in his China visit, also finds echoes in the traditional Chinese concept of “harmony without uniformity” discussed in these pages.

The various authors have not shied away from sensitive topics. This

book contains forthright accounts of the Chinese perspective on Taiwan, North Korea, and Iran and the role of these issues in US – China relations. Two former senior military officials offer penetrating analyses of bilateral military – to – military relations. The authors contributing to this volume have acknowledged occasional frictions in the relationship, but have underscored the degree to which cooperation benefits both sides.

As these pages argue, charting the way forward in US – China relations calls for sensitivity to each other's perspectives and a willingness to think creatively about a future in which leaders on both sides continue to see it in their countries' interest to build an emerging world order as a joint enterprise.

Henry A. Kissinger

New York, New York, September 2011

前言 一

40年前，尼克松总统访华，结束了中美长期的隔绝状态，开启了两国交流与合作的新时代。这是一个震撼、改变世界的重大历史性事件。

20世纪70年代和80年代，我先后在中国驻苏联和美国大使馆工作。那正是美苏两个超级大国在全球范围内展开激烈争霸的年代，中、美、苏三国关系相互影响，敏感而微妙，被称为国际关系中的“大三角”。现在，美苏冷战已经过去20多年了，多极化和全球化趋势使世界发生了翻天覆地的变化，各国面临的共同挑战、共同关切日益增多，弱肉强食的“丛林世界”有望向着“地球村”演进。人类经历数千年的曲折发展，特别是近百年来两次世界大战和频繁的局部战争的惨痛教训，应该能够在21世纪走上一条和平、发展、合作的光明大道，人类文明应该提升到一个更高的发展阶段。历史的进步正在剥夺“国强必霸”以及一切霸权主义的生存条件，而国与国之间的关系已经并将继续发生更加深刻而积极的变化。中国坚定不移地走和平发展道路正是立足于人类文明发展的至高点，把握世界和时代发展的客观规律和潮流而作出的战略抉择。中国不会走前苏联的道路，也不会觊觎美国的世界“领导地位”。

20年前曾有人断言苏联的解体是社会主义制度的“历史终结”。发人深思的是，这一预言被实践彻底推翻，中国特色的社会主义道