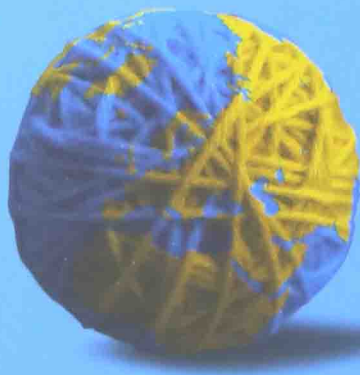


新型
大国关系
机遇与挑战

NEW TYPE OF
GREAT POWER
RELATIONS

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

贾庆国 严军 主编



北京大学出版社
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序*

贾庆国

2012年2月,时任国家副主席的习近平在访美期间提出中美要构建“前无古人,但后启来者”的新型大国关系。奥巴马总统也多次表示,正如美国的繁荣有利于中国,中国的崛起也有利于美国,美国欢迎一个强大、稳定和繁荣的中国。随着中美两国领导层更新,构建新型大国关系成为两国乃至世界日益关注的焦点问题。

什么是新型的大国关系?它意味着什么?它跟传统的大国关系有什么不同?新型大国关系的提法是否只适用于中美关系,还是同时也适用于所有大国间的关系?新型大国关系的理论基础是什么?中美两国历史经历、文化传统、政治体制不同,在中国综合国力迅速上升的背景下,和美国构建新型大国关系是不是一种现实的可能?中美构建新型的大国关系需要两国做些什么?

针对上述问题,2013年11月5—7日举行的北京论坛国际关系分坛邀请了来自国内外、五大洲的近40位专家学者发表论文和看法。论坛期间,与会专家从理论到实践,从中美双边关系到两国在全球治理方面的互动,展开了热烈和深入的讨论。这本论文集收录了论坛中发表的部分质量较高的论文,希望能对大家思考上述问题有所帮助。

什么是新型的大国关系?现代国际关系学院美国所所长达巍副研究员认为新型大国关系就是不冲突、不对抗、相互尊重、合作共赢的大国关系。它包含两个层次,一个是低水平的层次,就是不冲突,不对抗,既没有冷战,也没有热战;一个是高水平的层次,那就是相互尊重、合作共赢。在这个问题上,与会专家没有表示不同意见。

新型大国关系的提法是只适用于中美关系,还是也适用于中国与所有大国的关系?中国国内对此有着不同的解读,有些人认为它应该适用于中国与所有

* 本文多处引用了北京大学国际关系学院节大磊博士对本次论坛的综述稿,在此向节大磊博士表示感谢。

大国之间的关系,另外一些人认为它仅适用于中美两国关系。参加此次论坛的学者虽然没有明说它只适用于中美关系,但在提及新型大国关系时,谈的主要还是中美关系。其实道理也很简单,习主席是在访问美国期间提出这个概念的,之所以提中美需要构建新型大国关系主要还是因为考虑到中美两国关系比较特殊,即为崛起大国和守成大国之间的关系。由于历史上崛起大国和守成大国之间的关系常常以冲突和战争的方式结束,由于冲突和战争不符合包括守成大国和崛起大国在内国家的根本利益,所以要通过构建新型大国关系来避免对抗,实现合作共赢。其他大国关系虽然也需要避免对抗、加强合作,但它的内涵和意义与中美关系的内涵和意义大不一样。

按照新型大国关系的标准,如何评估现在的中美关系?达巍副研究员认为,目前中美两国已经做到了不冲突、不对抗。但要构建高水平的新型大国关系,还需要巩固中美经济相互依存关系,保持军事和核武领域的战略稳定,在战略层面让对方放心,并共同参与改革现行的国际机制。丹佛大学中美合作中心主任赵穗生教授也有同感。在他看来,中国提出同美国构建新型大国关系的主张是为改善和发展两国关系释出的善意,反映了中方的良好愿望,但要将其落实,还有较长路要走。北京大学戴行钺教授指出,美国在中国同邻国的领海争端中拉偏架的做法以及在全球开展的范围广泛的监听活动等做法都与两国构建新型大国关系的要求相差甚远。

为什么现在要强调中美构建新型大国关系?对此,澳大利亚前总理陆克文认为,这是应对中美关系中出现的“战略漂移”问题的需要。他指出,中美领导人的价值取向、思维方式、对彼此的认知等观念因素在很大程度上影响着他们的政策选择。新型大国关系概念提出的目的在于塑造有利于两国关系健康发展的思维方式和认知,推动两国关系的良性互动。对此,北京大学国际战略研究院院长王缉思教授也有同感,在他看来,中美战略存在互疑加深、意识形态和政治制度差异、未来发展方向不确定等不利于两国关系发展的因素,两国精英中也不同程度地持有两国关系滑向战略对抗的看法,克服上述因素和看法对中美两国关系的负面影响是中国提出构建新型大国关系的重要考量。

其他与会专家也从不同角度提出了自己的看法。澳门大学社会科学学院院长郝雨凡教授指出,中国提出新型大国关系这一概念的主要动因在于化解外界尤其是美国对中国快速崛起的担忧。俄罗斯国际事务委员会安德里·库图诺夫教授认为,国际体系中的不稳定因素不断增加,直至达到各国都无法管控的程度,最终导致战争爆发。因此,大国关系的稳定取决于大国如何规范国际体系,如何切实负起责任,管控冲突。中国倡导构建新型大国关系旨在防止中美重蹈历史上大国冲突的覆辙。康奈尔大学中国与亚太项目代理主任徐昕教授指出,中美在构建新型大国关系上的共识反映出双方对过去大国兴衰悲剧的

深刻认知、对目前若隐若现的中美战略对抗的高度警醒、对避免两国关系未来陷入“修昔底德陷阱”的共同愿望。

中美两国历史经历、文化传统、政治体制不同,在中国综合国力迅速上升的背景下,构建新型的大国关系是不是一种现实的可能?北京大学国际关系学院院长贾庆国教授认为,中美构建新型大国关系既是历史的可能,如19世纪后半叶美国的崛起就没有导致它与当时的霸主国家英国之间的对抗和战争,也是现实的需要。新加坡国立大学东亚研究所所长郑永年教授也认为中美构建新型大国关系是可能的,因为这是两国利益的需要。他指出,中美之间的高度相互依存是双方决定探索构建新型大国关系的巨大动力。未来中国不太可能发动一场革命,推翻现存国际秩序,也不可能像前苏联一样,脱离当今国际秩序,确立一个次国际秩序。澳门大学社会科学学院院长郝雨凡教授认为中美之间存在着构建新型大国关系的基础。他指出核武器的出现和全球化改变了大国互动模式,增加了大国间发生冲突的成本。尽管中美互信有待提高,但两国建交以来在双边、地区和国际层次的互动表明,两国有能力促进合作,管控分歧。北京大学国际关系学院丁斗教授也认为,在当今世界,由于核武器的威慑作用,大国之间的冲突几乎是不可能,也是难以想象的。

美国海军研究生院郭达安教授指出,虽然中美在战略上互不信任,但最近两年中美关系中确实出现了一些积极的因素,主要包括:两国开始在朝核问题上有更深层次的合作;两军交流也有很大的提升;双方经贸合作出现新的亮点,特别是关于双边投资协定的谈判;双方建立了一些竞争和冲突管理机制;在全球机制和全球治理层面,双方也展开了积极合作;中美双方开始一起探讨改革当今国际机制的可能性;美国公开宣示欢迎一个强大、繁荣的中国,中国也公开表示欢迎美国在亚太发挥建设性的作用。这些积极的因素有利于中美实现构建新型大国关系的目标。

中国社会科学院美国研究所樊吉社研究员认为中美构建新型大国关系既具有良好的条件也面对严峻的挑战。他指出,中美都拥有核武器,都需要应对共同的地区及全球挑战,两国经济相互依赖,以及目前相对和平稳定的国际环境,这些构成维护中美战略稳定的四大支柱。但是,双边的相互猜忌、中美关系中的现实主义宿命论、中国军事力量发展、美国的亚洲再平衡战略、中美相互对冲战略等因素给维护中美战略稳定带来了严峻挑战。

有些学者认为中美构建新型大国关系关键在于它们能否满足某些条件。北京大学国际关系学院张小明教授认为中美实现构建新型大国关系的目标主要取决于三个因素:一是美国能否真正接受中国作为一个大国在国际上发挥应有的作用?二是世界能否接受中国作为一个大国参与塑造和改革当今国际秩序?三是中国自己的战略行为能否为国际社会所接受?他认为,这些条件是否

能满足目前还没有定论。复旦大学苏长和教授认为,构建中美新型大国关系本质上是要处理好三组关系,一是中美两个大国之间如何实现共生?二是中美两个大国和中国周边小国如何实现共生?三是如何保证不同文明之间的和平相处?

德国柏林自由大学图施霍夫教授从不同的理论视角阐述了中美合作的条件。他说,从现实主义的视角来看,只有在双方相对收益得到满足时才能和平解决争端;从自由主义相互依存理论的视角来看,双边关系中合作与冲突并存,只有当彼此绝对收益能够得到满足才能保证双边合作、化解彼此冲突;从国内因素的视角看,只有得到两国国内核心利益集团的支持,两国合作关系才会得以维护。

日本战略研究论坛副理事长坂本正弘教授则从国际体系的视角探讨了中美关系发展的前景。他认为实现构建中美新型大国关系的目标在很大程度上取决于中国在多大程度上能够认同和接受当今国际体系。如果中国试图在国际体系内部提升自己的地位和影响力,这是有可能的;但是,如果中国想要建立另外一个由自己主导的国际体系,那就比较困难了。

泰国法政大学普拉思塔斯克教授虽然不否认中美构建新型大国关系的可能性,但认为这种可能性比较小,相比之下,出现冷战的概率则较高。他从相互依存和身份认同两方面分析了美国同英国、苏联和中国之间的关系,指出美国同这三个国家之间都存在高度相互依存的关系,但是由于美英具有相同的身份认知,所以英美之间的权力转移是和平的;由于美苏之间的身份认知程度很低,所以美苏之间出现了冷战。由于中国同美国之间的身份认知程度也比较低,所以类似美苏冷战出现的可能性要大些。

韩国西江大学李根武教授从另外一个角度对中美构建新型大国关系的前景表示悲观。他指出,虽然中美经济深度依存确保了两国不太可能在战场上兵戎相见,但双方还是在做最坏的打算,以防止意外事件发生。他说,中国的战略是想通过实施“反介入和区域拒止”战略迫使美国离开东亚。为了反制中国,美国提出了“海空一体战”战略,并将其发展成联合作战介入理念,突出军事能力建设。在此背景下,中美之间的安全困境不断加深。

和上述学者不同,有些学者则认为中美实力消长还远没有到关键时期,现在讨论两国能否构建新型大国关系还为时过早。南开大学国际关系学院韩召颖教授在分析中美在经济、军事、科技乃至软实力方面差距的基础上指出,当前中美权力转移进程最多处于起始阶段,尚未达到“权力转移”理论提出的最危险时期——权力持平阶段。新加坡管理大学社会科学学院院长邓特抗教授也觉得中美在东亚地区的权力转移将是一个长期复杂的过程,现在讨论这一点还不是时候。

中美怎样才能构建新型大国关系？澳大利亚前总理陆克文建议两国从战略、经济和机制三个层面加强沟通、交流与合作，为推动亚太和平共同努力。北京大学戴行钺教授认为，新型大国关系既要求美国给予中国足够的尊重，平等地对待中国，也要求中国尊重和照顾美国的合理关切。只有互敬互谅，才能构建稳定的双边关系，并在此基础上努力争取两国在双边、地区和全球议题上合作共赢。

北京大学国际关系学院贾庆国教授认为，由于崛起大国和守成大国之间冲突的概率较高，中美两国关系未来发展的前景仍存在较大变数。中美两国应不失时机，主动采取必要措施，争取使建立新型大国关系的可能变为现实。具体而言，两国应优先在下列五个方面积极推动合作：经贸关系、军事交流、网络安全、朝核问题和气候变化。美国新美国安全中心资深顾问和资深研究员帕特里克斯·克罗宁认为构建中美新型大国关系的核心在于避免战略竞争，深化战略对话，加强战略合作。他特别强调双方应该加强在防止核扩散（朝核、伊核）、领海争端、网络安全、太空安全领域里的对话与合作。

除了上述问题外，与会学者还探讨了中美构建新型大国关系涉及的其他问题。从全球政治变迁的角度出发，伦敦经济学院巴里·布赞教授指出，中国崛起所处的时代环境同19世纪大国崛起的历史环境大不相同。在19世纪末20世纪初，大国崛起主要是西方大国的崛起，少数几个大国的力量就足以控制或者支配世界格局。当今时代，权力分散化，非西方力量群体崛起，从而打破了少数大国对国际事务的垄断。同时，大国之间在意识形态上逐渐趋同，国际体系“去中心化”趋势明显，国际公民社会日趋活跃，各国政策共性增强，这些特点既是两国构建新型大国关系的机遇，也是挑战。

美国康奈尔大学教授弗雷德里克·罗格瓦尔在发言中指出，自建国之日起，例外论就深深地影响着美国社会的各个角落，也成为政治人物凝聚人心、争取民众支持的舆论手段。美国的建国者们如此，奥巴马也不例外。但是，罗格瓦尔认为，例外论中宣扬的所谓“自由帝国”、“山巅之城”、“自由世界的领袖”、“不可或缺的国家”、甚至“美国优越论”等思想实际上存在很大问题。美国例外论也是分析中美构建新型大国关系需要考虑的变量。

澳大利亚新南威尔士大学由冀教授认为，奥巴马政府推行亚太“再平衡战略”给两国构建新型大国关系带来挑战和机遇。他指出，所有在中国看来是“核心利益的议题”并不属于美国的核心利益；反之亦然。美国“转轴亚太”战略本质上只是加强了对中国的防范，它并不是要遏制中国。

清华大学国际关系系孙学峰副教授在发言中分析了东亚地区等级秩序对中国崛起的影响。他认为，在东亚地区等级体制中，美国为其盟友提供安全保障，形成了某种等级体制，中国、朝鲜、越南等国属于自助国家。东亚的稳定在

很大程度上取决于美国主导的军事同盟如何处理好同自助国家之间的关系,特别是同正在崛起的中国的关系。

美国波士顿大学米勒教授指出,自2005年起,中国政府、学界、智库关于中国崛起及其对世界的影响讨论比较多,这从一个侧面说明中国很在乎外部世界如何看待中国。但是,同样是一个正在崛起的大国,印度政界、学界、智库对印度崛起这个主题却鲜有讨论。同中国情况相同的是,1890年至1913年期间正在崛起的美国,政府和学界精英也强烈地意识到美国的崛起及其对当时国际秩序的影响。从观念的角度来看,迈向崛起的大国讨论自己身份的变化及其可能会对国际体系的影响,才是正常的。

分论坛还讨论了其他一些相关的国际问题。加拿大英属哥伦比亚大学教授保罗·埃文斯在发言中指出,“保护的责任”这个原则本质上来讲就是要求在发生冲突或内战的国家里保护无辜平民的生命安全和基本人权,防止出现大规模针对平民的野蛮暴力行为。他认为,在过去十五年间,中国在对待这个原则方面发生了积极的变化。在国际事务中,中国历来主张不干涉别国内政,反对军事干预主权国家内政。但是,面对某些国家发生的种族屠杀或者无辜平民被虐杀的悲剧,这种主张往往会导致不作为,从而酿成更大的悲剧。中国在利比亚问题和叙利亚危机中的立场表明,中国在履行大国责任,特别是保护无辜平民免遭战争蹂躏方面做出了积极的努力。中国观念的变化有利于加强中美应对具体国际和地区热点问题上的合作,从而为构建中美新型大国关系注入了实质内容。

德国麦卡托大学教授塞巴斯鞍·海尔曼教授指出,作为当今世界最大的经济体,同时也是中美两国的重要战略、贸易和投资伙伴,欧洲在凝聚中美共识、加强三边合作中发挥着举足轻重的作用。当今世界面临金融危机、贸易壁垒、气候变化、地区不稳定、暴力极端主义活动多发、大规模杀伤性武器扩散、跨国犯罪等诸多挑战,合作应对这些跨国和全球挑战是中美欧三方的共同责任。

澳大利亚拉筹伯大学约瑟夫·安东尼·卡米列尔荣休教授指出,在过去几年,国际力量对比发生了显著变化,世界经济重心正在从西方(美国和欧洲)向东方(亚洲)转移。中国同美国在亚太地区的政治影响力和经济实力差距正在缩小。同时,当今世界联系更加紧密,资本、货物、信息、病毒等流动的速度和广度前所未有。在此背景下,如何应对这些深刻变化,中国能不能在全球新秩序中发挥建设性的领导作用?中国的儒家和道家思想能不能为发挥这种领导作用提供文化、智力和政治支持?中国能不能同国际社会一道,共同构建恰当的地区和全球机制,促进不同国家、不同文化之间的合作?卡米列尔教授认为,由于中国人口众多,地缘战略位置特殊,经济实力不断增强,金融影响力不断在上升,最重要的是,中华文明博大精深,所以,中国在新秩序塑造过程中将发挥决

定性作用。目前,中国正开始在世界事务中发挥越来越大的作用。

美国布林茅尔学院 Seung-Youn Oh 教授认为,中国在符合国家利益的条件
下遵守世贸规则的做法实际上是“策略性合规”的表现。同时,为了实现经济
发展目标,中国也会利用世贸规则中的一些漏洞,制定并推行一些有利于自身
经济发展和企业利益的产业政策;只有当出现贸易争端时才废除这些政策。她
把中国的做法称为“战略性违规”,这是因为当中国取消这些产业政策的时候,
中国的既定目标已经得以实现,已经不需要这些政策了。这样一来,中国还可
以赢得遵守世贸规则的赞誉。这实际上是中国在世贸框架下维护自身利益的
体现。

整个分论坛气氛既热烈又融洽。来自国内外的专家学者和现场听众积极
参与讨论,有些问题甚至比较尖锐,不时迸发出思想的火花,给人以启迪,发人
深思。学者们普遍认为,需要给中美新型大国关系这个指导原则注入更加具体
的内容,不断充实和发展新型大国关系的内涵,为稳定中美关系、促进亚太和
平、加强不同文明之间的对话与平共处积极努力。与此同时,他们也认为,中美
合作加强全球治理,特别是在共同应对全球经济疲软、保障能源安全、打击国际
恐怖主义、应对气候变化、保障全球“公地”等重要议题上的合作,不仅有利于
充实中美新型大国关系的内涵,也有利于世界和平与发展。他们指出,中国领
导人理解,国际社会期待中国能够在国际事务中发挥更大的作用,承担更多的
责任,这也为中国增强软实力建设提供了前所未有的机遇。

上面对分论坛讨论内容的回顾远不能涵盖与会学者论文和讨论中对中美
构建新型大国关系提出的丰富和深刻的思考,相信大家阅读了本论文集收集
的论文之后会对相关问题的讨论有更深刻的理解。作为论文集的编者和作者
之一,我很荣幸向大家推荐这本书。

最后,我想借此机会,对论坛的主办方北京论坛秘书处,秘书长严军先生和
他的团队,赞助方韩国高等教育财团,对所有参加北京论坛国际关系分论坛的
国内外专家学者,对北京大学国际关系学院直接参与组织国际关系分论坛的
老师和学生,特别是张春平、节大磊和刘璐,表示衷心的感谢!对北京大学出版
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持和耐心表示衷心的感谢!

Preface*

Jia Qingguo

In February 2012, the then Chinese Vice President Xi Jinping proposed that China and the U.S. should work together to construct a new type of great power relations^② during his visit to the United States. In response, the U.S. President Obama repeatedly expressed the view that just as the prosperity of the U.S. is good for China, China's rise is good for the U.S. . The U.S. welcomes a strong, stable and prosperous China. As leadership transition of the two countries has completed, how China and the U.S. are going to manage their relationship has drawn increasing domestic and international attention.

What is the new type of great power relations? What does it mean? How is it different from the traditional type of great power relations? Does the new type of great power relations only apply to relations between China and the U.S. or does it also apply to relations between China and other major powers? Between China and the U.S. , there is a huge difference in historical experience, cultural tradition, political system and other aspects. Against this background, is building a new type of great power relations between the two countries realistic? What should the two countries do in building a new type of great power relations?

To explore these and other questions, the international relations section of the Beijing Forum held between November 5 and 7, 2013 invited more than 40 scholar and experts in international politics from both in and outside China to express their views. For two and half days, participants in the conference engaged in heated and

* This essay has made good use of the summary of the sub-forum put together by Dr. Jie Dalei of the School of International Studies of Peking University. The author wishes to express his thanks to Dr. Jie.

② I deliberately translate "xinxing daguo guanxi" into "new type of great power relations" rather than the official translation "new model of major country relations" because it is closer to what is meant, that is, relations between the rising power and the established hegemon. I hope it does not cause any unnecessary confusion.

in-depth discussion on issues that range from theory to practice and from China-U.S. bilateral relations to their interactions over various aspects of global governance. This volume includes some of the best papers presented at the forum.

What is a new type of great power relations? According to Dr. Da Wei, research fellow of the Institute of Contemporary International Relations, the new type of great power relations is a relationship that is characterized by no confrontation, no conflict, mutual respect, and win-win through cooperation. It can be obtained at two levels. At the first level is no conflict and no confrontation, with neither hot war nor cold war. At the second level is mutual respect and win-win through cooperation. Participants of the conference did not challenge this interpretation.

Does the concept of new type of great power relations only apply to China-U.S. relations or does it also apply to China's relations with other major countries? Chinese have different views on this. Some think that it should apply only to China-U.S. relations whereas others believe that it should also apply to China's relations with other major countries. Although participants in the conference did not debate on this question, when they talked about the new type of great power relations, they only referred to China-U.S. relations. The reason is actually quite simple. The concept was first proposed by Xi Jinping when he visited the U.S. in 2012 when he served as China's Vice President. And he proposed the concept primarily because he believed that the China-U.S. relationship is quite unique, that is, it is a relationship between the hegemonic country and a rising country. Because in history the hegemonic country and the rising country often ended up in military confrontation and war, because conflict and war are against the interest of both the hegemonic country and the rising country, Xi believes that the U.S. and China should develop a new type of great power relations to avoid confrontation and seek a win-win situation through cooperation. Of course, China should also avoid confrontation and seek a win-win relationship with other major countries through cooperation. However, there is a huge difference in meaning and significance between managing relations between a hegemonic power and a rising power on the one hand and that between major countries.

Judged by the new type of great power relations, how should we assess the current state of China-U.S. relations? According to Dr. Dawei, at the moment, China and the U.S. have already realized the goal of no conflict and no confrontation. However, there is much to work on to realize the new type of great power relations, such as consolidating economic interdependence between the two countries, maintaining strategic stability in military and nuclear weapons spheres so as to reassure each oth-

er at the strategic level, and jointly participating in reforms of the existing international institutions. Professor Zhao Suisheng, Director of the Center for the U.S. -China Cooperation of the University of Denver, also shares this view. He said that the purpose of China's advocacy of new type of great power relations is to display its good will. However, there is a long way to go for the idea to be put into practice. Professor Dai Xingyue of Peking University pointed out that the U.S. practice of siding with China's neighbors in the maritime disputes and spying throughout the world are incompatible with building a new type of great power relations between China and the U.S. .

Why does China stress the need to develop a new type of great power relations? Mr. Kevin Rudd, former Australian Prime Minister, believes that it is to respond to "a strategic shift" in China-U.S. relations. He said ideational factors such as values, ways of thinking and cognition to a significant extent influence the policy choices of the Chinese and American leaders. The aim of building a new type of great power relations is to shape the ways of thinking and cognition of both Chinese and American leaders in a way that facilitates the healthy development of the relations between the two countries. Professor Wang Jisi, President of the Institute of International Strategic Studies of Peking University, said that mutual mistrust, ideological difference, difference in political system, and uncertainty about the future pose obstacles to the development of the relationship. One important consideration in China's proposal of building a new type of great power relations is to overcome these obstacles.

Other participants also came up with their own explanations. Professor Hao Yufan, Dean of the School of Social Sciences of the University of Macau, said that the principal reason for China to come up with the concept of a new type of great power relations is to address the concerns about China's rapid rise on the part of the outside world, especially the United States. Mr. Andrei I. Kortunov, Secretary General of the Russian International Affairs Council, pointed out that proliferation of unstable factors in the international system has reached to a point that is beyond control and may lead to war. Stability between major powers depends on how to regulate the international system and to take up responsibility to control conflicts. The new type of great power relations China advocates is aimed at preventing China and the U.S. from repeating the great power conflicts in history. Professor Xu Xin, acting Director of the China and the Asia-Pacific Program of Cornell University, said that the China-U.S. agreement on building a new type of great power relations reflects their deep understanding of the tragedy of great power politics in history, sensitivity to the on-and-off

signs of China-U.S. strategic confrontation, and the shared hope that the two countries can avoid the “Thucydides trap” in the future.

Because of the difference in historical experience, cultural tradition, political system and other aspects between China and the U.S., is it possible for the two countries to build a new type of great power relations against the backdrop of rapid rise of China? Professor Jia Qingguo, Dean of the School of International Studies of Peking University, argued that it is possible both as a historical possibility, for instance, the U.S.-Britain relations when the U.S. rose during the latter part of the 19th century and a present necessity. Professor Zheng Yongnian, Director of the East Asia Institute of the National University of Singapore also believes it is possible. He pointed out that this is in the best interests of both countries. He argued that the high level of interdependence between China and the U.S. is the driving force behind their search for a new type of great power relations. Looking to the future, China is unlikely to overthrow the existing international order, neither is it likely to follow the footsteps of the former Soviet Union to withdraw from the existing international order and establish another one. Professor Hao Yufan argued that between China and the U.S., there is already a good basis on which to build a new type of great power relations. The emergence of the nuclear weapons and globalization has changed the way major powers interact through drastically raising the cost of conflicts. Although China and the U.S. need to build trust between them, the history of interactions between the two countries at bilateral, regional and international levels since the normalization of their relations in 1979 shows that the two countries are capable of engaging in cooperation and managing their differences. Professor Ding Dou of Peking University also argued that because of the deterring effect of nuclear weapons, it is almost impossible and hardly imaginable that major powers would engage in military confrontation.

Professor Michael Glosny of the U.S. Naval Graduate School pointed out that, despite the strategic mistrust between China and the U.S., there are positive signs in the relationship in recent years. These include: greater depth of cooperation on the North Korea nuclear weapons question, substantial increase in military to military relations, new bright spots in economic cooperation, especially the initiation of the talks on bilateral investment treaty, establishment of a number of mechanisms to manage competition and prevent conflicts, closer cooperation in global mechanisms and governance, joint exploration of the possibility of reforms of the existing international order, the U.S. public statements to the effect that it welcomes a strong, pros-

perous China, and China's public statements welcoming the U.S. to play a constructive role in the Asia Pacific region. These positive developments favor China-U.S. efforts to build a new type of great power relations.

Fan Jishe, senior research fellow of the Institute of American Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, argued that favorable conditions for building a new type of great power relations exist, but the challenges are also daunting. He pointed out that both China and the U.S. have nuclear weapons; both need to cope with regional and global challenges; economies of the two countries are interdependent; these plus the peaceful international environment constitute the four pillars of strategic stability of China and the U.S. . However, mutual suspicion, realist fatalism, China's military modernization, the U.S. strategy of rebalance to the Asia-Pacific, and the hedging strategies of the two countries together also present serious challenges to maintaining strategic stability between China and the U.S. .

Some scholars believe that whether China and the U.S. can build a new type of great power relations depends on certain conditions. Professor Zhang Xiaoming of the School of International Studies of Peking University, for example, outlined three conditions: the first is whether the U.S. can really accept China playing certain roles as a major country in the world; the second is whether the international society can accept China to a role as a major country in shaping and reforming the existing international order; the third is whether China persuade the international society to accept its strategic behavior. He argued that it is still not clear that these conditions can be met. Professor Su Changhe of Fudan University argued that for China and the U.S. to build a new type of great power relations, it is essential that three sets of relations are properly managed: the first is how China and the U.S. can ensure they can develop together; the second is how China and the U.S. on the one hand and China's small neighbors on the other hand can ensure they can develop together; the third is how to ensure peaceful coexistence between different civilizations.

Professor Christian Tuschhoff of the Free University of Berlin outlined the conditions of China-U.S. cooperation from still another perspective. He pointed out that, from a realist perspective, only when both countries are satisfied with relative gains can they peacefully manage their relations properly; from a liberal perspective, only when both countries are satisfied with absolute gains can they ensure cooperation and resolve conflicts; from a domestic politics perspective, only when both countries are endorsed by core domestic interest groups can they maintain cooperative relations.

Mr. Masahiro Sakamoto, Vice President of the Japan Forum of Strategic Studies,

views China-U.S. relations from an international system perspective. He argued that realization of a new type of great power relations depends largely on how much China can accept the current international system. If China just wishes to raise its status and influence within the system, it is possible to build a new type of great power relations. However, if China wants to set up an international system which it dominates, that would be very difficult.

Although Professor Kitti Prasirtsuk of Thammasat University of Thailand did not reject the possibility of China and U.S. building a new type of great power relations, he argued that the chance for that to happen is small. In contrast, the chance for China and the U.S. to end up in a cold war is much higher. Proceeding from the perspective of mutual dependence and identity, he analyzed the relationship between the U.S. relations with Great Britain, the former USSR, and China respectively. He found that despite the fact that U.S. relations with all these three countries are highly interdependent, power transition between the U.S. and Britain was peaceful because they share a similar identity; power transition between the U.S. and the former USSR ended up in a cold war because they did not share a similar identity; accordingly, since China and the U.S. do not share a similar identity, the chance for their relationship to evolve into a cold war is pretty high.

Similarly, Professor Lee Geun-Wook of the Sogang University of Republic of Korea expressed his pessimism on the prospect of China-U.S. building a new type of great power relations from still another angle. He argued that although the economies of China and the U.S. are so interdependent that they are unlikely to fight a war between them, these two countries have been busy preparing for the worst. China wants to push the U.S. out of East Asia through a strategy that resists and rejects the U.S. access to the region. In response, the U.S. proposes the “air sea battle” concept and develops it into a strategy of combined operation in which military capabilities feature quite large. Under the circumstances, the security dilemma problem worsens over time.

Unlike previous participants, some participants believe that it will take quite some time for the power transition between China and the U.S. to reach a critical stage. Therefore, it is too early to discuss whether the two countries can develop a new type of great power relations now. After sketching the significant gaps between China and the U.S. in capabilities in economy, military, science and technology, and the soft power, Professor Han Zhaoying of Nankai University, for example, argues that the power transition between China and the U.S. is at a very early stage

and it will take some time for it to reach the most dangerous period proposed by the power transition theory, that is, the period of power proximity. Professor James Tang, Dean of the School of Social Sciences of the Singapore Management University, also argued that the China-U.S. power transition in East Asia will be a long and complicated process. It may be too early to discuss about it now.

How should China and the U.S. build a new type of great power relations? Mr. Kevin Rudd suggested that the two countries should enhance communication and increase cooperation at strategic, economic and institutional levels and work together to promote peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. Professor Dai Xingyue of Peking University argued that the new type of great power relations both demands the U.S. to give China sufficient respect and treats China on a equal basis and requires China to respect and take care of the reasonable concerns of the U.S. . Relations between the two countries can be stable only on the basis of mutual respect and understanding and the two countries can only realize win-win through cooperation on bilateral, regional and global issues on that basis.

Professor Jia Qingguo pointed out that because the chance of conflict between the rising power and the existing one is high, the future of China-U.S. relations is still full of uncertainties. The two countries should seize the moment to undertake necessary measures to translate the concept of a new type of great power relations into reality. Specifically, the two countries should prioritize the following five issues for cooperation: economic relations, military exchanges, cyber security, Korean nuclear problem, and climate change. Mr. Patrick Cronin, Senior Advisor and Senior Director of the Asia-Pacific Security Program at the Center for a New American Security, argued that the core of building a new type of great power relations between China and the U.S. is to avoid strategic competition, deepen strategic dialogue, and enhance strategic cooperation. Specifically, he stressed that the two countries should enhance dialogue and cooperation on nonproliferation, maritime disputes, cyber security, and space security.

In addition to the previous questions, participants also explored other issues related to China-U.S. building a new type of great power relations. From a perspective of global political transition, Professor Barry Buzan pointed out that the historical background against which China rises is very different from that in the 19th century. Between the late 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, the great powers that rose were mostly western countries and a few countries were able to control and dominate the world. Today, power diffuses with the rise of a cluster of non-western