



建设一个持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界，需要国际社会每一个成员的携手努力和友好交往。只有植根于各国人民间的理解、信任和友谊，才能为世界的和平与发展奠定牢固的社会基石。

顾莹惠  
主编

# 东 吴 民间外交

## 研究论丛

第一辑

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## 前 言

外交是以主权国家为主体，通过正式代表国家的机构与人员的官方行为，使用交涉、谈判和其他和平方式对外行使主权，以处理国家关系和参与国际事务，是一国维护本国利益及实施其对外政策的重要手段。民间外交则是一国国民为维护本国利益和自身权利，通过非官方渠道参与国际事务，影响政府决策，沟通各国关系，促进国际合作，同样也是一国实施对外政策的重要方式。正如周恩来所指出：“外交是国家和国家间的关系，还是人民和人民间的关系？外交工作是以国家为对象，还是以人民为代表？”“就外交工作来说，则是以国家和国家的关系为对象的。外交是通过国家和国家的关系这个形式来进行的，但落脚点还是在影响和争取人民，这是辩证的。”“民间外交继续发展可以使官方外交基础更加牢固；反之，官方外交开展了，又可以为民间外交提供更为有利的方便条件。”<sup>①</sup>这就清楚地点明了政府外交和民间外交的关系。

对于民间外交的研究，在中国已有较长历史。早在五四时期

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<sup>①</sup> 《周恩来外交文选》，中央文献出版社1990年版，第327-329页；裴坚章主编：《研究周恩来——外交思想与实践》，世界知识出版社1989年版，第230页。

就已有专文研究国民外交的目标、方式与作用问题了。及至新中国建立后，因民间外交的成功实践已成为新中国外交的一大特色，各种回忆、介绍、总结、研究的文章也纷纷发表。近年来，随着全球化趋势的逐渐深入，中国融入世界的步伐逐渐加大，人民参与国际事务的要求也在逐渐增强，因此，民间外交的研究又进入了一个新的高潮期。

所谓民间外交，是指非官方外交，通常也被称之为国民外交、人民外交、公众外交等。但实际上这些名称的含义并不完全相同，甚至因受意识形态、社会地位、时代背景之影响，就其基本概念与具体范畴而言，还存在着很大差异。有的是偏重于强调国家性质与外交决策过程中的人民性，如《美国人民外交史》作者托马斯·贝利认为：美国基本的外交政策是由美国公众舆论决定的，总统与政府不过是这些政策的执行者。美国外交政策的出台，美国民众可通过各种方式和渠道表示支持或反对，并可直接影响总统的竞选和连任。因此，美国的外交政策体现了美国人民的要求，美国的外交就是人民外交。有的则是偏重于强调国民实际参与国家外交事务的方式、内容与程度，认为国家利益是全体人民的利益，国与国之间的关系是民族、人民之间的关系，国际事务不仅是少数政治家的事情，而且是直接影响本国和世界人民的事情。因此，国民应该直接参与外交事务。有的则强调国家性质与国民实际参与外交事务的统一性，即所谓“政府搭台，民间唱戏”，“以民促官”，“以民补官”，等等。因此，我们在研究讨论各种有关问题时，有必要加以区分清楚。

我们说民间外交是非官方外交。但是，在对非官方外交上也还存在着不同的看法与解释。如周恩来曾明确指出：中国的外交

是官方的、半官方的和民间的三者结合起来的外交。于是，有的学者就用“一轨”、“二轨”、“三轨”来对应官方的、半官方的、民间的外交活动。这样，也就引出了一个对于半官方机构所从事的外交活动的解释问题。如中国人民对外友好协会，其属于半官方机构，但其主要任务即是从事民间外交活动，还有许多类似的机构与组织所从事的各种外交活动，是否归入民间外交之列呢？而有的学者则认为“官方机构也可以是民间或人民外交的行为者”，“官方机构还可以是民间或人民外交的对象”，只要其中的一方是非官方的，就属于民间外交。这样，就又扩大了民间外交行为者的范围。如此种种，不一而足。所有这些，应该都是需要我們进行研究并达成共识的问题。

民间外交是外交的重要方式之一，在不同的历史阶段发挥着政府外交不可替代的作用。在当代国际关系中，交流起着重要的作用。世界正在发生前所未有的历史性变革，人类正处在维护世界和平、促进共同发展的关键时刻。经济全球化的趋势正在逐步深入发展，文化的多样性也正在日益受到尊重，人类和平与发展的崇高事业前景光明。同时，各种传统安全威胁因素与非传统安全威胁因素依然存在，并相互交织，人类也面临着种种需要认真对待的矛盾和挑战。推动不同文化的交融与发展，建设一个持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界，是世界各国人民的共同愿望，也是人类社会发展的必然要求。建设和谐世界，需要国际社会每一个成员的携手努力，更需要各国人民间的友好交往与推动。只有植根于各国人民间的理解、信任和友谊，才能为世界的和平与发展提供巩固的社会基础。中华民族与世界各民族在历史上就有着各种形式的友好交往和合作关系。也正是因为有着人民间的友好广

泛的合作基础，中国与世界各国的关系才能历经风雨依旧携手合作，共谱新世纪新乐章。

作为长期以来有志于研究近现代中外关系与民间外交的学者，我们自1996年承担国家社科基金九五规划项目“中国国民外交史”以来，一直在国民外交这块园地里辛勤耕耘，现将以往研究的具有一定代表性的成果以及与之相关的研究成果陆续汇编成册，以期能够抛砖引玉，与各位同仁相互切磋，交流心得，共同为建设和平世界作出应有的贡献。

编 者

2008年8月28日

## Preface

Diplomacy is the official practice of sovereign states to exercise their sovereignty in conducting international relations and participating in international affairs through representative organizations and officials by means of negotiation and other peaceful methods. Non – governmental diplomacy, another important way for a nation to execute its foreign policy, refers to the practice of the people of a nation to participate in international affairs and influence government policies so as to protect national and individual interests, and promote international relations and cooperation via non – official channels. Zhou Enlai once pointed out “diplomacy is the relation between nations. It is also the relation between common people of different nations. Its target is the nation, but it is represented by the people”, “Diplomacy centers on the former relation. It is based on nations, but its fundamental concern is for and about the people. This is dialectic”, and “non – governmental diplomacy strengthens the basis of official diplomacy while governmental diplomacy prepares more favorable conditions for non –

governmental diplomacy”<sup>①</sup>. These quotations clarify the relation between governmental and non-governmental diplomacy.

Researches on non-governmental diplomacy have a history in China. As early as the May 4th Movement, papers on its goals, methods and effects began to be published. After New China was founded, the success of non-governmental diplomacy became a major characteristic of the diplomatic policies, so all kinds of papers to review, introduce, summarize and study it came out in large numbers. In recent years, as globalization deepens, China is accelerating its pace of involvement into the world community and the Chinese people are demanding more participation in international affairs. As a consequence, another high tide of studies on non-governmental diplomacy has emerged.

Non-governmental diplomacy, or non-official diplomacy, is also called diplomacy of the nationals, diplomacy of the people or diplomacy of the populace. But these terms are not identical, but different in basic concepts and specific confines due to the influences of ideology, social status and the context of the times. Some emphasize the role of people in the nature of a nation and its foreign policy making process, as Thomas Bailey, author of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* contends that the basic American foreign policies is decided by its public opinion while the president and the government

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<sup>①</sup> A Collection of Zhou Enlai's Papers on Diplomacy, 1990, Central Party Literature Press, p. 327 - 329; Pei Jianzhang, *Research on Zhou Enlai's Diplomatic ideas and practices*, 1989, World Affairs Press, p. 230.

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only execute them. American people can show their approval or disapproval in different ways with regard to their foreign policies and directly impacts presidential election and re-election. The American foreign policy echoes the voice of the people, so in this sense American diplomacy is diplomacy of the people. Some stress the way, content and dimension of people's actual participation in diplomatic affairs with the belief that national interests are the interests of all the people and international relations are the relations between the people, so international affairs involve not only a small number of politicians, but affect people of a particular nation and the whole world. Therefore people should participate directly in diplomacy. Some point to the consistence between the nature of a nation and the actual participation in diplomacy of its people, in the form of being "based on the government, but conducted by the people", "reinforce diplomacy through the people" and "complement diplomacy through the people". We must bear these differences in mind when we probe into relevant problems.

We equal non-governmental diplomacy to non-official diplomacy, but different opinions and definitions have been proposed for it. Zhou Enlai stated that Chinese diplomacy is the combination of governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental forms. Some scholars attach "Rail 1", "Rail 2" and "Rail 3" to the three forms. It leads naturally to the definition of diplomacy by semi-governmental organizations. Take the Chinese Association for Friendship with Foreign nations for example. It is a semi-governmental organization, but its major task is to carry out non-governmental diplomacy. There are



many similar organizations. Do their various diplomatic practices belong to non - governmental diplomacy? A few scholars argue that "governmental organizations can be the agent of non - governmental diplomacy or diplomacy of the people" and "government organizations can be the target of non - governmental diplomacy or diplomacy of the people". These are all classified as non - governmental diplomacy on condition that non - governmental organizations are involved. In this way the boundary of non - governmental diplomacy is further expanded. There are more examples which can not be listed here. These are all problems calling for researches and agreements.

Non - governmental diplomacy is an important way of diplomacy, playing roles that government can not replace in different historical periods. In current international relations, communication is of prime importance. As the world undergoes unprecedented historic changes, humanity is at the critical moment of keeping world peace and enhancing mutual development. Economic globalization is gradually deepening and cultural diversity is receiving more attention, both contributing to a bright future of the lofty pursuit of peace and development. In the meantime, however, various traditional and non - traditional factors that threaten peace still exist and intertwine each other, confronting humanity with conflicts and challenges demanding serious consideration. Therefore, it is both the hope of the world community and a must for human development to boost integration and advancement of varying cultures and to construct a peaceful and prosperous harmonious world. The construction requires the participation of every member

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of the international community and the friendship between them. Only understanding, trust and friendship deeply rooted among nations can lay a solid foundation for world peace and development. The Chinese people and other peoples of the world have carried out all kinds of communication and cooperation. It is based on the extensive cooperation that China and other nations have composed the new symphony in the new century despite recurring disturbing notes.

As researchers on modern relations between China and other nations, we have been committed to diplomacy of the people since the undertaking of the Ninth Five – year Program of the National Social Science Fund “A Diplomatic History of the Chinese People”. We are honored to present the collection of findings of our research and other relevant studies for communication with scholars in this field, so as to make due contribution to building a harmonious world.

Editor

2008. 8. 28

## 内容简介

民间外交是外交的重要方式之一，也是中国外交的重要特色之一。建设一个持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界，既是人类社会发展的必然要求和世界各国人民的共同愿望，也需要国际社会每一个成员的携手努力和各国人民间的友好交往与推动。只有植根于各国人民间的理解、信任和友谊，才能为世界的和平与发展提供巩固的社会基础。

该研究论丛是苏州大学民间外交研究中心的研究学者，多年以来从事民间外交研究的具有一定代表性的研究成果汇编。其中既有对于民间外交基本概念、行为主体、主要方式与客观作用的理论阐释，又有对于中国国民外交的起源与发展、各历史时期民间外交基本特点的历史评析，还有对于相关的国家战略与国际关系、官方外交与民间外交的关系、跨文化交往能力的培养等问题的实际探讨。该研究论丛的出版，不仅将进一步引起学术界对民间外交研究的关注，而且将促进学术研究与具体实践之结合，共同为建设和谐世界做出应有的贡献。

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## 20 世纪中国国民外交论纲

顾莹惠

国民外交，曾是 20 世纪中国外交的重要特色之一。自清末以来，许多民间团体与个人为了捍卫国家主权、维护国家利益，开展了多种方式的国民外交活动，在各个历史时期，都曾掀起过不同规模的国民外交高潮。但是，对于国民外交的基本定义、国民外交的起源与发展、国民外交的实际作用等问题，却还没有较为深入的专论。笔者希冀通过对 20 世纪中国国民外交的概要性论述，能激发学界的研究兴趣，推进对国民外交的整体深入研究，也为当今中国外交提供一些可资借鉴的历史经验。

### 一、国民外交的基本含义

国民外交是外交的重要方面。就外交的基本概念而言，目前较为一致的看法是：外交是指任何以主权国家为主体，通过和平方式，对国家间关系和国际事务的处理，是一国实施其对外政策，维护本国利益的重要手段。外交是国家通过其主管机关和授权代表，用谈判、通信、会议、参加国际组织和缔结条约的方法，处理其对外关系的活动。<sup>〔1〕</sup>这里强调两个基本要素，即主权国家与和平方式。

就和平方式而言，古代即有，因此说“在氏族社会已经有



了外交的萌芽”。<sup>[2]</sup>但是，古代并没有主权国家的概念，这时的外交活动主要是指部落之间兼并战争中的谈判活动和部落之间和平共处时的外交活动。16世纪，法国思想家让·布丹在《论共和国》一书中首次提出了国家主权思想，否定了教皇的“世界主权”观念，指出各民族国家的主权平等原则是国际关系中应共同遵守的准则。1625年，荷兰政治思想家格劳秀斯在《战争与和平法》一书中进一步提出，国际关系应以各国都接受的国际法为基础，国际法的准则应该是正义和公理。到英法资产阶级革命时期，英法思想家们进一步否定了“君权神授”说，批判了封建专制的秘密外交，反对把国家关系看成是君主之间的关系，提出了“民族至上”、“国家利益至上”和“主权在民”的原则，认为国家的最高权力即主权应当属于人民，人民是主权者和国家的主人。法国的《人权宣言》明确宣布：整个主权属于人民。美国的《独立宣言》则首次将人民主权与民族独立问题结合起来，并以法律形式予以肯定。

可以说，外交基本概念中两个要素的形成是与民族国家的兴起密切相关的，反映了各民族国家在交往中需要建立和维持起码的秩序及和平，希望避免使用军事手段解决国际争端，运用和平方式来维护本国利益，实现对外政策等目标。而“主权在民”原则的提出，又将人权与国际关系密切联系了起来，揭示了国民与国家利益的关系。这也就直接导引出了国民外交的实质，即国民外交是“主权在民”原则在外交领域里的具体体现。

因此，国民外交的基本概念应是：国民外交是各国国民为捍卫国家主权和自身权利，谋求国家发展，争取世界和平而以非官方的身份从事的对外交涉和交流。国民外交源于人民主权思想，