

中国：我们的敌人？

——一位（美国）将军的故事

[美] 伯纳德·勒夫克 马克·勒夫克 著

高亚萍 翟象俊 译



China: Our Enemy?
A General's Story

Bernard Loeffke and Marc Loeffke

中国：我们的敌人？

——一位（美国）将军的故事

伯恩·勒夫克 马克·勒夫克 著

高亚萍 翟象俊 译

復旦大學出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

中国:我们的敌人?——一位(美国)将军的故事/[美]勒夫克(Loeffke, B.), [美]勒夫克(Loeffke, M.)著;
高亚萍, 翟象俊译. —上海:复旦大学出版社, 2015. 3
书名原文: China, Our Enemy?
ISBN 978-7-309-11169-9

I. 中… II. ①勒…②勒…③高…④翟… III. 中美关系-研究 IV. D822.371.2

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2014)第298276号

China, Our Enemy?
Bernard Loeffke

ISBN 978-1-930622-22-7, 2012

Copyright © Pacific Institute Publishing, 2014

上海市版权局著作权合同登记号 图字:09-2014-999

中国:我们的敌人?——一位(美国)将军的故事
[美]勒夫克(Loeffke, B.) [美]勒夫克(Loeffke, M.) 著
高亚萍 翟象俊 译
责任编辑/胡春丽

复旦大学出版社有限公司出版发行
上海市国权路579号 邮编:200433
网址:fupnet@fudanpress.com http://www.fudanpress.com
门市零售:86-21-65642857 团体订购:86-21-65118853
外埠邮购:86-21-65109143
上海春秋印刷厂

开本 850×1168 1/16 印张 16.25 字数 478 千
2015年3月第1版第1次印刷

ISBN 978-7-309-11169-9/D·720
定价:50.00元

如有印装质量问题, 请向复旦大学出版社有限公司发行部调换。
版权所有 侵权必究

目 录

序言	21
作者	23
第一部分 成长时期	29
1. 从战士到和平缔造者	31
2. 成长为军官	33
3. 为战斗做好准备	43
4. 同一个地方，三场战争	45
第二部分 白宫学者	65
第三部分 敌人还是朋友？	93
1. 陌生人和敌人	95
2. 中国简史	113
3. 使命	117
4. 受伤的将军们	125
5. 毛泽东：我所了解的主席	127
6. 与朋友们一起跳伞	135
7. 对话	147
8. 来自中国的问题	153
第四部分 友谊长跑	159
第五部分 两种观点：老人的和年轻人的	183
第六部分 架桥	231
对本书的思考	253
最后的话	255

中国：我们的敌人？

——一位（美国）将军的故事

伯恩·勒夫克 马克·勒夫克 著

高亚萍 翟象俊 译

復旦大學出版社

WARNINGS

No Shaking Hands policy (1954- 1972)

"...You are forbidden to have contact with the Chinese. If you come face to face with Chinese, take a cold attitude towards them."

— *Guidance given by then Secretary of State, J. F. Dulles, 1954*

"The U.S. is plotting to encircle China with strategic alliances.... the U.S. views China as the enemy... "

— *Admiral Guan You Fei**

"You Americans are making China the enemy. If the U.S. comes to Taiwan's defense in a war with China we will abandon our policy of no first use of nuclear weapons."

— *General Zhu Chenghu**

"U.S. ignores what China calls national interest – especially U.S. weapons sale to Taiwan. For years China has opposed arms sales to Taiwan, but we were never strong enough to do anything about it. But our strength has grown and it is time the U.S. pay attention."

— *Cui Liru – President of Think Tank run by Ministry of State Security**

**Source: The Washington Post, June 2010*

警告

不握手政策（1954—1972）

“……你们不许与中国人接触。如果与中国人面对面相遇，要对他们采取一种冷淡的态度。”

——美国国务卿J. F. 杜勒斯1954年的指示

“美国正与其战略盟友密谋包围中国……美国视中国为敌人……”

——海军少将关友飞*

“你们美国人正在把中国变成敌人。如果美国在与中国的战争中，参与台湾的防守，我们将放弃不首先使用核武器的政策。”

——朱成虎将军*

美国对中国所说的国家利益置之不理——尤其是还在向台湾出售武器。多年来中国一直反对美国向台湾出售武器，但我们一直不够强大，对此无能为力。但现在我们的力量已经增强，美国应该予以注意了。”

——国家安全部研究室主任 崔立如*

* 消息来源：《华盛顿邮报》2010年6月

IS CHINA MY ENEMY?

(AN EXPLANATION FOR THE TITLE)

告 著

There are three possible answers: yes, she is an enemy; no, she is not; or, maybe, she is somewhere in between. If we answer “yes”, then we need to prepare for war, the sooner the better, so we may prevail. If we answer “she is a friend”, then we need to help her peacefully and responsibly to become the great power she is destined to be.

So is China an enemy or a friend? The answer is ‘she is something in between’. She is not today and may never be a friend like Great Britain or Canada. A great rising power is bound to have challenges with the United States. But China does not have to be made an enemy. The lesson is simple; we either co-exist or cease to exist.

Plato wrote, “Only the dead have seen the end of war.”

Unfortunately, it seems that there will always be wars. But a war between the U.S. and China is one we need to learn to avoid. China borders with 14 countries. China has fought battles with three of those neighbors over disputed territories. In contrast, the United States has two friendly nations on its borders: Canada to its north and Mexico to its south. We also have good relations with two of China’s not-so-friendly neighbors. It has been said that the ‘*friend of my enemy is my best friend.*’ It would be mutually advantageous for our two nations to be friends.

This book is not a dissertation on China with footnotes and bibliography. That kind of book has been done by many. This book is full of anecdotes with sayings at the bottom of the pages. Some are serious, others humorous. Chinese are fond of proverbs and they love laughter. Above all, this book is about a soldier’s life that has experienced China as an enemy. A life that has been spent preparing or fighting those who were supported by China. Inside these pages, we find how an enemy can become a friend. In writing this work, we learned many lessons—primarily that enemies are easily made while good relations require daily attention and hard work.

“Friendship is seldom lasting but between equals, or where the superiority on one side is reduced by some equivalent advantage on the other.”

— Samuel Johnson

中国是我的敌人吗？

（对本书书名的解释）

对这个问题可能有三个答案：是的，她是敌人；不，她不是；或者，也许她处于两者之间。如果我们回答“是”，那我们就需要备战，越快越好，这样才能占到上风。如果我们回答“她是一个朋友”，那我们就需要以和平的方式、负责任地帮助她成为一个她注定会成为的强国。

那中国到底是敌人呢还是朋友呢？回答是“她处于两者之间。”她今天不是，也许永远也不会是像英国或加拿大那样的朋友。一个成长中的大国注定会对美国形成一些挑战。但我们不必把中国变成敌人。教训很简单，我们要么和平共处，要么两败俱伤。

柏拉图写道：“唯死者见过战争的结束。”

不幸的是，似乎永远都会有战争。但中美之间的战争却是我们需要学会避免的。中国与14个国家接壤。中国曾与三个邻国为有争议的领土打过仗。相比之下，美国则有两个友好的邻国：北面是加拿大，南边是墨西哥。我们与中国的两个不那么友好的邻国也有着良好的关系。据说“敌人的朋友是我最好的朋友。”所以中美两国成为朋友将对双方都有利。

这本书不是一本论述中国的专著，既不加脚注，也没附参考书目。那类专著已有许多人写过。这本书里都是些轶闻趣事，书页的下面是一些格言、警句。有一些很严肃，有一些则很幽默。中国人喜欢谚语，他们也爱笑。最重要的是，这本书讲述的是一个军人的人生经历，其中有一段曾把中国视作敌人，曾与中国支持的那些人作过战。在这本书中，我们可以发现一个敌人怎样能够变成一个朋友。在写这本书的时候，我们学到了很多有益的教训——最主要的是：树敌很容易而建立良好的关系则需要每天注意并努力工作。

“除非是同等的人，或一方的优势为另一方某种等量的优势所抵销，否则友谊是难以持久的。”

——塞缪尔·约翰逊

THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY

CHAS W. FREEMAN, JR., U.S. AMBASSADOR (RET.) AND
FORMER ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

Forty years ago, on 28 February 1972, President Nixon and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai issued a joint communiqué in Shanghai. The document was remarkable not only for the candor with which it recognized the sharp differences that then existed between the U.S. and Chinese worldviews but for its acknowledgment that the interests of both countries demanded that we cooperate. The differences between the United States and China today are far less than they were then, but the imperative of cooperation between us is, if anything, greater.

In 1972, China was isolated, angry, poor, and without significant influence beyond its borders. The rapid modernization and economic growth of China since then has transformed it. China is now an essential participant in the resolution or adjustment of almost all global and regional problems. It has become not just a major element in global prosperity but a bulwark of the international order. The fact that China is no longer outside the global capitalist system but is instead a leading force within it is surely one of the most remarkable developments of the past four decades. So is the extent to which the Chinese and American peoples have built ties of friendship that underscore the stakes each has in the domestic tranquility and prosperity of the other.

Sadly, the least progress toward a cooperative Sino-American relationship has been in the military arena. Our relationship began amidst the great Cold War that divided the world between nations subservient to Moscow and those allied with Washington. In that context, China and the United States found it possible to cooperate militarily in ways that some now find it difficult to imagine. The consolidation of economic interdependence and peaceful political coexistence between our two countries since then contrasts with the emergence in recent years of what deserves in some ways to be called a "little Cold War" between our respective military establishments.

The message of this book, as of General Loeffke's life, is that such hostility is neither inevitable nor impossible to overcome, even for those who excel at war. In Sino-American relations, as in other circumstances, the enhancement of mutual understanding is the key to the substitution of peaceful competition for violent conflict. It is worthwhile for both Americans and Chinese to make the effort to get to know each other and to learn to appreciate our similarities and differences. There is no reason we cannot if we are willing to try.

That is a message that deserves to be heard and heeded by both peoples and the wider world alike. I applaud Burn Loeffke for taking the time and making the effort to compose and communicate it in this book.

40周年

傅立民，美国大使（已退休）及负责国际安全事务的前国防部助理部长

40年前的1972年2月28日，尼克松总统和中国的周恩来总理在上海发表了一份联合公报。这份文件之所以引人注目，不仅是因为它坦率地承认了当时存在于美国和中国世界观之间的尖锐分歧，而且还因为它确认了两国的利益都要求我们必须合作。今天，美国中国之间的分歧已经比当年少得多，而两国合作的必要性却更大了。

1972年，中国处于被孤立的状态，她很愤怒，很贫穷，在国境之外没有重大的影响。自那以来，中国的迅速现代化和经济增长已经使她大为改观。中国现在已经是解决或调解几乎所有全球和地区问题必不可少的参与者。她不仅已经变成全球繁荣的一个主要因素，而且成了国际秩序的一大支柱。中国已不再处于全球资本主义制度之外，而是其中的一个领导力量，这一事实无疑是过去40年最引人瞩目的发展之一。同样引人瞩目的是，中美两国人民建立的友谊关系程度很深，这种友谊关系强调了两国对彼此国内稳定和繁荣的利害关系。

遗憾的是，在军事领域，中美两国的合作关系却进展最慢。大冷战将世界分为从属于莫斯科的国家和与华盛顿结盟的国家，在那个时期我们的关系就已经开始。在当时的情况下，中国和美国就发现有可能在军事上以现在有些人难以想象的方式进行合作。自那以后，经济上相互依赖和政治上和平共处的加强都与近年来双方军事领导机关之间某些方面可称作“小冷战”的出现形成了对比。

这本书及勒夫克将军的生平所传达的信息是，这种敌意既不是不可避免的，也不是不可克服的，即使是对那些擅长战争的人来说也是如此。在中美关系中，像在别的情况下一样，增进相互的理解是以和平竞赛替代暴力冲突的关键。美国人和中国人都值得作出努力去了解对方并学会欣赏我们的相似之处和不同之处。如果我们愿意试着这样做，我们就没有理由做不到。

这一信息值得两国人民和更多国家的人民听取和注意。我赞赏伯恩·勒夫克花费时间和精力写了这本书，并在书中传达了这一信息。

THE PEACE GENERAL



This is the story of a man who creates friendships between soldiers, students and leaders. He has been called many things: Warrior, Diplomat, Athlete, Teacher and Healer. He was first called the Peace General by a reporter in Latin America for his work in resolving arguments peacefully. The title has been used many times to describe him.

In Africa, where he treated the sick, he was called the American Healer. In China he is simply, The General, our Friend.

~ Introduction by Chinese publisher,
"China: Enemy or Friend"
Chinese edition 2009

Loeffke worked us harder than any prior commander. He was, without a doubt, the bravest individual I have ever met. Many of us initially thought he was too aggressive – 'the true war-lover soldier'. We later saw him as a sensitive man dedicated to doing what he thought he should. At times, I was convinced he was as equally dedicated to getting me killed. Regardless, I respect him as the finest leader I have ever known.

~ Lee Lanning
"The Only War We Had"

和平将军



本书的主人公是一个在士兵、学生和领导人之间建立友谊的人。他有很多头衔：战士、外交家、运动员、教师和医生等。他在拉丁美洲曾以和平方式解决了诸多争端而首次被一名记者称作“和平将军”。这一称号曾被多次用来形容他。

他在非洲救死扶伤，被称作“美国医生”。在中国则被直呼为“将军朋友。”

——《中国：敌人还是朋友》

2009年中文版，
中国出版商序言

勒夫克比以前任何一位长官对我们都管理更严。他毫无疑问是我遇见过的最勇敢的人。开始时我们很多人都觉得他太富侵略性——“真正爱战争的军人”。后来我才发现他是一个感情细腻，对他认为应做的事恪尽职守的人。有几度，我深信他对我战死沙场也同样不会心软。尽管如此，我仍对他敬重有加，认为他是我所认识的最好的领袖。

——李·兰宁

《我们经历的唯一一场战争》

THE SHAKING OF HANDS

FRIENDSHIP

運濟平麻

In traditional Chinese ideograms, the concept of friendship comes from the shaking of hands. The ideogram YO (friend) was initially two hands moving in the same direction, two hands cooperating for a common purpose. It later evolved into two hands clasping each other in friendship.

In ancient times, the word 'peace' meant "to bind together". The concept was to bind friends so closely together that peace was the end result. In China, to be called a 'LAO PENGYOU' (old friend) takes time. But once you have become one, the relationship is cemented.



For more than 18 years, U.S. and Chinese diplomats did not shake hands. In 1972, President Nixon visited China and shook hands with Chinese officials starting a new era of U.S.-Sino relations. This book was published in 2012 to commemorate the 40th anniversary of that event.

**"If you see faults in your friends, tell them so they can correct them.
If they do not listen, let them be, do not look for trouble."**

— Confucius

握手 友谊

在传统的汉语象形文字中，“友谊”的概念来自于握手。象形文字“友”（朋友）最初是两只手向同一个方向移动，两只手为了一个共同的目的而合作。它后来则演变为两只手为了友谊而相互握紧。

在古时候，“和”（和平）这个词的意思是“捆在一起。”这一概念是把朋友们紧紧捆在一起，其最终的结果就是和平。在中国，被别人称作“老朋友”需要时间。然而一旦成为老朋友，这种关系就会非常牢固。



有18多年的时间，美国和中国外交官没有握过手。1972年，尼克松总统访问中国，与中国官员握了手，从而开启了中美关系的新纪元。

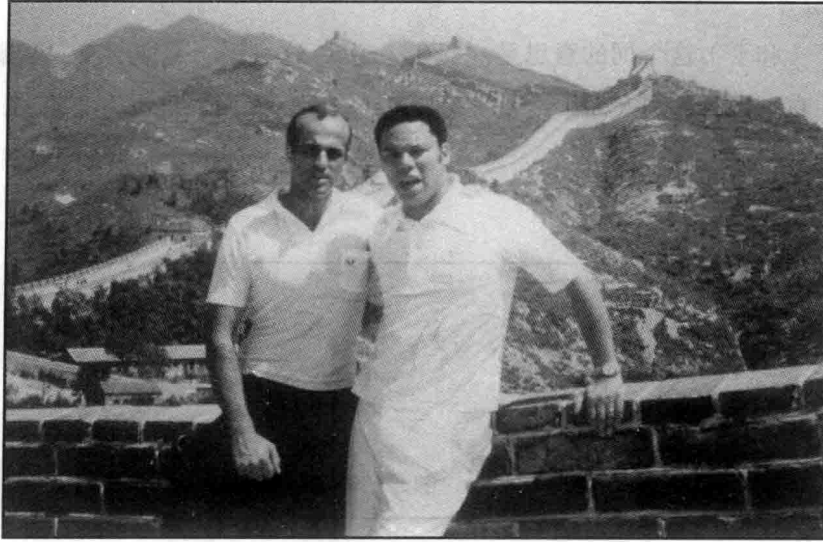
本书在2012年出版，以纪念这一事件40周年。

“忠告而善道之，不可则止，毋自辱焉。”

——孔子

TWO FRIENDS IN CHINA

1973



Burn Loeffke on left, Colin Powell on right.

"The sharing of joy, physical, emotional, psychic, or intellectual, forms a bridge between the sharers, which can be the basis for understanding much of what is not shared between them, and lessens the thread of their difference."

— Audrey Lord

两位朋友在中国

1973年



左为伯恩·勒夫克，右为科林·鲍威尔

“分享欢乐，不管是身体的欢乐、感情的欢乐还是精神的欢乐、智力的欢乐，都会在分享者之间架起一座桥梁，对于他们之间没有分享的很多东西，这座桥梁可以成为理解的基础，并减少他们之间的分歧。”

—— 奥德丽·洛德