A WHITE PAPER FOR THE PRESIDENTS OF AMERICA AND CHINA

JOHN MILLIGAN-WHYTE DAI MIN



CENTER FOR AMERICA-CHINA PARTNERSHIP

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- China & America's Leadership in Peaceful Coexistence
- China & America's New Economic Partnership: *The Success of Economic and Moral Authority*
- The New School of America-China Relations
- Being China: The Meaning of Deng Xiaoping

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The New School of America-China Relations

Summary

Conventional American demands and Chinese positions are failing and must change as a result of the financial and economic crises. The future relationship of the 21st century's two largest national economies must be fundamentally different and profoundly better. The New School of America-China Relations provides a new conceptual framework, grand strategy and agenda for creating a 21st century military and economic alliance between America and China. This framework consists of implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which facilitate reciprocal respect and reciprocal economic globalization, thereby producing reciprocally beneficial and therefore implementable economic solutions. America and China's economic and national security must be permanently aligned in a new alliance which will not be a replacement to the alliances America and China currently have in place. The additional alliance is essential for America and China's economic and national security. The New School's conceptual framework, grand strategy and agenda are also required to create sustainable confidence, balanced global economic progress, new defense systems, and a 21st century international system that can meet 192 nations' economic and national

security needs. These are essential for preventing human extinction.

The White Paper for the Presidents of America and China was written at the request of Director General Dr. Huang Ping of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' Institute of American Studies for America-China Partnership. It is part of the America-China Partnership Book Series that was recognized in 2009 by experts at the Chinese Academy of Social Science, China Center for International Economic Exchanges, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, China's Central Party School Publishing House and Chinese scholars as creating a New School of America-China Relations.

The Center *for* America-China Partnership is the first American think tank combining "America-centric" and "China-centric" perspectives. As a result, its initial two books, published in English and Mandarin in January 2009, created a "New School" of America-China Relations. Five further books in the Center's America-China Partnership Series are being published as President Obama's administration develops its relationship with China in the face of a global economic crisis. The books present a novel, shared conceptual framework, and the grand strategy and agenda required to transcend American and Chinese perception and communication gaps. We hope to enable essential breakthroughs in relations between the countries by explaining the following:

- 1. Why a new genuine economic and military alliance creating a geopolitical partnership and a new international system led by America and China based on the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is essential;
- 2. How America and China's partnership in a new conceptual framework, grand strategy and agenda is needed to manage the conflict between the two nations, and create a new collaboration between the two civilizations they represent, through creating conditions of reciprocal respect, reciprocal economic globalization, and reciprocally beneficial solutions

that align America and China's economic and national security.

This White Paper summarizes seven books in the America-China Partnership Book Series which explain the New School's positions on the requirements for solving the economic, cultural and political problems confronting America and China in the wake of the financial and economic crises, given the history of mistrust and miscommunication between the two nations.

Although effective collaborative solutions for the global economic crisis and contemporary geopolitical problems are urgently required, the current friction between a conventional American "zero-sum game" mindset, and the Chinese "win-win" conceptual framework, precludes achievement of genuine reciprocally beneficial and thus realistically implementable solutions to these issues.

The conventional approach taken by President Obama for building mutual understanding and trust between the two nations threatens to be too slow in dealing with the unprecedented global challenges created by the economic crisis. Moreover, certain longstanding gaps in perception and communication, coupled with the Chinese stance in international relations and clashes between conventional American demands, will also hinder the efforts of the two Presidents.

The White Paper is intended to serve as the shared blueprint for a new era in America-Chinese relations. It is an essential catalyst for enabling the formation of policies which will succeed in establishing the breakthroughs in mutual trust and cooperation.

Without such a shared blueprint, no substantial breakthrough in relations between America and China will be possible for American Presidents, or the political, economic and academic interests working with them.

Reliance on protectionism and "zero-sum game" mindsets will virtually ensure the failure of both nations in their economic and security projects. The New School's novel approach is informed by what the Chinese view as the "common sense" of reciprocally beneficial cooperation. Our work is designed to help America's President, who is searching for breakthroughs in negotiations. The key to success for President Obama's administration in obtaining those things that America desires from China is to focus on only those policies that offer genuinely reciprocal benefits to the two nations. It is vital that a shared insight on these matters is achieved by the leaders of both nations, in order to prevent the conscious (or unconscious) reiteration of conventional American perspectives, in the form of demands and implicit threats built into policy, which will aggravate tensions and serious problems that both nations face.

Recommendations

- 1. President Hu, President Obama and their advisers should reframe their negotiations and policies using the New School of America-China Relations' "shared blueprint" presented in this White Paper.
- 2. Annual meetings in Washington DC in May, and in Beijing in October, must bring American and Chinese policy makers and scholars together who support the New School of America-China Relations in a new America-China Partnership Forum, without the media present. This will allow for constructive, candid collaborative discussions focusing on implementing the new conceptual framework and grand strategy that will align America and China's economic and national security.
- 3. A television series, made available globally on the Internet, must be used to explain to the American and Chinese people (and mankind in general) why this new additional military and economic alliance implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is essential; and how it will succeed in

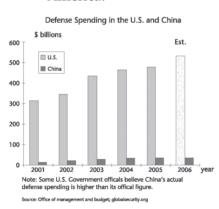
protecting the economic and national security of America, China and the world's other 190 nations.

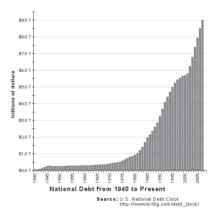
Ten Key Questions President Obama Can Answer For President Hu Jintao in "Launching a New Era of Partnership"

There is a window of opportunity that unless used quickly will be negatively affected by events like the devaluation of the American dollar, difficulty in the American government borrowing to fund its recovery programs or other events that limit what China can do to assist America if the crises proliferate because they are not contained now by a genuine breakthrough. Such negative developments may be prevented or will be much more manageable if a breakthrough is achieved before they arise. The American economy is far more fragile than was realized before the events in the week of September 16, 2008. President Obama can strengthen the new era of partnership he announced on May 24, 2009 by sharing his answers to ten key questions with President Hu Jintao.

1. 1.President Obama can communicate to President Hu Jintao whether he believes that America must reciprocate the reforms Deng Xiaoping implemented by "opening up" to Chinese investment in order to invigorate America's economy and balance America and China's trade and economies and that America should reciprocate by implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, including non-interference in China's internal affairs in matters such as Tibet, Taiwan and its definition of human rights? These American policy reforms are important elements of reciprocal respect and economic globalization in a successful new era of partnership. Those policy decisions are not the most fundamental decision that President Obama can make in implementing the

- new era of partnership of America's 5.6% and China's 22% of mankind.
- 2. President Obama can decide whether he believes that for America to win China must lose?
- 3. President Obama can decide whether he believes that safe-guarding America's economic and national security requires that America reciprocate and base its economic and foreign policies and military strategies toward China on the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the collaboration of civilizations paradigm?
- 4. President Obama can decide whether he believes it is necessary for America's economic and national security to prepare for war with China? If he decides it is, he could seek to raise Americans' taxes to borrow money from China to prepare for and then conduct a war with China. If he decides that it is not, he can explain to America's policymakers and people why a new collaboration of civilizations mindset, and economic and foreign policies and military strategies toward China are essential for the economic and national security of America.



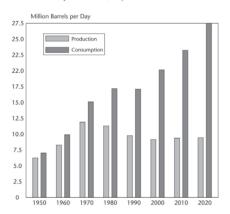


President Obama can decide that many aspects of Americans' conventional mindset and strategies undermine Americans economic and national security? For example, America and

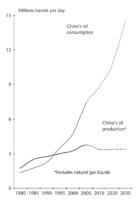
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China must collaborate on procuring the oil they each need which will benefit both and 190 other nations. The largest and third largest economics consume more oil than they produce. As partners collaborating, the consumers of 42% of the world's oil can control oil prices, which have fluctuated from US \$ 43 to US \$ 147 a barrel damaging every nation's economic stability and growth. As partners they can ensure their own supplies and together help repair failed and failing states. American policy currently seeks to prevent Chinese companies from buying American oil companies, obtaining oil from America's sources and objecting to China obtaining oil from nation's America disapproves of. Such policies benefit neither nation nor other nations. Many American policymakers believe competition over oil will lead to war, others recognize that America and China must collaborate rather than compete for oil.

The Dependency Dilemma U.S. Oil Production and Consumption History 1950–2000; Projections 2010–2020

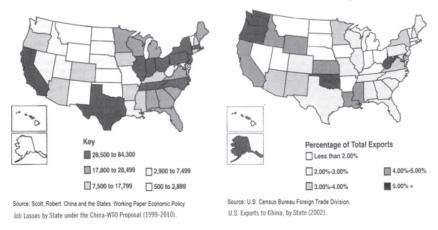


A Growing Thirst for Oil



6. Does war or preparing for a war with China benefit America? If President Obama decides he believes that America and China's defense and economic collaboration is essential, then it becomes possible. If he and President Hu Jintao do not agree it is essential and therefore possible, then America, China and the other nations will not have economic or na-tional security. China has long sought a genuine and there-fore successful partnership with America and President Hu and China's other policymakers and people will very sincere-ly welcome it, with great relief. Does President Obama believe that China will unilaterally abandon its implementation of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence during his administration?

- 7. President Obama can decide whether he believes China will unilaterally abandon its implementation of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence during his adminis-tration.
- 8. President Obama can decide that America's economic and national security requires that he inspire a collaboration of civilization mindset and strategies beginning, starting with the Chinese civilization because China has unilaterally implemented the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence towards America.
- 9. President Obama can decide whether he believes it is possible to ameliorate the current crises or balance the American and Chinese economies during his administration without permitting reciprocal economic globalization. America does not welcome Chinese sovereign funds and



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Chinese companies to investments in and Chinese companies acquiring American companies and creating jobs for Americans, as American investments and companies have in China.

10. President Obama can decide whether he believes that without reciprocal economic globalization being permitted, American states, cities and companies that are benefiting from China's economic growth will be negatively affected unnecessarily? He can also decide whether he believes that American companies that do not have profitable China strategies will be able to re-main profitable anywhere? To have profitable China strategies American companies must align their China strategies success with the goals and success of China's strategies and Chinese companies going global. Chinese companies must be allowed to help American companies and workers by investing their future in states and cities currently needing financial and economic security in order for President Obama to obtain support among Americans for a new era of partnership.

Ultimately a key question is whether the American people, political system and policymakers will support President Obama and implement the economic and national security reforms required to restore America's economic and global leadership? The Chinese people, political system and policymakers supported Deng Xiaoping and his successors in opening up to American investment and implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Transcending Perception and Communication Gaps, Conventional American Demands, and Chinese Positions

The Chinese people, political system and policymakers are opening up to American investment and implementing the Principles of Peace-ful Coexistence. The massive success that this shift in attitude has created for China should encourage Americans to take a reciprocal stance in return. It has been difficult for Americans to understand the wisdom, and accept the now proven sincerity, of China's implementation of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. These Principles have shaped China's enormously successful economic and foreign policies and defense strategy, thus greatly benefiting America. Since China has implemented these Principles, 22% of mankind has progressed under three generations of Chinese leaders (and six American Presidential administrations). Game theory research findings support and explain what the Chinese view as common sense in the complex relationship of America and China: neither nation can succeed if either uses a zero-sum game mindset and strategies towards the other, as this will lead to failure in the economy and national security of both nations. There is no zero-sum game strategy in their relationship that does not produce a lose-lose outcome for both nations (and thus for mankind).

America and China will succeed or fail together in this century. However, China and America have perceived different meanings of the phrase "win-win." What America typically demands from China, from its "Americacentric" perspective, is a "win" for America's economic interests and a "win" for America's status as the sole global superpower. That mindset has obstructed the proposing and implementation of genuinely reciprocally beneficial policies, and thus has blocked the achievement of the collaborative equilibrium that China means by "win-win." The result of this conventional "Americacentric" (zero-sum game) mind-set, and the policy goals and strategies that are informed by it, is that America often presents demands or threats, under the auspices of so called "win-win" policy proposals that it claims "China must implement for its own benefit." This approach ignores the reality that objectively, America's demands are often seriously lacking in genuinely reciprocal benefits for China. This means that what America wants China to do is in fact not really the basis for any implementable or sustainable Chinese policy, and stagnation in relations and development result.

The New School re-frames and explains China's policymakers and scholars' "win-win" mindset, strategies and goals, as well as its understanding of its role as a major responsible power. It thus elucidates China's desire to become "strategic partners" with America in a new conceptual framework for international relations that is based on the interrelated requirements of: reciprocal respect; reciprocal economic globalization in which Chinese companies can invest in and acquire American companies; genuinely reciprocally beneficial pragmatic policy proposals and solutions; and a collaborative equilibrium that can only result from the alignment of America and China's economic success and national security. The New School's re-framing of the Chinacentric perspective is designed to be frank, as well as to provide American policymakers and scholars with implementable strategies, as well as standards for empirically measuring their success. American policymakers must move beyond the unproductive conventional Americacentric "clash of civilizations" and "zero-sum game" mindsets, which are manifested in America's conception of China as only being a "responsible stakeholder" in world affairs if it does what America wants, and as a "strategic competitor" to America in a zero-sum game interaction (which have clearly shaped America's economic and foreign policies and defense strategies towards China).

The New School's grand strategy is the formula required to simultaneously achieve America's need to balance the global economy and China's need for reciprocal economic globalization. From a Chinese perspective, America has unfortunately failed to understand the necessity for truly reciprocal economic globalization. The American government has prevented Chinese companies from buying publicly traded American companies and from investing its sovereign wealth, as well as having prohibited China's acquisition of some American technology which could aid China's development. Such policies and defense strategies ultimately harm both America and China by making it more difficult for the two nations to balance their economic or national security interests in a mutually beneficial relationship as the two leading and largest economies in this century. The New School's grand strategy applies equally to national security issues. There can be no economic alliance without a military alliance in which America reciprocates the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and thus replaces the "Cold War" mindset in American policymaking and strategy towards China.

In the context of this century it is unrealistic to expect that 302 million Americans can persuade, demand, coerce or fool 1.5 billion Chinese into doing America's bidding, when it is not in fact beneficial to the Chinese themselves. In other words, America's conventional 20th century mindset, goals and strategies with regard to China have ceased to be a viable basis for American policy towards China. That lack of viability is one of the essential causes of the profound economic crisis and national security dangers for which America's President and other policymakers are urgently seeking solutions. Resolution of these problems requires that America's President guide the American people in understanding and implementing radical changes in their mindset and goals with regard to China. America is, the New School recognizes, going through a kind of "cultural revolution" precipitated by its military, financial and economic crises. This can have either positive or very negative outcomes. Whilst the crises themselves are self-evident, America has not appreciated that its conventional approach to China is in fact causing the prolongation and deepening of these crises.

American policies that attempt to use America's economic and military authority to rule the world for America's benefit, but often at the cost of other nations' prosperity and security, have simply failed in recent times, and certainly will not work in this rapidly evolving century's circumstances. The "right is might" stance of the Bush administration provide a paradigmatic example of this

failed attitude's results. America can only be successful and restore its essential leadership role if it combines its economic and military strength with a moral authority that is recognized and admired not merely by Americans, but also by billions of non-Americans from other civilizations. In a complex global environment of over 6.5 billion people from 192 countries, Americans (who form only 5.6% of the total) are no longer in a position to dictate to the remaining 94.4% on everything from values, culture, politics, and economics to geopolitical outcomes.

This damaging conventional American mindset has often been mistakenly perceived by Americans as being the noble "right is might" ethic, and is actually at the heart of America's political and cultural ideals. In fact, America has recently failed to live up to these charismatic ideals. As President Washington advised, America should offer to mankind "the too novel example of a people always guided by exalted justice and benevolence" and "cultivate peace and harmony with all nations." America has failed to fulfill either point. President Washington's advice, taken from his Farewell Address, has an eternal prudence and moral authority that would be recognized by all civilizations and should be implemented by the new American government, and brought back to life in the hearts and minds of the American people themselves.

A new mindset may be hard for many Americans to accept, but the negative "cultural revolution" America is currently experiencing will only shift into a potential phase of positive development when the kind of changes in mindset, policy and strategy that the New School of America-China Relations recommends are accepted and implemented by American policymakers.

Similarly, there were negative and positive phases of China's Cultural Revolution and later economic revolution. The first negative phase somewhat resembles America's current situation. That period from 1966 to 1978 brought China to the brink of economic collapse. The second positive phase, which began in 1978, is best understood as a "capitalist evolution," when China's government and people decided to open up to the world and adopt (and adapt) capitalist economics in order to serve China's needs. Whilst the former brought China to the brink of economic collapse, the latter produced China's recent economic and national security success. Likewise, America's current revolution may evolve out of a period of severe economic and military crises. Recovering from the financial crisis and balancing the global economy require that America "open up" to China and adapt American capitalism and foreign policy to the new global situation.

Deng Xioaping implemented what have become China's conventional mindset, goals and strategies, on the basis of the "Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." The Chinese characterize the attitude informed by these Principles as directed towards a "win-win" and harmonious situation for China and other nations.

America's continued economic success and future national security depend on it being a successful example of its ideals of majority rule democracy, human rights and the rule of law. America's political system and ideals can only be preserved, and be globally charismatic if America respects and accepts China's harmonious society and world as "China's Exceptionalism." The new economic and defense realities of this century entail that only by implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence with China can America recreate a sustainable foundation for its security and economic success.

America's implementation of the "collaboration of civilizations" conceptual framework, grand strategy, and the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in its relationship with China will complete the process begun by China's unilateral use of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It will also establish a new, fairer and safer international system that can provide stable and continued global economic prosperity and security by reducing the clash of civilizations.

The innovative and responsible features of recent Chinese policy,

and in particular its cooperative strategies for dealing with America, better meet America's needs for peace and prosperity than the clash of civilizations and zero-sum game approach. They also promise to ameliorate the military and economic dangers facing China, America, and the world's 190 other nations, far more effectively and quickly than the conventional American approach.

That is one aspect of why the Chinese call their approach "win-win." However, Americans have not yet recognized how enormously beneficial China's implementation of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is to America's economic and national security. That is potentially tragic. America's resistance to accepting China's Peaceful Coexistence approach, coupled with longstanding perception and communication gaps between the two nations, are the results of China and America's different policy goals and priorities. Although these are exacerbated by different heritages and cultures (which lead to different strategies and visions), in fundamental respects, America's and China's needs are the same. Both nations need respect, economic growth, social and political stability, and homeland security, all of which require international peace. Only once America's President, policymakers, and citizenry partner with the Chinese in designing and implementing policies emphasizing genuinely reciprocally beneficial solutions will the two nations be able to achieve the stable and productive relationship, which is of fundamental importance to mankind's economic prosperity, survival and evolution. Moreover, once America adopts the New School's collaboration of civilizations approach, an incremental synthesis of America's ideals of majority rule democracy, human rights and the rule of law with China's ideals of a harmonious society and world will be possible.

China's economic success was not possible until the implementation of Deng Xiaoping's policies, and its continued economic and national security depends on staying on the course

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he set. The New School recognizes that America can destroy its economic and national security with a clash of civilizations approach, and seeks to prevent American hostility or aggression that would make it impossible to implement Deng Xiaoping's peaceful coexistence policies.

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The New School's Conceptual Framework

The New School's perspectives collectively form a conceptual framework and agenda that are designed for this century's economic and national security realities. This conceptual framework is required to explain to policymakers, experts, media and the world's citizenry why the New School's grand strategy for creating the architecture for peace in the 21st century is essential for a return to sustainable global economic and defense security, and thus for the continued existence of mankind.

The 21st Century's Fundamental Issue

The attacks of September 11th, 2001 on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon demonstrated every nation's vulnerability to violence, and shattered Americans' illusions of security. The results would have been far more catastrophic, perhaps impossible to recover from, had the targets been, for example, nuclear power plants, disease control or biological weapon research centers. Our obviously inadequate defense systems have to evolve in ways that may be difficult to imagine.

"The Human Extinction Challenge" is the probability in this age

of nuclear weapons and potentially species-lethal science that the human gene pool will be entirely destroyed. The issue confronting each of us is whether the "Human Experiment" will fail in our lifetimes. The accel-erating preludes to human extinction include: the clash of civilizations; the proliferation of terrorism and war; the proliferation and evolution of nuclear and biological weaponry; the proliferation of failed and failing states; and man-made ecological damage. These are leading us inexorably, but perhaps not inevitably, towards extinction.

"Species-Lethal Weapons and Science" refers to the use of what have been referred to conventionally as "weapons of mass destruction" in a way that results in the destruction of the entire human gene pool. The proliferation of "Species-Lethal Weapons and Science" could enable an individual or small group to destroy all of mankind.

The 21st century's interdependent global economy, national and international governance systems, and the ecosystem that supports human life may be extinguished by one or more catastrophic attacks or accidents. As individuals, and as 192 nations, we could not survive in the ungovernable primeval world that might be forced upon all of us by anyone possessing the Species-Lethal Weapons and Science that we have created. Aggressors or defenders in future conflict will use all the weapons and science mankind has created. Some individual malcontents will also do that.

Suicidal individuals, who carry out attacks with regular weaponry on an almost daily basis, indicate our potential in the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science to be a suicidal species. Whether we are destroyed as a species is now the fundamental question facing us all. All other preoccupations, however compelling, are futile if our ultimate fate is extinction.

Our instincts, thought processes, behaviors and systems of defense and aggression that evolved over the four billion years before the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science must now evolve extremely rapidly in many seemingly impossible ways if we are not to perish as a species incapable of coping with its own growing scientific and military abilities. We have reached the stage in our evolution when scientific progress has made it a question of time before we suffer accidents, attacks, or war using Species-Lethal Weapons and Science. The growth in our knowledge that has made us an endangered species must immediately be directed to managing the Human Extinction Challenge.

The New Agenda for the 21st Century

Any economic development, foreign policy, defense strategies, and scientific research that are not capable of preventing our extinction are deficient in the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science. They must be recognized as deficient, and be replaced with collaborative and reciprocally beneficial strategies that are capable of ensuring the peaceful coexistence of over 6.5 billion people.

The New School's perspectives, grand strategy and agenda present the most desirable and effective plan for enabling the continued progress of mankind. Alternative approaches threaten the devastation of both the "American ideals" of constitutional majority-ruledemocracy, human rights, and the rule of law, and of the "Chinese ideals" of prosperity and peace in a harmonious society and world. The potential causes of human extinction, which we must convert, include the clash of civilizations caused by our species' instincts, emotions, thought processes and behavior.

The New School's Collaboration of Civilizations Perspective

Samuel Huntington's The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking World Order published in 1996, Jared Diamond's Collapse: How Societies Chose to Fail or Succeed published in 2005, and Al Gore's An

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Inconvenient Truth published in 2007 (as well as a plethora of similar warnings) reflect an emerging, but not yet widely enough understood recognition of the extinction challenge created by clashing civilizations and our species' defective decision-making processes.

The combination of the clash of civilizations and instant global communications makes the provocations of human intolerance and violence more ubiquitous and dangerous, more evident and inflammatory than they were before the proliferation of printed media and the Internet. Such immediate global communications, combined with the Principles of Conflict in human nature; the Knowledge Revolution; and the evolution of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science, increase our risks as an endangered species. The Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science must be characterized by collaboration rather than conflict between civilizations. The clash of civilizations will cease in the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science either because we succeed in replacing the clash with the collaboration of civilizations, or because it destroys us. Mankind has no future with the clash of civilizations. Therefore, only the collaboration of civilizations promises to secure mankind's future.

China's Leadership and America's Responsibility to Implement the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

The Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science was created by America's invention of atomic and nuclear weapons in the Manhattan Project, and America's use of their catastrophic military power twice to force the unconditional surrender of Japan.

In response to the creation of the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science, China (mankind's oldest-surviving and largest civilization) pioneered and demonstrated the economic success, military effectiveness and moral authority of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence by implementing them in its economic and foreign policies and defense strategies. China's leaders during the Carter, Reagan, George H. W. Bush, Clinton, George W. Bush and Obama presidencies have successfully implemented the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. As a result, China has been at peace with all other nations, and has prospered more rapidly and on a larger scale than any nation or civilization in history. China would not be as successful if it had not pioneered and implemented the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

China's unilateral implementation of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence has demonstrated its success and realism, and shown it to be the basis for a viable 21st century international system among the 192 members of the United Nations. America now has a responsibility to follow China's leadership and implement the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the basis of its economic, foreign and defense policies.

China initially protected itself during Mao Zedong's leadership by developing nuclear weapons in 1964 during the Cold War. Since 1979, under Deng Xiaoping and his successors, China has defended itself by pioneering and unilaterally implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. That breakthrough in human history occurred because Deng Xiaoping and successive generations of Chinese leaders recognized that China's economic and foreign policies and defense strategies need not be–and should not be–built on the assumption that America or Russia would deliberately start a new world war in the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science.

Like President Kennedy in 1963 after the Cuban Missile Crisis, Deng Xiaoping understood up on assuming power in 1978 that "the new face of war" in the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science made war unwinnable, except by being prevented. Although America and the USSR only avoided a nuclear war by an extraordinarily combination of pragmatic leadership and luck in 1962, Deng Xiaoping recognized that the essential requirements for China's economic development and national security were the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. These were formulated in 1954 by China's Premier

Zhou Enlai and India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and are as follows:

- 1. Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity
- 2. Mutual non-aggression
- 3. Non-interference in each others' internal affairs
- 4. Equality and mutual benefit, and
- 5. Peaceful coexistence.

China is a leader amongst the nuclear weapon-possessing nations because it has demonstrated the economic and national security benefits of implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence over three decades. America and many other nations have based their foreign policies and defense strategies on what the New School refers to as "the Principles of Conflict." Due to the Principles of Conflict, inherent in human nature and therefore in the conventional behavior of nations, America has yet been unable to emulate China in rising above the Principles of Conflict and implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. As a result, the United Nations is perceived by America and many other nations as not being effective in realizing the goals and principles set out in its Charter – which was designed to prevent conflicts like World War I or II in the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science.

The Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are embodied in the United Nations' Charter. Implementing the Charter's essential goals and principles can only be successfully realized and policed through the partnership of America and China in leading a new 21st century international system. The conventional zero-sum game mindset and strategies commonly operating in many of the United Nations' member states' foreign policies and defense strategies are, unfortunately, manifesta-tions of the Principles of Conflict.

International problems can be much more effectively addressed using the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and the alignment of

American and Chinese economic and national security for which they allow. Problems involving crimes against humanity (such as genocide in Darfur), as well as problems of nuclear proliferation, war and invasion (e.g. in Kuwait), could be eliminated entirely, or at least rendered far more controllable, with America and China's collaborative action. Mutual non-aggression and respect for sovereignty would allow for fundamental issues such as slavery, child labor, and genocide to remain matters subject to international redress, and would actually be actively policed on the ground, which is not the case now.

The New School's Principles of Conflict Perspective

The America-China Partnership Books formulate and introduce the "Principles of Conflict" in Chapter 2 of Book 1. The Principles of Conflict are manifested in America's conventional economic and foreign policies and defense strategies towards China. They are the antithesis of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence manifested in China's foreign policy and defense strategies with regard to America. The Principles of Conflict are:

- 1. Fairness Hypocrisy
- 2. "Believe and Behave as I Do" Intolerance
- 3. "Do as I say, Not as I Do" Immoral Authority
- 4. "Do as I Say" Arrogance
- 5. "We are Better than You" Arrogance
- 6. "My Country Right or Wrong" Bias
- 7. The Passion for Conflict, Power and Harming Others

China has been at peace with all nations since 1979 precisely because it has risen above the Principles of Conflict in human nature in its foreign policies and defense strategies. Nonetheless, American policymakers have not yet recognized and responded to the economic and national security benefits to America that these principles may yield, despite their now long-term implementation and success in China.

American policymakers and analysts have not recognized nor focused on the dangers to America's economic and national security caused directly by America's basing its foreign relations on the Principles of Conflict. This is of crucial importance because it will be impossible to correct the fundamental negative impact of the Principles of Conflict on the relationship between nations, unless America is able to transcend them. It is also potentially tragic, because the Principles of Conflict in human nature and the behavior of nations are in the process of destroying mankind as the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science rapidly evolves.

America's recognition and reciprocation of China's example is essential to manage and solve the fundamental issue of the survival of our species, which American policymakers and scholars are not adequately addressing at present. In addition, implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence with China (and then with other nations) will enable us to effectively and inexpensively manage and solve the economic, foreign policy and defense issues which are at the heart of American policy-making and international relations scholarship. The Principles of Conflict have already shown themselves incapable of adequately protecting America's economic and national security, and will be incapable of doing so in the future of this increasingly unstable and dangerous Age of Species Lethal Weapons and Science. This failure in American policy-making and scholarship endangers America, China and mankind.

A focus on the Principles of Conflict's dominant roles in human nature and international relations are essential for the new conceptual framework required for:

- 1. Americans to be able to understand China
- 2. China and America to be able to align their economic suc-

cess and national security in the in the 21st century, Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science.

As Americans think through the "New School of America-China Relations" perspectives, grand strategy and agenda, they may understand the profound cultural basis, sincerity, commitment and reliance of China's implementation of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. These Principles have worked well in enhancing China's 1.5 billion people's economic progress, military safety and moral authority. From the Chinese perspective, it is clear that China's policies and strategies implementing these principles offer more sustainable benefits to China and the world's 191 other nations. To the Chinese, this is "common sense." The New School's perspectives, grand strategy and agenda are designed to provide a beneficial "Americacentric" way of explaining this view of things, which, in spite of its prominence in Chinese thought, has not been acknowledged by conventional Americacentric policymakers and observers.

The New School's perspective also recognizes and clarifies that the Principles of Conflict:

- 1. Are the operating principles in the 20th century's American designed and dominated international system;
- 2. Are the essence of America's economic and foreign policies and defense strategies generally, and toward China in particular;
- 3. Cannot protect America's economic or military security, or those of the other 191 nations in the 21st century;
- 4. Are a fundamental cause of the Human Extinction Challenge; and are a fundamental cause of America's conventionally recognized economic, foreign policy and defense dangers;
- 5. Must be replaced by the Principles of Coexistence as the fundamental principles used by America with China and other

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- peaceful nations in a new, and thereby safer 21st century international system;
- 6. Are a fundamental cause of American policymakers, scholars, opinion leaders (and much of the general public) having a "zero-sum game mind-set and strategies" that reinforce the Principles of Conflict.

Conventional American policymakers, scholars and opinion leaders have not yet recognized or understood, and therefore have not yet taken advantage of, the unique opportunities for America's economic success and national security provided by the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, even though these principles have served as the 30-year-old foundation of China's development.

The Perspective of China's Exceptionalism

The New School's perspectives recognize that "China's Exceptionalism" in pioneering the implementation of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence is the Chinese civilization's corollary of the American civilization's "American Exceptionalism." The New School recognizes that both nations need to lead mankind with their own unique approaches to politics, and that both are extremely valuable to mankind. American policymakers' understanding of China's Exceptionalism is a vital part of Americans' greater respect for China required for effective policies and strategies with China. At the moment, however, this understanding is sorely lacking.

A Perspective on America's Exceptionalism

The New School also recognizes that American Exceptionalism can in fact renew itself and survive if it emulates China's leadership in implementing the Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. America's doing so will create a new international system, led by the nations

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with the two largest economies, which will be in favor of America's interests. A stable 21st century international system must be designed and operated so as to meet the balanced needs for economic progress of all 192 developed and developing nations, instead of primarily the G7, G8 or G20 nations, or merely a "G2" of America and China, which China's leaders reject.

In the 21st century, America and China are both capitalist nations that require a sustainable and stable global economy and peace. China, having created the world's fastest growing economy in a nation that is still the 100th poorest, has a unique understanding and influence among both the developing and developed nations. But China, unlike America, sees the other 191 nations from the perspective of the developing nations, which want a more balanced, reciprocally beneficial, and fairer international system. China and America must align their economic and national security interests, but not as a "G2" implementing a coordinated but exploitative zero-sum game mindset and strategies cartel on the basis of their economic and military authority alone (i.e. in the absence of moral authority). The 21st century results of American hegemony illustrate its inherent vulnerability, unbearable expense and instability. In contrast, Deng Xiaoping's policies seek a sustainable balance among nations.

America and China must work on a key partnership, representing the leading developed and developing nations (respectively), and assist one another in running a stable and balanced new world order that can stabilize failing and failed states.

A permanent, reciprocally beneficial economic and national security partnership between America and China will eliminate the dangers of the clash of their respective civilizations. In so doing, the partnership will be a charismatic example of the power of collaboration. We believe that American Exceptionalism cannot be charismatic, and Chinese Exceptionalism cannot be realized, without a reciprocally beneficial alignment of the economic and national security of the worlds' largest population and economy in

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the 21st century.

The New School recognizes fundamental 21st century realities that conventional American economic and foreign policies and defense strategies do not recognize:

- 1. Mankind has no future if the conventional clash of civilizations zero-sum game mindset and strategies and Principles of Conflict persist in the 21st century.
- 2. America and China's economic and national security (as well as American and Chinese Exceptionalism) are not sustainable without the reciprocally beneficial partner-ship of the two nations.
- 3. The achievement of the goals of China's Exceptionalism and American Exceptionalism are reciprocally beneficial.
- 4. The clash of civilizations and Principles of Conflict will make the achievement of American Exceptionalism and Chinese Exceptionalism impossible.
- 5. For America to achieve its goal of making American Exceptionalist ideals and political system universal among nations, it must accept and ensure that China's Exceptionalism of seeking a harmonious society and world is achievable.

The Perspective that Conventional American Economic and Foreign Policies and Defense Strategies Will Destroy Mankind's Future

China has been waiting since 1949 for a strategic partnership with America, because the Chinese admire Americans' exceptional achievements and charismatic ideals such as those voiced in President Washington's ambitions for the American people, and shown in many practical examples of America's benevolence and good character (e.g. its population's consistently large charitable donations to developing nations). American administrations have

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unfortunately focused on mere "tinkering" with an unsustainable 20th century international system that is incapable of fulfilling the needs of America or those of the rest of the world.

A 21st century international system based on a "zero-sum game" mindset and strategies, in combination with Species-Lethal Weapons and Science cannot sustain the peace and prosperity while any new international system requires to ensure our survival. A new "win-win" mindset and strategic approach which aims to collaboratively work out and implement genuine reciprocally beneficial respect, globalization and policies is the only alternative to America and China remaining confrontational competitors and slipping into a trade war, Cold War, armed conflict or ecological catastrophe. Thus, in order to avert these looming dangers, American policymakers' conventional perspectives must be changed so that the New School of America-China Relations becomes the "conventional perspective."

As America changes its economic and foreign policy goals, mindset and strategies and rises above the Principles of Conflict to achieve the Exceptionalism President Washington expressed, it will renew and project its moral authority in global markets and conflicts. Conventional American economic and foreign policies and defense goals and strategies must change because they cannot protect America's economic and national security. Indeed, they will inevitably change either because America wisely implements the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, or because we will perish from the earth as a defective species unable to adapt to its changing environment.

The Principles of Peaceful Coexistence Must Replace the Principles of Conflict Perspective

Extinction is an objective, decisive criterion of mankind's success or failure. It ends all human differences of opinion, prejudices and conflict. In that sense, our extinction would create a lasting peace

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– as President Kennedy put it, "the peace of the grave." American policymakers, scholars, media and the American people will play the leading role in determining whether our species is capable of any other peace but that one.

The New School's view is that the Human Extinction Challenge entails a unique combination of the occurrence of highly probable, absolutely catastrophic threats which cannot be ignored or be successfully dealt with by using a "might is right" approach to statesmanship, or the Principles of Conflict. Therefore, the Human Extinction Challenge must be managed through a new international system based upon the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, in which the moral authority of "right is might," rather than "might is right," is used to direct America and China's combined economic, military authority. That combined authority of the world's leading nations, will be more effective in reducing aggression by individuals and states, stabilizing failed and failing states, and supporting longer and more stable and sustainable economic cycles.

The New School also recognizes that America and China as partners must lead in the creation and use of new defense systems that are required for all nations' security. These will be created in the Manhattan II Project, as is examined in Chapter 6 of Book 1. As global citizens we must learn, as the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius put it, "how to make all bad men good and good men great." We know from recent experience that individuals and nations have the capacity to commit mass murder. We know the world is plagued by the anger and despair that leads to mass violence. We must thus confront the reality that suicidal persons with Species-Lethal Weapons or Science now threaten mankind's very existence. This is examined in Chapter 4 of *China & America's Leadership in Peaceful Coexistence*.

The New School focuses on a fundamental question: Will America's policymakers and people choose the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as China has, reiterate the Principles of Conflict because

the American political system and policymaking process are not capable of rising above the mindset of the Principles of Conflict? That question is a test of the charisma and sustainability of America's ideals, the merits of the American political and policy making systems, and ultimately the viability of the character of the American people and their indigenous form of government. Will government of the people, by the people, and for the people perish from the earth along with mankind?

America and China are currently pursuing the goals of prosperity and peace, and performing leading roles in the current international system with radically different mindsets, priorities and strategies (as is examined in detail in Book 2). America is seeking to provide a charismatic example of American Exceptionalism's appropriateness as mankind's universal values, while at the same time implementing the Principles of Conflict. China is implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, a charismatic example of China's Exceptionalism to developed and developing nations that are benefiting from China's progress.

Deng Xiaoping recognized in 1978 that there are far greater advantages in seeking economic development, which essentially requires peace. In effect, China has realized that hegemony is not worth seeking and that even without seeking hegemony it will naturally become a leading nation in the world because of the combination of its population size, abilities, hard work, economic power and the moral authority of its adherence to the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Americans' conventional mindset, policies and strategies have made the imposition of its goals and selfish interests the basis of American economic, foreign and defense policies. America therefore seeks to preserve its global superpower status and hegemony. But America's goals, policies and strategies express the Principles of Conflict, which undermine America's Exceptionalism and economic and national security. As a result, America is confronted by profoundly dangerous and complex financial and economic crises, as well as major new crises in homeland defense and international military relations. These are compounded with America's now having the largest national debt in the world, and its locus as the epicenter and most direct cause of the current global financial and economic crises.

Thus America faces economic, military and moral crises which also threaten China and the world's other nations. America and China's presidents' leadership needs to implement the New School of America-China Relations' model for reciprocally beneficial relations. The time has come for a change not only within America, but in how it conducts itself on the world stage, and in particular regarding its largest potential partner in the 21st Century. It is not a question of whether America's conventional relationship with China should change or not. The question now is *how it can quickly and sustainably undergo a fundamental change for the better*. The New School provides the best answer to this question.

Will American policymakers and scholars recognize, after 30 years of growing evidence, that China has made prosperity and peace its priorities, rather than seeking superpower hegemony? And as a result, China has been enjoying economic development and peace. To achieve the economic and national security that is self-evidently required, Americans, like the Chinese, must make prosperity and peace their goal and priority. They must thus align America's economic and foreign policies and defense strategies with China's, by basing them on the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Like China after 1978, America must evolve beyond the Principles of Conflict, so as to confront the new global economic and military reality of the 21st Century. The current global economic shock among 192 nations is the economic "9.11" emergency, and mirrors in many ways the national tragedy of 9.11.2001. Americans are in the throes of an economic cultural revolution. They must respond swiftly and appropriately to this challenge.

A Perspective on Moral Authority

In 1972, upon opening relations with China, President Nixon quoted the peaceful coexistence value propositions in President Washington's Farewell Address so as to begin to bridge the perception and communication gaps between Americans and Chinese. The New School recognizes and seeks to correct the mistake that America did when it decided not to follow President Washington's advice in its relationship with China. The ideals and words of a nation's leaders and policymakers must be aligned with a nation's behavior for it to have moral authority on the world stage. America's ideals can only have innate charismatic moral authority, if they can be seen to be actually implemented by its leaders and policymakers. The Principles of Conflict do not have moral authority. Words and behavior implanting the Principles of Conflict cannot have moral authority even if bravely, patriotically and passionately expressed.

The New School focuses on the problem that the Principles of Conflict are one of the key causes of the clash of civilizations and of the Human Extinction Challenge. The moral authority of President Washington's advice is self-evident and transcends civilizations. The degrading lack of moral authority in the Principles of Conflict also offends the norms of different civilizations.

The fundamental question always confronting America's leaders and people and mankind is: can the American leaders, people and political system implement President Washington's advice? America must do so for the same reasons as China adopted the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence: in order to find solutions for its economically and socially catastrophic Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976. If America implements President Washington's advice, America will achieve the same extraordinarily successful results as China has achieved by implementing Deng Xiaoping's advice. The New School's perspective is that America's economic and national

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security require that American policymakers' economic, foreign and defense mindset and strategies be based on the "realism" of President Washington's advice.

The Perspective that Right is Might in the Age of Species Lethal Weapons and Science

The Principles of Conflict are consistent with the concept that "might is right." The Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are consistent with the contrary concept that the New School refers to as "right is might."

The New School's perspective is that strong and weak individuals and nations are equal because of their potential access to Species-Lethal Weapons and Science. In the 21st century, America and China will either have a "might is right," or a "right is might" relationship. A "might is right" approach innately causes a reciprocally dangerous clash of civilizations. The "right is might" approach facilitates a reciprocally beneficial collaboration between civilizations.

The New School recognizes that economic or military power used without moral authority degrades into weakness, and that an international system in which both democratic and undemocratic nations operate on the basis of the Principles of Conflict will become increasingly ungovernable. Merely tinkering with such an international system cannot enable it to implement the United Nations Charter's mission, and will leave it unable to meet any nation's economic or national security needs. Nor will it solve the Human Extinction Challenge. American hostility, or deployment of economic or military force to threaten or harm China's vital interests may force China away from the wise and pragmatic Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The New School's perspectives recognize that America's hostile demands and threats to China unnecessarily endanger America, China and mankind.

The New School's perspectives emphasize that once China is

economically strong, it must never make the mistake of emulating the way America treated China when China was weak. The New School's perspective is that China must not emulate the Principles of Conflict that America has used with China.

The America-China Partnership Perspective

The New School recognizes that China is America's essential, reliable and capable partner in securing America's economic success and national security. If both commit to the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, they can collaborate effectively in implementing these Principles in the United Nations Charter and activities. In that case, America and China's relationship can actively prevent the trade wars, military confrontations, or proxy wars (where they take sides with rival factions in client states) which threaten under the current system of relations between the two. This will also help prevent the proliferation of species-lethal weapons and science, and of wars or terrorism that result from recklessness or miscalculation. The ability to police and pacify the world requires the combined, collaborative, and coordinated moral, economic and military authority of America and China. Their alliance is an essential *additional* alliance and need not replace or compromise America's existing alliances in any way.

The reasons for China and America to become committed, genuine partners in policing the world's peace and prosperity, and then pacifying its malcontents, are far greater and more compelling than America and China's historical differences. Their successful partnership would present a novel example for mankind of the peaceful collaboration of America as a "Rights Society" with majority-rule-democracy, and rule of law and China as a "Permission Society," a "Consensus Democracy" and a "rule by law society" that has now embraced capitalism.

The New School focuses on several key questions in this area:

- 1. Will America be better-off without a geopolitical and economic partnership with China?
- 2. Is American economic and national security better served by maintaining America's conventional policies toward China, rather than adopting the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence?
- 3. Is it wise or even possible for America by itself, without a strong, respected and stable partner in China to support it, to design an agenda for the 21st century's international order on which all 192 countries' peace and prosperity depends?
- 4. Is it conducive to the peace and prosperity of America, China, or the other 190 countries for America alone to set the world's agenda and run the international order?

We claim that the answer to each of these questions is: No. It may, however, be fairly easier politically for American policymakers to stick to their traditional affirmative stance in relation to them.

Americacentric policymakers and scholars do not explicitly consider and address these questions. They simply assume that the answer to each of them is "yes." China's policymakers and scholars also did not raise these questions publicly before 2008, because only since 2002 has China's new generation of leadership under Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao moved past the rhetoric directed at resisting American hegemony. The New School focuses on these questions because the only way to avoid the disaster of an unnecessary power struggle is to prevent an ideological, economical, ecological and geopolitical power struggle that currently threatens to occur.

The Game Theory Perspective

American policymakers conventionally use a "great power rivalry," as well as the "clash of civilizations" framework, and a "zero-sum game" mindset and strategies to address the relationship between their superpower of 300 million people, and China's reemerging

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mega superpower of 1.5 billion people. The relationship of America and China must not be likened to a sports competition, or a game of national conflict, deceit and self-interest. Nevertheless, conventional American economic and foreign policies and defense strategy tend to be framed in such terms.

Human extinction is not a game that anyone wins. It is not a contest that is continued next season or by a new generation of players. Nonetheless, American policies and strategies that result in peace or war seem to have been thought of and conducted like sports contests.

Game theory is a useful perspective in clarifying America and China's complex relationship, because it provides a more objective basis for how we view the relationship. From a game theory perspective, the world's most powerful developed and developing nations are in an ongoing interaction in which serious economic decline is unacceptable to either ("losing"), and will lead to conflict in which neither can "win." Both nations will lose if either nation uses a zero-sum game strategy with the other. Zero-sum game strategies are based on the Principles of Conflict. Both nations will "win" or reciprocally benefit if both use a reciprocally beneficial strategy under which both aim to ensure that the other wins, and acts to prevent its partner's economic decline.

Game theory research suggests that a partnership or any other form of relationship between America and China will not "work" (i.e. produce sustained economic development and peace) if either uses exclusively zero-sum game strategies, or exclusively win-win strategies, or unpredictable strategies. But partnership strategies, will work if one player uses a "Generous Tit-for-Tat Strategy," and the other player knows that they will.

Thus, China and America must always treat each other with reciprocal respect, and take an attitude of reciprocal globalization and genuinely beneficial solutions to economic and national security matters.

The Conventional Americacentric Perspective

Most American economic, foreign policy and defense strategy experts have varying degrees of the "Americacentric" focus and the assumptions internal to it, with regard to Chinese and Asian affairs. These entail a zero-sum game mindset and strategic focus in which America must "win" as the sole economic and military superpower. The Americacentric zero-sum game assumption is that for America to win, China must lose. This points that American foreign policy-making, scholarship and teaching are in the wrong direction because it fails to align America successfully with the new realities of the world's growing economies, which are reducing America's and Europe's former economic dominance. America's economic success is now dependent on the prosperity of other nations.

This blinkered Americacentric perspective is that characteristic of the debates that occur in forums such as Foreign Affairs, American news media and other influential commentaries on world events. One of the common indications of Americacentric bias and myopia is the "maybe but not anytime soon" perspective which is applied to the analysis of the development and success of nations other than America. It will be useful for American policymakers, scholars and observers to move beyond such views, and to quickly recognize that China must be supported in its attempt to rapidly become an economic success. They must now work on the basis of an "it is successful and what if it continues to be successful" focused analysis. Another indication of America-centrism is the view that "anything is wrong if it's not the way we do it", which like the one above forms part of what can be usefully referred to as the "uncharismatic American Exceptionalism." It too manifests the Principles of Conflict and a zero-sum game mindset.

Americacentric observers with a zero-sum game mindset are inclined to assert a "might is right" approach. They operate on the

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basis of an increasingly unrealistic focus that exhibits denial of current global realities, and pushes unrealistic assumptions and goals to the forefront of foreign policy analysis, despite the fact that the empirical evidence does not support these assumptions.

The Chinacentric Perspective

Since 1978, China has demonstrated success in achieving an extraordinary, unprecedented combination of economic development and political and social stability. Americacentric observers dislike, and seek to reject or discount those laudatory achievements. But the anticipated failure of China's progress (which tends to be assumed in Americacentric analyses) has not occurred, although the global economic crises threatens the collapse of both the American and Chinese economies. We propose that constantly looking for signs of China's failing is less rewarding than aligning America's success with China's enormous economic future growth.

American policymakers and scholars are misled by an Americacentric perspective that takes a myopic view of America's selfinterest, and insist that China must copy America, or else be doomed to perpetually remain America's economic inferior. China cannot, will not, and should not be a copy of America. The delusion that China is inferior to America is hubris. The Chinese do not think or act like Americans because of their different history and culture. The Chinese have much to share and enlighten Americans within their extraordinary past and current contribution to Western civilization, as is examined in Books 1 and 2: China and America's Emerging Partnership: A New Realistic Perspective and New China Business Strategies: Chinese and American Companies as Global Partners.

Over 400 major American corporations made large investments in China in response to the decisions by China to open up, embrace peaceful coexistence and capitalism with Chinese characteristics. American policy toward China is fortunately influenced by the economic self-interest and the political influence of such companies incorporated in America with large shareholdings among Americans. Even more importantly, the reality is that in this century, American companies that do not have profitable China strategies are unlikely to remain profitable anywhere. The mindset changes in business that will facilitate the successful global partnerships of American and Chinese companies are examined in *New China Business Strategies: Chinese and American Companies as Global Partners*.

The Requirement of American Mindset Change

The New School's perspective can be understood and accepted by the American people if they are willing to undergo a major mindset change regarding the significance of China's success for American prosperity, and the methods for aligning America's success with China's.

As laudable as America's ideals and system of government are, they are not the only ones mankind has or can be successfully governed and inspired by. The European Enlightenment and America's birth and evolution shaped the political thought of the 17th to 20th centuries. China's modernization, growing wealth and unique world view will increasingly play a leading role in the 21st century's global landscape. Many Americans did not anticipate, and do not yet accept, China's development into a peaceful nation, or the fact that America will play a different role in the 21st century in world affairs than it did in the 20th century. We must adjust to that emerging reality now, rather than misalign our model for America's future success with real global trends.

Americans unrealistically assume that because China is embracing capitalism that inevitably the Chinese will copy the American system of government and laws. The Chinese, however, view the world through their experiences, not Americans' experiences. They value the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and have experienced

successful economic development, foreign policy and defense strategies that flow from those principles and their indigenous political, social and economic systems. They have a deep admiration for many American ideals, and a strong desire to be friends with America. They recognize that their society in some ways lags behind America's, but they are just as proud and patriotic about their own heritage and civilization. If Americans can recover from their recent uncharismatic arrogance, their sense of entitlement to world leadership would not be such a bad thing. The Chinese like and respect Americans. The issue is whether Americans will accept China's friendship and the right of self-determination of China?

It is necessary that Americans understand and take advantage of the already existing and potential benefits of China's commitment to the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and its genuinely reciprocally respectful and beneficial mindset, strategies and goals. Americans remain focused on America's 20th century economic, foreign policy, and defensive goals, which are traditional assumptions and perspectives. From the view of the Chinese, Americans carefully study, but do not yet understand what is perceived as China's "nuanced and subtle" foreign policy. In 2007, Vice Premier Wu Yi told Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson and the other American cabinet members involved in the Strategic Economic Dialogues, that American policymakers "don't understand China."

In order to understand China's economic development, foreign policy and defense strategies, Americans should look at them with the perspectives provided by the New School. The Chinese were able to transcend their highly insular mindset and strategies beginning in 1978, when financial and social chaos and collapse made it self-evident that their conventional mindset and strategies were not able to work.

Will Americans be as capable of mindset and strategy change as the Chinese? President Jefferson asserted that the American people were a safe repository for the ultimate powers of what has now become mankind rather than merely America. President Obama and all the leading 2008 American presidential candidates' foreign policy and defense strategy proposals, examined in Chapters 3 and 5 of Book 2, remain shackled by the conventional Principles of Conflict, zero-sum mindset and strategic approaches. However, President Obama is currently seeking the new approach that America's success requires.

One of the New School's hypotheses is that conventional American economic and foreign policies and defense strategies only change when they are reiterated in crises, leading to failures. Their consistent shortcomings should be sufficient to make their inadequacy both obvious and compelling to a critical mass of Americans. Elections help in this American process of renewal and change, but ultimately, change depends on the capabilities of the leaders the American people find among themselves. The election of President Obama is evidence that a process of change in how America perceives itself is underway.

Nonetheless, President Obama's administration will not be able to shift Americans from their conventional mindset and strategies without President Hu and the Chinese government and people assisting the American people in understanding and accepting the new conceptual framework, grand strategy and agenda suited to the 21st century's needs. The New School's perspectives, while deliberately blunt, so as to be able to quickly transcend perception and communication gaps, seek to enable America and China's relationship.

The New Americacentric + Chinacentric Perspective

The new combination of Americacentric + Chinacentric perspectives is essential to securing America's currently tenuous prospects for economic success and national security in the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science. The failure which threatens America results directly from seeking to confront and oppose China's

emergence from hunger, and aiming to compete with China in the political and economic fields. If Americans, led by a new president "launching a new era of partnership," can achieve a new Chinacentric perspective to augment their Americacentric perspective, they will be better able to accept that America's success can only come from aligning China and America's success.

Like China's financial collapse in its Cultural Revolution, Americans now face an economic crisis which requires them to recognize that profound changes are needed. The question is how quickly they will make this conceptual shift towards accepting that only America and China's combined economic, military and moral authority can make the world safer, more stable, prosperous and peaceful. When economic and foreign policy and defense strategy formation are seen through the New School's perspectives, novel and profoundly better collaborative models, policies and strategies will emerge, as well as new fields of research and academic disciplines.

Two insufficiently recognized differences between China and America present enormous opportunities for America, if Americans can accept them:

- 1. China is far more tolerant than America of the rights of other nations.
- 2. Chinese leaders and people sincerely aspire to and are implementing their goal of having a harmonious society and a harmonious world.

From an Americacentric perspective, China appears to be intolerant of differences of opinion, and not to respect human rights, the rule of the law, and the rights of foreign cultures and corporations to freely operate (i.e. to displace indigenous Chinese culture and Chinese corporations). However, compared with America, China is more tolerant in its *foreign policies* of the opinions and rights of other nations. America is far less tolerant than China of the opinions and

rights of other nations. America's domestic and foreign policies currently used in pursuing its prosperity and peace through hegemony over other *nations* should be contrasted with China's, which pursue prosperity and peace through seeking harmonious relations around the globe.

Americans with a zero-sum game mindset have a commensurate difficulty understanding or accepting that Chinese sincerely want peace, a harmonious society, and a safe world to live in. The Chinese government often rises above provocation in order to be a responsible major power in terms of *building* a peaceful, prosperous and harmonious world, which is the vision of the Chinese state. While not being weak or foolish or giving up China's sovereignty – which Chinese demonstrated they are capable of protecting in the Vietnam and Korean Wars – the Chinese are avoiding military conflict with America and are doing what they can to ameliorate economic and moral conflict, within the limitations of the conventional relationship of America and China.

China could and would do much more to assist America, if American business and political leaders approached their relationships with China with a genuine reciprocally beneficial mindset and strategies. The opportunities for America in doing so are examined in *China & America's Emerging Partnership: A New Realistic Perspective* and *New China Business Strategies: Chinese and American Companies as Global Partners*.

The Mainland Chinese naturally persist in being Mainland Chinese, while opening up to the world and absorbing foreign investment, skills, insights, technology, and science. They do so because they recognize that such opening up is essential in pursuing their own needs and priorities. China's success requires the social and political stability "opening up to the world." China's ability to continue to "open up to the world" in turn requires China to remain socially and politically stable.

The New School recognizes that the Mainland Chinese have a

consensual culture that has endured and overcome humiliation, foreign aggression, extreme poverty and hunger. Thus, reflecting their history and culture, the Chinese feel that "Freedom from Fear" and "Freedom from Want" are more important than "Freedom of Speech" and "Freedom of Religion." Many Americans simply do not understand that the Chinese sincerely view economic progress as increasing such human rights as the opportunity to eat, get an education, and have better economic opportunities. Perhaps this is because these are rights which America has achieved long ago, and Americans have forgotten their importance, or ignored the lack of them in even relatively recent Chinese history. The Mainland Chinese with their indigenous concepts of "social progress" and a "good society," (as examined in Chapters 7 and 11 of China & America's Responsibilities in Mankind's Future) thus see such economic progress as more important to increasing human rights than what Americans perceive as the more fundamental political, religious and legal rights.

Currently, Americans' reactions to the astonishingly rapid and enormous phenomenon of China's peaceful economic development are shock, hostility, fear and confusion. Since the Chinese desire for peace is sincere and successful. The real danger is that Americans either cannot or do not accept that the Chinese sincerely want peaceful coexistence.

The New School's perspectives recognize, transcend and explain the cultural and conceptual, and perceptional and communication gaps and the two nations' difference of goals and systems of government that make it difficult for Americans to accept China's success. China's success seems (incorrectly) to Americans to conflict with America's success, and Americans deep yearn for ideological and geopolitical hegemony for America's values, ideals, history and nationalism. In contrast, the Chinese believe that their economic success can be win-win for China and America. This is the new perception that is largely incomprehensible to Americans. Some

Americans tend to think and feel: How can we win, if China does not lose? In contrast, Chinese leaders think and feel with their win-win consensus seeking mindset: "How can we succeed if the Americans do not succeed too?"

These misunderstandings are the result of America's perspective being misinformed by the Principles of Conflict and zero-sum game goals, mindset and strategies on China. The Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, exhibited in the real world by 30 years of evidence presented to mankind by China's leaders, are thus an extraordinary achievement in overcoming these damaging conventional approaches to foreign affairs.

It is beneficial to America that the Chinese leaders continue to produce and secure prosperity and peace through implementing the Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, and that they are keen for America and China to be partners with aligned goals of economic success and national security. Americans need prosperity and peace too. At the same time, China's population and economic growth rates are so much larger than America's. Americans must align their success with China's. Likewise, China's prosperity and peace depends on America's desire for and ability to remain at peace with China.

America became the world's sole economic and military superpower late in the 20th century following its development over the last two centuries. That past success shapes Americans' perspectives of the world. Americans feel that the U.S. is the best and most advanced nation. That is understandable, and hopefully it will continue. But the reality is that China has been the world's largest, wealthiest and most innovative nation for 48 of the last 50 centuries, and is reemerging as an economic mega superpower capable of defending itself, but not interested in the stupidity and futility of the clash of nations and civilizations and war.

The New School's view is that China has been, and is, a balancing force against the instability of some of the leaders, policies and

defense strategies that majority-rule-democracies and other systems of government have been producing of late. Rather than a unipolar world of American leadership, or a bipolar world of America and China confronting each other and being in conflict, the focus of domestic and foreign policy debate must be the collaboration of America and China. Only if America and China coordinate and align their economic interests, and thereby their geopolitical and security interests, can mankind prevent conflicts that destabilize regions and the frail interdependent global economy.

The Perspective of Living Up To American Ideals of Exalted Justice and Benevolence

Civilizations determined to evangelize their beliefs as universal truths will inevitably clash with other civilizations. Civilizations that are charismatic examples of their beliefs are more effective because they are living up to their ideals rather than being intolerant of others.

Americans for over 200 years have envisaged a world in which American goals, ideals and political system are universally accepted among all nations. After creating an extraordinarily advanced Constitution; the global success of capitalism with American characteristics; and the victories in Europe and Asia in World Wars I and II, and over the former USSR in the Cold War, Americans have become ac-customed to take for granted that their goals, ideals, and political system are the best in the world. Americans feel that it is therefore their duty and right to cajole other nations, through the threat or deployment of their military and economic authority, in order to make them accept the hegemony of American goals, ideals and interests.

America, having achieved prosperity in earlier centuries, is also pursuing peace and a harmonious world in its own way. We refer to that way as "Pax Americana," following President Kennedy. Americans must choose between being such a novel example to mankind or not. If Americans evangelize America's ideals, while not living up to them, they will be effective in neither spreading those ideals, nor in protecting America's economic and national security.

In making such choices, the American people and the leaders they produce should be guided by what the New School terms the "win-win ideals and wisdom enshrined in the American Constitution." This is a great challenge to the character of the American people, and the American majority-rule electoral and legislative processes. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9 of Book 1, we examine what the New School terms the "zero-sum game electoral and legislative decision-making processes" in the American Constitution for choosing America's political leaders, and the factional struggles over America's domestic and foreign policies. The contrast between America's win-win ideals and zero-sum game electoral and legislative processes is very important because the latter may gradually or suddenly destroy the former along with the rule of law, the protection of human rights, and the majority-rule-democracy enshrined in the Constitution.

There is a 21st century warning of this danger. Under its 43rd president's leadership, America did not live up to its ideals, but aggressively evangelized and used military authority seeking to force them on other nations and civilizations. The resultant damage to America's moral authority coincided with a stark revelation of the limits of both America's military and economic authority. For what is likely a combination of economic and national security reasons, and moral reasons, 81% of the American people indicated in polls that they felt their nation had gone in the wrong direction. Americans elected a very different 44th president.

The New School's perspective is that America's experiment with what President Lincoln termed "government of the people, for the people, by the people" is a work in progress that is defining itself and its legitimacy each day. Over two centuries, beginning with a revolutionary war, through the civil war, and struggles that continue today, the American people will determine whether the

system of government established in the American Constitution can adapt and endure, or will perish from the earth. President Lincoln's genius, empathy for other people, and magnanimous benevolence echoed that of President Washington, and prevented the American Experiment from becoming an ephemeral failure within America in the 19th century. Benjamin Franklin warned in 1789:

"I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if there are such; because I think a general government is necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism as other forms of government have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupt as to need despotic government and be incapable of any other."

The national security and economic crises that have emerged in the 21st century reveal America's economic, military and moral viability to be staggeringly fragile. The American Constitution's human rights and rule of law protections, as we have known them, could be destroyed either incrementally or suddenly. If Americans suffer a declining standard of living, or one or more catastrophic attacks, accidents, or natural disasters, such events may make martial law essential and the functions of government impossible. Such national disasters could permanently disable or destroy America's Constitutional majority-ruled-democracy, rule of law and protection of human rights.

National security crises, economic crises and natural disasters are certain in America's future. The New School recognizes that the danger of which Franklin warned is clear and present after the September 11, 2001 attacks, and in the current financial and economic crisis. The danger of authoritarian rule or anarchy in America is examined in detail in Chapters 8 and 9 of Book 1 because of the warning signs in the presidential administration of George W. Bush, and in anticipation of future events that can require or lead to mar-

tial law in America, impeding or eliminating many of the human rights, due process and rule of law protections in the Constitution.

The New Perspective on Protecting and Projecting American Ideals

America's ideals form the American national identity. Americans are proud of and passionately believe in those ideals and the system of government designed to realize them. They take them to be the best that mankind has produced, and to be universally applicable to all of mankind.

Americans currently apply this ethos in demanding that China comply with America's ideals, and adopt America's system of government, rule of law and definitions of human rights; that it regulate its economy to meet America's needs and desires; and that it be an obedient or at least loyal client state of America. This is so deeply ingrained in the Americacentric mindset that Americans often are oblivious to its "might is right" character and self-defeating demands, and tend to ignore or be indifferent to the rights of self-determination, and the opinions, needs and desires of the Chinese government and people.

Many conventional American economic and foreign policies and defense strategies myopically seek to force the Chinese government to do what the Chinese people would not accept. As a result, such conventional strategies are incapable of implementation by China and insistence upon them is self-defeating for America. But such conventional American policies and strategies, while self-evidently deficient from Chinacentric observers' perspectives, are taken to be unquestionably correct by Americacentric observers and policymakers. Many of America's conventional policies and strategies are popular among Americans, and are therefore fallaciously assumed by them to be appropriate for increasing America's economic and national security.

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The New School's perspective is that whether American evangelizing policies (that lack reciprocal benefits or reciprocal respect) are well intentioned or not, they are in fact hostile or aggressive attempts to destabilize China. This hinders their charisma and acceptability by the Chinese government and people. In addition, to the degree that the American government and Americans are unconsciously or consciously condescending, insulting or hostile to China or the Chinese government, that too will undermine the charisma of America's ideals among the proud Chinese people.

The New School's perspective is that, ironically, to demonstrate the superiority and universal applicability of America's ideals and political system, Americans must accept the Chinese's right to define China's "government of the people, for the people, by the people" in their own terms. China has a different concept of "democracy" from America, which can be best described as "development for the people, by the people and its achievements shared by the people."

Americans must understand and respect fundamental requirements of tolerance of the opinions and rights of others. These requirements are, in fact, at the core of America's ideals and political system. This is typically overlooked in America's foreign policies and defense strategies, which instead are based on evangelizing American ideals and enforcing American's interests. The hectoring demands by Americans that their ideals and political system become universal among mankind detract from the support they receive amongst the other major civilizations.

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., an American historian who served as special assistant to President Kennedy, recalled in War and the American Presidency published in 2005, the warning against hubris given by President Kennedy in November 1961:

"We must face the fact that the United States is neither omnipotent nor omniscient – that we are only 6 percent of the world's population – that we cannot impose our will upon the other 94 percent of mankind – that we cannot right every wrong or reverse each adversity – and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every world problem."

The New School's perspectives recognize and accept that among the greatest impediments to American ideals obtaining the universality that Americans take them to deserve is this failure of tolerance and respect. Indeed, Americans must respect the ideals and systems of government of other peaceful nations and civilizations, in order to be able to effectively exemplify and present its own ideals as valuable and deserving of universal acceptance. That conundrum is not effectively recognized yet by enough of the American people or their policymakers, opinion leaders or scholars. The essential key to the wider acceptance of America's ideals among mankind is that America lives up to President Washington's hope that it would become:

"A free, enlightened, and, in no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice & benevolence."

We must be examples of the ideals we urge on others. Is it contrary to foreign policy "realism" that Americans should be an example of what they believe their nation and other nations should be? The New School's perspective is that not only is the "idealism" of President Washington in fact a profound form of realism, but also that what President Washington advised the American people to become is now essential for America's economic and national security.

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The New Perspective of Aligning America's Ideals and America's Domestic and Foreign Policies

America is a work in progress, which the New School refers to as "the American Experiment." The inspiring and respected moral authority of the American Exceptionalism of earlier centuries has unfortunately been degraded into an American Exceptionalism of "Do as I say, not as I do" in recent times. As a result, America has used its economic and military authority without sufficient moral authority. That has quickly brought the world's only superpower to self-created and humiliating economic, military and moral weakness. This use of economic and military authority without moral authority is unsustainable in the 21st century's evolving international system and globalized interdependent economy.

The greatest challenges for American policymakers in enabling America's ideals to become accepted by the Chinese, in protecting America's economic and national security, and in creating a genuine partnership with China, are that America must:

- 1. Live up to its ideals by ensuring that America's domestic and foreign policies and defense strategies are consistent with America's ideals, and respecting of the rights and opinions and self-determination of others;
- 2. Remain economically, militarily and morally strong and charismatically demonstrate that America's ideals and system of government work successfully;
- 3. Stop attempting to coerce China into adopting America's ideals and system of government;
- 4. Ensure that America offers China genuinely reciprocally beneficial foreign and domestic policies, rather than policies that only promise benefits for America's economic and national security interests.

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In addition, the combination of the aggressive and unilateral foreign policies and defense strategies that America has used early in the 21st century, America's staggering new status as the world's largest debtor nation, and its degrading role as creator of a "once in a hundred years" worldwide economic crises, all contrast starkly with the extraordinary success from 1978 to 2008 that China's priorities of prosperity and peace have achieved. The recent diminution of America's prestige has made American assertions – that its ideals, government and economic systems are intrinsically superior and should be universal – less convincing. America is engaged in a struggle for the hearts and minds of mankind, and for influence with, and the loyalty of other nations. To live up to its ideals, America must be wise, self-disciplined, fair and magnanimous. America must be a powerful, modest nation that understands and respects the rights of self-determination of other peaceful nations. History reveals to all that wish to see that all nations and civilizations are very vulnerable at their birth.

Fortunately, America's moral authority can be restored. All that is required is for America to speak and act with moral authority in its use of economic and military authority. Mankind needs heroes. Both America and China must be heroes, not bullies. America and China cannot be heroes unless each accepts the others' right to free self-determination. China under Mao Zedong sought to expand the communist world and did not accept America's right to retain its indigenous ideals and political system. His successors, however, do accept that right, as can be seen in China's embracing capitalism. America and China are now both capitalist superpowers with different indigenous characteristics.

There is nothing intrinsically wrong with diversity, which is natural and innate in mankind. Tolerating diversity among nations is essential for peace and prosperity.

China's Harmonious Society and World Perspectives

China is a civilization constituting 22% of mankind seeking in its own way, i.e. with Chinese characteristics, to give to mankind a magnanimous, novel example of a people always guided by an exalted conception of justice and benevolence, that cultivates peace and harmony with all nations. China has a different constitution than America, one that has emerged from its heritage and culture's experiments with Chinese views of human nature, a "good society" and "social progress." After securing its sovereignty from the aggression of foreign powers by embracing communist ideology and economics in 1949, and initially focusing on resisting Russian and American hegemony, China spontaneously in 1978 sought, to use President Roosevelt's terminology, "Freedom from Fear" and "Freedom from Want" by making its priorities prosperity and peace. China has made its culture's vision of a harmonious society and a harmonious world its goals, rather than clashing with America over ideology and hegemony.

China, with its ethos of peaceful coexistence; priorities of economic development and peace; and harmonious society and world goals, also operates as a balancer of the international instability threatened by the aggressiveness of leaders such as George W. Bush.

American foreign policy should not divide the world into "friends" (in a new "League of Democratic Nations" or "Concert of Democracies"), and "enemies" (like the "Axis of Evil") which must be confronted and punished for not accepting America's ideals and supporting American interests. America's foreign policies, like China's, should prioritize prosperity and peace, making a harmonious society and world America's goals.

The other 191 nations should not be forced by America's foreign policies to choose between America's and China's ways of doing things. Mankind is better off because of both the Exceptionalism of America's Rights Society ideals and the Exceptionalism of China's

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Permission Society's harmonious society ideals. Mankind is better off if America's ideals of human rights and the rule of law, and China's ideal of working toward a harmonious society, are not held up in confrontation to one another. The nations into which mankind is divided should not have to choose between either a unipolar world of American leadership or a bipolar world of clashing civilizations. A "bipolar world" in both the geopolitical and psychological senses of America competing with and confronting other civilizations will lead to economic collapse, military conflict and human extinction.

China has created the "harmonious society and world model," and for 30 years has provided a demonstration of its national and international success of that new model for the 21st century international system. In that model, America and China must respect each other and be at peace with each other and other peaceful nations. Developing the full international potential of China's model of a harmonious world must become American policymakers' new focus. American policymakers and scholars must take the Chinese model of a harmonious world more seriously than they have before. American foreign policy toward China can and should be safe and prosperous, rather than dangerous and ruinous. The harmonious world model must be accepted by American policymakers, scholars, opinion leaders and the American people in President Obama's pursuit of "a new era of partnership."

The Perspective of Living up to Ideals of a Harmonious Society and World

What does China mean by a "harmonious world" and "one world, one dream," and how is it working to create them? Those questions will be examined further in a later book in the series. In this White Paper and Books 1 and 2, we make two key arguments. First, Americans should not dismiss China's harmonious world mantra as duplicitous. It is sincere. Second, it is an ideal that is real and

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compelling in the mindset that has developed in China's culture, which craves prosperity and peace rather than poverty and war.

America is a young civilization and China is an old civilization. That difference is reflected in America and China's contrasting foreign policies and defense strategies. America is seeking the hegemony of its ideals, authority and interests, while China is seeking the stability of prosperity and peace. They have the contrasting goals of seeking to rule other nations, and seeking peaceful development, respectively. The historic evidence indicates that China will continue to reiterate the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence because doing so works in the real world. The New School's perspective is, like Deng Xiaoping's, that China's people and leaders must continue to live up to the Chinese ideal of a harmonious society and world, or China will perish as a civilization in the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science. If China stops implementing Deng Xiaoping's policies, China will tragically and unnecessarily repeat the cycle of success and failure that can be seen throughout its 5000 year history.

Some of the challenges to China's dream of a harmonious world are the defects in China's own society. But, what those "defects" are is a matter for the Chinese to define in light of Chinese understanding of, and aspirations for, the nature of man, and their conception of a "good society with Chinese characteristics" and "social progress with Chinese characteristics."

The New School's perspective is that under the extraordinary leadership of Deng Xiaoping and his successors, China's domestic and foreign policies are searching after, and helping to create a "harmonious world." It is fitting and proper to ask what "a harmonious world" might be in the terms George Washington used and recommended. A "harmonious world" requires that China's leaders and people observe good faith and justice towards all nations, and cultivate peace and harmony with all – because it will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by

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an exalted justice and benevolence.

The New School's Perspective and Criteria of Win-Win Goals and Results

America's and China's policies, goals and results in dealing with each other must be based on reciprocal respect and genuinely reciprocally beneficial economic policies and defense strategies. These should guide American and Chinese policymakers' collaborations, and their evaluation of the real world results of their policies. The New School's criteria are far more broadly based than when America and China each use only the criteria of policymakers' subjective assessments of their own nation's self-interest.

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The New School's Grand Strategy

Reciprocal Respect

There is no substitute for the genuine reciprocal respect that is required to produce balanced economic globalization and implementable, sustainable solutions to economic and foreign policy and national security issues. Americacentric policymakers and other observers often do not adequately respect China's achievements and wisdom. China is not a nation inferior to America that should be dominated and enlightened by America. American hubris is currently in an agonizing military reappraisal and traumatic process of economic "correction." American policymakers and the American people must now adjust to both the success of China's political and economic systems and to the failures in America's financial and economic systems. The less than adequate respect America has for China is evident in many aspects of American economic and foreign policies and defense strategies. Alan Greenspan and Henry Paulson used to lecture the Chinese on how to operate their economy and banks. But it was America's banks and economy that collapsed and not China's. Fortunately and quite predictably from a Chinacentric perspective, China's government often listens to foreign advice and acts in the Chinacentric manner that the Chinese people expect.

Americans should adequately respect China's political and economic accomplishments, China's Exceptionalism and China's right of self-determination. Respect for China, stabilizing America's economic and political systems, and balancing the global economy all require that American policymakers and the American people, as part of the respect that China's economic accomplishments and Exceptionalism deserves, accept reciprocal globalization. Adequately respecting China also requires that America propose implementable solutions that are genuinely reciprocally beneficial for both America and China.

That is one of the many perception and communication gaps transcended by the New School. The New School recognizes the fact that China deserves American policymakers' respect as a prerequisite for enabling the American people to better understand China. Respecting China is also essential for the mindset change in which Americacentric scholars and opinion leaders are using the Principles of Conflict and zero-sum game strategies, mindset, to be able to transcend the perception and communication gaps. To effectively protect America's economic and national security, American policymakers must use a Chinacentric perspective to better inform and enlighten their Americacentric perspective. Having both perspectives would enable America and China's economic and national security to be safely, quickly and sustainably aligned.

America has promoted the "China must be a responsible stakeholder" concept, examined in Chapter 7 of China & America's Leadership in Peaceful Coexistence as the basis of America and China's relationship. The reality is that China is already a responsible major power that has been reforming the international system with its example in successfully implementing the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and economic development. In 2008, the reality was that America was not behaving as a responsible major power or a responsible stakeholder. Only a nation with a "might is right" ethos would assert that China with its 22% of mankind and un-

precedented development is only entitled to be a "stakeholder" if it follows and obeys America in an American-dominated international system. The "responsible stakeholder" concept requires, in effect, that China should do what America says in order to be accepted by America and other nations.

America's defense strategies and goals have been to contain and hedge China, or dominate China and Asia, and to prepare America to be able to win a war against China. They are also replete with less than adequate respect and understanding of China. Americans, perhaps out of fear and pride, continue to subjectively view China as a doomed, threatening and inferior nation and America as a triumphant, benevolent and superior nation. Americans who view China either as doomed, a threat, an inferior nation, or an economic opportunity to be dominated and exploited, agree on the unrealistic assumption that China must adopt America's ideals, interests, goals and political system.

American foreign policy usually reflects the view that China is an enemy to be defeated, an inferior and weak nation to be dominated and reformed, and an economic opportunity to be exploited. As a result, American policies toward China are often self-defeating as they are replete with insults, threats and demands that China immediately copy America's political, legal and human rights systems, and serve America's interests and goals in the manner of a weak, subservient state. The desire for confrontation and economic exploitation are combined in Americans' attitudes, behavior and foreign policy and defense strategies toward China. Many Americans currently respond to China's successful and peaceful development with conscious or unconscious demands that America win and China lose. We take that to be evidence of the Fairness Hypocrisy and other Principles of Conflict at work.

American policymakers and scholars have not considered and presented the possible answers needed to adopt a committed collaborative strategic partnership of America and China. The predomi-

nant goal and focus have been on how to preserve the 20th century international system designed, led and dominated by America, and on the strategies and tactics required for America to dominate mankind's other civilizations and nations.

The required framework and ethos for the collaboration of civilizations is not provided by American assertions of the universality of America's goals, interests, ideals or political system, or America's continued insistance on dominating the existing international system. American policymakers have failed to recognize or adequately respect the alternate paradigm of a partnership between America and China based on the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, although it is perfectly compatible with respect for American ideals and political system and their appropriateness for America.

In the required new framework, American policymakers and opinion leaders must respect China's right of self-determination and extraordinary achievements. That is not a lot to ask, but it has proven very difficult for American policymakers to do. The 21st century issue that American policymakers must focus on are: How can America collaborate with other civilizations in creating prosperity and peace instead of formulating policies and strategies that assert America's self-interest, political system and values as universal?

America and China's partnership offers unique possibilities and new directions for creating peace and prosperity, and aligning their economic and national security. To restore America's economic, military and moral security, American policymakers also need to change conventional economic and foreign policies and defense strategies that hinder the alignment of America's and China's needs and interests. With those changes and the resulting reciprocal benefits of the partnership, both America and China can more securely evolve. Their partnership will have greater benefit for all 192 nations, and provide the immediate and sustainable financial and intellectual momentum for restoring economic confidence, opening markets and improving all nations' security.

The New School of collaborating civilizations respects and celebrates the different Exceptionalisms, accomplishments and wisdom of both America and China. It also appropriately recognizes that by collaborating, America and China can better ameliorate or solve each other's dangers and difficulties. The collaboration of civilizations requires more reciprocal respect than clashes of civilizations. Collaboration and confrontation should be expected to produce very different mindsets, policies, strategies and outcomes.

The New School better understands America, China and the 21st century and the Age of Species-Lethal Weapons and Science than the outdated, conventional "Old School" of policymaking and analysis that focuses on the potential for a clash of civilizations. Conventional American policymaking overlooks the certain obvious and compelling solutions to the "rise of China" and "the threat of China" that only a partnership between America and China can solve.

The New School encourages a more respectful, realistic and prudent attitude towards the relationship of America and China in their roles as the leading developed and developing nations. The New School's combination of Chinacentric, Americacentric, pragmatic and moral perspectives reveal vital things that are missed by conventional American policymaking and analysis.

The New School seeks to think, listen and speak to what Chinese policymakers, scholars, opinion leaders and the Chinese people have to say, with more openness than has been characteristic of America as of late. But, it also seeks to listen with a Chinacentric perspective to what American policymakers, scholars, opinion lead-ers and the American people are saying amongst themselves and to the Chinese.

The New School's perspectives explain that China's peaceful economic development is a genuine aspiration, and should not be taken as a threat by Americans, who conventionally respond to it with fear and unproductive "zero-sum game" strategies. As is examined in Chapter 8 of Book 2, it is dangerous for America or China to

use "hedging strategies" against each other. For example, America uses hedging strategies that can encourage instability by selling military equipment to Taiwan, which facilitates tension between Mainland China and Taiwan, whereas those policymakers following Deng Xiaoping's polices would have left it to time to resolve the dispute peacefully.

The New School recognizes that some American-Asian strategies will have a less destabilizing approach on Asian security: such the alliance of India and America, which can help stabilize Asia if it is not used to hedge against China. America's safest, most economical and effective defense strategy is a successful partnership with China combining both nations' economic, military and moral authority, instead of constantly preparing for economic and military confrontation.

Reciprocal Globalization

Mankind has no future in the clash of civilizations, so mankind's future can only be found in the collaboration of civilizations. An inappropriate lack of respect and Fairness Hypocrisy can be seen in Americans' ill advised resistance to reciprocal economic globalization. American policymakers must in the midst of unprecedentedly complex crises, somehow simultaneously restore confidence in America's failing financial and economic systems (which requires borrowing unprecedented amounts of money), and balance the highly unbalanced American and global economies. In addition, American corporations that do not have profitable China strategies will not be able to remain profitable in America or globally. However, America's economic policies toward China, such as blocking the CNOOC acquisition of Unocal, and the manner in which its companies have been rejecting reciprocal economic globalization, must be changed on pain of failure. American policy toward China should be at least informed by the economic self-interest and influence of such companies incorporated in America with large shareholdings among Americans. If they fail, America fails.

America's economic goal should be what the New School terms "Reciprocal Globalization," a concept introduced in Chapter 12 of Book 2 and examined in *China & America's New Economic Partnership: The Success of Economic and Moral Authority.* America's foreign policy goals and the China strategies of American corporations must establish genuine and successful global partnerships with China and Chinese companies. Doing so will create a smarter, more beneficial and safer new international system and a balanced global economy. Failing to do so will make the decoupling of the American and Chinese economies, that the financial and economic crises have precipitated, into a permanent and dangerous reality. A collaborative, "win-win" strategy of genuine reciprocally beneficial policies and committed economic partnership is vital to both nations' peace and prosperity in the future.

As an example, in this White Paper we focus on the partnership between America and China that is essential for either to meet their oil needs which cannot prudently be left to zero-sum commercial or military competition. It is the leading example of why real partnership is essential for both American and Chinese economic and national security.

China and America's economic development and social stability require ever-increasing amounts of oil. Like America, China is, in the well-oiled traditions of capitalism, using its emerging megamultinational companies to obtain the oil it requires. Unfortunately, American political leaders have been seeking to block the use of capitalism to resolve China's legitimate and compelling commercial needs. This is another vital reason why a formal, overt, committed partnership between America and China, supported by the platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties, is needed to enable both countries to reliably collaborate rather than clash over the oil they each require for economic progress and social stability.

China and America's economic success and national security are vital underpinnings of global prosperity and peace. The Principles of Conflict and clash of civilizations cannot be allowed to operate because only the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the collaboration of civilizations are sustainable.

Most of China's disputes, with both its neighbors and other states, center on trade issues and its rising need for resources. Some Americans can not foresee any scenario that would not lead to confrontations between America and China over energy. But such conflicts are unnecessary, commercially imprudent, and potentially catastrophic. America and China's policymakers should safeguard rather than endanger both nations' economic and national security. Essential solutions are being overlooked.

China has set out to replace some of the oil it consumes with alternate forms of energy, such as coal, of which it holds the world's third largest reserves. China is projected to become the world's largest user of nuclear energy by 2050. It is also promoting conservation and the efficient use of petroleum. Following President Hu's December 2004 exhortation to balance "consumption and resource exploitation" with "actively developing oil substitutes," China established the State Energy Office to lower China's energy dependence—the ratio of the energy China imports to the total it consumes—to 5 percent. China is already far ahead of the world's other top consumers; it imports only 12 percent of the energy it consumes, compared with 40 percent for the United States and 80 percent for Japan.

China's procurement of resources is helping some developing states. Fluctuations in the cost of resources including oil simultaneously hurt both rich and poor nations that import oil, and nations that supply it. According to the World Bank, 45 percent of China's total annual imports come from developing countries, and these sales help developing states offset the increased cost of crude oil and gas.

China's procurement of resources may have less dire consequences for developed nations, such as America, than is often

assumed by observers with a zero-sum perspective on the world's natural resource markets. China typically picks up secondary deals or moves into markets from which the United States is absent; thus in many places the two countries are not really currently in direct economic competition. But if the global economy or international system is operated as a zero-sum game, China and America will have increasingly misaligned economic and national security needs, policies and strategies.

A major issue requiring collaboration is the magnitude of China's energy needs and how it will affect the international oil market. China's demand is so great—and likely to get much greater—that it will affect global supplies and prices. China and America are both huge oil consumers. It is vital that they cooperate and collaborate. Big consumers can best protect their shared interests by keeping imported oil supplies down and prices stable, predictable and affordable. It is only by joining forces to balance the influence of producers, rather than by trying to competitively forge privileged relations with them, can such stability be achieved. One strategy is to create joint reserves of oil. The International Energy Agency, an organization of 26 industrialized states including America, was created to manage energy emergencies. America should invite China to participate.

America and China share a common interest in securing open sea lanes to ensure the unhindered passage of cargo ships. Both nations want and need stability in the Malacca and Taiwan straits. That, to a zero-sum game mindset, pits America and China against each other. The objective reality easily perceived by a mindset seeking stability, predictability and safety is just the opposite. China and America, when they are committed genuine partners, can virtually guarantee the stability and safety of open sea lanes. Moreover, maintaining and developing competing navies to defend sea-lanes is an expensive and likely disastrous strategy for China, America and the other 190 nations. As partners, China and America can cooperate to maintain sea passage security, in particular the security of its energy shipping lanes, which must not be a problem. As partners, China and America avoid both "economic" war and armed conflict, ensure predictably priced and available oil, and save enormous amounts of money. The solution to America and China's oil needs is obvious, compelling and unacceptable to American policymakers and therefore not achievable by Chinese policymakers. The solution is the collaboration of both nations.

CNOOC's Acquisition Bid for Unocal

American officials, particularly the Department of Defense, the Pentagon and Congress, see China's resource needs as a new strategic challenge. Congress' response to the China National Offshore Oil Corporation's 2005 bid to buy the American energy company Unocal is a classic example of the American governmental and business imposition and enforcement of non-reciprocal globalization. Few impartial analysts saw any serious threat to America's national security in the deal, yet in a statement approved by 398 votes to 15, members of the House of Representatives said that the sale would "threaten to impair the national security of the United States." In the current clash of civilizations, zero-sum game context, China will, despite its reluctance, have to become more assertive in order to obtain the raw materials its 1.5 billion people need to sustain their economic progress. In their new partnership, America and China can collaborate successfully, and in that constructive process deal more effectively with failing and failed states, which are current major challenges.

China has the right to pursue energy sources through market strategies. Unlike the Soviet Union, it is not orchestrating regime changes to advance its interests. American policymakers must accept that it would be irresponsible for China's leaders not to obtain 22% of mankind's energy supply. The world needs farsighted policymak-

ers and policies that adapt to rapid and long term changes in the global distribution of economic power. Mankind does not need policies that let such trends push their nations into increasingly acrimonious and counterproductive confrontations.

The Cold War "realism" of the 20th century is unnecessary and dangerous in the 21st century. The shift of China from a communist to a capitalist economy needs to be accommodated by American political and business leaders. Such a perspective can create conflict that is neither sought by China nor beneficial to either nation. The most noted example of the 21st century stage of Chinese companies "going global" is the pursuit of the rapidly growing amounts of oil that the Chinese government needs in order to sustain the minimum 8% annual GDP growth that China's social stability is said to require.

The American companies that survive and progress will be the ones that choose to collaborate rather than compete with Chinese companies. Capitalism with Chinese characteristics equips Chinese companies with competitive financing advantages in acquisitions and operations that non-Chinese companies, which are constrained by "rational economics," cannot match. American companies, which obtain America's oil needs, face a choice of collaborating with Chinese companies, or not being able to profitably compete with them. For example, CNOOC (which is NYSE listed, partly Chinesegovernment-owned and partly privatized) was able to make its allcash US\$18.5 billion bid, plus the assumption of debt and a breakup fee totaling US\$2 billion, for the American oil company Unocal without crushing CNOOC's share price or financial ratios. This was possible because CNOOC's financing for the bid was made up of \$7 billion from the parent company owned by the Chinese government, which owns 71% of CNOOC, and US\$6 billion from four Chinese state-owned banks. On the US\$7 billion portion of the financing, CNOOC would have paid no interest on US\$2.5 billion, and 3.5% on US\$4.5 billion on a loan with a 30-year term.

In 2005, when a 30-year American Treasury bond yielded 4.2%, CNOOC was able to borrow more cheaply than the American government. Chinese state-owned firms, including most big Chinese companies, have access to financing that does not have to make commercial returns, and may not even have to repay loans from state-owned parent companies or state-owned banks. That economic reality makes Chinese companies' cost of capital, and their required rates of return on capital, much lower than those of American corporations. Chinese firms' competitive financing advantages include no interest loans, long-term loans with low interest, or loans that will be forgiven. Post acquisition, Chinese companies can also cut costs in some acquisitions by relocating operations to China, which can in some instances reduce labor costs from 70% to 17%. Such Chinese companies have the competitive advantage of being able to know the Chinese government's plans that affect the levels of demand for products in China. They can also tap into China's already vast and growing domestic market, which can bring many advantages for American companies that enter into successful genuine global joint ventures of American and Chinese companies. This simultaneously and sustainably benefits America and China. Such genuine global joint ventures can both assist Chinese companies going global, and keep American companies internationally competitive. But that is not what happened in CNOOC and Chevron's competition for Unocal. That case study reveals weaknesses in both American and Chinese companies' strategies that can and must be remedied by collaboration globally.

CNOOC, China's third-largest energy company, found itself competing against Chevron, which bid US\$16.4 billion for Unocal. Ironically, Chevron had two joint ventures with CNOOC in China. CNOOC CEO, Fu Chengyu, was raised in northeastern China near Siberia. He was a student during the Cultural Revolution, and received a Master's degree from UCLA in 1986. Fu Chengyu hired leading American law and public relations firms, lobbyists, and in-

vestment banks to help make the deal. CNOOC would have moved earlier than Chevron but for the caution of a non-Chinese member of its board. That caused a three-month delay and CNOOC's bid was preempted by Chevron's, and had to be raised as a result.

Over 40 American members of Congress signed a letter expressing concern about the CNOOC bid; some claiming the bid raised "national security concerns" and the White House rejected a request from CNOOC for an expedited review of the deal. Such delays in regulatory approval can in themselves be used to block Chinese acquisitions in which there are multiple bids, which require timely shareholder consideration and approval (as shareholders then have to factor in the regulatory threats to bids). The American regulatory hurdles, and the delay they caused, blocked CNOOC's higher bid for Unocal. The New School refers to this phenomenon as "CNOOC jingoism," which exemplifies the degrading ethos of the Principles of Conflict. Former President Clinton, indicating his support for Chinese companies acquiring American companies, stated while visiting China: "We cannot expect to be welcomed in China and not welcome you in the United States." The Wall Street Journal commented:

A zero-sum neurosis has taken hold on Capitol Hill that the Chinese with their double-digit rates of economic growth are creating too much wealth and that all this wealth is coming at America's economic expense. The real lesson of China's economic miracle of the past decade is that capitalism works. The Economist noted before the CNOOC acquisition of Unocal was blocked, "How America reacts will have huge ramifications on future energy policy and military strategy. The signs are not good."

The competition between the American company, Chevron, and China's partially state-owned, partly privately owned CNOOC was played out as a zero-sum-game in which CNOOC and China obviously lost. But, far more significantly, America lost out too. China is investing in other nations. The reality is that America, by not permitting reciprocal globalization, is making America and American companies increasingly less able to compete with companies from China and its business partners. America needs to "open up" to China in order to make economic progress, just as in 1978 when China had to open up to the world in order to progress. China's government and people need to secure sufficient oil resources to meet economic development and consumer needs. As CNOOC withdrew its bid for Unocal, there were gasoline shortages in China. This "lose-lose" result is obvious for CNOOC, but it also effects Chevron and other American companies, as these subsequently encounter reciprocal problems in China. This lose-lose confrontation between America and China occurred, note, even though Chevron and CNOOC were joint venture partners in China.

Many American companies have major investments and joint ventures in China. Nonetheless, to take a prominent example: before American politicians blocked CNOOC's higher bid for Unocal, the Chairman of Exxon, the world's largest publicly listed oil firm, was quoted as saying that it would be a big mistake for America to block the CNOOC bid. The Chinese will view jingoistic attacks caused by American companies that are supported by the American government as unfair, and quite understandably so, given that China has accepted so much American investment.

Reciprocal Solutions = Collaborative Equilibrium

How might the Chevron—CNOOC bid for Unocal play out in what the Chinese call a "win-win" and the New School terms a "genuinely reciprocally beneficial" strategy? Chevron's and CNOOC's shared interests in acquiring Unocal might have better outcomes for all concerned if Chevron viewed its joint ventures with CNOOC not merely as joint ventures in China. The New School calls such an approach a "Genuine Global Joint Venture" in which Chevron and CNOOC collaborate in building a much larger and firmer based joint venture outside as well as inside China. Such a Chevron—CNOOC genuine global joint venture in the acquisition of Unocal would not have aroused such a formidable negative political reaction in America, nor would its ultimate failure have resulted in ill will in China.

The cooperation of Chevron and CNOOC would have prevented a contested acquisition. It also would have given CNOOC's executive team the benefits of Chevron's experience in operating and making acquisitions outside of China. Chevron and CNOOC could have divided or shared the Unocal assets or oil production, as their respective needs required, by collaborative agreement. Chevron and CNOOC would thus have strengthened and extended their existing joint venture. Both companies could collaborate on further acquisitions to meet their respective needs, and could have used less of their financial, business, and political resources by making the Unocal acquisition in collaboration with one another.

Collaboration could be a multiple-stage process. Chevron might have acquired the American company and, in a later transaction or transactions, deal with its assets by agreement with CNOOC. Such win-win collaborations may have compelling, but perhaps unrecognized advantages for an American company's "China strategy," Chinese companies' strategies in becoming global, and the Chinese government's need to secure resources that are vital for China's economic development.

Perhaps CNOOC and Chevron can still implement such a "Genuinely Reciprocal Global Joint Venture." For example, James LeJeune, Chevron's President for Middle East and North Africa, stated at the World Economic Forum on May 15, 2005 that: "Access to reserves, while important, will not induce the oil majors to significantly boost investment in production unless oil-producing countries recognize the increasing difficulty of getting new sources

to market." He cited four recent exploration projects that succeeded in raising Chevron's output but at a cost equal to US\$17 billion for 1 million bbd, and went on to note that: "There aren't too many companies or countries that can come up with that kind of money, especially when they don't know what the market is going to do." The longer lead times between discovery and production have also left the industry less capable of responding to sudden spikes in demand, such as the surge in Chinese consumption. He stated that Chevron is open to participating in downstream joint ventures as a condition for access to upstream reserves, but only if both projects make commercial sense. Chinese State Owned Enterprises are not restricted by whether "projects make commercial sense" as capitalism with American characteristics define that. Chinese companies are securing China's supply lines just as American companies are securing America's supply lines. America, American companies and capitalism with American characteristics must adapt to current 21st century economic realities, which are very different from the 20th century's historic realities.

The goals and national resources of the Chinese and American governments in securing oil sources will either be deployed in zero-sum-game contests with companies like Chevron/CNOOC, or in win-win collaborations, which means producing genuinely reciprocally beneficial solutions. Such collaborations, in advanced structures such as the Genuine Global Joint Venture Model, could provide Chevron with access to the Chinese government's financial resources and knowledge of "what the market is going to do." Such genuine global joint ventures would assist the Chinese government and oil companies in reducing political opposition generated by companies like Chevron and American politicians, and probably reduce the amounts of foreign currency reserves the Chinese government would have to spend in bidding contests to acquire non-Chinese sources of oil. Chinese companies paying more than necessary for foreign assets reduces confidence in the capital

markets (and in the management of these Chinese companies), and wastes money that can be better used in other projects. It is hard to imagine how such interrelated advantages can be achieved unless Genuine Global Joint Ventures become a ubiquitous and enduring template for business with China. Achieving the successful design and operation of such ventures requires mindset shifts from zero-sum game attitudes and strategies to win-win attitudes and strategies. If such a template is widely implemented, it can also yield the priceless dividends which the partnership of America and China in the 21st century uniquely offers.

The America-China Partnership Book Series examines and explains why and how neither America nor China can achieve solutions to their economic and national security challenges without reciprocal solutions and the required collaborative equilibrium, only possible with a genuine 21st century partnership. Examples from other industries are examined in six books to be published in 2009 and four books being published in 2010 and 2011.

China & America's Pollution Remediation Partnership: The Great Leap Forward Together from Worst to Best examines the new economics of a partnership between America and China using existing and jointly developed new technology in the coordinated remediation of environmental damage in the world's largest economy and third largest and fastest growing economy, respectively. The thesis of the book is that only the leadership shown by a new "green" partnership of America and China can successfully remedy global pollution. The previous attempt in the Kyoto Protocol, which America and China did not sign, was structured in effect as a foreign aid plan for developing nations. Fundamentally the Kyoto Protocol was inadequate to combat the advance of global environmental damage because its requirements included permitting continued pollution by rich nations, if they pay poor nations for that pollution. The current failing approach is a foreign aid plan that does not have the fundamental priority of reducing the rate of pollution production. However, that was all that could be contemplated without a partnership of America and China. A new and successful plan is required.

The fundamental problem currently for both rich and poor nations is that slower economic growth usually is the price of cleaner economic growth. There are three key requirements and causes of successful pollution remediation. First, America and China must lead, collaborate, and mutually benefit from the successful plan. Secondly, a successful plan must produce immediate and long-term faster economic growth as a net benefit and byproduct of cleaner economic growth. Thirdly, a successful plan must increase the immediate and long term profits of current polluters for stopping or drastically reducing their pollution, and of investors and companies providing pollution remediation. All three requirements can only be achieved by a coordinated plan that makes it economically attractive for governments and private enterprises, in both rich and poor nations, to invest profitably in state-of-the-art technologies for environmental remediation. Only a coordinated plan led by America and China can create the urgently required simultaneous revolutions in the economics, profitability and technologies of environmental remediation.

Currently, China is seeking to leap from being among the worst to being the best in environmentally sustainable economic development. In the political and economic environment of its Permission Society, Consensus Democracy, and Rule by Law system, China is able to provide and exhibit leadership in implementing a combination of aggressive regulatory requirements and economic incentives for environmentally sustainable economic development. But currently, both in America and internationally, the Green Movement is not achieving the required political progress. This is due largely to the opposition of economically and politically powerful factions that enjoy profitability from

environmentally damaging practices. In Rights Societies that are majority-rule democracies with rule of law systems, such factions are satisfied with the status quo from which they profit, and are thus effectively resisting all environmentally responsible changes that would reduce their profits and the rate of economic growth, and require changes to their established modus operandi. Making such change attractive to business requires that pollution remediation simultaneously be economically incentivized by accelerating overall economic growth, and made technologically feasible for application in both developed and developing nations.

Doing this clearly requires the leadership of China's and America's presidents. They must together formulate and lead such a coordinated global plan that makes pollution remediation profitable, and that increases rather than decreases nations net economic growth rates. The plan must increase the profits of business and investors in economic remediation, and increase economic growth in both the short and longer terms. The plan must revolutionize the currently negative short term profit and economic cost-benefit tradeoffs by creating new short and longer term economic incentives for nations and private enterprises to invest in environmentally sustainable economic development.

Acting together, the American and Chinese governments have the authority and ability to change the short-term economics and profitability of cleaning up their nations and the world. The size of China's fast growing and America's mature economies and pollution remediation markets make the American and Chinese governments' use of a coordinated plan's requirements and incentives essential. America's and China's coordinated, mutually economically beneficial partnership can achieve what the Kyoto Protocol could not. As partners, they have the capacity to simultaneously increase the short-term profitability, and to coordinate and share the economic benefits from the accelerated use of state-of-the-art technology and the invention of new clean technology. It is only as partners

that America and China can achieve progress in environmentally sustainable economic development.

Only a genuine partnership between America and China will makes it possible to implement an effective plan. A coordinated plan led by and mutually economically beneficial to America and China – i.e. designed to make the process of cleaning up the world economically stimulating for America and China, and commercially profitable for private enterprises – can accelerate the global pollution remediation urgently required for mankind's survival. Their partnership in making pollution remediation profitable in both the short and long term would enable their great leap forward together, from being the world's worst polluters to the best examples of pollution remediation.

Future books in the America-China Partnership Book Series examine other aspects of aligning America's economic and national security with China's. China & America Partnership's Collaborative Energy Management examines why and how American and Chinese perspectives, public policy, and energy goals can align and progress safely. China & America Partnership's Collaborative Management of Domestic and Foreign Policy examines why and how American and Chinese perspectives and public policy goals can align and progress: human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and challenges in environmental, educational, economic inequality, regional disparity, demographic trends, Taiwan, and Tibet. China & America Partnership's Collaborative Management of Science, Technology and Space examines why and how American and Chinese perspectives and public policy goals can align and progress safely.

Reciprocal Globalization: Climate Solutions

An example of harmonious collaboration and alignment for China and America is demonstrated by an American green business

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that sustains the prosperity of people in developing countries who organize and own it. The means to that end is an enterprise solution that is a holistic business model that creates efficiencies and profits, effectiveness and results, for all the stake-holders in the whole enterprise. Climate Prosperity Enterprise Solutions seeks to create winwin strategies for its Chinese partners in addressing the shift from fossil fuels to renewable energy and clean technologies that has been prompted by massive wealth creation, expansion of the planet's population and that population's carbon footprint demand, which will be impossible to satisfy in the future, and is clearly dangerous for the planet's climate.

In the last 200 years, the earth's population has increased sevenfold. Planetary wealth creation (GDP per capita) increased by ten times after being flat for one thousand years. However, wealth creation has not been evenly distributed on earth: "rich" nations increased wealth by 19 times and the "poor" nations by only 6 times, leaving over two billion people languishing in poverty.

The fossil fuels that have powered wealth creation since 1800 have peaked and can no longer meet the human need for energy without critically harming the planet. One solution is in the sun, which produces six thousand times the energy all the people on earth use every day. There is plenty of unharnessed solar power, and technology is rapidly improving to capture it for wealth creation. Thus the world challenge is to make the sun humanity's primary clean energy source, and for poor as well as rich nations to be able to participate in the resultant wealth creation.

Both America and China have adopted the end of increasing renewable energy without sacrificing prosperity. This can be turned into a workable policy. Climate prosperity can pull virtually everyone on earth out of poverty if a concerted effort is made to do so. Rich nations and investors should provide the profitable investments that poor nations need to produce renewable energy projects and clean technologies, so as to both solve the climate change

problem and achieve the Millennium Goals. America and China should lead that Climate Prosperity Treaty, which both can support, because it aims to reduce greenhouse gas production by spurring economic growth in poor countries and economic efficiencies in rich countries.

Through rural and urban solar enterprises, climate prosperity enterprise solutions can produce these positive results for the 1.3 billion people who live without electricity, and the 1 billion people who live in urban slums.

LifeVillage[™] – a trademarked creation of Envision Solar International of California – is a solar-powered series of six Life Port structures that serve as: a health clinic, a school, an internet-connected community center, a cellphone network, and a community-owned private enterprise, for the roughly ten thousand rural people who live within a few hours walking distance of it. The roofs of the village structures are state-of-the-art solar panels, while solar screens cover the common spaces, together producing some 10,000 kWh of power per month. Ideally, the facility's public services (health, education, and communications) can be delivered with half of this power, leaving the other half as surplus for use in community enterprise. This surplus is owned, directed, managed and used by the community enterprise organization, in which local people decide (on the basis of enterprise advice) how to invest the surplus in irrigation, machinery, agriculture, textiles or small manufacturing wealthcreation processes.

The rural community enterprise is organized around one share per family in the community. The shares cannot be sold but can be passed down to children, thus preventing concentration or corruption of power and capital in the community enterprise. Based upon value-added criteria, the shareholders elect enterprise directors who appoint managers and hire local employees to make the local enterprise succeed at wealth creation. The profits are either invested in more equipment (including solar panels, solar cook-stoves, etc) or

distributed equally to shareholders – as the shareholders decide in their annual meeting.

This community enterprise model is based upon the 200 village corporations created for Alaska's indigenous peoples whose ancestors walked from China to America some thirteen centuries ago. We believe that this migration should serve as the symbolic beginning of what can become a great modern partnership between China and America. China contributed the indigenous people to the Americans, and America can contribute technology for rural wealth creation to China. Alaska's indigenous enterprises have helped to lift people who were earning on average \$2 per person per day in 1970, to a secure place in the American middle class (which averages \$40,000 GDP per capita). Those 200 indigenous companies are now earning \$3 billion per year from economic activities all over the Pacific world, including trade and investment with China.

Climate PROSPERITY Enterprise Solutions provides LifeVillageTM technology for the Chinese assembly of the facility, and eighteen months of consulting with the village people to organize and operate their enterprise for wealth creation. Using typical economic multipliers for surplus investment capital, it is estimated that the LifeVillageTM community enterprise can produce from US\$50,000 to US\$100,000 of new commerce in the village in the first year of operation, which is significantly added income for rural people who are now living on less than \$2 per person per day. In the second year, wealth creation can begin to grow exponentially as China has already proved. The benefits include documented health, education, communications and wealth creation commerce, all produced with no carbon in rural areas that have previously missed out on development because of their geography. This is a grand opportunity for rural China.

Similar dramatic results can be achieved in the urban slums of over 160 Chinese cities, each of which has over 1 million residents.

Imagine the largest solar power plant on earth that has one hundred thousand solar panels that produce hundreds of megawatts of electricity, more than enough to power an entire city or large industrial zone. Imagine each of those solar panels as the roof of a house, such as the 24′ X 24′ LifePort™ module of LifeVillage™. LifeVillage™ structures can be organized to deliver community services throughout the whole urban housing solar-engine enterprise. This is surely a promising potential solution to urban pollution, poverty, disease, unemployment and housing in China. The solar enterprise can pay for itself and make a profit. Each family can buy the urban house with the solar roof with revenue generated from a 20-year power purchase agreement with the city utility, and guaranteed by a 20-year low or no-interest mortgage provided by the government. This enterprise model provides for Chinese urban family owner-ship of their house "roof" in the solar power plant where the profits pay for their house mortgage and new business investments they can choose at their own initiative. The surplus capital will be in their hands to do that.

All the solar panels, batteries, steel and housing materials for the urban and rural LifeVillagesTM described here would be supplied by China to itself and all the labor for assembly and operations would be Chinese people trained for the work. What America supplies here is the technology and know-how to make the enterprise work.

Cities thus address their pollution, health and education problems, and the urban population occupying the solar housing creates enormous wealth for itself and commerce for the city. The new GDP could be in the millions or billions of dollars per year per city, without one speck of carbon added to Chinese airspace. Enterprise Solutions is an area where enormous efficiencies can be achieved in construction and refitting of buildings or entire cities. Ambassador Richard Swett and Michael Rowan, the American creators of these innovations bring together teams of American and Chinese architects, designers, planners, information technology modelers, and

databases to achieve the following results:

By integrated design, building-information-modeling (or BIM), virtualization of structures, and the use of construction object databases (such as Revit), 15% of the construction cost can be saved. In addition, energy savings of 50% in new construction and 35% in retrofitting of buildings can be made, and have been made in America, as well as in a few places in China. These savings can dramatically improve China's energy and development momentum. Exxon Mobil has made 50% energy savings through industrial efficiency gains. The industrial sector alone accounts for one-third of total energy consumption worldwide and more than 25% of energy-related carbon dioxide emissions. Enterprise Solutions can make a "triple-win" contribution to China: first in energy security; second in economic performance; and third in reducing greenhouse-gas emissions.

Vehicles use 12% of the energy in America and buildings use 40%. Changing vehicle behaviors is a difficult task and it will take time. But changing building construction, building retrofitting, or industrial inefficiencies is not as difficult a task, and is a cost-saving exercise for industry, business and the people who occupy and use those buildings in China and America.

Climate PROSPERITY Enterprise Solutions is an example of China-America partnership for reciprocal globalization. There are thousands of firms, cities and rural communities that are waiting for climate prosperity enterprise solutions to be co-created with them and for them in China. The "triple win" solutions in energy production, pollution abatement and community-focused wealth creations are an example of the China-America partnership benefits based on "climate prosperity."

Assertions that we cannot change human nature or the behavior of nations ignore the abundant evidence from human history of our continued social evolution. American Exceptionalism is a leading example seeking to prove that each day. China's Exceptionalism 90 | A WHITE PAPER FOR THE PRESIDENTS OF AMERICA AND CHINA

has proven for 30 years that an economically poor and struggling people can unilaterally and successfully transcend the Principles of Conflict as a *nation and civilization* interacting with others. Soon the collaboration or clash of civilizations will show us what kind of government, if any, mankind is capable of in our lifetimes.

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Introduction to the America-China Partnership Book Series

The America-China Partnership Book Series is influencing America and China's evolving relationship. Two of the books in the series, *China and America's Responsibilities in Mankind's Future and China & America's Leadership in Peaceful Co-existence* are the only books by an American author that China's Central Party School's Publishing House has translated and published since 1989. Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* is the only other book by an American author it previously published. It inspired *The Rise of Great Nations*, an influential television series on China Central Television in 2006.

The current "global financial and economic crises" are best seen as the transition between the 20th and 21st century's global financial, economic and international systems. This as a "correction" that is occurring in part because the global economy was severely unbalanced in the preceding period. Paul Kennedy's *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* published in America in 1986 asserted that:

"...the geographical extent, population and natural resources of the United States suggest that it ought to possess perhaps 16 or 18 percent of the world's wealth and power, but... that share rose to 40 percent or more by 1945; and what we are witnessing at the moment is the early decades of the ebbing away... to a more natural share."

Kennedy emphasized that America was not pursuing sustainable economic, diplomatic and defense strategies, and thus wrote that "the most serious threat to America's interests could come from Americans' failure to adjust sensibly to the newer world order." America's failure to wisely deploy its economic, military and moral authority during this key period of economic transition has been widely acknowledged by Americans to have been the wrong direction for their nation, as the major political shift seen in the election of 2008 bears witness to.

However, this "correction" currently threatens to become an economic, military and social catastrophe for all nations unless there is a fast shift away from the clash of civilizations approach in America's economic and foreign policies and defense strategies.

China and America's Responsibilities in Mankind's Future and its companion book, China & America's Leadership in Peaceful Coexistence examine different aspects of the issue of how we can prevent human extinction – which the New School recognizes is the fundamental issue facing foreign policy, defense strategy and scientific research in the 21st century. This fundamental issue has been addressed by three generations of Chinese poli-cymakers, but has yet to be addressed by American policymakers. Books 1 and 2 must help fundamentally change the focus of American and global foreign policy and defense strategy. Such change is essential for achieving the reciprocal respect, economic globalization and solutions required for collaborative equilib-rium and an architecture for peace for the 21st century. After fifty centuries of economic, social and political experimentation, China's genius lies in its desire for peace and global implementation of the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence with all nations.

China & America's Responsibilities in Mankind's Future presents the only plan that can solve the 21st century's fundamental issue,

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or adequately respond to and protect the American people from the dangers created by America's conventional foreign and defense strategies. The plan has two essential requirements:

- 1. The genuine committed partnership of China and America must stabilize the now unbalanced international system designed in the 20th century, and create and lead a stable international system designed in and for the 21st century.
- 2. America and China's partnership must successfully lead mankind's research in a "Manhattan II Project" that focuses on preventing mankind's extinction and the discovery of ur-gently required new defense systems using the laws of phys-ics and power of moral authority, which are capable of policing and pacifying all of over 6.5 billion people in 8 civilizations and 192 nations.

The book explores a fundamental conceptual breakthrough by formulating the new conceptual framework of seven "Principles of Conflict" innate in human nature, and therefore ubiquitous in the foreign policies and defense strategies of all nations, except China. The Principles of Conflict are:

- 1. "Fairness Hypocrisy"
- 2. "Believe and Behave as I do" Intolerance
- 3. "Do as I Say, not as I Do" Amoral Authority"
- 4. "Do as I Say" Arrogance
- 5. "We are Better than You" Arrogance
- 6. "My Country is Right or Wrong" Bias
- 7. "The Passion for Conflict, Power and Harming Others"

The book's thesis is that America must return to foreign policies and defense strategies based upon the advice in President Washington's Farewell Address in 1796, and President Kennedy's advice in a key speech of 1963. These are surprisingly similar to Deng Xiaoping's advice from 1978 to 1997 to the Chinese people, which China has implemented to its benefit. The attitudes of these statesmen are, moreover, inconsistent with the Principles of Conflict that have shaped America's recent conventional foreign policy and defense strategies. Another way of stating the books thesis is that:

- The Principles of Conflict that seem naturally suited to mankind's current instincts, thought processes and behavior are operating in America's foreign policy and defense strategies; and
- 2. If either or both America and China use their economic and military authority without any moral authority, and implement the Principles of Conflict in their relationship, it will result in their failure as civilizations and mankind's extinction as species.
- 3. American and Chinese prosperity, as well as global security in general, requires that America change its foreign policy and defense mindset, goals and strategies; and that America and China as partners lead the 192 nations in ensuring that new defense systems are created and used, that can only be created by deciphering and combining the only laws all human beings obey: the law of physics and the laws of morals.

China & America's Leadership in Peaceful Coexistence examines thethesis that America and China's security interests are converging and that Deng Xiaoping is America's, as well as China's most advanced and insightful foreign policy theorist and defense strategist. It also explains that protecting Americans from the threats they face in this century requires that America change its foreign policy goals and strategies, and base them on the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence pioneered by China in order to create the urgently needed change in our international economic system and security relations.

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The book investigates the failures and un-sustainability of the current international system which has been designed, led and dominated by America. We will show that since the current international system cannot ultimately secure prolonged prosperity or peace, America's conventional foreign policy and defense strategies are ultimately inadequate for the protection of America's economic or national security in the 21st century.

In contrast, the book will show that the Chinese concept of a harmonious society and world has allowed China to use its economic and moral authority as a responsible major power that has fought successfully to alleviate hunger, and improve prosperity and peace world-wide.

The book looks at President Jefferson's proposition that the American people are a safe repository for the ultimate powers of mankind, and asks whether the American two-party majority rule political system, rule of law and focus on human rights can survive in the circumstances of the 21st century. The key issue here is whether the American people can produce leaders and policies in the Age of Atomic Weapons and Science that are capable of preventing a global catastrophe.

China & America's Leadership in Peaceful Coexistence compares theadvice of the four presidents who lead America's growing success in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, but which have been ignored in the foreign policies and defense strategies of America's 43rd president, and almost all of America's conventional policymakers and scholars in recent years. The book explains why America should implement its former leaders' advice.

The book's hypothesis is that since Americans can understand the sincerity, proven success and fundamental wisdom of Presidents Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Kennedy, they should also be open to the sincerity, proven success and fundamental wisdom of Deng Xiaoping's advice to the Chinese people.

China & America's Emerging Partnership: A New Realistic Perspec-

tive explains why and how America and China; American and Chinese companies; and American capitalism and China's powerful new model of capitalism with Chinese characteristics can prosper together as genuinely committed and global partners.

The book explains that game theory clarifies America and China's complex relationship in an ongoing interaction in which serious economic decline is unacceptable to either, and which threatens to ultimately lead to a direct conflict in which both sides will be losers. The book argues that a new "win-win" mindset and strategic approach is the only alternative to America and China remaining *adhoc*, "zero-sum game" competitors and ultimately slipping into trade war, Cold War, armed conflict and ecological catastrophe.

The book criticizes the conventional American assumption that China will inevitably collapse, become democratic or remain stagnant as an authoritarian regime. This attitude assumes unrealistically that China must either become like America or fail, and is related to the mistaken and dangerous view that trade war and armed conflict between America and China may be inevitable, and required to protect America's economic and national security. The book explains that China cannot, should not and will not copy America's political system, and that it is not in either America or China's economic or national security interests for China to prematurely become an American-style majority-rule democracy. The book establishes a new realistic conceptual framework that defines America as a "Rights Society," "majority-ruled-democracy" and "rule-of-law-system," and China as a thriving "Permission Society," "Consensus Democracy" and "Rule by Law System" which has allowed China to create a successful new model of capitalism. The new conceptual framework is essential in understanding, accepting and aligning capitalism with both American and Chinese characteristics.

New China Business Strategies: Chinese and American Companies as Global Partners explains why and how only the successful proliferation of a new Genuine Global Joint Venture Model provides a sustainable win-win mindset, value propositions and strategies aligning Chinese companies "going global" and American companies need for successful strategies in China. The book's thesis is America and China's current political aims and method, as outlined above, are simply not compatible with one another, and so they must be altered.

The current conceptual models that take only joint ventures or wholly foreign-owned subsidiaries in China to be appropriate, which followed from Hu Jintao's 2002 call for Chinese companies to go global in order to compete successfully with their foreign competitors, are no longer sufficient or appropriate for aligning Chinese and American economic interests, given the rapidly evolving and unbalanced global economy of the 21st century.

America & China's New Economic Partnership: The Success of Economic and Moral Authority explains why America must use a new grand strategy of reciprocal respect and reciprocal globalization with China, in order to achieve breakthroughs in reciprocally beneficial solutions and collaborative equilibrium that can solve the financial and economic crises, balance America and China's economies, and successfully establish the 21st century's two largest economies' essential partnership. It also explains how this strategy can be realized.

The book's thesis is that neither America nor China's authority (military or otherwise) can sustain themselves without moral authority. This thesis is at the vortex of China's economic success, America's recent economic failures, and of America and China's potential for shared future success or failure in the new economic partnership that is essential in the 21st century.

The New School of China & America's Relations: Volume 1 applies the explanations in the first 5 books of how the partnerships of America and China's governments, companies, and models of capitalism are necessary in evaluating America and China's relationship in 2009. It also shows that these partnerships can only be successfully implemented and sustained by American and Chinese govern-

ments if they are based on the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Being China: The Meaning of Deng Xiaoping explains China's solutions to China and America's foreign policy and defense strategy issues, and explains the moral and political philosophy of China's first 21st century leader from both a Chinacentric and Americacentric perspective. The book's thesis is that Deng Xiaoping is the world's most advanced and prudent foreign policy and defense theorist and statesman as we move into the 21st Century. The book was inspired by the recognition of the striking similarities of George Washington's 1796 "Farewell Address" and Deng Xiaoping's 1978 address, titled "With Stable Policies of Reform and Opening to the Outside World, China Can Have Great Hopes for the Future." The book's hypothesis is that if Americans recall, understand and return to implementing George Washington's advice to America, then Americans can also understand and accept Deng Xiaoping's advice to China-that it must implement the Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

There is ample evidence that China is acting consistently internationally with its ideal of a harmonious world, which is examined in Chapters 1 and 3 of Book 2. A later book in the series, China & America's Partnership and Human Rights: The Challenge of Creating a Harmonious Society and World, examines human rights in America and China from both American and Chinese perspectives, as well as conceptions of: human nature, the "good society," and "social progress." China and America currently avoid domestic anarchy and pursue their respective ideals of human rights with different political and legal systems. It looks at the contrasting priorities of economic development and peace for China, and of human rights in America. The book takes as its premises that anarchy is inimical to "human rights," and that both America and China face serious challenges in the 21st century in retaining stable political and economic systems. The definitions of "human rights" in America and China are a manifestation of American and Chinese societies' respective histories, values, cultures and goals. The protection of "human rights," as either society indigenously defines them, is a work in progress in which the current state of human rights falls short of both societies' ideals and goals. The thesis of the book is that the partnership of America and China will greatly assist both nations to live up to their ideals and goals for human rights.

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John Milligan-Whyte, Chairman of Whyte-Daimin Partners, is the co-host and director of the *China Business Reports* television program and *Collaboration of Civilizations* television series. He is author of a column on "Current Affairs" in *People's Daily*, which calls him the "new Edgar Snow" and "21st century Kissinger." In 2009 *China Daily* recognized the Center for America China Partnership

that he founded in New York in 2005 as "the first American think tank to combine and integrate American and Chinese perspectives providing a complete answer for America and China's success in the 21st century." He is the author of eight books in the America China Partnership Book Series published in 2009 and 2010 that created the "New School of America China Relations" summarized in A White Paper for the Presidents of America and China used in President Hu Jintao's preparation for meetings with President Obama. His book, China and America's Leadership in Peaceful Coexistence, is the first by an American author since 1989 to be translated and published in China by the Central Party School, which titled it in Mandarin: China-US Relations in the Obama Administration: Facing Common Challenges. He was elected with 12,534 votes the first non-Chinese winner of the Outstanding China Business Leader Social Responsibility Award from the China Business Leaders' Summit sponsored by the CPC Central Committee, State Council Information Office, China News and Red Flag magazine and was selected as a participant in the World Economic Forum's Inaugural Meeting of New Champions by the Managing Editor of the Harvard Business Review and Chairman of the World Economic Forum. From 1992 to 2008 he was Chairman of CORE Capital Ltd and a director of currency trading software, broadcasting, WiFi, e-Smart technology, Internet, reinsurance and hedge fund companies.

From 1984 to 2008 he was a founding partner of Milligan-Whyte & Smith, which became a World Economic Forum member in 1992 and corecipient of the *International Financial Law Review's* 2002 Asian M&A Deal of the Year Award in for its role in the first and most successful foreign acquisition by a Chinese state owned company.

He is an Honorary Research Professor at Beijing University, Senior

Advisor to the Venture Capital Research Center at China's Renmin University, Guest Professor at China's University of International Business & Economy, a Fellow of the International Center for Legal Studies in Strasburg, Austria, and received a B.A (Honors) in Political Philosophy, LL.B and LL.M degrees from the University of Toronto, Queen's Law School, Osgoode Hall Law School, continuing legal education at Harvard Law School and executive education at Harvard Business School.



Dai Min, President of Whyte-Daimin Partners, is co-host and executive producer of the China Business Reports television program and the *Collaboration of Civilizations* television Series, co-author of a *People's Daily* column on "Current Affairs" and eight books in the *China America Partnership Book Series* recognized in 2009 by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences as creating a

"New School of China America Relations." She co-founded the Center for America China Partnership in 2005 and America-China Partnership Foundation in 2008 in New York and is Chairman of AmeriChina Finance Ltd, which represents leading technology firms in China, and a director of foreign currency software trading and media companies.

She won the national contest in the performing arts in China in 1978 and was a lyric soprano with China's National Opera & Dance Company before working at the United Nations in New York, on Wall Street as a currency trader, an advisor to ABB and Obermeyer on developing business in China, and advising Chinese and American companies on business development.

She is the granddaughter of General Dai Fengxiang, one of the earliest high-ranking generals to support Sun Yat-sun to overthrow the Qing Dynasty and establish the Republic of China. She was educated in China, Germany, England and America and is an Honorary Research Professor at Beijing University, Honorary Advisor to the Beijing University Education Foundation and initiated The China Insurance Industry Executive Leadership Program in conjunction with the Wharton School of University of Pennsylvania, China Renmin University and XL Capital.

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美中伙伴关系系列丛书

致 美国总统奥巴马和中国主席胡锦涛的 外交关系白皮书

约翰・米勒-怀特 戴敏 JOHN MILLIGAN-WHYTE DAI MIN



美中伙伴关系研究中心

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China & America's Leadership in Peaceful Coexistence

《中美关系新战略:跨越零和博弈的中美双赢之路》

China & America's Emerging Partnership: A New Realistic Perspective

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New China Business Strategies:

Chinese & American Companies As Global Partners

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China & America's Responsibilities in Mankind's Future

The Success of Economic and Moral Authority

《中美关系研究领域的新学派》

The New School of Chinese and American Relations

《中美两国的新经济伙伴关系:经济权威和道义权威的胜利》

China & America's New Economic Partnership:

《为了中国:邓小平的意义》

Being China: The Meaning of Deng Xiaoping

致 美国总统奥巴马和中国主席胡锦涛的 外交关系白皮书

本白皮书是应中国社会科学院美国研究所所长黄平博士的要求,由美中 伙伴关系研究中心的约翰·米勒-怀特和戴敏撰写的。

概述: 在美中关系中,传统的美国要求与中国的立场越来越行不通了。未来必将大不相同,且变得更好。本白皮书提出了新的理念框架、总体战略和议程,旨在创立真正的互相尊重、互惠的全球化、互惠可行的经济解决方案、协作平衡,形成一种伙伴关系,协调美中两国的经济安全和国家安全,领导21世纪的国际体系,满足192个国家的经济安全和国家安全需要。"美中关系新学派"的这种理念框架、总体战略和议程有助于建立持久的信心和平衡的全球经济进步与新的防务体系,以防止人类被毁灭。

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概述

美中伙伴关系研究中心,是美国的第一个把"美国中心"理念和"中国中心"理念结合起来的美国智库。它在2009年1月份出版的头两部书(英文版和中文版)创立了"美中关系研究新学派"。"美中伙伴关系丛书"后续的5部书将陆续出版问世,恰逢奥巴马总统的新美国政府在全球经济危机的情况下寻求发展同中国的关系,从而在此特定条件下奠定人类未来成败的基础。"美中伙伴关系丛书"提供了共同的崭新理念框架、总体战略和议程,超越了美国和中国的理念和沟通的隔阂,在阐释下列问题方面实现了重大突破:

- 1. 新的真正的经济、地缘政治伙伴关系创立了一个由美国和中国领导的、以和平共处原则为基础的新型国际体系。为什么这种伙伴关系是极其重要的;
- 2. 具有崭新的理念框架、总体战略和议程的美国-中国伙伴关系将通过下列办法结束冲突、创建美中两国文明的合作关系: 互相尊重、互惠的全球化、真正互利的解决方案和协作的平衡关系, 从而极其有利于在迅速变化的21世纪协调和保护美国和中国的经济安全和国家安全。

本白皮书概述了"美中伙伴关系丛书"最初七部书的观点。这七部书详细介绍了新学派的理论框架、总体战略和议程,旨在解决美国和中国的紧迫的经济危机,协调它们在21世纪的经济安全和国家安全:

- 1. 《中国和美国对人类未来的责任China And America's Responsibilities in Mankind's Future》提出了美国对外政策的新目标、美国和中国的 伙伴关系以及对人类的生存至关重要的新型防御体系。
- 2. 《中国和美国领导和平共处国际新秩序关系China And America's Leadership in Peaceful Coexistence》提出了21世纪的议程和新的总体战略,协调中国的和美国的经济安全与国家安全,创立一个新的国际体系,把它们的和其他和平国家的军事、经济和道义权威结合起来,以便促进与维护和平共处。
- 3. 《中美关系新战略:跨越零和博弈的中美双赢之路China and America's Emerging Partnership: A New Perspective》探讨为什么这种伙伴 关系是至关重要的,将会获得成功的。
- 4. 《中美商务新战略:开创中美商务双赢的未来New China Business Strategy: Chinese and American Companies As Global Partners》探讨崭新的商务模式、心态和战略,以便促进和协调美中两国公司的成功的伙伴关系。
- 5. 《中国和美国的新型经济伙伴关系:经济权威和道义权威的成功 China and America's New Economic Partnership: The Success of Economic and Moral Authority》探讨为什么金融危机和经济危机促进了 互相尊重、互惠的全球化、互惠的解决方案和协作的平衡,从而有 助于美国和中国成功的伙伴关系。
- 6. 《中美关系的新学派New School of America-China Partnership》扼要介绍了头六部书中崭新理念框架的视角,为崭新的总体战略奠定了基础: 互相尊重=互惠的全球化=互惠的解决方案=协作的平衡=领导一个崭新的国际体系与协调美国和中国21世纪经济成功和国家安全的伙伴关系。

7. 《**为了中国:邓小平的意义** Being China The Meaning of Deng Xiaoping》探讨了人类的这位最富有洞察力、最先进的政治家的道义和政治哲学、经济政策、对外政策和防务战略。

虽然迫切需要共同合作解决全球经济危机和地缘政治问题的有效方案, 但是,由于下列危险因素的结合,使得美国的零和游戏心态和中国的双赢理 念框架和战略无法实现真正互利的、行得通的解决方案:

- 1. 美国的和中国的心态、战略和目标不协调;
- 2. 长期以来理念和沟通的隔阂;
- 3. 在战略经济对话中,传统的美国要求和中国立场;
- 4. "百年一遇"的极其复杂的全球金融危机和经济危机;
- 5. 日益深化的金融危机和经济危机将会在美国、中国和其他国家造成 社会、政治、防务危机;
- 6. 美中两国决策人是在美中两国有着不同的国内外需要和问题的情况 下谈判解决空前复杂的全球金融危机、经济危机和其他危机的。

美国新总统奥巴马和中国国家主席胡锦涛正在经历一个建立互信和互相 了解的缓慢的、捉摸不定的过程,这个过程将是非常漫长的,受到各种因素 的影响,例如非常复杂、日益深化的全球经济危机、政治危机、社会危机和 军事危机,理念和沟通的隔阂,美国的传统要求和中国立场之间的冲突。

本白皮书中新型总体战略的共同"蓝图"是一个重要的催化剂,可以使 美国总统和中国主席迅速形成成功的政策,取得信任方面的突破,使得美中 两国的决策人实现成功的合作,从而有助于解决目前的危机和美国文明与中 国文明将来面临的共同问题。

如果不在金融危机、经济危机和其他相关危机初期,有一个共同的蓝 图,使总统在领导决策方面实现突破,那么,美国总统及其政府的许多决策 人、参众两院、州政府、其他专家、学者和媒体就无法找到解决办法。

美中两国总统和政府迅速实现空前成功的合作,有助于恢复信任,从而

稳定日益恶化的全球经济和192个国家的经济,重新启动新局面。只要美中两国总统都认识到新型理念框架、总体战略和议程的逻辑性、现实性、必要性和能力,那么,美中两国政府将能够超越长期以来的理念和沟通的隔阂、美国和中国传统的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略。只要有了新型理念框架、总体战略和议程,美中两国政府就能够创立192个发达国家和发展中国家所需要的相互依存的、可行的、持久地、双赢的经济、地缘政治解决办法。

如果美国政府或者中国政府采取保护主义或者零和游戏心态或战略,那么,谁也成功不了。只有美中两国领导人都理解,并亲自讨论新学派的理念框架、总体战略和议程提出的、中国人所谓的"常识性"互利解决方案,才能使正在谋求突破的美国天才的新总统迅速地、可靠地理解传统的做法和建议是行不通的,只有互利的解决方案才能使他的新政府得到它所希望于中国的东西,使他找到并向中国提供中国所希望的东西。中美两国总统这种重要的洞察力是十分需要的,只有这样才能避免有意或者无意地重复美国和中国的传统观点,提出使中国人民和美国人民恼怒的要求、威胁、政策和事件,结果问题得不到解决,反而使之恶化。

美国的和中国的决策人、顾问、学者和媒体领袖也需要,而且必须重视 共同蓝图的新理念体系、总体战略和议程中一系列新的共同参考点。他们应 该迅速超越理念和沟通的隔阂,超越传统的观点。新学派认为,一般来说, 中国的政策对美国是有帮助的。

建议

- 1. 胡主席和奥巴马总统以及他们的顾问们利用本白皮书里美中关系新学派的"共同蓝图",重新构建他们的谈判和政策。
- 2. 每年五月在华盛顿和十月在北京会晤时,应当举办一个新的美中伙伴关系论坛,邀请美中两国的决策人和学者,在没有媒体参与的情况下,坦诚协作地进行讨论,着重探讨如何贯彻新的理念框架和真正互利的总体战略、议程和解决方案,协调美国的和中国的经济安全与国家安全。

3. 通过在互联网上举办电视系列讲座,向美国人民、中国人民和全人 类阐述新的理念框架和总体战略的重要意义以及如何加以贯彻,保 护美中两国人民和其他190个国家人民的经济安全和国家安全。

"开启新时代下的美中合作关系" ——奥巴马总统与胡锦涛主席会谈的十个关键问题

在美国经济状况进一步加剧之前有一个转危为安的机会,如果丧失这个机会,如果美中两国无法达成两国关系一个真正性突破的话,那么经济危机的扩散将无法抑制,其他事件的不利影响也会发生,如果美元进一步贬值、美国政府将无法举债来实施其经济恢复方案、中国对美国的帮助也将被限制。如果在这些不利事件发生之前在奥巴马总统和胡锦涛主席之际就能达成真正突破性的理解和对话,不利事态的消极发展是可以避免或控制的。在2008年9月16日美国的经济和金融产业开始出现严重危机之前,美国经济实际比预计更加脆弱。奥巴马总统在2009年5月24日这天宣布的新时代下的美中伙伴关系,奥巴马总统与胡锦涛主席应该就十个关键问题进行对话交流:

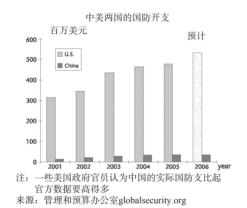
- 1. 奥巴马总统应告知胡锦涛主席:他是否认为,美国应回报邓小平实施的改革,对中国的投资采取一个"开放"的态度,从而振兴美国经济并平衡中美贸易和经济?他是否认为美国应实施和平共处五项原则,包括不干预中国的内部事务,如西藏、台湾问题以及对人权的定义?美国的这些政策改革是在相互尊重、经济全球化这个新时代下伙伴关系的重要组成部分。美国占世界人口的5.6%,而中国占22%,但这些政策不是奥巴马总统在执行新时代伙伴关系的环境下做出的最根本的决定。
- 奥巴马总统是否认为:美国如果想取得胜利的话,就必须打败中国?
- 3. 奥巴马总统是否认为:要想维护美国的经济和国家安全,就必须将 美国的经济、外交政策以及军事战略面向中国、并基于和平共处五

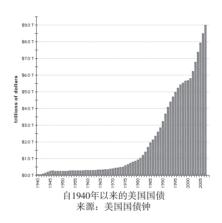


项原则以及文明之间的合作模式之上?

4. 奥巴马总统是否认为: 美国有需要备战中国来维护其经济和国家安全?

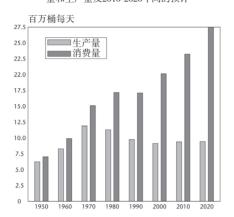
果真如此,那么奥巴马总统应努力增加美国人的税务,从中国借贷,积极备战,然后进行与中国的战争。若非如此,那么奥巴马总统应向美国的决策者和人民解释,为何这个新的文明之间合作的观念、面向中国的经济和外交政策以及军事战略对美国的经济和国家安全而言非常必要。



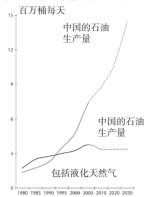


5. 奥巴马总统是否认为:美国人传统观念中的众多因素及战略破坏了美国经济和国家安全?例如,美国和中国必须共同采购各自所需要的石油,这将有利于两国和世界其他190个国家。这两个分别列于世界第一和第三的经济大国消耗的原油量多于他们的生产量。作为合作伙伴,这两个消耗了世界石油42%的国家可以控制石油价格;在过去,石油价格在43美元和147美元每桶之间波动,这影响到所有国家的经济稳定和增长。作为合作伙伴,他们可以确保自己的石油供应并共同帮助那些曾经或目前无法确保供应的国家。当前美国的政策旨在防止中国企业购买美国石油企业或从美国获得石油来源,并反对中国从美国不赞成的国家处获得石油。这种政策对任何一个国家都没有好处。许多美国决策者认为,石油竞争将导致战争:有些人已认识到中美必须进行合作而不是竞争石油资源。

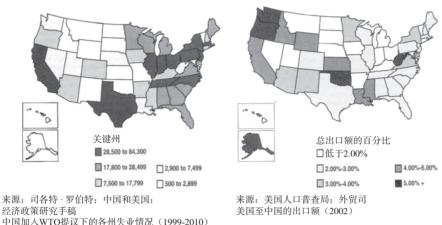
依赖带来的困境:美国在1995-2000年间石油的消费量和生产量及2010-2020年间的预计



对石油日益增长的渴求 由于中国经济的增长,其国内生产的石油 已不能满足需要。其石油生产能力预计不 会增长,但需求量却将大大增加。



- 6. 奥巴马总统是否认为:同中国进行战争或者备战中国能使美国从中获益吗?如果奥巴马总统认为中美之间的国防建设和经济合作至关重要,那么它就可能实现。如果奥巴马总统和胡锦涛主席并不认为这至关重要也不可能实现,那么美国、中国和其他国家都无法实现经济或国家安全。中国长期以来一直在寻求一个真正的、成功的伙伴关系,美国人民、胡锦涛主席、中国其他决策者和人民将非常真诚地欢迎它,并将感到非常宽慰。
- 9巴马总统是否认为:在其执政期间,中国最终将单方面放弃执行和平共处五项原则?
- 8. 奥巴马总统是否认为: 美国的经济和国家安全需要他促使形成不同 文明之间合作的心态和战略,首先就是中华文明,因为中国已经单 方面对美实施和平共处五项原则。
- 9. 奧巴马总統是否认为:在其执政期间,有可能减轻目前的危机或平衡中美经济,而不需允许互惠经济全球化?美国不欢迎中国主权基金或是中国企业在美国投资或是中国企业收购美国企业并为美国人创造就业机会,而美国却在中国投资,美国企业却在收购中国企业。
- 10. 奥巴马总统是否认为:如果不允许互惠经济全球化,那么受益于中国经济增长的美国各州、各市、各家企业就会受到不必要的负面影



经济政策研究手稿 中国加入WTO提议下的各州失业情况(1999-2010)

> 响?总统是否认为:不实施在中国盈利战略的企业在其他地方也无 法保持其盈利能力? 美国企业要想成功地实施在中国盈利的战略就 必须把战略的实施同中国的战略目标和成功实施联系起来,同中国 企业走向全球联系起来。必须允许中国企业在目前需要金融和经济 安全的美国各州、各市进行投资,从而帮助美国企业和工人,从而 奥巴马总统在这样一个新时代的伙伴关系下可以获得美国人的支 持。

最后一个关键问题在于:美国人民、政治制度和政策制定者是否会支持 奥巴马总统并实施必需的经济和国家安全改革来恢复美国经济和其对全球的 领导?中国人民、政治制度和政策制定者支持邓小平及其继任者对美国投资 开放的政策并实施和平共处五项原则。

超越理念和沟通的隔阂、传统的美国要求和中国立场

美国人很难理解这种不寻常的智慧,接受现在已经证明了的中国的诚 意:中国是认真履行和平共处原则的,这使它在过去30年来取得了经济政 策、对外政策和防务战略的巨大成功。由于中国执行了和平共处原则,人类 22%的人口经历了三代中国领导人和五届美国民主党和共和党总统的政府。

博弈论的研究和中国人所谓的常识澄清了美中两国的复杂关系:如果哪一个国家对另一个国家采取零和游戏心态和战略,那么,谁也不可能获得成功,因为哪一个国家的政府和人民都不会让他们的经济成就或国家安全遭到失败。如果在他们的关系中采取零和游戏战略,那就必然对两个国家和全人类产生"双输"的结果。在本世纪,美国和中国要么是双赢,要么是双输。

但是,中国和美国对"双赢"有不同的理解。美国通常是从"美国中心"的视角要求中国的,所谓"赢"就是要让美国在经济利益上,在唯一的超级大国地位上获得好处。这种"美国中心"的心态缺乏中国所谓的"双赢"包含的互惠解决方案和协作平衡。传统的"美国中心"心态、目标和战略导致美国常常提出一些要求、威胁和所谓的"双赢"建议,说什么"为了中国自己的利益必须执行"美国要求中国做的事情。这种"美国中心"的做法无视了这样的现实:不论客观地讲,还是主观地讲,从中国的"中国中心"视角来看,美国要求中国做的事情通常缺乏互利的因素,使得美国要求中国做的事情在中国行不通或者不可能持久。

新学派超越了传统的美国对华心态、目标、政策和战略中的这些和其他一些根本的缺陷以及相关的长期理念和沟通的隔阂。例如,新学派重新构建和阐释了中国的一些观点:中国决策人和学者的"双赢"心态、战略和目标;中国长期以来"负责任的大国的角色";希望美国和中国成为"战略伙伴",新的理念框架、总体战略和议程提出了相关的必要条件:互相尊重、互惠的全球化、互利的解决方案、协作的平衡、协调美国的和中国的经济成就和国家安全。新学派重新构建了"中国中心"视角和目标,旨在使美国的决策人和学者看来,显得坦诚、更加有效、富有信息、可以理解、可以衡量和可以操作,因为这些美国人具有传统的"美国中心"观点:文明冲突、零和游戏心态、战略和目标,这表现在美国的"负责任的利益相关者"观点上和以"战略竞争者"为基础的对华经济政策、对外政策和防务战略上。

为了明白起见,新学派的总体战略可以用这样一个公式来表达: 互相尊 重=互惠的全球化=互利的、可以行得通的解决方案=协作的平衡=把美国的和

中国的经济成就和国家安全协调起来=一个新的伙伴关系=领导一个新的国际体系=各种文明之间的合作=和平共处的理念框架=持久的经济信心、全球经济的平衡和进步、192个国家的更加有效的国家安全=21世纪和平与繁荣的新大厦。

新学派的总体战略需要同时实现美国和中国两方面的需要:美国需要平衡全球经济,中国需要互惠的全球化。可是,美国未能理解互惠的全球化是至关重要的。美国政府阻挠中国公司购买公开交易的美国公司和中国自主财富基金的投资,阻止中国获得美国的某些技术。这样的政策和防务战略使美国和中国受到损害,使得美国和中国更难平衡它们的经济关系。

美国采取传统的零和游戏心态和战略,就无法实现经济安全和国家安全,因为这种心态和战略使得美国无法恢复美国的经济权威、军事权威和道义权威,无法把美国的经济权威、军事权威和道义权威同中国的经济权威和道义权威协调起来。

传统的美国对华政策采用危险的文明冲突理念框架、零和游戏心态和目标,采用以中国是美国的"战略对手"为基础的特殊零和游戏战略战术。美国的传统做法是以"实力即正义"为基础的一系列经济政策、对外政策和防务战略,这是一系列对中国并不互惠的价值观。由于这个缘故,美国的许多政策建议没有被中国采纳实行,在21世纪对美国也是不可行的。美国的政策和战略必须是真正互惠的,否则,就会失败,使美国和中国都受到损害,不管在美国有多少政治集团或利益集团支持它们。

在本世纪的情况下,三亿美国人无法说服、要求、强迫或者愚弄十五亿中国人去做美国命令他们做的事情,如果这些事情在中国政府和中国人民看来是对他们没有好处的。美国20世纪对待中国的那种传统的心态、目标和战略现在不再行得通了。这正是美国面临的深刻的经济危险和国家危险的主要原因之一,美国历届总统必须对此找出解决办法。这些解决办法要求美国总统引导美国人改变自己的心态、目标和战略。对美国人来说,做出这样的改变是必要的,也是可能的,因为不言而喻,目前的经济危机和军事危机都是根源于传统的美国经济政策、对外政策和防务战略。

美国正在经历一场"文化革命",但是还没有认识到,正是它的目标和

缺乏充分谨慎的自律,造成了它的经济危机和军事危机。传统的美国政策谋求用美国的经济权威和军事权威来统治世界,为美国牟利,有时不惜损害其他国家的利益。这种做法在本世纪行不通,也不可能行得通。美国只有结合道义权威来动用它的经济权威和军事权威,才可能取得成功,才能恢复它的重要的领导作用,履行它的这种作用。这种道义权威不仅被美国人认同和赞赏,而且被来自其他文明的数十亿非美国人所认同和赞赏。

21世纪第一任美国总统的"实力即正义"心态、目标和战略已经失败 了,这是必然的。由此产生的深刻问题是不可能用传统的美国目标和政策来 解决的。

传统的美国心态往往认识不到,美国的目标或政策是建立在"实力即正义"的所谓"现实主义"基础上,而不是建立在"正义即实力"的道德和自律的基础上。传统的美国心态往往主观地认为美国是在执行美国理想的"正义即实力"道德。

其实,美国在许多方面并没有贯彻它的具有魅力的理想,用华盛顿总统的话来说,这种理想要求美国"给人类树立一个崇高的、崭新的榜样:它的人民始终以高尚的正义和善良为导向"以及"对所有国家培育和谐"。美国的决策人、学者和美国人民必须贯彻执行华盛顿总统在告别演说中提出的忠告,这种忠告在所有的文明中具有永恒的道义权威,如果每一届美国政府和每一代美国人都加以执行的话。

例如,在全球金融体系和经济体系日益受到严重损害的时候,美国不可能通过销售更多的债务和印刷更多的纸币来解决它的债务危机。但是,美国却试图在不改变传统的目标、政策或理念框架的情况下来改变失败政策的结果,其实,正是这些传统的东西导致危及美国的经济失败。

同样,美国不可能仅仅依靠发现和杀掉恐怖分子和恫吓产生恐怖分子的 国家来实现国家的安全。美国不能为了自私的目的,用它的经济权威和军事 权威专横地主宰世界。但是,如果美国重新结合道义权威来动用它的经济权 威和军事权威,那么,美国可以,而且应当发挥它传统的领导作用,在这种 情况下,使用它的道义权威负责任地帮助治理世界。

新的心态是很难被许多美国人接受的,但是,美国正在经历的负面"文

化革命"将会演变为可能的正面"文化革命",到那时,除了心态、政策和战略发生变化外,中美关系新学派的主张也会被美国决策人接受并加以贯彻。

中国的"文化革命"也有负面阶段和正面阶段。第一阶段,即负面阶段,类似美国今天的情况,把中国带到了经济崩溃的边缘。第二阶段,即正面阶段"资本主义演变"阶段,中国政府和人民决定对外开放,使资本主义经济适应中国的需要。由于第一阶段的"文化革命"把中国带到了经济崩溃的边缘,中国第二阶段的文化革命是1978年在中国的经济思想和防务思想方面开始的,使中国随后在经济安全和国家安全方面获得成功。美国的"资本主义演变"在2008年是不言而喻的。为了从经济危机中恢复过来和平衡全球经济,要求美国对中国"开放",使美国的资本主义适应美国、中国和全球经济的需要,把美国的和中国的经济成就和国家安全协调起来,建立永久的伙伴关系。

邓小平首创了中国现在的以和平共处原则为基础的常规心态、目标和战略,中国人把这叫做中国和其他国家的"双赢"。中国的"双赢"与和平共处的心态和战略,比美国现在的传统零和心态和战略,有着根本的不同,在本世纪实现美国和中国的经济成就和国家安全需要方面,要更加有效得多。

美国的经济安全和国家安全以及美国的理想和主要的超级大国地位的合法性方面,有一个巨大的讽刺:它们依靠美国的多数裁定民主制、人权和法制这些理想获得成功的榜样。具有讽刺意味的是,许多美国人没有认识到,只有美国尊重并接受中国的和谐社会与和谐世界这样的"特殊性",并且对中国实行和平共处原则,美国的理想才能保持下去并且在全世界具有魅力。这个世纪新的经济现实和防务现实意味着,只有对中国和所有国家实行和平共处原则,美国才能重新为它的和其他国家的安全成就和经济成就奠定一个长久的基础。

为了实现这样的成功,人类必须向两个"新学派"学习: "中美关系新学派"和"人类被毁灭挑战的新学派"。这两个学派可以使我们超越"文明冲突"和"冲突原则"的理念,这些理念一直是美国同中国的关系和整个国际关系的基础。这些新学派是一个单一的"学派"的两个不同侧面,它们用

理念框架中的一个新观点取代了"文明冲突"的观点;这个观点建立在文明合作的基础上,在192个国家中作为新的普世价值观推行,中国单方面执行了30年的和平共处原则。

美国执行文明合作的理念框架、总体战略和建立在和平共处原则基础上的对华关系,就将完成中国单方面运用文明合作与和平共处原则而开始的过程;完成这个过程,就可以建立一个新的比较公平安全的国际体系。中国遵循邓小平的忠告,以"低调"的方式,建成了一个新的、比较繁荣的中国经济和世界经济以及一个比较安全的国际新体系;这个新的国际体系建立在和平共处原则的基础上,而不是建立在冲突原则的基础上。中国引领人类奉行和平共处原则;美国现在需要做出回应,参与中国奉行和平共处原则,以便在其他191个国家中恢复美国的经济权威、军事权威和道义权威。

中国对待美国关系的常规政策和战略具有创新和负责任的特点,从而 较好地满足了和平与繁荣的需要,缓和了中国、美国和其他190个国家面 临的危险,这比美国传统的零和游戏心态、政策和战略要好。

这是中国和美国各自做法的一个方面;中国把它的做法叫做"双赢"; 具有零和游戏心态、目标和战略的美国则发现很难超越"美国中心"的理念 和沟通隔阂。从根本上来说,这些隔阂是中国和美国不同的目标、不同的重 点,以及不同的遗产和不同的文化造成的。但是,美国和中国的需要则是相 同的。中国和美国都需要尊重、经济增长、社会稳定、政治稳定、本土安全 和国际和平。当美国的新总统、决策人和美国人民跟中国的国家主席和决策 人共同合伙设计与执行强调互利的政策和合作与和平共处的时候,美国和中 国就将实现一种对人类的经济繁荣、生存与发展极其重要的关系。当美国这 样做的时候,美国的多数裁定民主制、人权和法制的理想跟中国的和谐社会 与和谐世界以及和平共处原则等想法,将有助于引领所有的国家进入一个经 济上更美好、军事上更安全、道德上更稳定的时代。

目前的"修正"被叫做"全球金融、经济危机",是20世纪的和21世纪的全球金融、经济体系和国际体系之间的过渡。这种"修正"之所以产生,是因为全球经济不平衡。保罗·肯尼迪1986年出版的《大国的兴衰》认为,"按照美国的国土面积、人口和自然资源,它大概应当拥有世界财富和动力

的16-18%,但是,到1945年这个比例已经上升到40%。"肯尼迪强调指出,美国没有奉行可持续的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略,"对美国最严重的威胁可能来自美国人未能作出明智的调整,以适应更加新的世界秩序。"新学派的观点认为,这种"修正"之所以产生,是因为全球经济不平衡,以及在20世纪的全球金融体系、经济体系和国际体系加速向21世纪过渡的情况下,美国未能明智地部署它的经济权威、军事权威和道义权威。

现在美国已经陷入不可避免的经济、军事和道义危机,在这种情况下,如果还不摆脱文明冲突的做法和美国一直奉行的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略,那么,这种"修正"将变成对所有国家的一场经济、军事和道义灾难。

这些危机是美国政府和美国人民没有履行华盛顿总统的告别演说中所 提出的忠告而造成的。中国之所以获得成功,是因为中国政府和中国人民履 行了邓小平的忠告。新学派认为,如果结合道义权威动用经济权威和军事权 威,美国、中国和人类就可以获得成功。

只有互相尊重、互惠的全球化、真正互利的解决方案、协作平衡,才能够建立平衡的全球经济。不管是美国,还是中国,如果采用零和游戏心态和战略,不协调21世纪世界上这两个最大经济体的经济成功和国家安全,那么,全球经济将不可能平衡。传统的美国经济政策、对外政策和防务战略的理念框架是不可能协调美国和中国的成就的。

新学派使突破成为可能

新学派的理念框架、总体战略和议程可以做到:

- 突破理念上的隔阂,使美国人认识到美国和中国必须对21世纪的需要和危险采取真正互利的解决方案;
- 2. 建立美国和中国之间新型经济、地缘政治伙伴关系,从而使人们对 美国的、中国的和世界的经济生存能力产生新的信心,并领导一个 根据和平共处原则运转的比较稳定、比较安全的新型国际体系。

美中两国总统的领导集团和个人共同合作,落实本白皮书的建议,从而 开创一个新时代:

- 1. 中国和美国建立真正互惠的经济、地缘政治伙伴关系;
- 2. 在总体战略的互相尊重、互惠的全球化、互惠的解决方案和协作平 衡的基础上建立稳定的美国、中国和全球经济:
- 3. 美国和中国共同合作采购能源、治理环境和稳定经济;
- 4. 美国采取新的对外政策和防务战略;
- 5. 由中美两国共同领导建立在和平共处原则基础上的新型国际体系, 取代目前建立在"冲突原则"基础上的国际体系;
- 6. 共同透明地部署新型防务体系,对付恐怖主义和大规模毁灭性武器 的扩散;
- 7. 引导决策者、学者、智囊团和媒体领袖理解并接受新学派的观点, 把它作为新的常规视角;
- 8. 采用电视记录片将系列丛书影像化,阐释中美伙伴关系为什么能够获得成功以及如何获得成功,从而普及和推广新学派理论,使中美两国民众、使美国的民主党和共和党理解使美中伙伴关系获得成功的必要性。

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《美中伙伴关系系列丛书》对 研究美中关系新学派的概述

这个"概述"介绍了中国社会科学院等专家认为创立了美中关系研究新 学派的系列专著。

《中国和美国对人类未来共同承担责任》和它的姊妹篇《奥巴马执政后的中美关系:应对共同挑战》是关于未来的历史。我们把它们称作甲篇和乙篇,因为它们从不同的视角研究了人类如何才能防止毁灭的命运,这是21世纪根本性的对外政策、防卫战略和科学问题。

30年来,中国的三代决策人都研究过这个根本性的问题,而美国的决策人则无动于衷。这两本书有助于改变美国和全世界对外政策和防务战略辩论的重点,这对于实现互惠的解决方案至关重要。这两卷书探讨了:

- 1. 根本问题是要防止美国的文明、中国的文明和全人类延续的失败。
- 2. 美国人是否理解中国对和平的真诚,这就是中国的"特殊性"。
- 3. 在21世纪的挑战面前,在武器和科技可能招致人种毁灭的时代,美国宪法的多数裁定民主制、人权和法制这些"美国的理想"和"美国的特殊性"是否能够应付这样的挑战?
- 4. 为了美国和中国的生存,为了"美国的特殊性"和"中国的特殊性"实现自己的目标,美国和中国必须成为成功的伙伴。

第一卷和第二卷阐述了新学派的观点和传统的"美国中心"观点与"中国中心"观点。

《奥巴马执政后的中美关系: 应对共同挑战》探讨了:

- 1. 美国和中国在亚洲和全球的利益在战略上的融合。
- 2. 中国的特殊性:和谐社会与和谐世界的梦想。
- 3. 美国的特殊性: 宪法多数裁定民主制、人权和法制普遍适用的梦想。
- 4. 把邓小平对中国人民的忠告,跟华盛顿、林肯、罗斯福和肯尼迪四位总统对美国人民的忠告,跟传统的美国政策制定和学术研究,作一番比较。
- 把美国的人权和法制普遍性的理想与中国的和谐社会与和谐世界的理想所产生的道义权威结合起来。

《中美两国对人类未来承担的共同责任》探讨了:

- 1. 在武器和科技可能招致人种毁灭的时代,我们面临人类被毁灭的挑战,这是"人类的新学派"。
- 2. 需要各种文明之间的合作和人性的改造。
- 3. "冲突原则"与和平共处原则。
- 美国和中国对"人性"有不同的观点,对如何实现"好政府"和 "好社会"以及如何实现"社会进步"有不同的方法。

《中美两国对人类未来承担的共同责任》和《奥巴马执政后的中美关系:应对共同挑战》提出了唯一可行的方案,可以解决21世纪攸关人类被毁灭的根本性对外政策、防务战略和科学问题,做出充分的反应来保护美国人民免遭美国传统的对外政策和防务战略所带来的危险。这个方案有两个十分重要的"新总体战略"和议程:

《美中伙伴关系系列丛书》对研究美中关系新学派的概述

- 1. 中国和美国必须建立真正忠实的伙伴关系,用以稳定在20世纪设计 的不稳定的国际体系,同时创立和领导一个为21世纪设计的稳定的 国际体系。
- 2. 美国和中国的伙伴关系应当成功地领导人类进行"曼哈顿工程II"的研究工作,着重研究如何防止人类的毁灭,开发新型防御体系,利用道义权威,安抚8种文明、192个国家的65亿人民。

这两本书在国际关系的学术研究和政策制定方面实现了观念上的根本性 突破,提出了7条"冲突原则"的崭新理念框架。这些"冲突原则"是人性中 固有的,处处表现在除中国以外的所有国家的对外政策和防务战略行为中。 这7条"冲突原则"是:

- 1. 公平伪善
- 2. "听我的话,照我的样子做"不容异说
- 3. "照我说的作,别管我怎么做"非道义权威
- 4. "照我这样做"道义权威
- 5. "我们比你们好"傲慢
- 6. "我们的国家对与错"偏见
- 7. 冲突欲、权力欲和欺人欲

这两本书认为,美国现在必须把它的对外政策和防务战略置基于1796年 华盛顿总统告别演说中提出的忠告和肯尼迪总统在1963年古巴导弹危机以后 提出的忠告之上。这些忠告非常类似于邓小平向中国人民提出的忠告。华盛 顿总统和肯尼迪总统的忠告跟美国现在的对外政策和防务战略所依据的"冲 突原则"是不一致的,而同中国执行的和平共处原则却是极其吻合的。换一 个方式提出本书的论点,就是:

- 1. 美国的对外政策和防务战略现在执行的是冲突原则;
- 2. 如果美国或者中国在没有道义权威的情况下使用它们的经济权威和

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军事权威,在它们的关系中实施"冲突原则",那将导致它们的文明的失败,使人类毁灭。

3. 美国、中国和人类的生存要求美国改变它的对外政策和防务战略的 心态与目标,美国和中国应当作为伙伴带领192个国家创立新的防务 体系,只在具有道义权威的情况下才动用军事权威。

这两本书开创了新的研究领域,提出了21世纪的根本性问题,集中探讨了中国的经济政策和防务战略30年来单方面成功执行的和平共处原则。这些对美国、中国和人类的生存至关重要的理念突破并没有得到美国决策人和学者的重视。

中国30年来成功地单方面把自己的经济和对外政策与防务战略置基于和平共处原则之上。中国的观点是,美国现在必须把它的对外政策和防务战略置基于1796年华盛顿总统告别演说中提出的忠告和肯尼 迪总统1963年在古巴导弹危机以后提出的忠告之上。这些忠告十分类似邓小平对中国人民提出的忠告。

《正在形成的中美两国伙伴关系:崭新的现实主义视角》,本书探讨了这样一个观点:美国和中国的安全利益正在趋同。邓小平既是中国的,也是美国的和全人类的最先进的、最有洞察力的对外政策理论家和防务战略家。 美国面临的21世纪的根本问题要求美国改变它的对外政策目标和战略,转而将其置于中国开创的和平共处原则之上,从而创立由美中两国的伙伴关系领导的崭新国际体系。这一点对对美国、中国和人类的经济进步和国际安全是至关重要的。

本书结合当前美国的经济危机和军事危机,探讨了由美国设计、领导和主宰的当前国际体系的失败和不能持久的原因。当前美国的经济危机和军事危机是由于美国在没有充分的道义权威的情况下动用美国经济权威和军事权威而造成的。既然目前的国际体系是不能持久的,不可能保持繁荣与和平,不能监护和安抚8种文明、192个国家的65亿人,所以美国的传统对外政策目标和防务战略也无法在21世纪保护美国的经济安全和国家安全。

因此,本书研究了中国的和谐社会与和谐世界的理念。中国自1978年

《美中伙伴关系系列丛书》对研究美中关系新学派的概述

以来,作为一个负责任的大国,运用经济权威和道义权威,带头单方面执行了和平共处原则,因而避免了饥饿,取得了繁荣,同所有的191个国家保持了和平。

本书探讨了杰斐逊总统的一个论点,他认为,美国人民是人类最终权力的安全保管库。本书研究了这样的问题:美国两党多数裁定政治制度、法制和人权是否能够在21世纪的条件下生存下去;美国人民是否能够在武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代选出恰当的领导人和政策,以确保美国、中国和人类不至于失败。

本书把一些政界人士的言论作了一番比较:在18、19、20世纪防止了美国失败的四位总统的忠告;他们的忠言跟美国第43任总统的对外政策和防务战略,跟2008年9位主要的美国总统候选人的言论,跟美国传统思维的决策人和学者的言论,是完全不同的。本书阐释了在21世纪美国应当履行,但是却一直没有履行华盛顿总统1796年告别演说中提出的忠告、林肯总统在1861-1865年提出的忠告、罗斯福总统在1941年提出的忠告和肯尼迪总统在1963提出的忠告。本书指出,这四位总统防止了美国的毁灭,他们的忠告跟邓小平对中国人民的忠告、跟和平共处原则是一致的。具有悲剧意味的是,这四位最伟大的美国总统的忠告,跟美国第43任总统的对外政策和防务战略,跟2008年主要的美国总统竞选者的对外政策和防务战略,跟美国决策人和学者的传统对外政策、防务战略和分析,都是不一致的。

本书作了这样的假设:既然美国人可以理解华盛顿、林肯、罗斯福和肯尼迪四位总统对美国人民提出的忠告的诚意、智慧,而且被证明是成功的,那么,美国人现在应当也可以理解邓小平对中国人民提出的忠告的诚意、智慧,而且被证明是成功的,中国三代领导人遵循邓小平的忠告,已经成功地加以贯彻。

《中美关系新战略:跨越零和博弈的中美双赢之路》论述了为什么美国和中国、两国的公司、美国的资本主义和中国充满活力的、具有中国特色的新型资本主义,必须作为真正忠实的全球伙伴而共同繁荣,以及如何做到这一点。博弈论阐明了美中两国复杂的关系,世界上最强大的发达国家和世界上最强大的发展中国家处于一种互动的关系中;严重的经济衰退对两个国家

都是不能接受的,会导致没有赢家的冲突。本书的观点是,只有双赢的心态和战略才是正确的选择。传统的美国观点是,中国将垮台,或者不可避免地将变成民主国家,或者继续成为一个有弹力的独裁国家,停滞不前。本书阐述了实际情况:中国不可能,不会,也不应当抄袭美国的政治制度;中国过早地变成美国式多数裁定民主制度,既不符合美国的经济利益或国家安全利益,也不符合中国的经济利益或国家安全利益。

本书创立了一种崭新的、现实主义的理念框架,认为美国是一个"权利社会、多数裁定民主制和法制(Rule of Law)社会",中国是一个繁荣的行政许可社会、协商一致民主制和法治制度(Rule by Law),中国创立了一个成功的资本主义新模式。这种新的理念框架是非常需要的,只有这样才能理解、接受和协调具有美国特色的资本主义和具有中国特色的资本主义。

《中美商业新战略:开创中美商务双赢的未来》阐述了只有成功地建立一种新的真正的全球合营公司模式,才能产生持久的双赢心态、双赢的价值观和双赢的战略,把正在走向全球的中国公司和美国公司协调起来。本书认为,20世纪的中国合营公司和外资公司不再能够充分地协调美中两国的公司,因为21世纪的全球经济是不平衡的,正在迅速发生变化。

《中美两国的新经济伙伴关系:经济权威和道义权威的胜利》,本书阐述了美国现在的政府和未来的政府必须采用新的总体战略来应对中国的互相尊重和互惠的全球化,以便实现思想上的突破,用互惠的解决方案和平衡的协作,解决金融、经济危机,平衡美中两国的经济,成功地建立这两个国家的伙伴关系。书中阐述了:

- 1. 如何利用互相尊重和互惠的全球化,使中国帮助美国实现新的互利解决方案和协作的平衡,以便重新平衡美国的经济,防止经济迅速的恶化和美国人生活水准的下降。
- 美国经济权威失败,未能使美国的公司和美国的资本主义跟上中国 迅速增长的经济权威和道义权威。
- 美国和中国用来管理经济的政府心态和战略,虽然各不相同,但具有互补性。

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- 4. 中国是一党执政模式,美国是两党执政模式,美国自2000年以来出现了经济、商业管理不善的危机。而中国从1978年至2008年则取得了经济、商业管理的成就。
- 5. 高盛和中国政府的管理风格有相似之处。
- 6. 但两者的目标不同,高盛的全球金融服务系统为少数股东、雇员和客户服务,而中国政府的全球服务系统则是为15亿公民和其他5亿利益相关者服务。
- 7. 为什么美国财政部长保尔森最好的、最聪明的零和游戏对华战 略失败了,本书阐述的奥巴马总统新的对华总体战略将如何获 得成功。
- 8. 由于现在中国公司正在走向世界,银行、汽车、能源、环保等行业的外国独资公司和合资公司的价值观就难以持久了。
- 9. 自从2005年以来,新的全球性合资公司模式就没有取得什么进展。
- 10. 在美国的和全球的经济危机以后,中国现在的经济问题和计划。

本书认为,不论是美国,还是中国,没有道义权威的经济权威是不可能 持久的,只有具有道义权威的经济权威才可能持久。这个论点是美中两国过 去的事业和21世纪新的经济伙伴关系成败的关键。

《中美关系研究领域的新学派》,本书概述了这部丛书中头5部书的主要观点,认为美中两国建立伙伴关系是至关重要的,否则,美中两国和全人类就无法生存。美国和中国必须兴旺起来,作为伙伴领导世界,实现192个国家之间的和平:

- 本书认为,新的互相尊重的心态和互利的战略是美国和中国唯一的 选择。而零和游戏的竞争者只会滑入贸易战、冷战、武装冲突和生 态灾难。
- 2. 两个文明,如果发生冲突,而不是合作,那么,两者都将失败。
- 3. 美国传统的观点是,认为中国将垮台,或者不可避免地变成民 主国家,或者继续保持弹性的独裁制度,停滞不前。这种观点不是现实主义的。

- 4. 传统的、非现实主义的美国观点认为,美国和中国之间可能发生贸 易战和武装冲突,甚至这是不可避免的。
- 5. 让中国复制美国的政治制度和经济制度,或者让中国过早地变成美国式多数裁定民主制,那既不符合美国的经济利益和国家安全利益。 益,也不符合中国的经济利益和国家安全利益。
- 6. 新的现实主义的理念框架认为,美国是"权利社会、多数裁定民主制和法制",而中国则是繁荣的行政许可社会、协商一致民主制和法治。中国成功的资本主义新模式在美国发生金融危机和经济危机以前是非常成功的。新的理念框架对于理解、接受和调整具有美国特色的资本主义和具有中国特色的资本主义是至关重要的。
- 7. 21 世纪现实的政治问题是,美国宪法中固有的双赢价值观——法制、互相宽容、人权、美国宪法的零和游戏多数裁定选举程序是否在21世纪的环境中仍然可以继续存在于美国。
- 8. 21世纪的根本对外政策、防务战略、科学研究问题、所需要的规划、贯彻和平共处原则的解决方案。

《为了中国:邓小平的意义》阐释了中国对中美两国的对外政策和防务战略问题的解决方案,从"美国中心"视角和"中国中心"视角介绍了21世纪中国第一位领导人的道义哲学和政治哲学。本书的观点是,邓小平是21世纪中国、美国和全人类的最先进、最成功的对外政策和防务战略理论家和政治家。

本书受到启发,认为乔治·华盛顿1796年的告别演说和邓小平1978年的讲话有惊人的相似之处。邓小平说: "有了稳定的改革开放政策,中国的未来就大有希望。"这两位从事革命战争和创立、领导自己国家的军事、政治领袖的成功生涯是美国人民和中国人民性格的试金石。本书的假设是,既然美国人牢记、理解并执行乔治·华盛顿的理想和对美国人的忠告,他们也可以理解并执行邓小平对中国的忠告。

新学派的理念框架

新学派的各种观点整合到一起,构成了适合本世纪经济安全和国家安全 现实的理念框架和议程。这种新的理念框架向美国、中国和其他190国家的65 亿人阐明了下述问题:新学派的总体战略构建了21世纪的和平大厦,有助于恢复世界的持续繁荣,因此,必须落实这种新的战略,以便使人类可以继续生存和向前发展。

21世纪的根本问题

美国政府2008年指出,它预计,在2013年以前,美国可能遭到核武器或者生物武器的灾难性袭击。2001年9-11美国世界贸易中心和五角大楼遭到非致命性武器的袭击,凸显了每一个国家的弱点,打碎了美国人的安全幻想。

如果袭击的目标还包括核电站或者生物武器研究中心的话,后果将是不堪设想的。

"人类被毁灭的挑战",就是说,在武器和科技可能招致人种毁灭的时代,人种基因库可能作为一种生物体被彻底摧毁。人类被毁灭的前奏正在加速发展,其中包括:文明冲突、恐怖主义和战争的扩散、能招致人种毁灭的武器和科技的扩散与发展、失败的国家和正在失败的国家、人为的生态破坏。

21世纪相互依赖的世界经济、国家的和国际的管理系统、支撑个人生命和基因库的生态系统等,都经不起一次灾难性的袭击或者意外事件。作为个人,作为192个国家,我们在一个难以控制的、新的原始世界里是无法生存的,而任何一个掌握能招致人种毁灭的武器和科技的人是可能把这样的世界强加于我们的。在未来冲突中,侵略者或者防卫者是可能使用人类创造的各种武器和科技手段的。某些心怀不满的个人也会这样做。

"招致人种毁灭的武器和科技"是指通常所说的"大规模毁灭性武器",这种武器的大规模使用,会彻底摧毁作为一种生物体的人类基因库。 "招致人种毁灭的武器和科技"的扩散甚至可以使得一个人或者少数人,不管是一个国家领导人或者一个小集团,可以用化学武器、生物武器或者其他致命性武器,使我们大家都遭到毁灭。

现在,自杀性个人已经经常使用非致命性武器使我们成为一个自杀性的 人种。不管我们是作为个人,还是作为人种被毁灭,如今成为对我们大家至 关重要的一个问题。

现在人类的感情本能、思维程序、行为举止和防务系统,都是在"能招致人种毁灭的武器和科技时代"以前的40亿年中间演变起来的。现在,演变得更加迅速了,已经达到这样一个阶段:如果我们不尽速建立新的防卫系统,克服人性中的弱点,那么,我们遭受致命性武器的袭击、战争或者意外事件,只是时间问题。我们知识的增长使我们成为一个受到威胁的物种,处于自我毁灭的边缘,必须赶快转而致力于比较安全地控制,进而解决人类被毁灭的挑战。

21世纪的新议程

解决人类被毁灭的挑战这个根本问题是一个"新学派":决策人、学者、媒体领袖和全人类必须采取新的心态、战略、议程、方案、国际体系和新的防务体系,以便监护和安抚192个国家、7-8种文明的65亿多人。

经济发展、对外政策、防务战略、国际体系和科学研究,如果不能防止人类被毁灭,那么,它们在"能招致人种毁灭的武器和科技时代"是有缺

新学派的理念框架

陷的。我们必须认识到这种缺陷,代之以合作互利的经济发展、对外政策、 有效的防务战略、稳定的国际体系和科学研究,以便保证65亿多人的和平共 处。

新学派的观点、总体战略和议程提供了唯一适宜的、有效的方案,可以使人类继续不断地前进。必须防止别的办法,因为它们对宪法多数裁定民主制、人权、法制等"美国理想"和繁荣、和平、和谐社会、和谐世界等"中国理想"会造成破坏。人类被毁灭的前奏正在加速,其中包括:人类的感情本能、思维程序和行为举止造成的文明冲突。

新学派关于文明合作的观点

塞缪尔·亨廷顿1996年出版的《文明的冲突与世界秩序的重建》一书和 贾雷德·戴蒙德2005年出版的《崩溃:一些社会是如何选择其成败》一书和艾尔·戈尔2007年出版的《一个难堪的真理》以及其他许多警世之作反映出人们 开始认识,但还不是充分理解文明冲突和人类有缺陷的决策过程对人类的生存造成的挑战。

文明之间的冲突,再加上信息能及时传遍全球,这就使得人们互相不能容忍和施加暴力的挑衅变得比以前更加明显。信息的这种传播,同人性、"知识革命"和致命性武器的发展结合起来,就使得全球65亿人更加不稳定,危及他们的生存。在武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代,各个文明之间应当是合作,而不是冲突。

在这个时代,文明的冲突将停止,因为我们可以成功地用文明之间的合作取代冲突,因为文明之间的冲突将毁掉文明本身。

在实现和平共处原则方面中国的领导作用和美国的责任

武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代是美国开创的:它的曼哈顿计划发明 了原子武器和核武器,美国为了迫使日本无条件投降,两次动用了它的灾难

性军事权威。

为了应对武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代,中国这个现存的最古老的 文明、人口最多的国家,倡导了和平共处的原则,运用于它的经济政策、对 外政策和防务战略上,显示它的经济成就、军事效力和道义权威。在卡特、 里根、老布什、克林顿和小布什担任美国总统期间,中国的历届领导人对世 界其他191个国家成功地执行了和平共处原则,把这作为中国的经济发展、对 外政策和防务战略的基础。在美国的民主党或者共和党总统执政期间,中国 同所有的191个国家和平相处,它比历史上任何一个国家或者任何一个文明更 大、更快地繁荣起来。如果中国没有倡导和执行和平共处原则的话,它是不 可能获得成功的。

中国单方面倡导和平共处原则的现实主义,并且获得了成功。这是21世纪192个联合国成员国的国际体系唯一可行的基础。

美国现在有责任追随中国的带头作用,开始最安全地、最有意义地同占世界22%人口的中国实行和平共处原则,把这作为它的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略的基础。

中国当初在毛泽东的领导下,在冷战时期的1964年发展了自己的核武器来保护自己。后来,在邓小平及其继承人的领导下,中国保卫自己的办法是倡导并在1979年以后单方面执行和平共处原则。在人类历史上之所以能够出现这样的突破,是因为邓小平和随后的几代中国领导人认识到,中国的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略不需要,也不应当建立在这样假设的基础上:美国或者俄国会故意在武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代发动一场新的世界大战。

正像1963年古巴导弹危机以后的肯尼迪总统那样,邓小平在1978年掌权时认识到,在武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代,"战争的新面貌"使得战争无法取胜,只有加以制止。不过,美国和苏联只是由于务实领导和幸运的结合,才在1962年避免了一场核战争。邓小平认识到,中国经济发展和国家安全的重要条件是1954年中国总理周恩来和印度总理尼赫鲁共同提出的和平共处原则,即:

新学派的理念框架

- 1. 互相尊重主权和领土完整;
- 2. 互不侵犯:
- 3. 互不干涉对方的内政:
- 4. 平等互利:
- 5. 和平共处。

中国是一个主要的核武器拥有国,占世界22%的人口,30年来一直执行和平共处原则。美国和其他许多国家把它们的对外政策和防务战略建立在新学派所说的"冲突原则"的基础上。由于这个缘故,美国未能仿效中国,超越冲突原则而执行和平共处原则。由于这个缘故,美国和许多其他国家认为联合国在贯彻联合国宪章确定的目标和原则方面是没有效果的。

和平共处原则也体现在联合国宪章中。必须使联合国有能力贯彻联合国 宪章的主要目标和原则。要做到这一点,就必须美中两国结成伙伴关系,领 导一个21世纪的崭新国际体系才行。联合国其他191个国家通常采用的传统零 和游戏心态和战略体现的是冲突原则。

新学派关于冲突原则的观点

新学派认为,在美国对华政策中必须停止使用体现冲突原则的零和游戏 心态和战略。冲突原则是美国传统的对华经济政策、对外政策和防务战略的 核心。

它们跟体现在中国对美国的对外政策和防务战略中的和平共处原则是截 然对立的。冲突原则是人性中固有的,因而在国与国之间的关系中几乎无所 不在,它们表现为:

- 1. 公平伪善
- 2. "听我的话,照我的样子做"不容异说
- 3. "照我说的作,别管我怎么做"非道义权威
- 4. "照我这样做"道义权威

- 5. "我们比你们好"傲慢
- 6. "我们的国家对与错"偏见
- 7. 冲突欲、权力欲和欺人欲

中国的对外政策和防务战略超越了人性中的冲突原则。中国成功执行了和平共处原则,这种独一无二的"特殊性"是一个重要原因,说明为什么美国的决策人迄今为止还没有认识到,中国率先倡导和实行和平共处原则的重大好处,也没有对此做出响应。

下面这一点是很重要的,也可能是悲剧性的:美国的决策人和分析家没有认识到,也没有集中注意由于美国和其他一些国家把它们的关系建立在冲突原则的基础上而对美国的经济安全和国家安全造成的危险。这一点之所以重要,是因为如果美国领导人及其对华政策和战略未能超越冲突原则的话,那就不可能纠正人性中的冲突原则对国家关系和文明产生的重大负面影响。

它之所以可能是悲剧性的,是因为人性和国家行为中的冲突原则,在武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代正在迅速演变的情况下,可能毁灭人类。

美国现在认识到并且效法中国的榜样,也执行和平共处的原则,是至关重要的,这样才能解决美国的决策人和学者还没有处理的这个根本问题。此外,对中国和其他国家执行和平共处原则,可以更加有效地、花费较少地处理和解决美国的决策人和学者集中注意的传统经济政策、对外政策和防务战略问题。如果美国的决策和学术研究在这方面失误,那对美国、中国和人类会造成悲剧性后果。作为美国的经济政策、对外政策和防务政策之基础的冲突原则已经失败了,未能充分保护美国经济安全和国家安全。

以前没有注意冲突原则在人性和国际关系中所起的这种主导作用;这是 新型理念框架中的一个重要新观点,它要求:

- 1. 美国人要理解中国;
- 2. 中国和美国要协调美国和中国在21世纪的经济成就,要协调在武器和科技能招致人种毁灭时代的国家安全。

新学派的理念框架

只要美国人好好想想并且理解"美中关系新学派"的观点、总体战略和议程,美国的决策人、学者和美国人民就可以更好地理解中国执行和平共处原则的深刻文化基础、诚意、决心和可靠性。中国之所以倡导和依靠和平共处原则,除了这些理由外,还有一个理由。和平共处原则在促进中国15亿人的经济进步、军事安全和道义权威方面发挥了极好的作用。在中国看来,和平共处原则和中国执行和平共处原则的政策和战略,既使中国获得持久的极大好处,也使世界上其他191个国家获得极大的好处。中国人认为这是"常识"。新学派的观点、总体战略和议程是用一种更加"美国中心"的方式来阐释,"中国中心"的观点显然是真实的、有说服力的,如果"美国中心"的决策人和学者没有想到这一点的话。

新学派的观点还认识到,并且明确阐明,冲突原则:

- 1. 是20世纪美国设计和主宰的国际体系的运作原则;
- 是美国对所有国家、特别是对中国的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略的核心;
- 3. 在21世纪,它不能保护美国的经济安全或者军事安全,也不能保护 其他191个国家这方面的安全;
- 4. 它是美国传统的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略的根本依据;
- 5. 它必须代之以和平共处原则,作为美国对中国和其他和平国家的基本原则;
- 6. 它是美国决策人、学者、媒体领袖和美国人民具有零和游戏心态和 战略的根本原因;
- 7. 由于这个缘故,美国人没有解决这个根本问题,也没有解决威胁美国和其他191个国家的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略问题。只有超越以冲突原则为基础的决策过程和分析办法,才能解决这些问题。
- 8. 传统的美国决策人、学者、媒体领袖没有认识到,没有理解,因而 也没有利用为美国的经济成就和国家安全提供的大好机会。中国30 年来建立在和平共处原则基础上的经济发展、对外政策和防务战略 为美国在21世纪的成就和生存提供了这样的机会。

中国特殊性

经过五千年的经济、社会和政治的试验,中国谋求和平的天才和在全世界对191个国家推行和平共处原则的做法,就是"中国的特殊性"。新学派的观点认为,"中国的特殊性"表现在倡导推行和平共处原则;这是中国文明从美国文明的"美国特殊性"延伸而来的必然结果。新学派认为,中国用中国的"特殊性"领导人类,美国用美国的"特殊性"领导人类。两者对人类都非常有价值。美国的决策人和美国人民理解中国的"特殊性",是美国更加尊重中国的重要组成部分,只有这样才能对中国实行有效的政策和战略。

美国特殊性

新学派还认为,如果美国不效法中国在带头实行和平共处原则方面的"特殊性",也采纳和实行和平共处原则的话,那么,美国的"特殊性"就不可能更新自己或者生存下去。如果美国效法中国,则将创立新型国际体系,这两个最大的经济体协调自己的经济安全和国家安全。21世纪的一个稳定的国际体系应当是由主要的发达国家和主要的发展中国家合伙设计和运转起来的,用以满足所有192个发达国家和发展中国家经济发展的平衡需要,而不是主要依靠G7或者G8或者G20或者仅仅是美国和中国的G2。

在21世纪,美国和中国都是资本主义国家,都需要一个持续稳定的全球经济与和平。中国创造了世界上增长最快的经济,但仍然是第一百位最穷的国家,它在发展中国家和发达国家都很有影响,有着独特的理解力。但是,中国跟美国不一样,它是从发展中国家的视角看待其他191个国家的。发展中国家需要一个更加平衡、更加公平和互惠的国际体系。中国和美国应当协调它们的经济安全和国家安全,但不是让"G2"实施一种协调一致的、剥削性的零和游戏心态和战略联合体,在没有道义权威的情况下动用其联合起来的经济权威和军事权威。美国霸权20世纪的结果说明霸权内在的脆弱性、不

新学派的理念框架

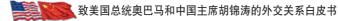
稳定性和难以承受的费用开支。邓小平的政策谋求各个国家之间可持续的平衡。

不论是中国的"特殊性",还是美国的"特殊性",都不可能在没有其他190个国家看到的道义权威的情况下,动用经济权威和军事权威来加以实施。谋求实施中国的和美国的"特殊性",牵涉到让192个成员国的联合国运转起来,而不是让新的"G2"为自己谋取私利,要让主要的发达国家和主要的发展中国家结成伙伴,负责任地协助管理一个稳定平衡的世界新秩序。

美国和中国结成伙伴关系,实现永久的、互利的经济安全和军事安全,就可以消灭美国文明和中国文明发生冲突的危险。这样一来,美中伙伴关系就将为所有其他国家树立一个非凡的合作楷模,而不是美国"特殊性"和中国"特殊性"之间的冲突。如果这两个拥有最大的经济体、在21世纪最有影响的国家不能互利地协调其经济安全和国家安全,那么,美国的"特殊性"就不具有魅力了,而中国的"特殊性"也不可能实现。

新学派认为,21世纪的根本现实是:传统的美国经济政策、对外政策和防务战略没有认识到:

- 1. 如果传统的文明冲突观点、零和游戏心态和战略以及冲突原则在21 世纪仍然保持下去,那么,人类是没有前途的。
- 2. 如果没有美国和中国互利的伙伴关系,那么,不论是美国的经济安全和国家安全,还是中国的经济安全和国家安全,不论是中国的"特殊性",都是维持不下去的。
- 3. 实现中国"特殊性"的目标和实现美国"特殊性"的目标是互利的。
- 4. 文明冲突和冲突原则使得美国的"特殊性"和中国的"特殊性"不可能实现。
- 采用和平共处原则,促使文明之间的合作,才能实现中国和美国的 "特殊性"。
- 6. 只有中国实现建立和谐社会与和谐世界这一特殊的目标,美国才有 可能实现它的向人类扩展并普遍采用多数裁定民主制、法制和人权



这些特殊的目标。

- 7. 美国要想实现把美国的特殊理想和政治制度普遍推向各个国家这一目标,那么,美国必须认同并保证中国谋求建立和谐社会与和谐世界这一特殊目标也得到实现。
- 8. 除非美国的和中国的经济安全和国家安全加以协调,实现协作平衡,否则,美国的和中国的经济利益和国家利益以及美国的和中国的特殊目标是不可能保持下去的。
- 协作平衡旨在恢复世界的信心和秩序,重新平衡世界经济,镇压恐怖主义和战争。
- 10. 如果美国采取建立在零和游戏心态和战略基础上的传统的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略,那么,协作平衡是不可能实现的,美国的和中国的经济安全和国家安全也不可能得到协调。
- 11. 传统的美国经济政策、对外政策和防务战略体现了冲突原则,冲突原则又产生了文明之间的冲突。
- 12. 新学派的新型理念框架、总体战略和议程使得美国和中国经济安全和国家安全的协调以及文明之间的合作成为可能。
- 13. 只有美国的决策人采用新学派的理念框架、总体战略和议程,美国和中国才有可能协调它们的经济安全和国家安全,因为新学派的理念框架、总体战略和议程旨在建立互相尊重、互惠的全球化和互利的、因而是行得通的解决方案。

传统的美国决策人应当接受新学派的观点:如果发生文明冲突,人类无前途可言;只有通过文明的合作,人类可持续的未来才有可能实现。

传统的美国经济政策、对外政策和防务战略将毁掉美国、中国和人类的未来传统的美国观点认为,中国将垮台,或者不可避免地变成一个民主国家,或者继续保留有弹性的独裁制度和停滞不前的经济;还有一种观点,认为中国不会垮台,但是,要面对美国这样的政策,要求中国变成美国式的民主制、法制和人权那样的社会;还有一种不现实的观点,认为中国可能、应当、必将很快成为美国那样的国家;有一种观点认为,美国和中国之间的贸

易战或者武装冲突是可能的或者是不可避免的。

新学派的观点认为,在新总统领导下,美国必须,而且可能重新定义对 华目标和设想。新学派的观点、总体战略和议程至关重要,有助于美国对中 国采取有效的政策,也有助于恢复和增强美国在21世纪的领导作用,有助于 促进美国的理想被普遍地采纳。

新学派认为,要充分地保护美国的经济安全和增强美国的国家安全,就必须改变美国的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略。中国自1949年以来一直期待和希望同美国建立战略伙伴关系,因为中国人赞美美国的非凡成就和理想主义,如华盛顿总统在告别演说中希望美国人民做到的雄心壮志,以及美国的仁爱之心和善良性格的许多事例。中国和美国彼此是最重要的和能干的盟友。美国、中国和人类共同居住在一个小小的星球上,应当有一个协作的、共同的和可行的有关人类未来的计划,因为冲突的方案是行不通的。然而,美国以前的历届政府一直在"摆弄"20世纪难以支撑的国际体系,这个国际体系并没有满足美国和其他191个发达国家和发展中国家的需要。

具有零和游戏心态和战略、拥有能毁灭人种的武器和科技的20世纪无法 维持21世纪的国际体系所要求的和平与繁荣。新的伙伴关系与双赢的心态和 战略,携手协作,共同制定和执行互相尊重、互惠的全球化和互利的解决方 案,是唯一的办法,可以取代美国和中国成为零和游戏的竞争对手,滑入贸 易战、冷战、武装冲突和生态灾难。美国决策人必须改变其传统的观点,让 "中美关系新学派"取得适当的地位,成为"常规观点",因为不可避免的 现实是,如果哪一个国家采取零和游戏战略,导致它或者另一个国家的经济 安全和国家安全失败,结果是两个国家都将成为输家。现在需要的是,如何 让这个对中国人来说非常明显的道理也让美国领导人、两大政党和3亿美国人 明白并且永远接受。

新学派的观点、总体战略和议程超越了理念和沟通方面的隔阂,提供了一个极其需要的阐释,说明在武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代,在21世纪经济全球化的情况下,美中两国如何在有道义权威配合的条件下携手合作,共同使用它们的经济权威或者军事权威,使一个繁荣与和平的国际体系运转起来。当美国改变了它的经济、对外政策目标、心态和战略,超越冲突原

则,着手实现华盛顿总统表达的"特殊性"的时候,它将使它的道义权威焕然一新,把这种道义权威辐射到全世界的市场上和各种冲突中。传统的美国经济政策、对外政策和防务目标与战略之所以必须改变,是因为它们不能保护美国的经济安全和国家安全。它们将不可避免地要改变,因为美国不执行和平共处原则,我们就将作为一个有缺点的、不能适应不断变化的环境的人种而从地球上消失。

必须用和平共处原则取代冲突原则

毁灭是一个客观的、决定性的、无所不能的标准。人类的毁灭将使人们的 意见分歧、偏见和冲突化为乌有。从那个意义上说,人类的毁灭将创造持久的 和平。但是,用肯尼迪总统的话来说,那是"坟墓的和平宁静"。美国的决策 人、学者、媒体和美国人民将在决定人类是否能够除了坟墓的和平宁静外,创 造另一种和平方面发挥主导作用。

"人类被毁灭的挑战"引起了这样一个独特的问题:发生灾难性的危险是极有可能的,这是既不可能无视,也不可能用"实力即正义"这样的政治才能与冲突原则的思维和行为来加以对付的。新学派的观点是,必须用建立在和平共处基础上的新型国际体系来应对人类可能被毁灭的挑战。我们必须用"正义即实力"取代"实力即正义",使用和平共处的原则,动用美国和中国加在一起的经济权威、军事权威和道义权威,调动一切爱好和平的国家,共同促使全球经济持续进步和稳定,共同遏制由个人或国家发动的侵略,共同保证不景气国家的稳定。

新学派还认为,我们也需要"曼哈顿II 计划"所设想的新型防御体系,这一点在第一卷第6章中有所探讨。

只有更好地控制人类的行为,才能更有效地应对人类被毁灭的挑战。要做到这一点,就必须动用美国的、中国的和其他和平国家的 经济权威和军事权威,在中期和长期内建立新型防务体系,并改造人类的性格。从眼前和长远来说,必须在和平共处原则的基础上建立美中两国的伙伴关系。做到这一点是可能的,因为中国和印度在1953-1954年就率先提出了和平共处的原则,邓小平和

他的继承人自1978年 以来把这作为中国经济政策、对外政策和防务战略的基础 而取得了成功。

美国传统的对外政策和防务战略是建立在"冲突原则"基础上。在21世纪任何国家的对外政策和防务战略建立在"冲突原则"基础上都是不正确的。新学派关注的我们未来的根本问题是:美国决策人和美国人民究竟是选择和平共处原则呢,还是选择冲突原则?对这个问题的回答关系到美国的理想、美国的政治制度和美国的决策程序的生死存亡。

美国和中国如今都在追求繁荣与和平的目标,但是,它们却怀着不同的心态、重点和战略在现今的国际体系中发挥着领导作用。美国的领导作用是在执行冲突原则的同时宣扬美国的普世价值观。中国的领导作用是贯彻和平共处的原则,许多发达的国家和发展中国家都从中国的发展中获得了好处。

传统的美国决策人和学者没有认识到,因而也未能理解中国发挥的不同的领导作用。他们预计中国也按照冲突原则行事。他们预计中国也具有零和游戏心态和战略目标,像美国一样谋求意识形态霸权、军事霸权。根据这样的假设,"美国中心"观察家认为,中美两国会发生零和游戏冲突。不过,中国认识到,在和平条件下谋求经济发展,好处要大得多。中国认识到,霸权不值得谋求,即使谋求,也不见得能够得到。因此,中国由于人口众多、辛勤工作、致力于发展经济、坚持和平共处原则的道义权威,这一切条件加在一起,使它在192个国家中成为一个领导国家。

美国的传统心态、政策和战略实际上危害着美国的利益

美国在全球的超级大国霸权地位作为它的重点。其结果是,美国面临十分危险和复杂的本土防御危机和军事危机。与此同时,美国的军事、 政治、商业和消费心态导致美国成了全世界最大的国家债务国。全球的金融、商业、社会和其他潜在的危机使美国首当其冲,同时美国又是造成这些危机的主要根源,使192个国家同受其害。美国的经 济、 军事、道义权威危机现在使中国在经济上受到损害。美国传统的零和游戏心态达到了危机点,使美国的经济安全和国家安全开始危险地下降。在美国新总统和中国国家主席的领

导下,美中关系新学派提出的互惠互利主张是完全有可能实现的,因为迫切需要这样做。这不是一个美国传统的对华关系是否应当改变的问题,而是一个如何彻底改变、深刻改善的问题。新学派对21世纪美中两国的成功提供了完整的解决方案。经过30年的实践证明以后,美国的决策者和学者应当认识到,中国把繁荣与和平作为它的重点,而不是谋求超级大国霸权,因此,中国享受到经济发展与和平的好处。美国人应当像中国人那样,把繁荣与和平作为他们的目标,把美国的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略建立在和平共处原则的基础上。新学派在第一卷和第二卷中阐释了为什么要这样做,如何做到这一点。

道义权威

尼克松总统在1972年开始美中关系的时候,向周恩来总理提出了这样的价值观:

"在过去的四天里,我们开始了消除我们之间那堵墙的漫长过程。我们 开始了会谈,认识到我们有巨大的分歧,但是,我们决心不让这些分歧妨碍 我们共同和平生活。

你们对你们的制度有深刻的信仰,我们对我们的制度同样有深刻的信仰。使我们走到一起的,不是我们的共同信仰,而是我们的共同利益和我们的共同希望。我们都希望建立新的世界秩序,使不同制度和不同价值观的国家和人民可以共同和平地生活,互相尊重,保留不同的意见,不是让战场,而是让历史来评判我们不同的观念吧。

总理先生,你已经注意到,把我们送到这里的那架飞机,名为 '76精神'。本周,我们在美国庆祝美国之父乔治·华盛顿的诞辰。他在美国的革命中领导美国取得了独立,成为我们的第一任总统。他在任期届满告别时向他的同胞说了这样话: '对所有的国家要真诚正义。同大家和谐相处。'"

新学派的观点是,在21世纪初期这些年,美国没有执行华盛顿总统的忠告。华盛顿总统的忠告是:

"对所有国家都要真诚正义。对大家和谐相处。宗教和道德要求这样

做。难道良好的政策可以不这样做吗?美国是一个自由的、开明的、在不远的将来必将是伟大的国家,它应当给人类树立一个崇高的、崭新的榜样:它的人民始终以高尚的正义和善良为导向。随着时间的流逝和事态的变化,人们坚持的暂时的好处可能消失,而这样的方略结出的果实则将提供丰硕的回报,谁能够怀疑这一点呢?上帝难道没有把一个国家的永恒福祉同它的美德联系在一起吗?"

在执行这个方略方面,最重要的莫过于排除这样的情感:对一些国家长期以来怀有根深蒂固的反感,而对另一些国家则有所偏爱。应 当把这种情感取而代之,对所有的国家培育一种正义和友善的感情。一个国家,如果对别国怀有习惯性的仇恨或者习惯性的偏爱,它便在一定程度上成为感情的奴隶。一旦成为仇恨或者偏爱的奴隶,就足以使这个国家误入歧途,放弃自己的职责和自己的利益。一个国家对另一个国家怀有恶感,很容易使双方恶语相加,造成伤害,偶尔有一点微不足道的争论,便盛气凌人,桀骜不驯。于是,常常发生冲突,导致流血事件。恶意和愤慨有时促使一个国家诉诸战争。

政府有时跟着全国的情绪,随波逐流,失去理智,屈从情感。有时,它 使国家的仇恨屈从于傲慢、野心和其他邪恶的动机所煽动起来的敌意行动。 国家的和平、有时还有自由,成为牺牲品。

华盛顿总统的忠告非常类似于邓小平的忠告。邓小平要中国永远执行和平共处的原则。华盛顿和邓小平的忠告具有永恒的道义权威,如果加以执行,可以超越各种文明之间的理念沟通隔阂,使得文明之间的合作成为可能。美国没有执行华盛顿总统的忠告,但是中国执行了,因为邓小平对中国和中国人民的忠告跟华盛顿对美国和美国人民的忠告是一样的。尼克松总统用华盛顿总统告别演说中的和平共处价值观谋求弥合美中之间理解和沟通的隔阂。新学派认为,美国本世纪在同中国的关系中没有遵循华盛顿总统的忠告。不言而喻,国家领导人和决策人必须言行一致,才能在本国公民和其他国家中享有较大的权威。冲突原则没有更大的权威。新学派的观点是,冲突原则是文明冲突的原始根源之一。华盛顿总统的忠告具有更大的权威,这是不言而喻的。冲突原则缺乏道义权威,这也是不言而喻的。华盛顿总统的忠

告劝告美国不要在没有崇高的正义、善良与和谐等道义的情况下使用自己的 经济权威和军事权威。和平共处原则,像崇高的正义、善良与和谐一样,都 是真正互利的。

30年来,中国对美国单方面成功地实行了和平共处原则。崇高的正义、 善良与和谐要求美国也对中国实行和平共处原则。

在武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代: 正义即实力

冲突原则跟"实力即正义"这样的观点是一致的。而和平共处原则跟新学派所说的"正义即实力"的观念是一致的。新学派认为,如果强者在没有道义权威的情况下使用军事权威和经济权威,最终势必引起弱者的愤怒和反抗。

新学派认为,在没有道义权威的情况下使用经济、军事力量,强者也会退化为弱者。现实情况是,在192个国家中,有比较民主的国家和不民主的国家,有"权利社会"和"行政许可社会",如果它根据"冲突原则"行事,则将变得越来越难以控制,无法完成联合国宪章的使命,不可能满足美国的经济安全和国家安全的需要,无法解决人类被毁灭的挑战。正义,即我们所说的"道义权威",在"实力"中是一个强有力的因素。没有"道义权威"的"实力"只能依靠恫吓或者强权,最终妨碍了合作,导致强权者的失败或者无政府状态。第一卷的第5章和第13章探讨了新学派定义的"道义权威"。

为了应对危机,为了美国和中国的生存,没有任何可靠的新型总体战略和领导的远见可以建立在"实力即正义"的原则之上。任何国家把它们的关系有意或者无意地建立在"实力即正义"的原则之上,它在21世纪将无法生存和繁荣。

中国社会科学院美国研究所和国际合作局同美中基金会在2008年 12月共同主持了"中美建交30年:过去、现在和将来"学术讨论会。

一位中国教授向与会者提到已故的奥克森堡教授说的话,使中国人士感到震惊。奥克森堡教授谈到美国希望中国采取的行动时说,中国是 个弱国,强国就是这样对待弱国的。当时在座的有一些美国外交官和 学者,他们一言

不发。

新学派深感忧虑的是,将来中国可能受到美国不负责任的、危险的敌意的威胁,损害中国的切身利益。美国的这种行为可能限制中国帮助美国的能力。偶然事件或者挑衅,如美国轰炸中国驻贝尔格莱德大使馆或者中国飞机跟美国间谍飞机相撞,可能使美国人对15亿中国人的赞美和尊敬受到损害。

新学派认为,中国绝对不会仿效美国对中国采用的"冲突原则",而只 会执行中国单方面实行了30年的和平共处原则。

美国和中国建立伙伴关系

新学派认为,在保证美国的经济安全和国家安全方面,中国是美国最需要的、最能干的伙伴。

因此,新学派着重研究如何才能防止美国和中国不同的"民有、民治、民享的政府"不至于从地球上消失。现有的美国对外政策和防御系统以及美国设计和主宰的国际体系不能解决我们被消灭的挑战。

美中两国政府,作为忠实执行和平共处原则的真正全球性伙伴,就能够成功地共同行动,发挥世界警察的作用。当美国决策人不运用"冲突原则",不跟中国对抗、互相竞争,而是在经济上和军事上互相合作,那么,美中两国在经济、社会、政治等方面就会变得更加稳定,不会触发贸易战、或者世界战争、或者代理人战争。只有它们成为成功的伙伴,两个国家才拥有道义权威、经济权威和军事权威,对不稳定的国家发出共同的声音:必须保持和平。监护和安抚世界的能力要求美中两国拥有可以预见的、充分合作协调的、共同的道义权威、经济权威和军事权威。这样的现实应当成为目前和今后美中两国内外政策决策、学术研究和辩论的中心点。

自从1978年中国的协商一致民主制度产生了能干的领导人,比美国的多数裁定民主制度更加成功地、更加和平地管理了经济。新学派的观点着重研究了这样一个问题:在武器和科技能招致人种毁灭的时代,美中两国应当始终产生成功的领导层。

新学派提出并着重探讨了几个关键性问题:

- 1. 如果不同中国结成地缘政治的、经济的伙伴关系,美国的日子会好过一些吗?
- 2. 如果继续保持美国传统的对华政策,而不采纳和平共处的原则,那 会更有助于美国的经济安全和国家安全吗?
- 3. 如果没有中国这样一个强大的、受人尊敬的、稳定的伙伴来支持它,美国能够单枪匹马地设计出一个192个国家的和平与繁荣所依赖的国际秩序议程吗?
- 4. 美国单枪匹马地谋求确定世界的议程和国际秩序,那有助于美国的、中国的和其他190个国家的和平与繁荣吗?

新学派认为,对所有这些问题的答案都是否定的。如果客观上对 这些问题的答案是否定的,而美国的政策仍然作出肯定的回答,那会怎么样呢?

"美国中心"的决策人和学者没有研究这些问题,他们只是设想对这些问题的回答是肯定的。中国的决策人和学者也没有公开地提出这些问题,因为自从2002年以来,胡锦涛和温家宝领导下的中国新一代领导集团也没有再提反抗美国的霸权。新学派着重研究了这些问题,因为避免不必要的权力斗争灾难的方法就是不要搞意识形态的、经济的和地缘政治的权力斗争。

博弈论观点

美国人用"大国争夺"、"文明冲突框架"、零和游戏心态和战略来处理一个3亿人口的超级大国和正在形成的15亿人口特大超级大国之间的关系。而这是在武器和科技能使人种毁灭的时代这样做的。

绝对不能认为这是如同体育竞赛或者国家冲突、欺骗、谋求私利的游戏。这种关系不仅仅是华盛顿队和北京队之间的体育比赛,有双方的球迷和观众观看。这是美国决策人和公众以这样的方式考虑美国的经济政策、对外政策与防务战略。

博弈论是一个有用的视角,阐明了美中两国之间的复杂关系,因为它提供了一个比较客观的基础。从这个观点来看,世界上这个最强大 的发达国

家和这个最强大的发展中国家处于一种互动的关系,严重的经 济衰退对两个国家都是不能接受的,那会导致两败俱伤的冲突。

传统的"美国中心"观点

在对待中国和亚洲事务上,大部分美国的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略专家在不同程度上具有"美国中心"与零和游戏的心态及战略,这把美国的政策制定和学术研究引向错误的方向,因为未能使美国面对这样的新现实:亚洲国家和其他国家的经济日益增长,降低了欧美昔日称霸一时的经济。

这样的错误误导了美国对外政策的决策人和专家,因为其他191个国家越来越不支持"美国中心"的观点。具有零和游戏心态的"美国中心"观察家倾向于"实力即正义"的提法。

"中国中心"的观点

在对待发展中国家方面, "美国中心"观点和"中国中心"观点反映了不同的对抗与合作的做法。中国自从1978年以来展示了持续的、加速发展的成就,取得了前所未有的、非凡的经济发展、深入改革、政治和社会稳定的成就。

"美国中心"的观察家不喜欢这些令人赞扬的成就。美国的决策人和学者被"美国中心"的观点误导,只考虑美国的私利,认为中国应当像美国那样行动,认为中国不如美国。中国人在非常重要的方面,想法和做法跟美国不一样,因为他们有不同的历史和文化。中国人对西方的文明作出了非凡的贡献,有许多东西值得我们学习。这一点在《正在形成的中国-美国伙伴关系:一个崭新的现实主义视角》的第13章有所论述。

美国和中国在追求本国利益方面有不同的方法,这一点在客观上已经不 那么重要了,因为中国已经抛弃了毛泽东宣扬共产主义意识形态和反对美国

霸权的这个做法。中国人民支持邓小平的观点:

中国的重点必须是有中国特色的资本主义和对外开放以及同其他国家建立和谐的关系。400多家美国大公司在中国进行了巨额投资,以应对中国实行和平共处、对外开放、建立有中国特色的资本主义的决定。

美国对华政策受到了这些公司的自身经济利益和政治影响的驱动,美国 人在这些公司中拥有巨额股权。

美国心态必须改变

美国的决策人、学者和美国人民必须在认识中国成就的意义和协调美中两国成就方面有一个巨大的心态转变,才能理解和接受新学派的观点。美国人必须理解并利用中国忠实执行和平共处原则所带来的巨大好处。美国人仔细研究了,但是,中国人认为,他们并没有真正理解中国对外政策"细小微妙的变化"。

为了理解中国的经济发展、对外政策和防务战略,美国人必须用新学派的视角来观察"细小微妙的变化"。中国人从1978年开始,超越了他们与世隔绝的心态和战略,当时金融、经济、社会一片混乱,他们传统的心态和战略显然行不通了。中国的领导人和人民改变了他们的对外政策原则和经济理论,把和平共处的原则作为他们的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略的基础。

美国的领导人、学者和媒体面临类似的文化革命。美国人能够像中国人那样改变心态和战略吗?

没有胡锦涛主席和中国政府与人民帮助美国理解并接受适合21世纪的新型理念框架、总体战略和议程,奥巴马总统的政府将无法使美国摆脱传统的心态和战略。

"美国中心" + "中国中心"的新观点

对美国人来说,把"美国中心"的观点和"中国中心"的观点结合起来,是非常重要的。在新总统领导下的美国把"中国中心"的观点同"美国

中心"的观点放在一起,就能够更好地理解:只有把美国的成就同中国的成就协调起来,美国才能取得成功。必须认识到,只有把美国和中国的经济权威、军事权威和道义权威加在一起,才能使得世界比较安全、比较稳定、比较繁荣与和平。

国内外政策和防务战略的执行者和研究者不采纳新学派的观点,他们迟早会由于武装冲突和经济混乱而葬送自己的坚持零和游戏理念的学派。美国和中国的决策者与学者应当立即共同合作,解决人类面临的根本问题。美国作为世界上最富有的国家,在20世纪就已经实现了繁荣,把美国经济推向全球,谋求使美国的目标、理想和政治制度具有普遍的意义。中国作为第一百位的最贫穷国家,把繁荣与和平、和谐社会与和谐世界作为自己的重点,以空前的速度取得了成就,实现了摆脱饥饿、摆脱政治混乱和经济混乱的目标。

美国在较早的时期就实现了繁荣,它也在以自己的方式追求和平与和谐世界。我们把这叫做"美国治下的世界和平"("Pax Americana")。许多美国人认为,中国似乎不能容忍不同的意见,不尊重人权、 法制,不尊重外国公司自由地取代本土文化和中国公司的权利。然 而,同美国相比较,中国的对外政策更能容忍别国的意见和权利。同 中国相比较,美国不大能容忍别国的意见和权利。美国的内外政策是 通过对别国的霸权追求美国的繁荣与和平的,而中国的内外政策则是通过跟所有国家和谐相处来追求自己的繁荣与和平的。具有零和游戏心态的美国人很难理解和认同,大陆的中国人真诚地希望和平以及和谐社会与和谐世界。不过,中国政府常常不理睬挑衅,它作为一个"负责任的大国",坚持对建立一个和平、繁荣与和谐的世界做出贡献。

中国既不软弱,也不愚蠢,更不会放弃自己的主权(中国在越南战争和朝鲜战争中表明他们有能力保卫自己的主权,中国以非常快的速度取得经济现代化的成功也表明他们有能力保卫自己的主权),然而他们避免同美国发生军事冲突,尽量在目前美中特殊关系的范围内缓和经济和道义方面的冲突。

如果美国用双赢色彩比较浓厚的心态和战略对待同中国的地缘政治、经 济和商务关系的话,中国可能而且一定会做更多的事情来帮助美国。《正在

形成的美国-中国伙伴关系:一个现实主义的崭新视角》和《新型中美商务战略:作为全球伙伴的中国公司和美国公司》这两部书探讨了美国这样做的机会。

大陆中国人当然要坚持大陆中国人的身份,但与此同时,他们渴望对外 开放,吸收外国的资本、科学和技术等等。这样做有助于满足大陆中国的需 要和重点工作,有助于维护中国的经济主权和发展。中国保 持自己的特色, 就需要通过对外开放,保持社会稳定和政治稳定,而这又需要依靠中国继续 保持对外开放的能力。

由于这个原因,所以新学派的观点强调,大陆中国有一个达成共识的文化,它经历了屈辱、外国的侵略、极度的贫穷和饥饿。美国人有着不同的文化和遗产,有着比较浓厚的零和游戏心态,不能理解为什么中国人把经济进步看成是人权的增加,因为如吃饱、受教育、有较好的就业机会,这些美国都已经实现了。大陆中国人对"社会进步"和"好社会"有着自己的本土概念,认为经济进步就是人权的增加,比美国人所说的政治、宗教、法律权利等更重要。这一点在第一卷第7章和第11章有所探讨。

中国人根据他们的历史和文化,认为"免于恐惧的自由"和"免于匮乏的自由"比"言论自由"和"信仰自由"更重要。罗斯福总统认识到,头两个自由是其他自由的先决条件。这一点在第一卷第11章有所探讨。

美国和中国在追求本国利益方面,各有各的方法,不过,这一点对美国人来说,在客观上已经不那么重要了,因为中国已经放弃了毛泽东宣扬共产主义意识形态和反对美国霸权的做法。中国人民拥护邓小平的观点:中国的重点应当是有中国特色的资本主义、对外开放和同其他国家保持和谐关系。中国的和平经济发展迅速取得了巨大的成就,美国人目前对此做出的反应是:震惊、敌意和迷惑。中国人渴望和平的愿望是真诚的和成功的。现实的危险是,美国人不能或者不愿意接受这样的事实:中国人的确是真诚地希望和平共处。

新学派认识到,并且纠正文化上、理念上、观念上和沟通上的隔阂以及 目标上的分歧,这一切使得美国人难以接受中国的成功。

- 1. 对美国人来说,中国的成功似乎(这是不正确的)同美国的成功发生冲突,因为美国人渴望意识形态上和地缘政治上的霸权,对美国的价值观、理想、历史和民族主义感到骄傲。
- 2. 在更深的层次上,中国人认为他们的经济成就对中美两国是双赢的。这一点对于具有零和游戏心态的美国人来说,是不可理解的。
- 3. 美国人往往有这样的看法:如果中国没有输,我们怎么可能会赢呢?然而,中国的经济增长与和平共处的愿望与目标同中国双赢的协商一致民主制是一致的。
- 4. 具有协商一致的双赢心态的中国领导人这样看问题: "如果美国不成功,我们怎么能够成功呢?"
- 美国人用传统的观点看中国,他们被"冲突原则"和零和游戏心态 误导了。
- 6. 中国领导人30年来在国际关系中表现的和平共处原则在克服国际关系中的|"冲突原则"方面取得了非凡的成就。
- 7. 美国和美国人十分幸运的是,中国领导人和中国的文化促成了繁荣与和平,正在执行和平共处的原则,希望美中两国成为伙伴,协调双方的经济成就和国家安全。
- 8. 中国领导人30年来在国际关系中采取和平共处原则,在克服国际关系中的|"冲突原则"方面取得了非凡的成就。
- 9. 美国和美国人十分幸运的是,中国领导人和中国的文化促成了繁荣与和平,正在执行和平共处的原则,希望美中两国成为伙伴,协调双方的经济成就和国家安全。
- 10. 美国人也需要繁荣与和平。中国的人口和经济增长率比美国的要大得多。美国人必须协调他们的成就和中国的成就。
- 11. 中国的繁荣与和平依赖于美国继续同中国保持和平的愿望与能力。

在经历了过去两个世纪的发展之后,美国在20世纪末期逐渐成了世界上 唯一的经济、军事超级大国。过去的成就形成了美国对世界的看法。美国人 认为,美国是最先进、最优秀的国家。这是可以理解的,这种观念可能继续

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保持下去。但实际情况是,在过去50个世纪中的48个世纪里,中国一直是世界上最大的、最富的、最有创新精神的国家。现在,它可能重新成为一个经济上的超级大国,有能力保卫自己,但是对21世纪国与国之间的冲突、文明之间的冲突和战争这样徒劳无益的愚蠢事情是不感兴趣的。

美国是如何看待自己和世界的,是抵制、还是认同占人类22%的人口摆脱贫穷和屈辱的事实?美国人是要抵制,还是要同中国、印度、中东、俄罗斯、委内瑞拉等发展中国家的成就协调起来?

中国过去是、现在仍然是一个平衡力量。现在既不是美国领导的 单极世界,也不是美中两国领导的双极世界,国内外政策辩论的中心 应当是美中两国的合作。美中两国的合作之所以必要,是因为建立在 "冲突原则"基础上的单极国际体系和双极国际体系势必引起国与国 之间的冲突、文明之间的冲突、恐怖主义、世界大战和人类的自杀性 毁灭。只有美国和中国协调它们的经济利益、地缘政治利益和安全利益,它们和人类才能够避免大大小小的战争,这些战争会破坏地区的稳定,危及脆弱的、互相依存的全球经济。如果美中两国不能成为忠实的伙伴,建立一个在和平共处原则的基础上运作的新型国际体系,共同维持和平与繁荣,那么,将没有和平与繁荣可言。

虽然美国的理想和它的政治制度的许多方面值得称赞,但它们并不是人类惟一的理想和政治制度。欧洲的启蒙运动和美国的诞生与发展在17、18、19、20世纪发挥了越来越大的作用。现在,中国的现代化、日益增长的财富和它的世界观点将在21世纪发挥国际性作用,这是它1800年以来不曾有过的。美国人没有料想到中国的和平发展,现在不肯接受这一现实。美国在21世纪,跟在20世纪不一样,将在世界事务和领导作用方面扮演不同角色。我们现在必须做出调整,适应正在出现的现实,不要让美国未来的成就跟明显的全球趋势不协调。

实现美国的崇高正义和善良的理想

新学派的观点是,华盛顿总统1796年告别演说深刻地概括了构成"美国理想"和"美国特殊性"的那些价值观和信念。第一卷和第二卷 对华盛顿总

统的思想作了探讨,因为在美国诞生的时代与在武器和科 技能招致人种毁灭时代,华盛顿总统的思想是极其重要的、充满智慧的。他强调指出:美国人和美国必须:

"对所有国家都要真诚正义。同大家和谐相处。宗教和道德要求这样做。难道良好的政策可以不这样做吗?美国是一个自由的、开明的、在不远的将来必将是伟大的国家,它应当给人类树立一个崇高的、崭新的榜样:它的人民始终以高尚的正义和善良为导向。"

美国人将自觉地或者不自觉地做出选择。如果他们把繁荣与和平 作为他们的新重点,把美国的成就同中国的成就协调起来,他们将树立一个我们的生存所需要的崭新榜样。如果美国人宣扬美国的理想,自己却并不付诸行动,那么,美国人在宣扬自己理想或者保护美国的经济安全和国家安全方面将是没有效果的。

在做出这样的选择时,美国人民和他们选出的领导人应当以"美国宪法中规定的双赢理想和智慧"为导向。这对美国人民的性格、对美国的多数裁定选举制和法律程序是一个巨大的挑战。第一卷第7、8、9三章对此有所探讨,新学派把这叫做美国宪法选择政治领袖的"零和游戏选举决策过程"和制定美国内外政策的派系斗争。双赢理想和美国的零和游戏选举程序形成鲜明的对照,这一点是非常重要的,因为零和游戏的选举立法程序可能逐渐地或者突然地毁掉美国宪法规定的双赢理想和智慧。这是21世纪对这个危险的警告。在第43任总统的领导下,美国宣扬了它的理想,但并没有实践这样的理想。在美国道义权威受到损害的同时,也暴露了美国的军事权威和经济权威是有限的。幸运的是,由于经济安全、国家安全、道义安全等方面的理性相结合,81%的美国人认定他们国家走错了路,因而选举了一个完全不同的第44任总统。

新学派的观点是,美国试验林肯总统所说的"民有、民治、民享的政府"一直在进行,每天不断定义、不断完善。二百多年来,从革命战争(包括一次内战)开始,斗争一直持续到今天,将来还要继续,美国人民在决

定,美国宪法确立的政治制度究竟是否能够适应事态的变化而长久持续下去,还是将会从地球上消失。林肯总统同情别国人民,满怀仁爱之心,反映了华盛顿总统的作风,因而防止了"美国的试验"在19世纪的美国成为昙花一现的现象。

新学派认为,如果美国人民和他们通过选举产生的领导人不能或者不愿 意遵循上述的华盛顿总统的忠告并付诸实施,那么,美国的文明和人类可能 要从地球上消失。

第一卷和第二卷还探讨了、援引了本杰明·富兰克林在1789年提出的警告,因为在美国诞生的时代和在武器与科技能招致人种毁灭的时代,这样的警告太重要了:

"虽然这部宪法还有缺点,但是,我赞同这部宪法,因为我认为, 我们需要一个这样的政府,只要将来管理得好,可以带给人民幸福就行。 以前别种形式的政府,最后变成了专制主义,因为人们腐化堕落,需要专 制独裁的政府,别无办法。"

21世纪出现的国家安全危机和经济危机暴露了美国的经济、军事和道义权威是非常脆弱的。美国宪法对人权和法制的保护作用可能逐步地或者突然地被摧毁。如果美国人的生活水准下降,遭受灾难性的袭击或者突发事件或者全国范围的灾难性自然灾害,在这种情况下突然需要戒严,政府无法发挥自己的职能,从而使美国宪法的多数裁定民主制度永远被摧毁。新学派认为,富兰克林警告的那种危险在9-11事件和2007年、2008年开始的金融危机以后,变得很明显、很现实。第一卷第8章和第9章详细探讨了美国出现独裁统治或者无政府状态的危险。

保护和宣扬美国理想的新观点

美国的理想构成美国人民的国家特色。美国人引为自豪并且激情地相信,美国的理想和政治制度是人类所产生的最佳制度,对全人类普遍适用。

美国人还有意地或者无意地认为,美国的经济安全和国家 安全的利益也就是全人类的利益。这种"美国中心"的观点是,美国人主观地认为对美国是好的东西,对全人类也是好的,因而是必需的、可以允许的。美国人现在把这样的看法、把"实力即正义"、把自以为是的"美国中心"心态推到极致,美国的政治领导人、美国的对外政策和防务战略竟然要求中国遵从美国的理想,采纳美国的政治制度、法制和人权的做法,调整中国的经济来满足美国的需要和愿望,成为美国的一个忠实的附庸国。这些观点根深蒂固地扎根于"美国中心"的心态,以致美国人对中国政府和人民的自决权、意见、需要和愿望往往熟视无睹或者漠不关心。

新学派认为,为了显示美国的理想和美国的政治制度的优越性和普遍适用性,美国人应当承认中国人有权自己定义具有五千年历史的中国特色的"民有、民治、民享的政府"。中国对"民主"有不同的概念,中国认为所谓"民主",就是"人民的发展为人民,发展成果由人民共享"。

新学派认为,美国未能实践美国的理想和历史特殊性;这危及美国的理想、美国现在的政治制度以及美国的经济安全和国家安全。为了美国在21世纪取得经济成就、生存下去、有说服力地宣扬它的政治制度、法制和人权,就必须尊重这样的现实:人类分成7个或者8个文明,各有各的古老遗产和古老文化,192个国家具有不同的政治制度和法律,对"人性"、"好社会"和"社会进步"有不同的观念。新学派认为,在21世纪,美国人不可能用军事权威或者经济权威成功地推行他们的理想、政治制度或者主观的、客观的自我利益。只有美国的理想、经济权威和军事权威表现出道义权威,它的理想、政治制度和利益才能得到比较广泛的接受。要取得道义权威,美国人就必须在新型国际体系中容忍别国的权利和意见。新学派把这叫做"民主国家和非民主国家之间的民主"或者"权利社会和行政许可社会之间的民主"。容忍和尊重他人的权利和意见是美国理想和政治制度的核心。美国的心态和对外政策忽略了这样的矛盾。美国人大事宣扬自己的理想和政治制度对人类具有普遍意义,这样的做法在各大文明中间没有得到支持,反而减少了支持。

曾经担任肯尼迪总统特别助理的美国历史学家亚瑟·施莱辛格在 2005年 出版的《战争与美国总统》一书中回忆说,1961年11月肯尼 迪总统曾经警

告,不要狂妄自大:

"我们必须面对这样的事实:美国既不是无所不能的,也不是无所不知的。我们只占世界人口的6%,我们不能把自己的意志强加于 其他94%的人口,我们无法纠正所有的错误,因此,不可能对世界的每一个问题都提出美国的解决办法。"

新学派认为,妨碍美国的理想获得普遍认同的最大障碍之一,是 美国不能容忍别国的意见,不尊重别国的权利。美国人必须尊重其他和平国家的理想和政治制度,才能体现美国理想和政治制度的优越性,才获得普遍的认同。美国人民和他们的政治领导人、意见领袖和学者中间,有许多人还没有认识到这个难题。使美国的理想在人类中间得到比较广泛的认同,其重要关键是美国人必须实践美国的理想:

"美国是一个自由的、开明的、在不远的将来必将是伟大的国家,它应当给人类树立一个崇高的、崭新的榜样:它的人民必须始终以高尚的正义和善良为导向。"

华盛顿和邓小平都是现实主义的务实主义者。他们两人成功地实现了许多人认为不可能的事情。新学派认为,这样重新定义的"现实主义"对美国和中国的生存是至关重要的。

把美国的理想和美国的内外政策协调起来的新观点

美国成功地实现了美国诞生时期的许多令人鼓舞的理想,后来又取得了不少胜利,这使得美国成为世界英雄,在20世纪末起成为独一无二的超级大国。美国的特殊性来源于它的理想和它的历史,但是,美国不应当孤芳自赏得太厉害,以至在192个国家中钦佩和尊敬它的人越来越少。美国的特殊性应当使美国成为实践自己理想的楷模,而不应当只是挂在口头上。为了使占世界人口22%的中国接受美国的理想,为了在美中关系中保护美国的经济安全

和国家安全,为了创立美中两国的伙伴关系,美国的决策人和美国人民面临一些巨大的挑战:

- 1. 贯彻美国的理想,保证美国的内外政策和防务战略同美国理想 是一 致的:
- 在经济上、军事上和道义上继续保持强大,并有力地显示,美国的 理想和政治制度是行得通的;
- 3. 不要试图强迫中国采纳美国的理想和政治制度;
- 4. 美国向中国保证实施互惠的内外政策,而不只是让美国的经济利益 得到好处,让美国的国家安全利益得到好处。

美国的对外政策目标和贯彻执行必须同美国的理想是一致的。然而,美国的对外政策往往只是口头上标榜美国的理想。美国必须对所有的国家都真诚正义。它应当给人类树立一个崇高的、崭新的榜样:它的人民始终以高尚的正义和善良为导向。美国传统的对华政策没有达到这个标准。21世纪初期,美国采用咄咄逼人的单方面对外政策和防务战略;

美国作为世界最大的债务国,新的地位摇晃不稳;美国在国内和国际上造成了"百年一遇"的经济危机。与此形成对照的是,中国把繁荣与和平作为重点,从1978年到2008年取得了非凡的成就。美国威信的降低使得美国关于它的理想和政治制度最优秀、具有普遍意义的说法不那么吸引人了。美国正在跟其他国家进行一场争夺人心、争夺影响力的斗争。

为了实现自己的理想,美国和美国政府必须变得聪明一些、自律一点、宽宏大量、公正待人。美国应当是一个强大而又谦虚的国家,理解和尊重其他和平国家的自决权。历史昭示人们:所有的国家、所有的文明在诞生、顶峰和衰落的时期都是非常脆弱的。美国是一个不断变化的国家,新学派把它叫做"美国的实验"。

美国的行为必须有示范作用,注意纠正自己的缺点。美国人和美国的对外政策必须体现华盛顿总统的忠告,尽管人性的缺陷使他的忠告很难做到。早期美国的特殊性具有道义权威,令人鼓舞,使人尊敬,可是后来慢慢变味了,堕落了,变成了21世纪没有道义的权威: "照我说的做,别管我怎么做"。美

国在没有充分道义权威的情况下动用了经济权威和军事权威。这很快使世界上的这个唯一的超级大国自作自受,陷入经济、军事和道义上的衰弱境地。在21世纪正在变化的国际体系中,在互相依存的全球化经济中,美国在没有道义权威的情况下动用自己的经济权威和军事权威是不可能持久的。

不过,道义权威是可以恢复的。需要的是,美国和美国人的言行应当具有道义权威。人类的192个国家需要英雄。

不论是美国,还是中国,都应当是英雄,而不是当恶霸。只有两国都承认别国有权坚持自己固有的东西,美国和中国才能成为英雄。毛泽东领导下的中国不承认美国有权保留自己固有的理想和政治制度。但是,他的继承人承认美国有这样的权利。中国现在实行了资本主义。美国和中国是拥有各自不同特色的资本主义超级大国。

多样化是人类国有的、天然的东西,这并没有什么错。容忍各国之间的多样化,对和平与繁荣至关重要。英雄帮助别人,包括弱者。恶霸则是欺侮他们、剥削他们。传统的美国对外政策是辩论如何剥削 和控制别国。传统的美国决策和学术研究是建立在"冲突原则"的基础上,致力于冷战和热战。传统的美国对外政策有两大缺陷,一个是它怀抱着剥削和控制别国的目标。另一个是充满偏见,不能容忍别国的理想、权利、主张和利益。

中国的和谐社会与和谐世界的观点

非常幸运的是,有一个国家、一个文明、一种文化占人类22%的人口,它像美国一样,还不完美,但是正在用有中国特色的自己的方式谋求给人类树立一个崇高的崭新榜样:它的人民始终以高尚的正义和善良为导向,发展跟所有国家的和谐关系。中国的宪法跟美国的不同,它导源于中国的遗产和文化,用中国的观点看待人性、"好社会"和"社会进步",在这方面进行试验。中国1949年摆脱了外国的侵略而获得了主权,实行共产主义的意识形态和经济,最初反对俄美两霸,1978年本能地谋求"摆脱恐惧的自由"和"摆脱匮乏的自由",把繁荣与和平定为自己的重点。中国把导源于自己文化的和谐社会与和谐世界的观念作为自己的目标,而不是由于美国的意识形

态和霸权而同美国发生冲突。中国本着这些重点,实行了有中国特色的资本主义,以历史上空前的速度发展经济,跟其他191个国家保持和平关系。中国用中国政府所说的"社会主义"、"社会主义市场经济"和"有中国特色的资本主义",成功地致力于和谐世界理念的实现。中国的领导人胡锦涛和温家宝一直遵循着邓小平的政策和目标。

中国贯彻和平共处的原则,把经济发展与和平作为重点,追求和 谐社会 与和谐世界的目标,因而在像乔治·W·布什这样一些领导人的侵略性而造成 的国际不稳定局面中成为一个平衡力量。美国的对外政策不应当把世界分成 "民主国家俱乐部"的"朋友"和由于不接受美国的理想而必须加以惩罚的 "敌人"。美国的政策应当像中国的政策那样,把繁荣与和平作为重点,把 和谐社会与和谐世界作为目标。美国的对外政策不应当强迫其他国家在美国 的做事方法和中国的做事方法之间做出选择。如果美国的人权和法制理想与 中国的和谐社会与和谐世界理想携手合作,而不是对抗,如果美国和中国互 相容忍和尊重对方的不同的遗产和文化,那么,人类的日子会变得好过些。 人类分成不同的国家,它们应当不需要在美国领导的单极世界和不同文明领 导的双极世界之间做出选择。从美国的地缘政治和心理学的角度理解的"双 极世界"跟其它文明互相竞争、互相对抗的结果,势必导致人类的毁灭。中 国创立了"和谐世界模式",30年来用那个新模式显示了它的成就。美国和 中国应当通过那个模式,互相尊重,并跟其他所有的和平国家保持和平。充 分发挥中国提出的和谐世界模式的潜在力量,应当成为新的重点。但是,美 国的决策人和学者没有认真对待这个模式。美国的决策人、学者、意见领袖 和美国人民必须认真对待并接受"和谐世界模式"。

实践和谐社会与和谐世界理想的观点

中国所说的"和谐世界"和"同一个世界,同一个梦想"是什么意思,中国有什么意图?这些问题以后将会探讨。本白皮书和第一卷、第二卷谈两点:

- 1. 美国人不应当把中国的"和谐世界"这一提法说成是居心叵测。中国是真诚的。
- 2. 在中国文化形成的心态中,这是一个真实的、很有分量的理想,因 为中国的文化渴望繁荣与和平,而不是贫穷和战争。

美国是一个年轻的文明,中国是一个古老的文明。这个不同之处 反映在美中两国不同的对外政策和防务战略上。美国追求它的理想、 权威和利益的霸权地位。中国则是追求繁荣与和平。相对而言,它们 有着不同的目标。历史的证据表明,中国将继续贯彻和平共处原则,因为这样做在现实的世界是行得通的。新学派的观点跟邓小平的观点是一样的: 中国人民和中国领导人必须继续贯彻中国的和谐世界理 想,否则,它作为一个文明将会消失。

中国的和谐世界理想面临一些挑战,这是中国社会本身的缺点。这些缺点是什么,这要由中国人自己根据他们所理解的人性、有中国特色的"好社会"、有中国特色的"社会进步"等标准来确定。新学派的观点是,在邓小平和他的继承人的出色领导下,中国的内外政策追求"和谐世界"的理想并且将帮助建立一个"和谐世界"。

我们不禁要问,用乔治·华盛顿的语言来说,"和谐世界"可能是什 么样子。"和谐世界"是不是也要求中国的领导人和中国人民:

对所有国家都要真诚正义。同大家和谐相处……中国 是一个自由的、开明的、在不远的将来必将是伟大的国家,它应当给 人类树立一个崇高的、崭新的榜样:它的人民始终以高尚的正义和善良为导向。

有充分证据表明,中国在国际上是一贯地恪守它的"和谐世界"理想的。关于这一点,第二卷第1章和第3章有所探讨。本丛书中的《中美伙伴关系和人权:建立和谐社会与和谐世界的挑战》这部书用美中两方面的观点来探讨这个问题。中国和美国都避免国内的混乱,用不同的政治和法律体系来追求各自的人权理想。本书探讨了中国采取的发展经济、和平与和谐的重点,美国的内外政策则把人权为它的重点。本书认同两个前提:

无政府状态的混乱不利于人权,美国和中国在21世纪都面临着继续保持政治、经济稳定的挑战。美国和中国对"人权"的定义反映了两国社会各自的历史、价值观、文化和目标。保护两国社会各自理解的"人权"是一个不断进展的工作,两国目前人权的状况都没有达到两国社会各自的理想和目标。本书认为,美中两国结成伙伴关系,将大大有助于两国实现自己的人权理想和目标。

新学派的双赢目标和结果的标准

新学派认为,在美中关系中,美中两国的政策和目标应该是双赢的目标和结果。新学派的标准比美国和中国各自用主观的标准来评价本国的利益,要宽广得多。新学派标准是,美中两国彼此的政策应当真正本着互利双赢的目标,当低于这个标准时,应当作出调整。

新学派的总体战略和议程

5校中文版白皮书. indd

互相尊重

新学派认为,在2000年至2008年这个时期,美中两国向世界192个国家 展示的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略行为说明,中国表现良好,比较负责 任、比较和平;美国在21世纪第一任总统任期内表现不好,不负责任,不和平。

美国的决策人。学者、媒体领袖和美国人民很难理解和接受目前的历史事实:自从1978年以来,中国人真诚地把他们的经济发展、对外政策和防务战略建立在和平共处原则的基础上。但是,客观的历史事实是,中国的三代领导人都是这么做的。

美国人必须理解这个现实,回报以应有的尊敬。这是新学派超越许多观念和沟通隔阂的表现之一。中国的吴仪副总理对参加2007年战略经济对话的美国财政部长保尔森、美国内阁成员和其他官员说,美国的决策人"不了解中国"。新学派认识到这个事实,这是使美国人从"中国中心"视角和"美国中心"视角两个方面来理解占世界人口22%的中国的先决条件。客观地讲,美国的"冲突原则"和零和游戏心态使得美国人无法超越文化观念和沟通的隔阂,无法充分地理解中国,以便美国的和中国的经济安全和国家安全得到迅速、安全、持久的调整。客观而论,美国人应当尊重中国的特殊性和

自决权,允许互惠的全球化,提出真正对两国互利的解决问题方案。

美国鼓吹,"中国必须成为一个负责任的利益相关者",这是美中关系的基础。第二卷第7章探讨了这个概念。美国的防务战略目标,是遏制和隔离中国,控制中国和亚洲,能够打赢一场对华战争。美国人也许出于恐惧和骄傲,继续主观地认为中国是一个具有威胁性的劣等国家,而美国是一个善良的优等国家。那些认为中国是一个威胁、是一个劣等国家、是一个可以利用的经济机会的美国人都有这样非现实主义的想法:中国必须采纳美国的理想、目标、利益和政治制度。他们实际上要求中国成为美国的附庸国,或者用第43任美国总统的政策术语来说,成为一个"负责任的利益相关者",而不是一个拥有人类22%人口的、负责任的大国,它已经起着带头作用,把国际体系改造成为一个为192个国家服务的比较安全、公正和可以持久的框架。

因此,美国的对外政策反映了这样的观点:中国是一个敌人、劣等国家和经济机会。由于这个缘故,美国的对外政策有意无意地充满自相矛盾的侮辱、威胁和要求,要中国立即照搬美国的政治和法律制度,像一个弱国那样为美国的利益和目标服务。在美国对中国的态度、行为、对外政策和防务战略中,有意地或无意地把政治上对抗和经济上剥削结合起来。现在大多数美国人对中国和平发展的反应是:有意地或者无意地要求美国赢,中国输。这就是"冲突原则"在起作用,中国带领世界谋求用和平共处原则取而代之。

美中两国的伙伴关系,由于在培育繁荣、和平与和谐世界方面十分重要,将会:

- 1. 改变美国文明的做事方法;
- 2. 改变中国文明的做事方法;
- 3. 把美国文明和中国文明的做事方法结合起来;
- 4. 创造一种更为广泛的办法,把各种文明的做事方法结合起来;
- 5. 结果就形成一种体系,适用于各种文明,被它们接受。

中国的和谐世界和政策重点的做法,使中国文明对建立一个崭新的国际体系做出了贡献,用和平共处原则取代了冲突原则。但是,美国的决策人、

学者和美国人民没有认识到,因而没有学会并采纳这些对美国的成功和生存 至关重要的先进目标,美国的对外政策仍然置基于这样的要求:美国的目 标、理想和政治制度具有普遍性,其他国家应当顺从和默许美国的利益。如 果人家不顺从,那会怎么样呢?会发生什么事呢?

新学派从中国的视角和美国的视角,从务实的角度和道义的角度研究了 美国这个主要的发达国家和中国这个主要的发展中国家的关系。新学派力求 超越"美国中心"偏见,思索和倾听了中国决策人、学者、媒体领袖和中国 人民自己沟通时以及同外国人交谈时说些什么。新学派力求用"中国中心" 视角倾听美国决策人、学者、媒体领袖和美国人民自己沟通时和同中国人交 谈时说些什么。美中两国的视角使新学派受到启发。

新学派力求向美国人解释中国的和平经济发展,认为它既是真诚的愿望,又是客观的现实;而美国人则感觉受到威胁,用零和游戏心态和战略对付中国。正如第二卷第8章所阐释的那样,美国或者中国用"拦堵战略"对付对方,是危险的。例如,美国采用"拦堵战略",可能造成亚洲的不稳定,促成日本的重新武装,而日中之间的军备竞赛可能直接或间接地危及中国的和平经济发展;美国向台湾出售军事装备,会造成大陆中国和台湾之间的紧张局面。新学派认为,美国对亚洲的某些战略对亚洲的安全所起的破坏作用较小一些,如美国和印度的联盟,如果不是用于遏制中国的话,对亚洲的稳定反而会有所帮助。

互惠的全球化

美国的经济目标,应当是新学派所说的"互惠的全球化"。这一点第二卷第12章有所介绍,《中美两国新的经济伙伴关系:经济权威和道义权威的成功》一书对此有所阐述。

美国的对外政策和战略必须致力于建立以和平共处原则为基础的真正 全球性美中两国伙伴关系,这样做就可以建立一个比较互惠、比较安全的新 型国际体系。美国的防务战略目标应当是同中国结成伙伴关系,把两国的经 济权威、军事权威和道义权威联合在一起,而不是准备打一场没有赢家的战

争。美中两国只有建立真正的、永久的经济政策、对外政策和防务战略伙伴 关系,才能够在21世纪取得成功。例如,美中两国在石油需要方面结成伙伴 关系是至关重要的。合作的、双赢的经济伙伴关系攸关两国未来的和平与繁 荣。中国的经济发展和社会稳定需要越来越多的石油,如同美国需要石油一 样。

过去,中国同它的邻邦和其他国家的争端大部分集中在贸易问题上。但是,现在它对资源日益增长的需要以新的方式影响着它的对外关系。一些美国人预见到美中两国可能由于能源而发生对抗。不过,这样的冲突不一定发生。

重要的缓和因素往往被忽视了。中国已经着手用替代能源,如用煤炭来取代它所需要的一些石油。而中国煤炭的蕴藏量占世界第三位。中国预计到2050年将成为世界上最大的核能利用者。它还提倡节约能源和有效地使用石油。胡锦涛主席2004年12月提出"积极开发石油替代品",平衡资源的消费与开发。随后,中国建立了国家能源办公室,减少中国对进口能源的依赖性,它进口的能源只占其消费量的12%,而美国占40%,日本占80%。中国对资源的寻求帮助了某些发展中国家。包括石油在内的资源价格涨落难以预料,使进口石油的比较贫穷的国家和供应石油的国家都受到损害。据世界银行说,中国每年进口的45%的资源来自发展中国家,这些交易帮助发展中国家抵消了原油和天然气价格的上涨。中国寻找资源对美国这样一些发达国家的影响比较小。中国通常是在没有美国插手的市场进行交易,因此,在许多地方,这两个国家不存在直接的竞争。

一个比较重大的问题是,中国对能源的大量需求对国际石油市场会有多大影响:中国的需求十分巨大,可能影响全球的供应和价格。然而正是由于中国和美国是巨大的石油消费国,它们的合作才对两国至关重要。这两个巨大的石油消费国只有通力合作,平衡石油生产国的影响,而不是同它们建立拥有特权的关系,才能保持石油的平稳供应和平稳价格,从而保护他们自己的利益和石油生产国的利益。一个战略是建立共同的石油储备。由包括美国在内的26个工业化国家组成的国际石油机构已经建立,处理能源的紧急事宜。美国应当邀请中国也参加进来。美国和中国有着共同的利益来保证海路

的安全,以便 使油船畅行无阻。两国政府希望马六甲海峡和台湾海峡局势稳定,不会使它们互相争夺,而不是恰恰相反。再者,建立一支远洋海军来保卫遥远的海路,是一个耗资巨大的艰巨工程,北京需要数十年才能完成。中国必须同美国合作来保证海路的安全,特别是能源运输航线的安全。只要中国和美国避免由于台湾问题而发生战争,做到这一点是不成问题的。

中国海洋石油总公司并购加利福尼亚联合石油司

美国官员,特别是国防部、五角大楼和国会认为中国的资源慌是一个新的战略挑战。美国国会对2005年中国海洋石油总公司投标并购加利福尼亚联合石油公司的反应,是一个典型的例子,说明美国政府和美国公司实行的是非互惠全球化。很少有公正的分析家认为这个交易对美国的国家安全构成严重的威胁,然而美国众议院以398票对15票通过的一项声明则说,这项交易"有可能损害美国的国家安全"。中国根据其资源型对外政策,坚决寻找它所需要的原料,以保证自己经济的运转。如果美国和中国结成新的伙伴关系,就可以成功地携手合作,有效地帮助贫困的国家。

中国有需要,也有权利通过市场战略来寻找能源的来源。它不像苏联那样,不是通过政权的更迭来促进自己的利益。美国的决策人必须认识到,如果中国领导人不增加中国的能源供应量,那将是不负责任的。世界需要有远见的决策人和政策来适应全球经济力量和政治力量配置方面的迅速的和长远的变化,而不需要这样的的决策人和政策:他们让这种变化把他们的国家推进越来越严重的、效果适得其反的对抗中。

20世纪的冷战"现实主义"在21世纪是不必要的和危险的。中国从一个共产主义经济体转变为资本主义经济体,这一点需要美国政界和商界的领袖们有所认识。冷战"现实主义"是一种非现实主义的、不必要的、不慎重的观点,美国的政治领袖不应当遵循这样的视角。这种视角可能造成冲突,这不是中国所追求的,对两国都没有好处。一个最显著的例子是,新阶段的中国公司正在"走向世界",寻找中国政府所需要的日益迅速增长的石油供应量,以便维持为了保持中国社会稳定所需要的起码的GDP年度8%的增长率。

中国公司在并购方面拥有资金的优势,这是非中国公司无法相比的。

例如,在纽约证券交易所上市的、部分国营、部分民营的中国海洋石油 总公司可以拿出185亿美元的现金,加上一笔债务和分期付款的20亿美元来并 购美国加利福尼亚联合石油公司,而中国海洋石油总公司的股票价格没有受 到影响。这是因为中国海洋石油总公司的并购资金中,有70亿美元来自中国 政府拥有的母公司(中国政府拥有71%的中国海洋石油总公司股权),还有 60亿美元来自4家中国国有银行。在融资总额中的70亿美元,中国海洋石油总 公司对其中的25亿美元无需付给利息,对其中30年期贷款的45亿美元只付给 3.5%的利息 美国30年期国库债券的利息是4.2%,中国海洋石油总公司可以借 到比美国政府贷款更便宜的钱。中国国营公司(包括最大的中国公司)的融 资不必有商业回报, 甚至可以不偿还来自国营母公司或者国营银行的贷款。 这个经济现实使得中国公司的资本价格要便官得多,资本回报率也比它们的 外国竞争对手低得多。中国公司融资的竞争优势包括无息贷款、低息长期贷 款或者免还贷款。并购以后,中国公司还可以削减某些并购的成本,把加工 部分迁移到中国,在某些情况下可以把劳动成本降低17%至70%。这些中国 公司还有这样的竞争优势:可以了解中国政府的计划,这些计划影响到产品 在中国的需求水平。它们还有这样的竞争优势:可以开拓中国已经巨大的、 还在不断扩展的国内市场,这可以给真正全球性的美中合资企业带来许多好 处。这样的真正全球性的合资企业也可以帮助中国公司走向世界,可以帮 助美国公司在国际上继续保持竞争力。但是,40名国会议员签署了一封信, 对中国海洋石油总公司的投标并购表示担忧,有些人认为,这项交易涉及到 "国家安全问题"。白宫拒绝了中国海洋石油总公司要求迅速审议这项交易 的请求。

《美中伙伴关系丛书》阐释了以下观点:美国和中国只有建立21世纪真正的伙伴关系,才能够找到解决经济安全和国家安全问题的方案。2010年和2011年出版的四部书探讨了这方面的事例。

《中国-美国治理污染的伙伴关系:从最坏走向最好的共同大跃进》探讨 了美中伙伴关系共同开发新技术,联手治理环境污染。该书的观点是:只有 美中两国建立"绿色"伙伴关系所展示的领导作用才能够成功地整治全球污

新学派的总体战略和议程

染。《京都议定书》不足以修补全球遭到的环境破坏,因为它的要求包括: 富国可以继续污染环境,如果它们污染环境而对穷国给以经济补偿的话。目 前这种失败的做法是一种援外计划,它不可能把减少污染作为重点。需要一 种新型成功的方案。

目前富国和穷国面临的根本问题是,减缓经济增长率是换取清洁经济增长的代价。成功治理环境污染,需要三个关键条件。第一、美中两国必须起带头作用,携手合作,获得成功,共同受益。第二、成功的方案必须从眼前和长远两个方面促进经济增长,其副产品就是使经济增长保持清洁。第三、成功的方案必须使目前的污染者停止污染,使投资者提供防治污染的办法。要实现这些条件,只有美中两国政府设计和执行一个协调的计划才行,使富国和穷国的政府和私营企业在眼前和长远都感到在经济上有吸引力,都愿意加速利用现代科技治理环境。

只有美中两国领导一项协调的计划,才能够在治理环境的经济、利润和 技术方面开创迫切需要的革命性措施。目前中国正谋求在环境友好型的可持 续经济发展方面从坏向好的方向大跃进。

中国是一个正在迅速发展中的经济体,美国是一个成熟的经济体。治理环境污染的市场使得美中两国政府执行一项协调的计划成为非常必要的事情。美中两国协调一致的、经济上互利的伙伴关系可以完成京都议定书未能完成的事情。只有伙伴关系才能使美中两国共享环境友好的持续经济发展的成果。它们的伙伴关系使得环境治理成为有利可图的事情,使它们从最坏的环境污染者一跃而成为环境治理的楷模。

《美中两国伙伴关系丛书》的后续图书将进一步探讨两国合作的巨大机会:

《中美伙伴关系在能源方面的合作举措》探讨了美中两国如何协调它们的理念、公共政策和能源目标。

《中美两国伙伴关系合作处理内外政策》探讨了美中两国的理念和公共 政策目标如何协调在人权、言论自由和信仰自由方面的进展,如何应对在环 境、教育、经济不平等、地区差异、人口发展趋势、台湾、西藏等方面的挑 战。

《中美伙伴关系合作处理科学、技术和空间方面的问题》探讨了美中两国的理念和公共政策目标如何协调这方面的问题。

互利的解决方案 = 协作平衡

雪佛龙公司和中国海洋石油总公司竞相并购加利福尼亚联合石油公司, 中国说这是"双赢",新学派认为这是"真正互利的战略",怎么能够做到 这一点呢?

如果雪佛龙认为它同中国海洋石油总公司的合资企业不仅仅是在中国的合资企业,它和中国海洋石油总公司在并购加利福尼亚联合石油公司方面共同拥有股权,那么,对所有有关方面都可能获得更好的结果。 新学派把这样一种做法称作"真正全球性的合资企业",雪佛龙公司和中国海洋石油总公司共同合作在中国国内外建立一个规模更大、基础更牢固的合资企业。如果雪佛龙公司和中国海洋石油总公司组成的这样一个真正全球性合资企业来并购加利福尼亚联合石油公司,就不会在美国引起巨大的政治反响了;它在中国的最后失败也就可以避免了。

雪佛龙公司和美国的政客们大事宣扬中国海洋石油总公司并购加利福尼 亚联合石油公司一事。如果雪佛龙公司和中国海洋石油总公司携手合作,就可以避免一场竞购。这也可以使中国海洋石油总公司的经理班子有机会学习 雪佛龙公司在中国以外的地方进行经营和并购的经验。雪佛龙公司和中国海洋石油总公司可以平分或者共享加利福尼亚联合石油公司的资产或者石油产量,按照合作协议满足它们各自的需要。

雪佛龙公司和中国海洋石油总公司将来可以加强和扩大他们现有的合资 企业。两个公司还可以合作进行新的并购,来满足它们各自的需要。两个公 司合作并购加利福尼亚联合石油公司,还可以节省一些金融、商务和政治资 源。

这样的合作可能是一个多阶段的过程, 雪佛龙公司并购这家美国公司, 随后在以后的交易中通过跟中国海洋石油总公司达成协议来处理它的资产问题。这样的双赢合作可能是很引人注目的。还有一些好处没有考虑到: 美国

公司的"对华战略";中国公司变成全球性公司的战略;中国政府获得对中国的经济发展至关重要的资源。

中国海洋石油总公司和雪佛龙公司可能仍然在执行这样一个真正全球性合资企业计划。例如,雪佛龙公司的中东和北美总裁詹姆斯·勒琼2005年5月15日在约旦举行的世界经济论坛上说,"取得储备虽然很重要,但这不足以促使石油生产大国大量增加对生产的投资,除非石油生产国认识到把资源投放到市场上越来越困难。"他援引了四个最近的勘探计划,它们大大提高了雪佛龙公司的产量,不过,代价很高。"不会有许多公司或者国家愿意拿出那么多的钱,特别是当它们还不知道市场行情时更是如此。"从勘探到生产之间需要很长的时间,这也使得这个行业不大能够对需求的猛增(如中国消费的增加),作出反应。他说,雪佛龙公司愿意参与下游合资企业,作为得到上游储备的一个条件,但这两个项目必须具有商业价值。中国的国有企业不大考虑"项目是否具有商业价值",像具有美国特色的资本主义所考虑的那样。

具有中国特色的资本主义也是资本主义。美国、美国公司和具有美国特色的资本主义必须做出调整,适应21世纪的经济现实。现在的经济现实是大大不同于20世纪的历史情况的。

中国政府和美国政府为了达到取得石油资源的目标,或者采取雪佛龙公司和中国海洋石油总公司那样的零和游戏竞争,或者采取双赢的办法,用真正互利的解决方案,进行生产合作。这样的合作,如先进的真正全球性合资企业模式,可以使雪佛龙公司得到中国政府的财力资源和了解市场未来的情况。这样的真正全球性合资企业可以帮助中国政府和石油公司减少像雪佛龙这样的公司和美国政客在政治上的反对,还可能减少中国政府为了竞争取得外国石油资源而花费的外汇储备。当中国公司为了并购外国资产和公司而花费过多的资金时,这就使得资本市场对这些中国公司的经营管理能力产生怀疑,因为它们浪费了许多钱,这些钱本来可以更好地用于别的项目。很难想象这样互相关联的好处怎样才能实现,除非真正全球性合资企业成为一种无所不在的、持久的模式,才能做到这一点。要成功地设计和运营这样的企业,就必须改变零和游戏的心态和战略,转而采取双赢的态度和战略。如果这样的模式被广泛采用,那就可以产生巨大的利益。美中两国在21世纪的伙

伴关系可以提供这样的好处。

互惠的全球化:气候解决方案

中国与美国和谐合作的例子可以从美国的一个绿色企业中找到。它为组建这种企业的发展中国家的人民提供持续的繁荣。这是一个整体企业模式,为这个企业的所有利益相关者创造效益和利润。"气候繁荣企业解决方案"试图为中国合伙人创立双赢战略,解决从矿物燃料向再生能源和清洁技术过渡的问题。

美国和中国都已经采用了再生能源而没有损害繁荣。这个政策是可以成功的。气候繁荣几乎可以使地球上的每一个人脱贫,只要大家协同一致,共同做这件事。富国和投资者应当向穷国提供有利可图的投资,使它们利用清洁技术生产再生能源。清洁技术可以解决气候变化的问题和实现"千年目标"。美国和中国应当带头搞"气候繁荣条约",两国可以对此给以支持,因为它不像《京都议定书》,"气候繁荣"可以通过刺激穷国的经济增长和富国的经济效益而压缩温室气体的排放量。

通过城乡的太阳能企业,气候繁荣企业的解决方案可以为贫穷无电的人民产生积极的结果。"生活村"是美国加利福尼亚州"太阳能国际公司"的商标创造。它是六个"生活港口"结构的太阳能系列,可以作为保健门诊部、学校、互联网社区中心、手机网络、社区私营企业,所有这些设施可以为大约一万农村人口服务,他们生活在几小时步行路程的范围内。村结构的房顶上有现代化的太阳能板,太阳能屏幕覆盖公共空间,每月可以生产10000度电。理想的是,这个设施的公共服务(保健、教育和交通)只用一半的太阳能电力就够了,剩余的一半可供社区企业使用。剩余的电力为社区企业拥有、使用和管理。社区的居民在企业的指导下,可以把剩余的电力用于灌溉、机器制造、农业、纺织业或者小型创造财富的事业。

城乡"生活村"所需要的太阳能板、电池、钢材和房屋材料由中国自己供给,组装和运营的人才由经过培训的中国人担任。美国只供应使这种企业运转的技术和经营知识。

这样一来,城市就解决了自己的污染、保健和教育等问题。居住太阳能房屋的城市居民为自己创造了财富,为城市创造了商业机会。每个城市每年新增的GDP可能数以百万美元计或者数以十亿美元计,而且不会给中国的空间造成任何污染。这样的解决方案在建筑和重新改造整个城市方面可以实现巨大的效益。理查德·施威特大使和这种创新的缔造人迈克尔·罗文将带领美国和中国的建筑师、设计家、规划家、信息技术模型专家和数据库专家组成团队,完成以下事宜:

通过综合设计、建筑信息模型、结构的虚拟化和采用建筑体数据库(如Revit),可以节省15%的建筑成本。此外,新建筑可以节省50%的能源,建筑物的式样翻新可以节省35%的能源。在美国以及中国的一些地方已经做到了这一点。这些节约可以大大改善中国的能源和发展势头。

在美国,车辆使用的能源占12%,建筑业使用的能源占40%。改变车辆的行为是一个艰巨的任务,需要时间。但是,改变建筑业的行为、使建筑方式花样翻新,或者改变工业效率低的状况,则并不是很难的。这种降低成本的试验,对中国和美国的工业界、商业界和从事建筑业的人来说都是有利的。

"气候繁荣企业解决方案"是中美两国结成伙伴关系、实现互惠的全球化的范例。在中国,有数以千计的公司、城市和农村社区等待着同他们一起,为他们创立"气候繁荣企业解决方案"。这种在能源节约、污染治理和社区创富方面的"三赢"解决方案是中美伙伴关系在"气候繁荣"的基础上获得好处的范例。

有人说,我们无法改变人性,也无法改变国家的行为。这种说法无视了这样的情况:在人类的历史上有许多实例,说明人性是在演变发展的。美国的"特殊性"是一个每天都在寻找实证的主要例子。中国的"特殊性"30年来证明了:一个经济上贫穷的、艰苦奋斗着的、占人类22%人口的中国,作为一个国家和一种文明,能够在同其他国家互动的关系中单方面成功地超越"冲突原则"。不久,文明之间是合作,还是冲突,将向我们显示,在我们有生之年,人类能够建立什么样的政府在人类的演变发展,在人性、在"好社会"和"社会进步"方面,已经取得了数不清的改善。

这些改变是我们的祖先只能想象和向往但认为不可能的。好的社会管理 得使社会不断地进步,并且常常出现新的突破。不管怎么说,我们的演变发展 不可避免地正在加速前进,迈向一个划时代的突破或者永恒的结束。我们将会 亲身经历这个伟大的过程。

作者简介







他们是人民网英文版点击率最高的"时政专栏"作家,同时也在英国《金融时报》等全球性刊物发表文章;他们创建的"美中伙伴关系新学派理论"正在影响当前的美中关系格局;中共中央党校出版社翻译出版了他们的《奥巴马执政后的中美关系:应对共同挑战》一书的中文版并在全中国发行;他是第一位获得由《红旗画刊》和《中国报道》杂志社评选的"杰出中国工商领袖社会责任奖"的美国人,被人民网英文版称为"当代斯诺"和"21世纪的基辛格"。(官方网站:www.centeracp.com)

约翰·米勒-怀特 (John Milligan-Whyte)是美中伙伴关系研究中心和美中合作基金会主席; 美国中国投资集团和美国网络电视中心董事长; 电视文献记录片 "文明的合作The Collaboration of Civilization"和"中国经济纵横谈China Business Reports"电视节目制片人和主持人; 他是人民网英文版点击率最高的"时政专栏"的美国作家同时也在全球性报刊如英国《金融时报》等发表文章。他是获得由《红旗画刊》和《中国报道》杂志社"杰出中国工商

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业领袖社会责任奖"的第一位美国人。他撰写的八部"美中伙伴关系系列丛书"被中国社科院专家称为创建美中关系研究领域的"新学派",其中《致奥巴马总统和胡锦涛主席的外交关系白皮书》曾作为2009年11月胡、奥会谈的参考资料;《奥巴马执政后的中美关系:应对共同挑战》则是中共中央党校自1989年以来首次翻译出版的美国政论著作。中国国务院国家发展和改革委员会国际交流中心与美中伙伴关系研究中心签署合作备忘录运用实践"新学派"理论;《中国日报》称他创建的美中伙伴关系研究中心为"第一个将美国中心论和中国中心论结合起来,为两国在二十一世纪的成功提供了答案的美国智库。"人民网英文版则称他为"当代斯诺"和"21世纪的基辛格"。(www.centeracp.com)

约翰·米勒-怀特曾任美国律师协会国际再保险清偿,破产委员会副主席, 美国国家保险总监协会,恢复与清算委员会副主席,修改美国《联合会保险 业者监督,恢复,请算行为法则》分委员会委员,《百慕大财政部保险,在 保险和破产法》改革顾问委员会和《百慕大法律改革委员会破产法》分委员 会主席等。他参与合编,合著的1989年美国律师协会出版的美,英百慕大三 国法律教材《国际再保险清偿与破产法理论与实务》至今是国际通用的金融 保险教科书。他写作出版的一系列著作文章对美国,英国百慕大再保险合同 与代理机构,仲裁,诉讼,破产等相关法案进行了比较,对再保险市场棘手的 问题进行了道德分析,提出了创新性的解决方法。1978年,他建议并推广针 对量化要求使用精算估测的方法来提高再保险公司的清算效率。这一举措今 天已经在国际再保险行业普遍使用。

约翰·米勒-怀特曾担任核心资本投资公司董事长并出任货对冲基金,教育基金,保险,再保险,航运,飞机租赁,货币交易软件,广播,无线电,电子智能技术,互联网等公司的董事。他1989年创建的百慕大米勒-怀特史密斯律师事务所并担任创始合伙人。该所于1992成为"世界经济论坛"成员,2002年参与中国网通并购亚洲环球电讯公司资产一案并因杰出表现被"亚洲国际金融法律评论"授予当年并购交易年度大奖。此次交易至今是中国国有企业并购外国资产的最成功的案例。

米勒-怀特具有25年的经验担任跨国企业、早期创业公司、信托基金、教育、私募股权基金、金融服务、风险投资、电信、信托、电子商贸、IP互联网等行业的法律顾问提供投资,保险,再保险,诉讼和仲裁等融资,破产和重组方面的建议和策略。他是奥地利斯特拉斯堡国际法律研究中心高级研究员、北京大学荣誉教授研究员、北京大学教育基金会名誉顾问、对外经济贸易大学客座教授、中国人民大学风险投资研究中心高级顾问。他拥有多伦多大学政治哲学学士学位(荣誉)、皇后大学法学院法学学士学位、奥古斯汀厅法学院公司金融和国际税务法硕士学位并在哈佛大学法学院、商学院研习管理、金融和法律专业研究生课程。(www.centeracp.com)

戴 敏 (Dai Min)是美中伙伴关系研究中心、美中合作基金会、美国中国投资 集团和美国网络电视中心总裁,电视系列文献记录片"文明之合作"的制片 人、共同主持人和"美中伙伴关系系列丛书"、人民网英文版"时政专栏" 的共同作者。 她与怀特共同创建美中伙伴关系研究中心、美中合作基金会; 还是多项高端美国专利技术在中国的首席代表和多家企业的董事、北京大 学名誉研究员、北京大学教育基金会名誉顾问。2004年她担任执行主席的百 慕大-中国友好协会创建发起了由美国沃顿商学院、美国锐智基金、中国人 民大学保险系和中国保监会参与、赞助、支持的"中国保险行业领袖培训计 划。"

戴敏是湖南长沙市人,是中华民国最早期高级军事将领和近代中国军事现代化教育先驱戴凤祥将军的孙女。曾经在1978年首次全国高考艺术人才选拔赛中获奖并成为中国歌剧舞剧院的女高音演员。1988年赴德国进修声乐,次年在英国进修戏剧,后在美国德州大学和哈佛大学进修商业管理课程。她曾就职于纽约联合国纽约总部,担任过独立电视制片人和华尔街外汇交易员,曾经是ABB,Obermeyer等跨国公司的中国项目顾问,参与并策划了中国企业在美国的融资上市和中、美企业间的跨国并购等项目。

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