

The Right Way for China and the United States To Get Along in the New Era 中美新时代正确相处之道

Speech at Asia Society
在美国亚洲协会的演讲

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President Kevin Rudd of the Asia Society,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is good to be back in New York for the U.N. General Assembly, and meet friends again after an interval of three years.

In the last few years, a lot has happened in the world. The COVID-19 pandemic continues to wreak havoc; the global economy is in danger of a recession; and the Ukraine crisis has persisted and escalated. Issues involving food, energy, industrial and supply chains and climate change have become more acute.

The past few years have seen China-U.S. relations at a low ebb since the establishment of diplomatic ties. The reality of China-U.S. interdependence is ignored; the history of our win-win cooperation is misrepresented; channels of dialogue and communication are blocked. And the bilateral relationship is being defined and impacted dangerously by so-called strategic competition. This is bringing tremendous uncertainty to the future of our peoples and to countries across the world.

It is widely held that China-U.S. relations have well exceeded the bilateral scope and carry implications for the whole world. The global community expects China and the U.S. to take the lead, fulfill the responsibility as major countries, keep the bilateral ties stable and advance global cooperation.

Since last year, President Xi Jinping and President Joe Biden have had several rounds of strategic communication in flexible ways. President Xi pointed out that whether China and the U.S. can handle their relationship well bears on the future of the world. It is a question of the century to which the two countries must provide a good answer. President Biden said that the U.S.-China relationship is the most consequential relationship in the world, and how this relationship develops will shape the world in the 21st century.

Both Presidents agree that they should make the China-U.S. relationship work and not mess it up. They both believe the two countries should steer clear of conflict and confrontation. And they both stand for closer bilateral exchanges and cooperation. President Biden stressed many times that the U.S. does not seek a new Cold War with China; it does not aim to change China's system; the revitalization of its alliances is not against China; the U.S. does not support "Taiwan independence"; and it is not looking for conflict with China. People around the world hope that these important statements are translated into real actions.

If two fine orchestras are to work together harmoniously,

陆克文会长，

女士们，先生们，

时隔三年再次来到纽约出席联合国大会，很高兴再同各位朋友见面。

这几年来，世界发生了很多大事。新冠肺炎疫情持续肆虐，全球经济面临衰退危险，乌克兰危机升级延宕。粮食、能源、供应链、气候变化等问题日益突出。

这几年来，中美关系徘徊在建交后的低谷。两国相互依存现实被漠视，合作共赢的历史被歪曲，对话沟通的渠道被堵塞，所谓的“战略竞争”正在以危险的方式定义、影响中美关系，给两国人民和世界各国的未来带来巨大的变数。

显而易见，中美关系的意义早已超出双边，影响全球。国际社会普遍期待中美两国发挥引领作用，承担大国责任，稳定双边关系，推动全球合作。

去年以来，习近平主席和拜登总统以各种灵活方式进行了多次战略沟通。习近平主席指出，中美能否处理好彼此关系，攸关世界前途命运，是两国必须回答好的世纪之问。拜登总统表示，美中关系是世界上最重要的双边关系，如何发展将塑造21世纪的世界格局。

两国元首都认为中美关系只能搞好不能搞坏，都认为中美不应该冲突对抗，都主张两国加强交流合作。拜登总统多次强调，美方不寻求打“新冷战”，不寻求改变中国体制，不寻求通过强化同盟关系反对中国，不支持“台独”，无意同中国发生冲突。世人都期待美方能把这些重要表态真正落实在行动上。

两个优秀的乐团合作，首先需要指挥家确定共同的基调，同时也需要所有的演奏者按照同一套乐谱，发出和谐的

their conductors must first set the same tone, and all the players must follow the same music score. However, what has happened is that the U.S. team seems to have two different sets of music score. Their leader's political will of a stable bilateral relationship has yet to be translated into logical policies. The Chinese people and people from other countries find this confusing, and would naturally raise questions:

How will the U.S. deliver on its promise of not aiming to change China's system, when it has framed a false narrative of "democracy versus authoritarianism", a narrative that deliberately amplifies an ideological confrontation with China and takes aim at China's political system, development path and governing party?

How can a new Cold War be prevented, when the U.S. has, identifying China as the primary rival and the most serious long-term challenge, engaged in all-round containment, sought to encircle China by shaping the strategic environment around it, pressed other countries to pick sides and formed various small circles that exclude China?

How will the U.S. honor its important statement of not supporting "Taiwan independence" when it has, regardless of China's strong opposition, allowed its House Speaker to visit Taiwan again after 25 years, kept elevating substantive relations with Taiwan by repeated official exchanges and arms sales including many offensive weapons, and is advancing the deliberation of the "Taiwan Policy Act" that threatens the very foundation of China-U.S. relations underpinned by the three Joint Communiqués?

And how to keep the industrial and supply chains between China and the U.S. and of the world stable, when the U.S. prolongs the trade war with China, keeping in place the extra tariffs on US\$360 billion of Chinese goods though ruled inconsistent with the WTO rules, and extending the list of Chinese companies under its sanctions to over 1,000 entities and individuals?

The United States has, on the one hand, made repeated provocations on issues involving China's core interests and development rights and interests, yet on the other, expressed a desire to keep the bilateral ties stable and prevent conflict and confrontation. This is self-contradictory in both logic and reality.

What is the crux of the matter? It boils down to how the United States perceives China, the world and itself. Be it full confrontation or strategic competition, both have deviated from the right course of China-U.S. relations.

Such deviations are dangerous and come at a high price. Mr. Kevin Rudd described the current China-U.S. relations as in a workshop with exposed wires and cables lying everywhere, water on the floor and sparks flying. Mr. Joseph Nye compared the relations to a sleepwalking syndrome that could stumble into a new Cold War. Should the United States handle its relations with China with a zero-sum mindset and continue to let "political correctness" misguide its China policy, it won't find solutions to its own problems, but lead China-U.S. relations to conflict and confrontation. The message we must send, loud and clear, is that now is the time to make serious reflections and get back onto the right track!

Ladies and Gentlemen,

This year marks the 50th anniversary of President Richard Nixon's visit to China and the 40th anniversary of the August 17 Communiqué. History matters. It made things the way they are today, and helps shape a better future when its value is appreciated.

A few days earlier I paid a visit to Dr. Kissinger. We reviewed how, with twists and turns, China and the U.S. came to common understanding 50 years ago and the wisdom reflected in that episode of history. Since day one of their engagement, China and the United States have been aware that each is dealing with a country very different from oneself. Yet, these differences were no obstacles to us breaking the

音符。但大家看到的是，美方的团队似乎拿了两套乐谱，并没有把领导人稳定双边关系的政治意愿转化为合乎逻辑的政策，中国人民和各国人民都感到困惑，也当然会提出以下疑问：

美方炮制莫须有的“民主对抗威权”叙事，刻意放大中美意识形态对立，将矛头指向中国的政治制度、发展道路和执政党。这种情况下，如何履行不寻求改变中国体制的承诺？

美方把中国定义为“最主要对手”和“最严峻长期挑战”，实施全方位遏制，试图通过“塑造周边战略环境”来围堵中国，还胁迫各国选边站队、编织各种排除中国的“小圈子”。这种情况下，如何避免发生新的冷战？

美方不顾中方强烈反对，执意在25年后再次允许众议长访台。一次次官方往来，不断提升实质关系，一次次售台武器，甚至包括很多进攻性武器。最近又在推进审议所谓“台湾政策法案”，企图从根本上动摇中美三个联合公报构成的中美关系根基。这种情况下，如何兑现不支持“台独”的重要表态？

美方持续对华贸易战，即使被世贸组织判定违规，仍执意对约3600亿美元中国输美商品加征高额关税，同时单边制裁中国企业的单子越拉越长，已经达到1000多个实体和个人。这种情况下，如何来维护中美和全球产业链供应链的稳定？

美方在涉及中国核心利益和发展权益的问题上没完没了地挑衅，同时又提出要保持关系稳定，避免冲突对抗，这在逻辑上和现实上都是矛盾的。

症结在哪里？从根本上讲，还是美方对中国、对世界、对自己的认知出了偏差，无论是挑动“全面对抗”，还是鼓吹“战略竞争”，都偏离了中美关系的正确轨道。

这种偏离是危险的，代价也将是高昂的。陆克文先生将当前的中美关系比喻为置身裸露电缆的潮湿车间，约瑟夫·奈先生则形容为可能步入新冷战的“梦游综合症”，美国如果沿着零和博弈的思维处理中美关系，继续用“政治正确”来误导对华政策，不仅解决不了自身的问题，还会使中美关系走向冲突对抗的终点，我们要大喝一声，是时候要认真反思，重回正轨了！

女士们，先生们，

今年是尼克松总统访华50周年，也是“八一七公报”发表40周年。历史是重要的，有了历史才有现在，珍视历史才有未来。

我前几天专门拜访了基辛格博士，再次共同回顾了50年前中美双方达成共识的曲折故事和其中蕴含的智慧胸怀。中美从接触第一天起，就知道是在和一个很不相同的国家打交道。但这些差异的存在，并没有妨碍两国打破坚冰建立外交

ice and establishing diplomatic ties, no obstacles to us deepening cooperation based on common interests, still less to us making joint contributions to world peace and prosperity.

Looking ahead to the next 50 years, the sound and stable growth of China-U.S. relations still depends on whether we could put these differences in perspective and, on this basis, get on to pursue our respective and common interests.

Regarding the right way for China and the U.S. to get on with each other, President Xi Jinping has given a clear answer. That is mutual respect, peaceful coexistence and win-win cooperation. These three principles are an important conclusion informed by the evolution of China-U.S. relations over the past 50-odd years. They are also the right way for major countries to live with each other in this era.

Let me first talk about mutual respect.

Without respect, no trust can be built. Without trust, conflict would be a real danger and actual cooperation could not happen. This is an important lesson drawn from past exchanges between our two countries, and also a basic prerequisite for the bilateral ties to return to the right track.

In the Shanghai Communiqué issued 50 years ago, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. Fifty years on, this guiding principle is all the more relevant. We now can see clearly that China will not become another United States, and the U.S. cannot mould China to its liking. Neither side is able to take the other down. This means we need to respect each other's choices.

Defining one's own choice as democratic and the other's as authoritarian, and seeing success as changing the other side in one's own image are neither consistent with the facts, nor realistic.

China respects the development path chosen by the American people. We welcome an open and confident United States that enjoys growth and progress. The U.S. should also respect Chinese people's choice of development path, i.e. socialism with Chinese characteristics.

This path is tried and tested by the Chinese people with a clear logic of history. In modern times, the Chinese people explored relentlessly for a path to save and revitalize the nation. Various models including Western systems were put into practice, but none of them worked when they failed to fit China's realities. By adapting Marxism to the Chinese conditions and to the traditional Chinese culture, the Communist Party of China (CPC) successfully rallied the Chinese people and led them in a united endeavor to gain national independence and liberation. Eventually, China found a right path toward prosperity and strength.

This path has opened up bright prospects for China's modernization. We have built a moderately prosperous society in all respects, eradicated absolute poverty for the first time in the country's history, and in a span of a few decades, transformed China from a poor and weak nation into the world's second largest economy. China has fed nearly 20 percent of the world's population with nine percent of its arable land. It now has a middle-income group that exceeds 400 million. The 1.4 billion Chinese people moving toward modernization and common prosperity will make a miracle come true in the history of development.

This path has brought true human rights and democracy to the Chinese people. The world's largest social security network and compulsory education system have been set up. People's all-round development is put front and center, and everyone stands a chance to reach one's full potential. By integrating electoral democracy with consultative democracy, and procedural democracy with substantive democracy, we have advanced a whole-process people's democracy that has won the people's full support. Leading U.S. opinion polls show that the Chinese people's

关系,也没有妨碍双方基于共同利益深化合作,更没有妨碍双方为世界和平繁荣做出共同贡献。

展望未来50年,中美关系能否健康稳定发展,仍然取决于我们能否正确对待这些差异,并以此为基础追求各自和共同的利益。

关于中美两国的正确相处之道,习近平主席已经给出了明确答案,那就是相互尊重、和平共处、合作共赢。这三项原则是审视中美关系半个多世纪风云跌宕得出的重要论断,也是当今时代大国之间彼此交往的正确之道。

我首先谈相互尊重。

没有尊重,就谈不上信任,没有信任,就无法避免冲突,也谈不上真正的合作。这是中美交往积累的重要经验,也是双边关系重回正轨的基本前提。

50年前发表了“上海公报”,双方同意不论社会制度如何,都要尊重彼此主权和领土完整、不侵犯别国、不干涉别国内政。50年后的今天,这一指导原则更具有现实意义。我们可以清晰地认识到,中国不会成为另一个美国,美国也无法按自己的好恶改变中国,双方谁也打倒不了谁,这就需要尊重彼此的选择。

把自己的选择定义为民主,把对方的选择定义为威权,把成功定义为改变对方,既不符合事实,更不现实。

我们尊重美国人民选择的发展道路,乐见美国开放自信、发展进步。美国也应当尊重中国人民选择的发展道路,这就是中国特色社会主义。

这条道路,是中国人民自己走出来的,也有着清晰的历史逻辑。近代以来,中国人民在救亡振兴的道路上艰辛探索,包括西方体制在内的各种方案轮番出台,但都因水土不服,以失败告终。直到中国共产党把马克思主义同中国具体实际相结合,同中国的传统文化相结合,才团结带领中国人民实现了民族独立和解放,并最终找到了走向繁荣富强的正确道路。

这条道路,开辟了中国式现代化的广阔前景。我们全面建成小康社会,历史性消除绝对贫困,用短短几十年时间,从积贫积弱成长为世界第二大经济体,用全球9%的耕地养活了世界近20%的人口,形成了4亿以上的中等收入群体。14亿中国人民走向现代化,迈向共同富裕,将是人类发展历史上的奇迹。

这条道路,为中国人民带来了真正的人权和民主。我们建成了世界规模最大的社会保障和义务教育体系,把人的全面发展放在第一位,让每一个人都有人生出彩的机会。我们把选举民主和协商民主、程序民主和实质民主结合起来,推