

谢希德 倪世雄 主编

# 曲折 的历程



—— 中美建交 20 年

*From  
Normalization to  
Renormalization  
— 20 Years of  
Sino-US Relations*

复旦大学出版社

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主 编 谢希德 倪世雄

责任编辑 曹珍芬

责任校对 陆宏光

装帧设计 朱永庆

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## 内 容 提 要

本书分上、下篇回顾了中美建交 20 年来两国关系发展的曲折历程。上篇讨论了中美政治安全关系,涉及到中美政治关系的发展、两国在不扩散问题上的分歧与合作、美国的对华制裁及其撤消、两国防务政策及地区安全政策等。下篇探讨了影响中美关系的若干主要因素,包括经贸、人权、宗教、国会、舆论和台湾问题。最后,本书对 21 世纪的中美关系作了热情而冷静的展望。

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Ni Shixiong (1)

On January 1, 1979, China and the US established their formal diplomatic relations and completed the normalization of their mutual relationship. Since then, Sino-US relations have undergone 20 years of ups and downs. The successful reciprocal state visits by President Jiang Zemin and President Clinton eventually brought about the renormalization of Sino-US relations. The Foreword elaborates the historical developments of Sino-US relations in different phases.

### **Part I Political and Security Relations Between China and the US**

<b>1</b>	Rebuilding Sino-US Relations	Wu Xinbo (3)
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This chapter tries to examine Sino-US relations from a structural perspective, in which it selects 4 indicators: definition of Sino-US relations, mutual trust, mechanism governing bilateral relations, and public support in both countries. The

author argues that over the past two years (from Summer 1996 to Summer 1998), Beijing and Washington successfully restored the structure of Sino-US relations which was shattered by the Tiananmen Incident, the end of the Cold War and China-US controversy over human rights, Taiwan, etc. This chapter also tries to explore the meaning and prospects of forging "constructive strategic partnership" between China and the U.S., and suggests that these two Pacific giants can develop a type of cooperative relations between them in the 21st century.

## 2 Fact, Law and Linkage Issues: Imposition and Abolition of US Sanctions against China

Zhu Mingquan (18)

Since 1987, altogether the United States has imposed four export control sanctions on China or its companies for issues of the WMD (weapons of mass destruction) proliferation. It has caused many arguments between the two countries and influenced Sino-US relations disadvantageously. This chapter discusses the fact, law and linkage issues involved in these sanctions with a view to understanding these sanctions and decreasing differences between the two countries. Since export control sanctions have also been used by the United States against some other countries even after the end of the Cold War, hopefully this article can contribute to studies of the whole US foreign policy.

### 3 The Development of Sino-U. S. Military Tie and the Nature of Relations Between the Two Countries

Shen Dingli (45)

Sino-US military tie is an important indicator of the bilateral relations between the two countries. This chapter reviews the military-to-military tie since the founding of PRC, *inter alia*, since PRC established diplomatic relations with the United States. It is pointed out that there appears a positive trend in developing the bilateral military relations in the recent years. In the meantime, this chapter considers that China-US relationship has been basically in an abnormal status since 1949, and it remains so as the two countries are hedging against each other. Under this situation the likelihood to upgrade their military tie seems small.

### 4 Sino-US Cooperation and Divergence on Regional Security Issues: the Case of Korean Peninsula

Wu Chunsi (64)

China-US contacts on the Korean Peninsula issue indicate that the two countries have common interests in regional security issues and can cooperate. Both China and the US hope East Asia maintains peace and stability and neither of them wants to see the proliferation of mass destructive weapons and their delivery systems in the region. These common interests should become the foundation for the two countries to

continue their cooperation and deepen bilateral relationship. As some divergence still perplexes Sino-US cooperation, the two countries need to further increase mutual trust to carry out more effective cooperation on regional security issues.

**5 The Clinton Administration and the Evolution of US China Policy** Wu Xinbo (75)

This chapter argues that the Clinton Administration, as the first elected to power after the end of the Cold War, was faced with three major challenges in its China policy: human rights, the Taiwan issue, and the making of a China strategy suited to the post-Cold War situation. Over the past 6 years (1993-1998), the Clinton Administration did a relatively good job in meeting those challenges: it found a more practical way in pursuing the US "human rights diplomacy" towards China, clarified the limits of US policy on Taiwan, and formed a set of wise and far-sighted strategic thinking on China-American relations. These policy adjustments helped to bring Sino-US ties back to normal track and will have enduring impact on US policy towards China.

**Part II Major Factors Affecting Sino-US Relations**

**6 Sino-US Economic and Trade Ties: A Foundation for the Constructive Strategic Partnership**

Zhou Dunren (95)



The bi-lateral relationship between China and the United States has many aspects that combine to support the basic interests of the two great countries. The economic and trade aspect constitutes one of the most important and fundamental. The ever-growing economic and trade ties, despite obstacles and setbacks, are a result of the nature of complementarity of the two economies as well as the good will and friendship of the two peoples. As far as the basics are there, we expect to see greater and stronger such ties into the next century.

**7 Congress, the Presidency and US China Policymaking**  
Liu Yongtao (117)

This essay explores the process of US China policymaking in 1990s through lens of legislative-executive relationships. It argues that since 1989 US Congress has been gaining its resurgence over the decision-making and conduct of US China policy by means of legislation, oversight, diplomacy, anticipated reaction and framing opinion. Yet presidential power, though constrained and checked by Congress, still took the lead in an overall American China policy in the last decade.

**8 Human Rights and Sino-US Relations**  
Jin Xianhong (142)

This chapter begins by a description of the relationship between the MFN issue and human rights as well as an analysis of the clash between China and the US on human rights; its focuses and its causes. The author also offers some policy recommendations for solving the disputes between the two countries on human rights which include eliminating cold war thinking, showing mutual respect, settling down differences through dialogues and seeking commonalities from a strategic point of view.

## 9 Religious Factors in Sino-US Relations

Jin Xianhong (160)

This chapter discusses the following aspects of religious factors in Sino-US relations; differences between the two countries on the religious issue and their causes, the nature of the Tibet issue, and the correct approaches to narrowing down these differences. It emphasizes that the Tibet issue is not an issue of religious freedom, but an issue of national sovereignty. In the end, the author points out that the exchanges between religious people and leaders from China and the US are conducive to the improvement of Sino-US relations.

## 10 Sino-US Relations and the Taiwan Issue

Ni Shixiong (174)

The Taiwan Issue remains the most important and sensitive issue in Sino-US relations, and at the same time it is the key to the improvement of Sino-US relations as well. This chapter details the three clashes which took place since 1979 between China and the US, centering on “Taiwan Relations Act”, US arms sales to Taiwan and Lee Tenghui’s visit to the US. It then discusses the impact of the Sino-US Summit on cross-strait relations and offers some policy analyses.

## 11 China in the US Mass Media: A Case Analysis Zhu Mingquan (195)

The relations between the US mass media and the US policy towards China have been given special attention to during these years. This chapter, taking as a case the coverage on China by Washington Post and AP during the month of June16-July 13, 1998, analyzes how China is reported and treated in the US mass media. It is hoped that the article can promote our understanding of the US mass media in spite of limitations of its conclusions.

## Conclusion Prospects of Sino-US Relations into the 21st Century Ni Shixiong (208)

Sino-US relations are orientated to the shaping of constructive strategic partnership in the 21st century. To this end, three principles (to always keep in mind common

grounds between China and the US, to have a far-sighted and strategic view and to prudently solve the Taiwan issue) should be adhered to and three determinants (the future development of China, US policy towards China and Changing international factors) should be taken into account.

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The authors are from

**Center for American Studies**

Fudan University, 220 Handan Rd.

Shanghai 200433, P. R. China

Tel: (86 21) 65642269 Fax: (86 21) 65119567

# 序

谢希德

新中国成立之后直至 1972 年尼克松总统访华之间的 23 年中,中美两国几乎是处于互相隔绝的状态。正如美国的一位中国问题专家所说的:“1969 年 4 月之前,美国登月的人数比获得美国政府批准到中华人民共和国访问的人要多。”<sup>①</sup>然而,要弥补长时期隔阂所造成的裂痕,并非易事,因此,从 1972 年到 1979 年恢复两国外交关系正常化的期间,互相交往的人士虽然逐渐增多,但毕竟还是经历了一段漫长而曲折的历程。在中美建交前夕,第一批来自大陆 52 名访问学者于 1978 年 12 月 26 日踏上了美国的国土,到华盛顿的乔治敦大学和美利坚大学补习英语,然后分赴有关学校进修并开展科学研究。他们没有美国移民局的 IAP-66,是一批特别批准的学者,其中有不少人要克服语言上的障碍,当时 TOEFL 要考过 500 分都难似上青天。其中有一些人出身并不好,文革的遭遇使他们仍心有余悸。然而,在十一届三中全会的春风中,小平同志倡导“实践是检验真理的标准”,提出解放思想、派遣留学生的方针,使他们敢于大胆地学习和广交朋友,取得很好的效果。因此,中美建交的 20 年,也正是十一届三中全会的方针政策在我国贯彻的 20 年。本书从一些重要的侧面回顾了 20 年中美关系各方面所经过的曲折历程。在这期间,我们的祖国发生了翻天覆地的变化,虽然世界上冷战的格局已经不再存在,国际形势发生了深刻的变化,

小平同志所倡导的理论仍一直是指导中美关系在曲折的道路上前进的一盏明灯。

下面是一点个人的经历,作为抛砖引玉,说明中美关系发展的曲折性。

20年来我访问美国几十次。1979年在中美建交的蜜月期间,我正好去美国开会和访问一些实验室和学校,为复旦大学派遣访问学者建立渠道。在阔别了27年之后遇到了多年不见的老同学,也结识了一些新朋友,不少人的友谊一直持续到今天。当时小平同志也正好在美国访问,受到了前所未有的热情接待,一切都那么美好和新鲜,对于人权问题的认识差别和意识形态上的分歧暂时被搁置了下来。然而,众所周知,不久,《与台湾关系法》的通过,给中美两国关系又蒙上了一层阴影。

1983年之后,我参与了美国物理学会和中国物理学会的一个交流项目。有数十位来自大学和研究所的学者去美国进修和合作研究,也有一些美国物理学家来华短期讲学。1983~1989年间,每年借美国物理学家三月会议之际,来自不同单位的学者互相交流经验,并与来自中国大陆的研究生们座谈。有中外学者在学术上的切磋琢磨,也有在“人权”问题看法上的严重分歧。有对发展中国科学的热情关注,也有对在中国召开国际学术会议设置的重重障碍,原计划对这个交流项目进行总结的会议也由于“六·四”政治风波而夭折,一时间,来华访问的学者人数减少了。然而,事实说明,只要我们继续改革开放,学者之间坦诚相待,各抒己见,即使有些难解的分歧,学术的交流和学者间的友谊还是会继续下去的。

1985年,复旦大学美国研究中心成立。它旨在培养对美国各方面进行深入研究的一代学者。1986年,在华盛顿成立了复旦基金会。在基金会董事们的努力下,通过在美国国会的游说,终于获得了国际发展署(AID)及“美国海外医院和学校”(ASHA)项目的拨款,我们得以完成了旧房的改造,并在1989年夏秋之间动土建

立新址。由于众所周知的原因,土建工作搁浅了近三年,也由于美国朋友们的努力,新的美国研究中心终于在 1995 年落成。这座新的建筑是中美关系经过曲折道路的见证,也是中美两国人民友谊的象征。目前,它已成为许多外国政治家和学者的讲坛,无数国际学术会议聚会的场所,为促进中美两国人民的了解和友谊、为推进中美关系的恢复和发展作出了积极的贡献。

本书的作者都是美国研究中心的成员。这些年来,他们的脉搏随着时代的急剧变革和中美关系的曲折历程而跳动。他们努力工作,勤奋从事多项研究;他们广交朋友,积极参与学术交流。他们以严谨的学风和态度,以积极的热情和干劲,在整整两个月内完成了这本书的写作任务。这本书是集体的成果和研究的结晶。

本书不同于一般的论文集,它有自己的框架。书的主体分为上下篇,加上前言和结语。前言对中美建交 20 年作了历史回顾。上篇是关于中美的政治安全关系,涉及到中美政治关系的发展、两国在不扩散问题上的合作、两国防务政策及地区安全政策等。下篇探讨影响中美关系的若干主要因素,包括经贸、人权、宗教、国会、舆论、台湾问题。两篇之间及其中文章密切联系,连成一体。结语则对面向 21 世纪的中美关系作了热情而冷静的展望。

在中美建交 20 年的难忘时刻,在世纪之交伟大转折时期,我和本书的其他作者一样,对中美关系的未来发展充满了信心。正如小平同志所说的:“中美关系终归要好起来才行。”<sup>②</sup>让我们在江泽民主席和克林顿总统互访的基础上,怀着这一坚强的信念走向 21 世纪。

是为序。

1998 年 12 月

注释：

- ① Harry Harding, *A Fragile Relationship—The U. S. and China since 1972*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C. , 1992, p. 33.
- ② 《邓小平文选》第三卷,人民出版社,1993 年版,第 350 页。



# 前言：中美关系的历史回顾

倪世雄

在 20 世纪下半叶风雷激荡的国际舞台上，中美关系占有特殊的重要地位。然而，自实现正常化以来，中美两国关系的发展走过了一条不平坦的道路，经过了一个曲折反复、跌宕起伏的历程。

## 一、中美建交与关系正常化

60 年代后期，中苏两国关系不断恶化，并于 1969 年在中国东北边境地区发生了直接的武装冲突。苏联调集重兵驻扎中苏边界，严重威胁到中国的国家安全，与此同时，两个超级大国的关系也处于苏攻美守的状态。中美两国面对着共同的威胁，这为两国关系的正常化提供了历史条件。1972 年 2 月，美国总统尼克松访华，受到毛泽东主席的接见。2 月 28 日，两国发表了具有重大历史意义的《上海公报》，标志着中美关系结束对抗，开始了新的正常化历史时期。

《上海公报》发表后，两国互设联络处，启动了两国之间外交、经济、贸易、学术、文化接触，双边关系有了一定的发展。毛泽东和周恩来有意加快两国关系完全正常化的进程。然而，中美关系正常化却步履艰难。毛泽东在病重时感叹地说：看来，我是看不到中美