

CHINA-US RELATIONS IN THE EYES OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

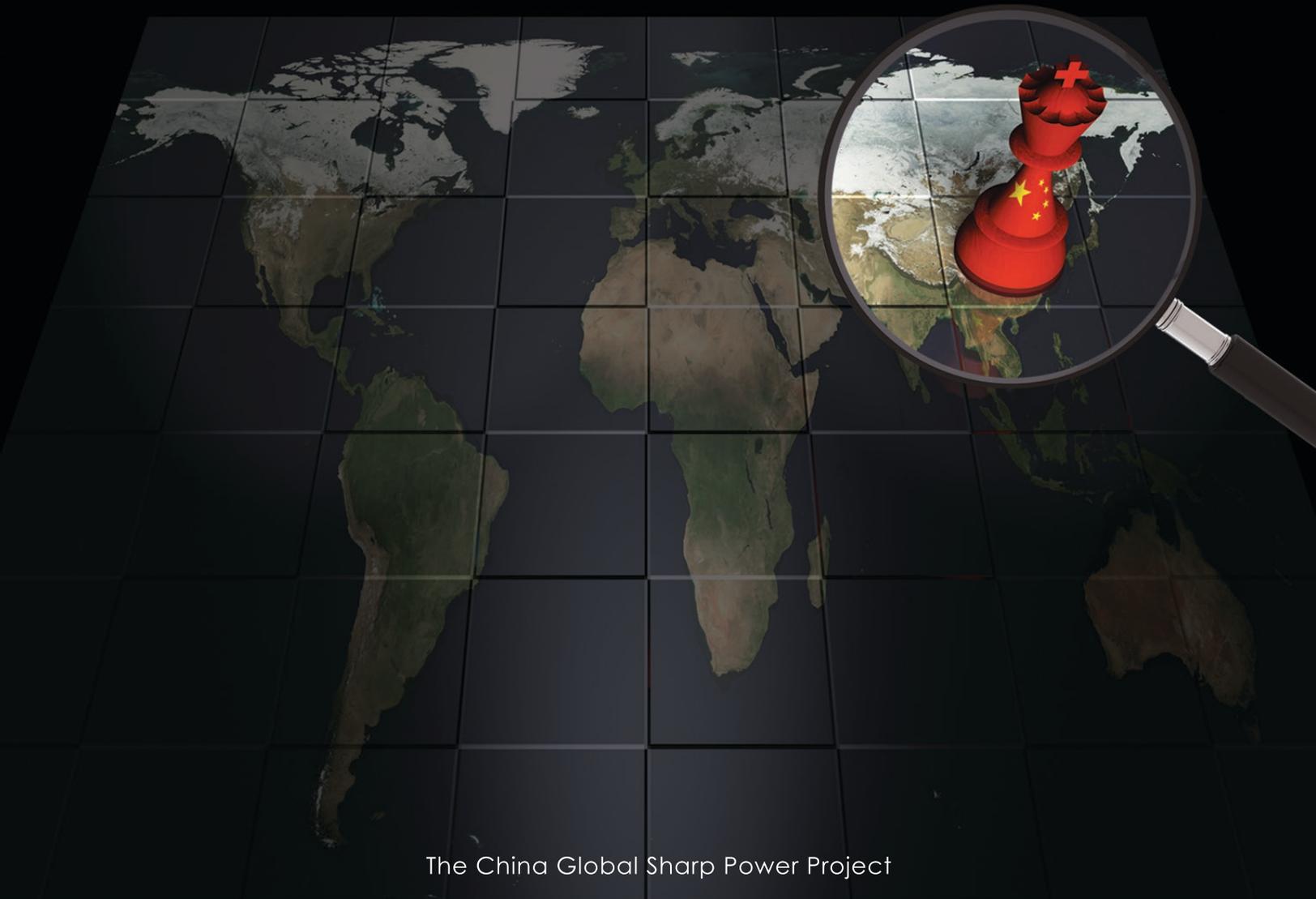
An Insider's Perspective

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How does the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) view the China-US relationship, and what factors have shaped China's approach to the United States? As a former insider in the CCP and professor at the Central Party School for many years, I would like to offer here some personal reflections on these questions (even though I am not an expert on Sino-American relations).

Looking back on China-US relations over the past half century, we Chinese should first affirm and thank the US government for its "engagement policy" with China, which helped China end thirty years of isolation and poverty. China's rapid economic and social development and tremendous changes are inseparable from the sincere exchanges and help of the US government as well as people in American scientific, technological, educational, cultural, and economic circles. This assistance provided an extremely precious historical opportunity and development space for China to integrate into international society, get in touch with and understand modern civilization, and restore economic and social vitality. As a result, many Chinese have had the opportunity to get out of the country and thus change their destiny and that of their families. Currently there are more than five million Chinese who have emigrated to the US. The vast majority of them came after the 1980s through study, work, or immigration, becoming permanent residents with green cards or naturalized American citizens. In turn, their close interactions with their relatives, friends, and colleagues back in China have helped to broaden the Chinese people's views and opened their minds.

However, looking at it objectively, the Chinese Communist Party's fundamental interests and its basic mentality of using the US while remaining hostile to it have not changed over the past seventy years. By contrast, since the 1970s, the two political parties in the United States and the US government have always had unrealistic good wishes for the Chinese communist regime, eagerly hoping that the People's Republic of China (PRC) under the CCP's rule would become more liberal, even democratic, and a "responsible" power in the world. However, this US approach was a fundamental misunderstanding of the CCP's real nature and long-term strategic goals. All along the CCP hid its real goals and intentions, so as to gain various benefits from the United States. Although there have been economic, political, and personnel changes within the two countries, as well as steady frictions, conflicts, and tensions in



China-US relations, normal diplomatic relations between the two countries have been maintained and conflicts and risks have generally been kept under control.

As a result, the effects of the engagement policy over the past half century have been multifaceted. On the one hand, engagement has helped the Chinese people to get rid of poverty and isolation and enter the international community, and it has also allowed civil society to emerge and gradually develop in China. On the other hand, the engagement policy has also hastened the rapid rise of China under the CCP's neo-totalitarian rule. The CCP is determined to reframe the existing international order and norms and lead the world in the opposite direction of liberal democracy.

Since Xi Jinping came to power in 2012, he has continued the diplomatic strategy toward the US established by Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping—namely, to take advantage of the engagement policy to gain time to achieve the CCP's goals. But, with China's enhanced strength now, Xi Jinping has wrongly judged that the international configuration is “the East is rising and the West is declining,” and he has become more aggressive and outspoken about his strategic intention to displace the United States. As a result, in recent years, troubles and conflicts in China-US relations have continually increased, and the CCP has increasingly become the greatest challenge and greatest threat to postwar international relations, to the liberal system of freedom and democracy, and to the security of the United States. The March 22, 2021, clash between the top diplomatic officials of the two countries in Anchorage, Alaska, showed that the relationship between China and the US may return to the rivalrous state of fifty years ago.

How the US government understands and handles China-US relations affects not only the well-being of the Chinese and American peoples but also the peace and stability of the world. As a former member of the CCP system, looking back at the changes in China-US relations over the past fifty years, I have three basic perspectives that I wish to share with Americans, so that they can more clearly see the CCP and its strategies for what they are.

First, in the more than seventy years since it came to power, the CCP has treated domestic and foreign affairs as “one integrated game,” with the top priority of strengthening the CCP's control and preventing the collapse of the regime. In this regard, diplomacy is an extension of domestic affairs and is seen as a device to keep the party in power.

Second, as far as the CCP's global strategic objectives are concerned, China-US relations are the primary, and most important, factors among all. Therefore, the CCP's attitude toward China-US relations and the engagement policy is determined by how well they serve the CCP's internal political needs.

Third, international engagement and economic development have failed to soften the political character of the CCP regime. Its combination of ideology and extreme repression

make it a totalitarian regime, and the sophisticated digital nature of its surveillance and repression has given totalitarian control a new dimension. All of this makes China a more dangerous adversary for the United States.

The “Honeymoon Period” of China-US Engagement Policy

It was President Nixon who gave birth to the US policy of “engagement” with China. He not only saw a US alliance with China to contain the Soviet Union as a necessity from a geopolitical perspective, but he also viewed the significance of changing China-US relations from a long-term perspective of global security. Writing as early as 1967, Nixon stated, “Taking the long view, we simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside of the family of nations, there to nurture its fantasies, cherish its hates and threaten its neighbors. There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation.”¹ But Nixon forgot to ask if communist China could be easily integrated into the international community.

On China’s side, it was Mao Zedong who opened the door, but it was Deng Xiaoping who established the strategic framework for China-US engagement. Deng’s positive attitude toward the engagement policy was due first to the fact that China’s economy was at the edge of collapse at the end of the Cultural Revolution. Meanwhile, choosing the United States in the confrontation between the US and the Soviet Union at that time helped the CCP to rely on the strength of the US to reduce Soviet threats.

China and the United States formally established diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979. Following Deng Xiaoping’s historic visit to the US that month, large numbers of CCP officials also visited the US and European countries. These visits prompted the CCP’s determination to open the country to promote reforms, and China began to experience remarkable changes.

Deng Xiaoping was greatly impressed by his visit to the US. He had a classic saying: “After WWII, those who followed the U.S. have become rich, and those who opposed the U.S. are still poor.”² In the early 1980s, all members of the CCP from the top down hoped to change China’s poverty and backwardness. When I lived in Suzhou in the 1980s, I once chatted with a senior reporter of the *Suzhou Daily* newspaper who had just interviewed a city official recently returned from his first visit to the United States. The reporter was expecting the official to talk about how US imperialism was struggling and dying. The reporter was stunned when he heard the official say, “Ah, now I know what a civilized life is. We are all barbarians here.” Of course, the interview was not published.

In the early 1980s, Deng Xiaoping emphasized that since a third world war would not occur, China should take advantage of the historic opportunity to fully develop itself. The CCP and the government at national, provincial, and local levels enthusiastically



promoted China-US friendship and opening to the outside world. Fourteen coastal cities were designated as Special Economic Zones, offering various preferential policies to attract foreign investment to China. At the same time, China sent students to the US and Europe to learn cutting-edge technology and social science theories.

Then why, shortly after returning from his triumphal tour of the US, did Deng Xiaoping launch the war in the border region of China and Vietnam? There were two narratives circulating within the CCP at the time: one was that it was to “show a loyalty pledge” to the US, that China did not hesitate to teach its former “little brother” in the international communist movement a “lesson” in order to express sincere friendship with the US; the other was that Deng Xiaoping wanted to gain firm control of China’s military through this conflict. After the Sino-Vietnamese border war ended (and the Chinese people were never told how poorly our forces fared or how many of our soldiers died), Deng Xiaoping executed a demobilization plan, reducing the army by one million soldiers and converting military-oriented enterprises to civilian production, thus saving military expenditures to develop the economy. He also formulated a three-step strategy. The goal was to make China a modern great power in the world by 2049, the centenary of the PRC.

The acceleration of China’s economic growth was something that the US was happy to see. The US was looking forward to the gradual emergence of democracy in China in the course of economic changes. President Nixon said: “Thus, our aim—to the extent that we influence events—should be to induce change.”³ From the outset of the engagement policy, US strategy has been to produce liberal change in China—economically, socially, and politically. Perhaps what American officials did not expect was that Deng Xiaoping would delineate the boundaries of Chinese politics by setting down the Four Cardinal Principles: adherence to the socialist road, to the people’s democratic dictatorship, to the leadership of the Communist Party, and to Marxist and Mao Zedong Thought.⁴ From the very beginning, the CCP’s senior leaders have made it clear that the ultimate purpose of accepting and using the American engagement policy was to restore China’s economy in order to strengthen the CCP regime. Some space could be properly opened in the economic field, but in the political arena the Four Cardinal Principles must not be changed and the dominance of the CCP’s one-party rule must never be challenged.

However, the simultaneous economic reforms and opening to the outside world brought in democratic ideas and universal values, thereby causing ideological confusion within the party and the country. As a certain liberalizing trend was under way and reformers within the party were proposing various alterations to classic Marxist theories in 1982–1983, the conservatives within the CCP could not tolerate it and countered with the “Spiritual Pollution Movement.” This campaign was short-lived, though, and by 1984 liberal leaders Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang were again pushing philosophical and political boundaries in a much more open and liberal direction.

Although Deng himself had spoken of the need for political reform as early as 1980 and again in 1982, by 1986 the reform of China's political system was put on the official CCP agenda and, at the same time, the first nationwide prodemocracy student movement occurred in China. Although Deng Xiaoping had given numerous directives regarding China's political reform, he remained highly vigilant about any negative effects that might be caused by introducing Western liberal and democratic ideas into China, and he would never allow political changes to go beyond the CCP's control. Together with several old party leaders, he exerted strong pressure and quelled the "Democracy Wall Movement" in late 1979, the Hunan student movement in 1980, and then a nationwide student movement in late 1986 (which started in Hefei, in Anhui Province, but rapidly spread to other cities). The latter movement resulted in Hu Yaobang being forced to resign as the general secretary of the CCP and the expulsion from the party of leading intellectuals Fang Lizhi, Wang Ruowang, and Liu Binyan. In expelling them, Deng importantly said: "When we talk about democracy, we cannot copy bourgeois democracy, and we cannot engage in the threefold separation-of-powers system."⁵ The 1986 student movement was labeled "bourgeois liberalization" by Deng and party conservatives. This kind of characterization and treatment paved the way for the Tiananmen Square incident on June 4, 1989.

The period from the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the US in 1979 to the June 4 incident in 1989 was the "honeymoon" period of the China-US engagement policy. The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party not only used the engagement policy to create favorable conditions for achieving their goals, but they also never flinched on the sensitive and complex issues concerning CCP rule. For their part, American leaders, out of goodwill and wishful thinking, intentionally or unintentionally, covered up or ignored some sensitive and complex issues (mainly concerning civil and political rights and Taiwan), and at times even used ambiguous wording to make de facto concessions. Some clearheaded people in American political and academic circles did express doubts about US engagement policy toward China at the time, but they were in a distinct minority.⁶ Things that happened later proved that the doubts were justified, but US government leaders at the time did not pay much attention. The buy-in to the engagement theory was so pervasive among US policy elites that it had an intoxicating effect on them. The big fallacy of the engagement policy was in assuming that the CCP could be transformed to share power and accept democracy, and therefore it erred in engaging heavily with China's elites rather than its people.

Deng Xiaoping Clarified the Basic Strategic Framework for China-US Relations after the June 4 Incident

The June 4 incident in 1989 and subsequent drastic political changes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe greatly shook the foundation of the CCP's rule and shocked its top echelon. How to stabilize the domestic situation and ease international pressure as soon



as possible became a major and urgent problem facing the CCP at that time. The subsequent overall framework of China-US relations and the engagement policy were gradually reset against that background.

The incident on June 4, 1989, when the army opened fire on protesting citizens in Tiananmen Square and other parts of Beijing, shocked the world and caused immediate worldwide reactions, which put the CCP's international reputation and relations under fire. The Group of Seven (G7) countries strongly condemned the action and instituted various sanctions against China. The CCP was very nervous at the time. First, the Tiananmen Square incident suddenly deteriorated China's external international environment after a decade of positive engagement with the world. The events in China coincided with similar unrest in Eastern European countries, challenging communist rule there. Then, two years later, the political turmoil spread to the former Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was overthrown. Those inside the CCP could hardly believe these extraordinary events.

These two factors exerted enormous pressure on the CCP, and an uneasy panic and fear permeated the party. Deng Xiaoping worked hard to restore the unfavorable political situation over the next year or so, trying to stabilize the party and the people internally, while externally trying to restore a normal international environment, especially in China-US relations. In response to international sanctions, Deng gave a talk inside the party, saying, in effect, why should we be afraid of the blockade? Before the reform and opening-up policy the CCP had been blockaded for thirty years, but the party and country survived. Deng also said that China's one billion people were a "big market" and "we don't need to beg the foreigners to come back—they will do so of their own volition, as they need us."⁷ At the time, this internal speech was intended to stabilize the mood inside the party. But in July of the following year, when Deng met with former Canadian prime minister Pierre Trudeau, he clearly expressed this opinion more openly.⁸ Meanwhile, the CCP issued multiple directives to combat corruption, rectify the party's work style, establish an internal reporting system (whereby party members report on others), and adjust the relationship between the CCP and other Chinese "democratic parties" (the eight "united front" parties that are permitted to exist to give the façade that the CCP shares power) as well as with the general public to alleviate public grievances and stabilize the domestic situation.

The turning point was Deng Xiaoping's misjudgment that the US was behind the 1989 prodemocracy protests. In their aftermath Deng frequently met with international figures, private or official, as well as semiofficial dignitaries from the US. His words were soft but tough, trying his best to repair foreign relations, especially with Washington, yet he made unfounded countercharges. Deng specifically blamed the June 4 incident on Western countries and the United States, saying: "The Western world really wanted chaos

in China. . . . The United States, as well as some other Western countries, have engaged in peaceful evolution towards capitalism in socialist countries. The United States is waging a smokeless world war without gunpowder.”⁹

In another meeting with the prime minister of Thailand, Deng Xiaoping said, “China, among the countries in the world, is least afraid of isolation, blockade, and sanctions. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, we have been in a position of being isolated, blocked, and sanctioned for decades. But in the end, it has not harmed us much. Facts show that those who want to sanction us are beginning to learn their lessons.”¹⁰ In a meeting with former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, Deng said: “After we put down the rebellion, the Group of Seven summit meeting issued a declaration imposing sanctions on China. What qualifies them to do that? Who granted them the authority? Their talk about human rights, freedom and democracy is only designed to safeguard the interests of the strong, rich countries, which pursue hegemony and practice power politics. We never listen to such stuff.”¹¹

Then Deng met with former US president Nixon on October 31, 1989. He first gratuitously praised Nixon and said: “I appreciate your opinion very much. When considering the relationship between countries, we should primarily proceed from our own country’s strategic interests. . . . So, your trip to China in 1972 was not only a wise but also a very brave action.” Then, Deng defended the shooting and poured a pot of dirty water over the conversation: “Frankly, the recent disturbances and counter-revolutionary rebellion that took place in Beijing were fanned by [the forces of] international anti-communism and anti-socialism. It is a pity that the United States was so deeply involved in this matter and that it keeps denouncing China. Actually, it is China that is the real victim. China has not done anything to harm the United States.” Then, after trying to justify his and the CCP’s actions to use force, Deng took an even tougher stand, telling Nixon: “I would like you to tell President Bush that the United States should take the initiative in putting the past behind us, because only your country can do that. . . . The U.S. is strong and China is weak; China is the victim. Don’t ever expect China to beg the United States to lift the sanctions. If they lasted a hundred years, the Chinese would not do that.” In the end, Deng did not forget to gratuitously remind Nixon of the Chinese market as a temptation: “The Chinese market is not fully developed yet, and the United States can take advantage of it in many ways. We shall be happy to have American merchants continue doing business with China. This could be an important way of putting the past behind us.”¹²

Looking back today, we can see that Deng’s talks were indeed very clever. It was clear that he was the perpetrator, but he described himself, the CCP, and China as the victim. Deng blamed the June 4 incident on Western countries and the United States because that was badly needed to quell the discontent of the entire party and all the people in the country over the shooting.



Defying the national mood of censure in the United States, President Bush seemed desperate to get the relationship back on track (another example of American naïveté). Bush dispatched his national security advisor, Brent Scowcroft, to Beijing on two secret trips, in July and December 1989. Instead of keeping Deng isolated and on the defensive, Bush's initiative appeared groveling and played into Deng's hands. The Chinese public had no way to know of these secret visits; even we in the central party apparatus did not know. When Deng met with Scowcroft his attitude was tough and condescending, but he also held out an olive branch: "China cannot be a threat to the United States, and the US should not treat China as a threatening rival. We have never done anything to harm the U.S. . . . If both sides make concessions, we can reach a settlement acceptable to both."¹³ Scowcroft, the well-mannered "gentleman" American diplomat, was not confrontational. He used humble diplomatic etiquette to defuse the embarrassing atmosphere of concealed confrontation during the meeting with Deng, and this perhaps made a bad start for the subsequent handling of conflicts in China-US relations.

After more than a year of internal and external adjustments, Deng Xiaoping gradually formulated the CCP's basic domestic and international policies to deal with the June 4 Tiananmen Square incident and the drastic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. In a speech announcing his retirement on September 4, 1989, to the Central Committee, Deng observed:

I think the upheavals in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were inevitable. . . . There is no doubt that the imperialists want socialist countries to change their nature. The problem now is not whether the banner of the Soviet Union will fall—there is bound to be unrest there—but whether the banner of China will fall. . . . As long as China doesn't collapse, one fifth of the world's population will be upholding socialism. . . . In short, my views about the international situation can be summed up in three sentences. First, we should observe the situation coolly. Second, we should hold our ground. Third, we should act calmly. Don't be impatient; it is no good to be impatient. We should be calm, calm, and calm again.¹⁴

At first Deng declared a twelve-character policy, but later it turned to the twenty-four-character policy "stabilize the position, observe calmly, take all in stride, never take the lead, and *hide our capacity to bide our time*." The latter phrase, *taoguang yanghui* (韬光养晦), became famous as Deng's famous dictum to guide foreign policy. Most people don't know that it was the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc that triggered Deng's *taoguang yanghui* strategy. A group of CCP top-ranking cadres came to Deng after the collapse, urging that China take over the leadership of the world communist community. Deng insisted that "we should not stick our neck out" (不当头) but must "hide our capacity to bide our time."

Deng handled internal affairs and diplomacy in a comprehensive way and emphasized several points to the CCP. His political brilliance and experience enabled him to see clearly

that China had no strength to confront the US at the time and that regime survival had to be the party's utmost task. He also knew that the CCP's legitimacy and survival depended on its economic performance. If China could not shake off poverty, the Communist Party would collapse sooner or later. China's economy could only improve by continuing the reform and opening-up policy. And only by so doing would China's relations with the US be eased. At that time, China was far from possessing the strength to stand up as an equal to the United States and European countries. If China wanted to enter the international economic community and use the world market to increase its national power, China could only achieve this by acting softly, lowering its posture, and keeping a low profile in dealing with the US and the Western world. In other words, China must deceive the West by hiding its long-term strategic goals, pretending to be weak and harmless, in order to take advantage of Western markets, technology, capital, and talent, while waiting for the opportunity to strike back and win the ultimate war. This was an ancient strategy that Chinese emperors and kings had used many times in the past.

The Post-Deng Basic Framework for Managing Relations with the United States

The framework based on the Four Cardinal Principles formulated by Deng Xiaoping governed the subsequent twenty years of the CCP's and China's approach to the US under Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, but changes began after 2009.

Anti-Peaceful Evolution Has Been the Long-Term Consistent Policy of the CCP

"Guarding against peaceful evolution" and preventing the undermining of the regime have been the basic policies of ideological propaganda within the CCP since the Mao period. After the Tiananmen protests and the drastic changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the CCP vigorously strengthened its propaganda and indoctrination within the party and worked hard in four aspects, which primarily targeted the elimination of US influence.

The first tactic was to tie the fate of all party members and officials to the CCP regime's security. After 1989 the CCP continued to strengthen its "crisis education" within the party, emphasizing that if the CCP fell from power, as in the former communist party-states, tens of thousands of cadres could be incarcerated or killed, and most party members and cadres would face unemployment and difficulties in making a living. In particular, the party used the execution of Romanian leader Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife as an example to warn that maintaining political power is literally a matter of life and death for individual leaders. It further strengthened the notion that "anti-liberalization and anti-peaceful evolution" is a correct political position.

The second party initiative was to mobilize institutions (Central Party School, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, famous university scholars on the international communist



movement, as well as military personnel) to study the causes, lessons, and countermeasures of the political upheavals in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to prevent the CCP's own collapse. These detailed studies (which continued throughout the 1990s and into the early 2000s) produced two main schools of opinion: one favored advancing political reforms and gradually moving toward a democratic constitutional system, while the other urged sticking to the traditional thinking of the Communist Party and fighting an "invisible war" against the United States.¹⁵ Both schools of opinion had an impact on the highest levels of the CCP—but, in the end, the hard-liners prevailed.

The third initiative involved ideology. The CCP realized the confrontation with the US would ultimately focus on ideology—but the party's ideology was contradictory, inconsistent, and inferior, making it hard to justify its perpetual rule over the country. So, party theoreticians strived to reshape a new ideology to resist the influence of modern concepts such as universal values, freedom, democracy, and constitutionalism on the party and Chinese society. On the one hand, the CCP defines "Chinese-style democracy" and the rule of law as its "core socialist values"; on the other hand, it attacks or denies universal values such as freedom and democracy. Instead, it tries to integrate traditional Chinese culture with Marxist theory to form a "Chinese Marxism for the 21st century." With the collapse of the CCP's ideological pillar, the CCP is increasingly relying on material temptation and high-pressure punishment to hold the party together.

Fourth, the party has sought to combine anti-peaceful evolution with manipulation of public sentiments. The CCP is highly vigilant and restrictive against the activities of foreign NGOs in China, and it suppresses the budding and growing civil society forces, or any organized and collective actions by its citizens, in China. Furthermore, it agitates and manipulates nationalist sentiments among the Chinese people, advocating an ideological consciousness of "grand unification," inciting hatred of the United States to justify the regime's legitimacy on social and psychological levels.

"Sovereign Rights" Are Used to Suppress "Human Rights," and "Protection of Human Rights" Has Become a Major Point of Contention between China and the US

The CCP had almost no concept of human rights in the past, and it basically parroted the Soviet Union's narratives on the subject. After the June 4 incident, no one in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was even able to write an article in response to the international community's condemnation of the CCP's violation of human rights. A professor at the Central Party School accidentally learned of this situation and offered to help. In his article for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he put forward the argument that "the rights to subsistence and development are superior to human rights," which subsequently became regarded as "the viewpoint of human rights with Chinese characteristics." This echoes exactly Deng Xiaoping's statement that "sovereign rights are superior to human rights." These two points have subsequently become the CCP's basic narrative on human rights issues.¹⁶

It is precisely because the CCP has seen through the American capitalists' strong desire for the Chinese market that it knew that big business would willingly pressure the US government to make concessions. Therefore, the CCP couldn't care less about criticisms of its human rights violations, and it has become increasingly repressive domestically. The party deprives people of their basic rights of belief, speech, information, migration, and work; it brutally persecutes truth-telling journalists, lawyers, scholars, and NGOs; and it destroys churches and arrests church members and believers. In ethnic minority areas it continues to push its long-term practice of "grand unification," distorting the ethnic autonomy policy, weakening and depriving ethnic cultural practices, and more recently forcefully implementing disguised ethnic annihilation. The CCP has also brutally suppressed the autonomy of the people of Hong Kong since 2019. It forcibly passed the Hong Kong version of the National Security Law and detained and sentenced well-known people from all walks of life who defended their rights to freedom. In recent years, the CCP's human rights violations have become more serious and are causing widespread concern and public outrage all over the world.

The US government has repeatedly negotiated with China to rescue those persecuted by the CCP—sometimes successfully, sometimes not. The US government has strongly condemned China's brutal acts in Xinjiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, and Hong Kong. In the final stage of the Trump administration, the US made it clear that the CCP is carrying out "genocide" against the Uyghurs, a position that the Biden administration has continued. These statements have aroused worldwide attention. In the meeting between senior Chinese and US officials in Anchorage, Secretary of State Antony Blinken raised the issue of Xinjiang and Hong Kong in his opening statement, clearly declaring their importance and the position of the US government. This provoked a retaliatory tirade from CCP Politburo member and foreign affairs czar Yang Jiechi indicating that the US had no right to lecture China and "interfere in its internal affairs."

Expand Opening to the Outside World to Benefit China's Economic Growth

After Jiang Zemin became the general secretary of the CCP, he initially emphasized anti-peaceful evolution and was inclined to negate the economic reforms, return to the planned economy, and close China's door to the outside world. But Jiang came to realize that if the economy did not work well, not only would the CCP fail to maintain its control, but also Deng Xiaoping's decade of achievements would be denied. Deng too could not sit idly by. In early 1992, he made a famous inspection tour of Shenzhen and repeatedly emphasized reform, opening up, and economic development. He said harshly: "Anyone who opposes reform and opening will be removed." This was a direct warning to Jiang Zemin, pushing him to clearly declare the goal of establishing a socialist market economic system at the 14th CCP National Congress.

The CCP made great efforts to attract foreign companies (including US companies) to enter China's market, and to increase economic, cultural, and technological exchanges



with developed countries. At the same time, the CCP took advantage of opportunities for economic and cultural exchanges to sneakily acquire economic, commercial, technological, political, and military intelligence. In particular, the theft of high-tech research results is not only carried out in foreign companies within China but also by Chinese students and scholars who go abroad and may be required to “cooperate” with certain agencies to filch various information. About ten years ago I talked with a scholar who had returned to China about my desire to be a visiting scholar in a prestigious school in a foreign country. The scholar immediately said: “If anyone asks you to ‘cooperate’ with them for something, be sure not to agree.” I didn’t pay much attention to it at the time, but looking back now, this scholar’s reminder said a lot. For a long period of time, these covert activities that endangered American national security were only noticed by a few Americans.

Taoguang Yanghui Is the Most Important Principle Restricting the CCP’s Handling of China-US Relations

The Chinese saying *taoguang yanghui* (hiding our capacity to bide time) typically reflects the scheming way of thinking in traditional Chinese culture. The CCP earnestly avoided sticking its neck out internationally for the twenty years from 1989 to 2008, because the CCP needed time to become bigger and stronger. Jiang Zemin talked about his sixteen-character principle in handling China-US relations in an internal report in 1994, showing China’s weakness to the US.¹⁷ Realizing that the power disparity between China and the US was too great and that China was unable to directly confront the US, the CCP practiced “forbearance” in encounters. Thus, China “tolerated” the 1993 container ship *Yinhe* incident, the 1996 Taiwan Strait missile crisis, and the 1999 bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. After the latter, China-US relations fell to their lowest point for a while, and finally the two governments negotiated a settlement and China “stomached it.” In April 2001, the US EP-3 spy plane collision with a Chinese air force fighter jet (which had been harassing it) produced a new incident that once again caused the relationship to deteriorate. After the US expressed “regrets” twice, the Chinese side decided to “put up with it” again.

China suffered casualties in both incidents. To a certain extent, China could have made a big deal of it as the “injured party” to obtain more compensation. This passive response disappointed the Chinese people and directly affected the credibility of the CCP and government. Having long been brainwashed by the government’s anti-American propaganda, people in China protested, stoning and damaging the US embassy in Beijing (though actually, the protests were orchestrated by the authorities). This frightened the CCP and PRC government, which feared that the people’s nationalistic anger would turn into discontent with the government’s passive responses and backfire on the party, so they deployed various means to calm the people down and restrict their behavior in order to end the diplomatic incidents as soon as possible.

After these two incidents the CCP reaffirmed Deng’s idea of *taoguang yanghui*, gradually making this strategic principle that was originally focused on diplomacy a basic policy

that the entire party must follow. This was generally accepted by middle- and high-level officials in the party. Two things impressed me deeply. One was that between August and September 2001, the Central Party School held a national symposium in Harbin (the Party School system consists of approximately 2,800 schools across all administrative levels in the country). This national meeting was to study the “Important Thought of Jiang Zemin on the Three Represents.”¹⁸ During one of the sessions I chatted with an influential bureau-level leader of the Central Party School. Believing that the government’s position was too weak, I said that it seemed that public opinion was dissatisfied with the government’s handling of the plane collision incident in April 2001. She responded: “How can we be tough? The US is too strong.”

Another impression I recall is that after the doctrine of “Three Represents” was put forward, Zheng Bijian, then the executive vice president of the Central Party School, proposed the idea of China’s “peaceful rise” (和平崛起), which was extensively publicized by the Chinese official media and attracted widespread attention from the world. After some time, this “peaceful rise” meme was no longer mentioned, and the phrase “peaceful development” was substituted instead. I noticed the change (any party ideology theorist like me is keenly alert to the CCP’s phraseological changes because they often have deeper political implications). I asked Zheng Bijian’s associate, who was the director of the International Strategic Research Institute of the Central Party School, “Why is ‘peaceful rise’ not talked about anymore?” The director told me that the main consideration was that Western countries were concerned about the word “rise,” believing that it could be seen as a “potential threat”—thus it was changed to the more benign term “peaceful development,” emphasizing that China’s development does not pose a threat to any country.

In order to conceal China’s true strategic intention, Xiong Guangkai, the CCP’s top military intelligence officer, made a big fuss about the English translation of Deng’s *taoguang yanghui* strategy. He alleged that the translation was wrong and completely distorted China’s peaceful diplomatic strategy, and it thus had caused undue negative effects on China’s normal foreign exchanges. General Xiong claimed that “the core meaning of the expression is not to show one’s strength, especially when one is strong and able, not to show off but to keep a low profile.” Anyone who has some knowledge of Chinese history and the writing of the characters knows that the hidden meaning of classic idioms such as “hiding our capacity to bide time” and “sleeping on brushwood and tasting gall” (卧薪尝胆) is to endure hardships and plan for retaliation.¹⁹ As a leading Chinese propagandist, the former head of the State Council’s Information Office, Zhao Qizheng, cynically explained, “The ‘peaceful’ is for foreigners, and the ‘rise’ is for us Chinese.”²⁰

Indeed, the CCP has skillfully played the game of Oriental cultural exceptionalism in China-US relations. After China joined the WTO in 2001, China-US relations entered a new stage. The US was quite optimistic about possible changes in China, thinking that a market economy would lead China on the road to democracy. When lecturing students at Johns



Hopkins University, President Bill Clinton said, “By joining the WTO, China is not simply agreeing to import more of our products, it is agreeing to import one of democracy’s most cherished values, economic freedom. The more China liberalizes its economy, the more fully it will liberate the potential of its people, their initiative, their imagination, their remarkable spirit of enterprise . . . [and] the genie of freedom will not go back into the bottle.” President George W. Bush also said, “Economic freedom creates the habits of liberty, and habits of liberty create expectations of democracy. . . . Trade freely with China and time is on our side.”

The Americans are too naïve. There are many differences between the cultures of Americans and Chinese. One basic cultural tradition of Americans is not to lie, to obey the rules, and to respect the spirit of contracts. In Chinese culture deception is in our blood. There is no spirit of the contract, no sense of fairness, and people often say different words to mean the same things under different circumstances. Something said today can change tomorrow. American people don’t have to care what the CCP says—but they must be careful about what the CCP does. If Americans naïvely believe the benign words and empty propaganda slogans that the CCP propagates, then they will be deceived and cheated. This is Chinese-style cunning. The Chinese Communist Party does not think that this is morally bad. On the contrary, they think that it is a “strategy,” as Sun Zi long ago instructed that “there can never be too much deception in war” (兵不厌诈).

The CCP utilizes everything to achieve its aims. They think that as long as the purpose is achieved, any means can be used (the ends justify the means). They will use enticing language to lure multinational companies into China. But then these companies will soon find that they have fallen into a trap: they must transfer their technologies or face shutdown. After acquiring the foreign technology, China often figures out ways to force these companies to leave the Chinese market. Elon Musk’s Tesla company is experiencing this situation now.

In 2008 China hosted the Olympic Games with great success, while the US fell into the subprime financial crisis. This stimulated the ambitions of the CCP’s top leaders, who believed China’s rise and America’s decline were inevitable. Therefore, there was no need to hide China’s ambition and tolerate American “suppression” any longer. Instead, China had to step into the world spotlight. China-US relations began to show discreet and subtle changes. CCP leaders in Beijing began imagining that “socialism with Chinese characteristics” was possibly equal, if not superior, to the American model. Since the end of 2008, *taoguang yanghui* was thus gradually abandoned. The Chinese have the saying that “diplomacy and internal affairs are just one game of chess.” In other words, using diplomacy to achieve domestic and international political goals and thus maintain one-party rule has been the CCP’s consistent discreet intention.

The CCP took advantage of the 2008 Olympics to do several things. First, it established a large-scale and comprehensive surveillance system for monitoring the Chinese people, which laid the foundation for the current high-tech rigorous nationwide surveillance

system. At that time, the government said that the system was only to ensure the security of the Olympic Games and was only temporary—but, in fact, after Xi Jinping took power he made great efforts to strengthen the accuracy and strictness of this surveillance system. One year later another draconian security blanket descended over Beijing, this time in conjunction with the military parade commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the People’s Republic. The Olympics security lockdown was only a trial run for this event.

Second, the CCP used the success of the Olympic Games to propagandize the “China Model.” The grand scenes and various exquisite and dazzling performances at the opening ceremony amazed the world, presenting an illusion of a free and prosperous China. The foreign media reports were much more positive than before. In the same year, the subprime mortgage crisis broke out in the US, which directly impacted the global economy. The huge economic contrast between China and the US caused the world to pay attention to the hot topic of the “China Model.” Borrowing the words of scholars in Britain and the US, the CCP externally hyped the “Beijing Consensus” to counter the “Washington Consensus.” What this really meant was that Beijing used the so-called China Model of blending private economic activities and state control of resources to cover up its one-party monopoly rule and avoid much-needed political reform. To a certain extent, this was the beginning of the CCP abandoning its policy of *taoguang yanghui* and beginning to aggressively penetrate and expand in the world.

Third, the CCP used the influence of the successful Olympic Games in psychological preparation for China to “gain its due position” in world affairs. Voices suggesting the need to abandon the policy of “keeping a low profile” began to emerge within the CCP. Against the background of China successfully hosting the Olympics and the US being simultaneously caught in a financial crisis and near depression, the CCP boasted that the Chinese government’s four trillion RMB (\$640 billion) relief fund not only enabled the Chinese economy to continue to grow at a rapid rate as before, but it also bolstered the entire global economy. A voice in the CCP advocated that China’s strength is no longer what it used to be and that China must win its due position—that is, from a “big country” (大国) to a “strong power” (强国) and from a receiver of world rules (including WTO rules) to becoming a participant in making the rules.

As a faculty member of the Central Party School, I not only gave lectures to party officials but also participated in their discussions. I sensed a change of feelings from 2009 to 2012. At first there were doubts. An official asked me in a discussion session: “Professor Cai, Deng Xiaoping said ‘hide our capacity and bide one’s time.’ But that was the situation at that time. How long must we *taoguang yanghui*?” Then later, I began to hear remarks like these: that in the global financial crisis, only China was the “sacred calming pillar in the sea,” which demonstrated the superiority of “socialism with Chinese characteristics”; that the “Chinese road” and the “China Model” have global significance; that China has found a “new development path” for developing countries; and so on.



Against this backdrop, newly elected President Obama paid a state visit to China in November 2009. The visit did not go well, and China's leaders treated him rudely. Not only that, but the CCP's domineering and arrogant attitude began to appear in the South China Sea issue, where the PLA Navy began to provoke the US Pacific Seventh Fleet. As its repression increased domestically, 2009–2010 seemed to be a turning point in China's external assertiveness.

China-US Relations from Friction and Conflict to Cold War Opposition

When Xi Jinping came to power at the end of 2012, ultranationalist sentiments were beginning to spread in the party and among the people as a whole. Taking advantage of this situation, Xi has preached and incited the escalation of nationalist sentiments, promoted military expansion, and put pressure on the West and the US. Eventually, the US had enough of China's obfuscation, and during the Trump administration it made a fundamental shift in American policy, effectively abandoning the engagement policy and choosing to be "strategic competitors" instead.

From the time Xi took office at the end of 2012 to the present time he has used nationalist sentiments to strengthen the sense of xenophobia domestically and arrogance abroad. If China's nationalism during Hu Jintao's period was to restore self-confidence and work hard to "build a prosperous society in an all-round way," then the nationalist fervor during Xi Jinping's period has gradually shown an aggressive, domineering, and arrogant tendency. When Xi made an overseas trip to Mexico in 2009, he said, "There are a few foreigners, with full bellies, who have nothing better to do than try to point fingers at our country. China does not export revolution, hunger, poverty nor does China cause you any headaches. Just what else do you want?"²¹ These words already revealed Xi's arrogant character, but the Americans didn't pay much attention at the time. Many even believed that he could be China's Gorbachev. To the contrary, since coming to power Xi has further strengthened nationalist rhetoric and has poisoned the minds of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Communist Party teaches the people to hate the United States. It has regarded the US as an enemy for more than seventy years and has consistently, from 1949 to this day, promoted anti-American sentiment. In fact, the CCP has long referred to the United States as the "American imperialists" (美帝), and the consistent, systematic instilling of hatred toward the US for decades has implanted anti-American sentiment in the Chinese people for generations. I and others of my generation grew up with an anti-American education. The words I have been most familiar with since kindergarten and primary school are phrases such as "stop the American imperialist wolves," "the American imperialists have always wanted to destroy us," and so on. Once, I bought a toy pistol and gave it to a six-year-old boy. The boy played with it and blurted out: "Kill the Yankees." I was shocked. Many people in China cheered after the September 11 attacks on America, and anti-American

sentiment gradually heated up. The CCP's "wolf warrior-style diplomacy" in 2020 further reflected people's anti-American sentiment. Yang Jiechi's offensive remarks against the US at the high-level Anchorage meeting in 2021 attracted great applause in China. The CCP's anti-American propaganda meets with different reactions from different groups of people in Chinese society. Since the control of speech and the media is extremely strict in China, people cannot openly express their opposition to the anti-US incitement by the CCP's official media.

Xi has been using nationalist sentiment to engage in worldwide expansion under the slogan of "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation." At the 18th CCP National Congress he proposed to "build a community with a shared future for mankind," and then began to implement the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013. After 2015, Xi put forward in his speeches more deceptive words such as "providing the world with a 'Chinese solution' and 'Chinese wisdom.'" CCP official media have touted the integration of Xi and his inflated nationalist sentiments. The CCP Propaganda Department also spends huge sums of money on "external propaganda" (对外宣传) every year, including convening the World Political Parties Conference in Beijing, organized by the CCP International Department (中联部). This meeting not only showcases the CCP's ideology and expands its influence in the world, but also creates a "scene of all nations coming to the imperial court" to kowtow to Xi, so as to satisfy his imaginary vision of dominating the world.

The CCP's penetration of the United States and other countries, especially ideological penetration, began at the start of the twenty-first century. But at that time the scope and scale were limited. After Hu Jintao mentioned the need to build China's "soft power" in his report to the 17th Party Congress in 2007, external propaganda activities have received much greater priority. As China's economic strength increases, its ambition to expand internationally and even to dominate the world has grown larger, and its infiltration and influence activities have become more and more pervasive and invasive. The propaganda penetration overseas initially occurred in the name of cultural exchanges, but then expanded to media, finance, economy, technology, education, think tanks, museums, and other fields and institutions. Reportedly, almost all independent Chinese-language media in the United States have been bought up and are now controlled by the CCP, and the CCP interferes with academic freedom in American universities and think tanks. Also, the CCP's "long arm control" has reached Chinese students and Chinese organizations across the US, and the party has even set up CCP branches in American universities (this is the case in many other countries as well). Meanwhile, China has progressively closed its doors to American and other foreign scholars. A number of prominent China scholars have been denied visas and have had their access to China curtailed. Many strictures have been put in place by the CCP to severely limit foreigners' research access in China and interactions with Chinese scholars and officials.



With Military Preparations and Intensified Confrontation with the US Military, the Danger of War Is More Imminent

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, the only country that could claim to have a world-class military was the United States. After Xi Jinping came to power, he emphasized efforts to deepen the reform of national defense and improve the actual combat level of military training. His repeated phrases “achieve the goal of building a strong and world-class military” and “prepare to fight and win wars” are obviously aimed at the United States.

China’s expenditure on national defense has been steadily increasing. In 2021, the official budget reached 1.35 trillion yuan (\$209.16 billion), an increase of 6.8 percent over 2020.²² This is the second-largest military budget in the world. However, according to estimates by the respected Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), China’s actual military expenditure in 2019 reached \$240 billion US—38 percent higher than Beijing’s official figure.²³

China’s vigorous expansion of Xi’s military reform also runs in tandem with Xi’s vaunted Belt and Road Initiative. A few years ago, I was invited to participate in the selection of “best curriculum” for military, ideological, and political education, and I attended the lecture competitions for a week. Quite a number of the lectures were about how to use the military to “keep the Belt and Road on course” (保驾护航).

Moreover, Chinese authorities have deliberately heightened tensions in the South China Sea. In 2011, when Vice President Joe Biden visited China, Xi personally promised that China would not carry out military expansion in the South China Sea, and he publicly reaffirmed that pledge in the White House Rose Garden standing next to President Obama in 2016. But subsequent actions have once again proven that the CCP never keeps its promises. China has accelerated the construction of artificial islands in the South China Sea and has begun to deploy weapons and troops there. It will likely soon establish a naval base. China has provoked disputes with several Southeast Asian states in the territorial waters of the South China Sea that it claims within its “nine-dash line,” and it has arbitrarily refused to accept the decision of an international tribunal in The Hague that thoroughly invalidated these claims. All these actions have significantly increased tensions in the South China Sea, the East China Sea, and the Taiwan Strait. In September 2015 Xi told Obama: “The Pacific Ocean is large enough to accommodate the two major powers of China and the US.” Xi seemed to be calling for the peaceful coexistence of China and the US, but actually this exposed his ambition to dominate the world on an equal footing with the US.

On January 1, 2021, the PRC began to implement the newly revised National Defense Law, and two key terms were added to the original Article 2, as follows (in italics): “The

State's military activities are to prevent and resist aggression, prevent armed subversion and *division*, and defend national sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, security, and *development interests*." These two key terms, "division" and "development interests," have profound implications: one is for Taiwan; the other is a threatening signal for all countries, and most importantly the US, that China's military will go to war with whoever prevents the CCP from unifying Taiwan and whoever affects China's development interests.²⁴

On February 10, 2021, President Biden announced the establishment of a working group on China strategy at the Pentagon. The Chinese government did not seem to make any public comment about this, but it responded with a long-range intercontinental missile launch ten days later. On February 20, the Chinese navy's nuclear submarine launched the Julang-3 intercontinental ballistic missile (SLBM) from the deep sea near Yantai. The official launch video was broadcast in China. The official commentary stressed the significance of this missile's "intercontinental deterrence," which means that the People's Liberation Army will have a world-class sea-based nuclear strike capability. The official commentary continued: "Recently, a certain country relying on its own force frequently exerts pressure on other countries in the world, trying to profit by other people's toil. Obviously, we will not let this happen. At this moment, launching a new generation of submarine-launched missiles that have been hidden for many years clearly shows our firm attitude." These signs indicate that the CCP has embarked on the path of militarism, conspiring to wage war, and it regards the United States as its most threatening enemy. In fact, no matter which political party is in power in the United States, it is impossible for the CCP to change this perspective.

Using the Pandemic to Seek Hegemony

COVID-19 broke out in Wuhan, China, at the end of 2019, but the CCP concealed the truth and delayed prevention and control. This caused the virus to spread around the world, and it has not ended yet. Hundreds of millions of people have been infected and millions of people have died. In 2020, the CCP took advantage of the pandemic to spread false news, replacing normal communication between countries with "wolf warrior" verbal abuse in its diplomacy, falsely alleging that the virus originated in the US and trying to shirk its own responsibilities. The CCP has used every means to conceal the truth, preventing the World Health Organization and governments of other countries from investigating the origin of the virus, obtaining information on patient zero, and discovering the true situation at the beginning of the pandemic.

With the pandemic going on, China announced its economic growth rate had slowed to 2.3 percent, while many economies in the world contracted. At the Understanding China Forum held in November 2020, a Peking University professor stated that China's economic gains from fighting the pandemic will be 67 trillion RMB, accounting for about two-thirds of China's total GDP in 2020.²⁵ In contrast, the United States was deeply plagued by the Wuhan virus pandemic, and its economy and society, including the general election, have



been hit hard. All this shows that the CCP is using the pandemic against the US, trying to benefit from it in its discreet competition for world leadership.

The Engagement Policy Is Destined to End Bleakly

China-US relations have finally moved toward a Cold War confrontation. The sad ending of the engagement policy is an inevitable outcome. Although it is difficult for the engagement policy to continue, no totalitarian Chinese ruler can eliminate the enormous influence that the US continues to have on the CCP and the Chinese people. The economic and cultural exchanges between the people of China and the US have been growing continuously. As American capital, companies, products, and culture have entered China; as many Chinese travel abroad and see their children, relatives, and friends go abroad to study and work; and with the increasing number of intermarriages among Chinese and Americans, people have seen the real situation in the United States with their own eyes, and the false propaganda of China's totalitarian regime has been exposed. Yet, under its totalitarian rule, the CCP publicly incites anti-American sentiments, while many people secretly transfer their assets, their children, and their families to the United States. They are criticized as "two-faced people" and ridiculed by Chinese netizens, with the epithet "anti-Americanism is the work, while migrating to the US is the life." In fact, however, many CCP members and officials, and a considerable number of elites in Chinese society, especially the middle class, accept and approve of the American democratic system and freedom as universal values.

Many Americans deplore the sad ending of the engagement policy, which is completely understandable. But in my view, this is an inevitable outcome. This is because the engagement policy was based on the faulty assumptions that international integration and economic development could transform the CCP into a modern political party that is willing to give up or share its hegemonic rule. But the CCP's founding mission and organizing principles are to eliminate capitalism and achieve proletarian dictatorship, which institutes a completely opposite value and political system from those of the US. The two conflicting systems cannot be reconciled, and they cannot indefinitely coexist. As a result, China-US relations will inevitably move toward a standoff and/or confrontation (cold war or hot war is the external manifestation of confrontation). In fact, it is the CCP that has unilaterally ruined the engagement policy, because it believes engagement has served its purpose and is no longer useful.

Is America China's Adversary or a Competitor?

The CCP regards the United States as a hostile adversary, even an enemy (敌人), while the US regards the CCP as its "competitor." These are different concepts, which generate different strategies for bilateral relations, with different policy consequences. An adversary or enemy poses a relationship of life and death, but competitors only seek to gain advantage in a perpetual contest.

The CCP has always regarded the United States as its adversary or enemy, for two reasons. First, it fears that its regime will be overthrown. This insecurity and paranoia, and the need to justify its dictatorship, are the rationale to create an archenemy. Therefore, from my childhood to today, the slogan that “the US imperialists have not given up the wild ambition to subjugate our country” incessantly lingers on. Inside China, the CCP launches a political campaign every few years to eliminate domestic opposition, and it always guards against the influence of the US and other Western countries on China—in its words, to “oppose peaceful evolution.” Whenever the CCP and the people have intense conflicts, the CCP will use the pretext of “the hostile black hand of foreign forces behind the scenes” to justify suppressing the protest. After decades of anti-American propaganda within and outside the CCP, anti-American sentiment has become an indisputable political correctness. Second, the CCP always regards “eliminating imperialism and liberating all mankind” and “planting the red flag all over the world” as its political objectives. For more than seventy years, from Mao Zedong’s “anti-peaceful evolution” and “all imperialist reactionaries are paper tigers” rhetoric to Deng Xiaoping’s “calm observation, holding a firm foothold” and “hiding one’s capacity and biding one’s time,” or Xi Jinping’s “bottom line thinking,” “maintain political security, regime security” and “build a community with a shared future for mankind”—the fundamental point has always been to treat China-US relations as a hostile relationship of “life and death.” Up until now, only China’s lack of strength and the influence of the international community constrained China. But now that the CCP perceives American weakness and has an inflated sense of China’s own strengths, Beijing is adjusting its strategy toward the US accordingly.

On the other hand, no matter how many doubts it has about the CCP, the United States has continued to treat China as a normal country. The US government granted China Permanent Most Favored Nation trade status (PNTR) and supported China’s accession to the WTO. At that time the US was happy to see China’s national strength rapidly increasing, under the assumption that economic freedom would bring about political changes. While well intended, such actions were profoundly naïve.

Up until recent years, most American elites in political circles, business, academia, and think tanks had not believed that China would become America’s biggest competitor when it became strong. Naysayers such as Samuel Huntington, with his theory of a “clash of civilizations,”²⁶ and Graham Allison, who took seriously the possibility of a war breaking out between China and the US in the future,²⁷ were ridiculed. None of the mainstream elites regarded China as a real potential enemy of the US. Yet, the concept of the “clash of civilizations” and especially Allison’s “Thucydides Trap” were quickly taken over by the CCP as pretexts to incite anti-American sentiments among the Chinese people, and to mobilize social and psychological groundwork to aggravate tensions and prepare for a future war.

Although the CCP has always regarded the US as an adversary, because of its poverty and backwardness in the past it needed time to build up its strength. Therefore, China had to



“bide its time” and be on friendly terms with the US. However, now that Xi Jinping believes that he is firmly in control and that China is strong enough to challenge the US, the PRC no longer has to bide its time and is beginning to behave aggressively. This can be clearly seen from the CCP’s military expansion in the South China Sea and the growing military belligerence toward Taiwan in recent months.

Consider again the rare public war of words at the opening session of the meeting between Chinese and American high-level diplomats in Anchorage on March 18. In ignoring basic diplomatic etiquette, and even using Chinese street cursing language in chastising his American counterparts, Yang Jiechi showed that the CCP only believes in “speaking with the fist” and “law of the jungle.”

What is also deeply concerning is that in 2020 Xi tore up China’s commitment to “one country, two systems” and willfully passed the Hong Kong version of China’s National Security Law. The failure of the US and European countries to impose resolute sanctions to support the struggle of the Hong Kong people is tantamount to tacit acceptance of the CCP’s severe suppression. When the pandemic spread across the world, causing serious damage to the US and the global economy, Xi said that China now has the strength to “look at the world on an equal footing.” In the eyes of CCP leaders, “the East is rising and the West is declining.” Their judgment is that there are opportunities embedded in crisis, and the crisis can turn to opportunities to realize the “great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.”

All of these perspectives show that the engagement policy that had been so painstakingly maintained for a long time was just wishful thinking of the two political parties and the government of the United States. The CCP has merely been using the engagement policy for its own needs. The CCP just used and took advantage of the goodwill and benign intentions of the Americans. The reason why the engagement policy ended sadly is due to the fundamental misjudgment by the United States about the nature of the Chinese Communist Party and regime, which in turn has made the US a victim of its own policy. The consequences of misjudging the nature of the CCP regime can be described in a Chinese idiom: “leaving a carbuncle unchecked will lead to endless troubles.”

Is the CCP Authoritarian or Totalitarian?

Is China under the CCP’s rule an authoritarian or a totalitarian regime? So far, this issue has not been clearly understood by either party in the US. While unprecedentedly harsh, even former secretary of state Pompeo’s speeches referred to the CCP as an authoritarian country. In fact, the CCP regime has always been a totalitarian, one-party dictatorship.

When Mao, Nixon, and Deng began China-US contacts, the CCP only loosened its foreign policy, but never loosened its domestic rule. After the 1980s, the CCP loosened its economic system, but never loosened its monopoly over power, over ideological discourse, and over

economic and institutional resources. However, most influential American figures in politics, government, and academia seem to have overlooked this.

As a result, the continued implementation of the engagement policy by the US failed to influence China to move toward freedom and democracy. Instead, the CCP used the engagement policy to infiltrate the US, to steal scientific and technological intellectual property, to gather commercial and political intelligence, and even to lure some American political, business, academic, and technological elites to serve the interests of the CCP. Since Xi came to power, the party has stepped up all of these efforts at theft and infiltration.

As long as China's totalitarian system does not change, China-US relations are destined to enter a period of fundamental confrontation. This is determined by the fundamentally different institutional nature and values of the two countries, as well as the different interests of the two countries. This will endanger world peace.

Future Possibilities for China-US Relations: “Competition and Cooperation” or “Standoff and Confrontation”?

Before the China-US high-level meeting in Anchorage, US Secretary of State Blinken spoke about “the three principles of handling US-China relations: competitive where it should be, collaborative where it can be, and adversarial when it must be.” In fact, these three principles are in logical conflict. They show that the US government fully understands the complexity and difficulty of China-US relations, yet still hopes for the best. But this is mere wishful thinking. Over many years, although the US government and elites in various circles sensed some political changes happening in China, they did not realize that China has turned into a refined form of neo-totalitarianism. Many still regard the CCP regime as an authoritarian one. Relying on unilateral good wishes and illusions, they adhered to engagement, which caused the policy to have a certain “appeasement” effect in reality.

This author believes that China-US relations will inevitably move toward standoff and confrontation, and this view is based on the following points.

If the CCP's rule is simply authoritarian, then it is possible for the US to shape a relationship with China centered on competition, with a certain range of cooperation and confrontation when necessary, as the US government hopes. But this is impossible for a totalitarian system. Although both totalitarianism and authoritarianism are dictatorships, they have distinct differences. The political scientist Giovanni Sartori distinguished different types of autocratic dictatorships. Comparing the CCP regime with the core analysis of Sartori's theory shows that the CCP regime is totalitarian rather than authoritarian.²⁸ The work of Zbigniew Brzezinski, a great scholar of communist systems, points to a similar conclusion. He wrote, “The two decisive dimensions of totalitarianism are terror + ideology. It is the extreme combination of the two that creates other characteristics of this system.”²⁹ The extremely repressive, controlling, and rigid nature of totalitarianism means it



cannot advance directly to a liberal democratic system. It must first be slackened from totalitarianism to authoritarianism.³⁰

These two pillars of terror and ideology supported Hitler, Stalin, and even the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries in the post-Stalin era, including the totalitarian regime of the CCP in the Mao era. After Xi Jinping took office, he worked hard to use high technology to obtain superpowerful surveillance capabilities, beyond the capacity of Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union. On the basis of Brzezinski's generalization, maybe now we can redefine the CCP's rule in China as terror+ideology+a digital surveillance system (using information technology and artificial intelligence)=a highly refined and sophisticated neo-totalitarianism. Sartori, Brzezinski, Hannah Arendt, George Orwell, and other scholars of dictatorial systems would easily recognize it for what it is.

I characterize Xi's regime as totalitarian because he practices "one doctrine, one leader, one party, and one nation (Han-centric nation)." Following in Mao Zedong's footsteps, Xi Jinping has fostered a personality cult, made himself equal to the party, revised the constitution to secure a lifetime dictatorship, and further intensified repression with the rule of coercion and deception. The Nazi Party's "national socialism" under Hitler was based on racism. Yet Xi's "extreme nationalism" is also interlinked with racism. For a long time, the CCP has been continuously imbued with Han racial superiority and has carried out cultural genocide in disguised forms against ethnic minorities in Xinjiang, Tibet, and Inner Mongolia.

I characterize the CCP as a new type of totalitarian system because it uses information technology, big data, and artificial intelligence (AI) to monitor the people twenty-four hours a day. This kind of precision surveillance, closely combined with severe repression by the police and national security departments, makes it extremely difficult for people to voice their opposition in China. Since 2013, seven friends of mine who voiced their opposition have been detained and imprisoned by the Xi regime, all on fabricated charges.

In short, with internal suppression and external expansion, the CCP regime has deteriorated to neo-Stalinist totalitarianism.³¹ Its nature and values are fundamentally opposed to those of the United States and all liberal democracies. The CCP has always viewed the US as an enemy, but never more so than today. Thus, it is difficult to form a multifaceted relationship of "competition, cooperation, and confrontation under certain circumstances," as Secretary of State Antony Blinken apparently believes. The most likely trend is toward standoff and confrontation.

The CCP's neo-totalitarian system and Xi's negative personal traits will cause the US to face an adversary that does not follow common sense or rules, that does not have integrity, and that is unpredictable. This will further increase the risks for the US and the world. At the same time, the CCP's long-term and deep penetration into American society, especially elites,

has greatly affected US policy formulation toward China, making Washington unable to see the CCP's true strategic intentions, goals, and motives, and therefore unable to effectively respond to and eliminate the threats from the CCP. In short, the CCP is the greatest threat to American security and world peace, and the CCP regime has no moral compass.

That said, the CCP is not monolithic. The author has been working in the CCP Party School system since 1986. In my more than thirty years of contact with middle- and high-level CCP officials, I can say that at least 60–70 percent of the CCP's high-level officials understand the trend of progress of the modern world. They understand that only a democratic constitutional government can ensure long-term stability in China and protect human rights, personal dignity, and personal safety for oneself. Members with vision in the CCP recognize the goodwill of the United States. The US should continue to support China's civil society, which has gone underground, and at the same time foster and support liberal elements within the party to return to the path of political reform, so as to realize the benign and peaceful transformation of Chinese society.

Finally, while it is difficult to imagine, I recommend that the US be fully prepared for the possible sudden disintegration of the CCP. The CCP appears to be powerful on the outside, but this refined neo-totalitarian Stalinist dictatorship is actually quite fragile inside. The CCP has the ambition of a hungry dragon but inside it is a paper tiger. There are many factors that may lead to unexpected changes in the situation and even possibly the collapse of the regime. They include the unsustainable economic model and high levels of debt; the inherent and insurmountable contradiction between exaggerated ideological propaganda and social reality; the incompatible dual-track ownership system between the market and the state; the increasing social disparity between rich and poor; continuing corruption; and the fierce infighting for succession to supreme power. Xi Jinping's overly suspicious and narrow-minded personality has led to continuous purges inside the party, which have brought extreme dissatisfaction among the middle- and high-level officials of the CCP. Everyone feels unsafe.

All of these factors make it possible that any unexpected event may cause a chain reaction leading to huge changes in the situation and even the collapse of the regime. Recall that no one predicted the collapse of the Soviet Union or other communist states in Eastern Europe—yet they occurred. A sudden and instant collapse triggered by random events will almost inevitably bring disorder and chaos within China, which will reverberate outside the country. Therefore, the US must have a clear-eyed understanding and prepare for unpredictable contingencies.

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In this essay, I have put forward several interrelated arguments. First, the CCP regime is a refined neo-totalitarian rather than an authoritarian system. Second, the top priority of the



CCP's international relations, especially with the US, is to strengthen its internal control and prevent the collapse of the regime. Third, the nature of the relationship between China and the US is actually one of adversaries and rivals rather than competitors. Fourth, both countries are large and possess considerable strength. Neither one can swallow the other, and a "hot war" between the two would be calamitous for the world. It is on this basic assessment that I suggest that the US needs to clearly see the CCP and PRC for what they are—strategic adversaries—and thus forge its strategies and policies toward China accordingly. Wishful thinking about "engagement" must be replaced by hardheaded defensive measures to protect the United States from the CCP's aggression—while bringing offensive pressures to bear on it, as the Chinese Communist Party is much more fragile than Americans assume.

NOTES

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- 2 Guan Ling 关岭, "All Countries That Have Good Relations with the United States Are Rich" 凡是和美国搞好关系的国家都富了, *Duowei News* 多维新闻, July 15, 2018, <https://www.dwnews.com/中国/60070820/邓小平凡是和美国搞好关系的国家都富了>.
- 3 Orville Schell, "The Death of Engagement," *The Wire China*, June 7, 2020, <https://www.thewirechina.com/2020/06/07/the-birth-life-and-death-of-engagement>.
- 4 Deng Xiaoping 邓小平, "Adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles" 坚持四项基本原则, in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping* 邓小平文选, vol. 2 (Beijing 北京: People's Publishing House 人民出版社, 1993), 164-65.
- 5 Deng Xiaoping 邓小平, "Take a Clear-Cut Stand against Bourgeois Liberalization" 旗帜鲜明地反对资产阶级自由化, in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3, 195.
- 6 Schell, "Death of Engagement."
- 7 An internal CCP narrative at the time argued that, on the one hand, the governments of developed countries in Europe and the US publicly announced sanctions against China, but secretly big European and American companies lobbied their governments to relax sanctions for their own interests and they maintained contacts through some unofficial channels. This emboldened Deng Xiaoping and other high-level CCP officials. I clearly remember the content of this talk circulated internally at that time.
- 8 Deng Xiaoping, "China Will Never Allow Other Countries to Interfere in Its Internal Affairs" 中国永远不允许别国干涉内政, in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3, 359-61.
- 9 Deng Xiaoping, "We Are Confident That We Can Handle China's Affairs Well" 我们有信心把中国的事情做得更好, in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3, 325.
- 10 Deng Xiaoping, "No One Can Shake Socialist China" 社会主义的中国谁也动摇不了, in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3, 329.
- 11 Deng Xiaoping, "We Must Adhere to Socialism and Prevent Peaceful Evolution Towards Capitalism" 坚持社会主义, 防止和平演变, in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3, 345.
- 12 Deng Xiaoping, "The United States Should Take the Initiative in Putting an End to the Strains in Sino-American Relations" 结束严峻的中美关系要由美国采取主动, in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3, 333. All quotations in this paragraph taken from the published version.

- 13 Deng Xiaoping, “Sino-U.S. Relations Must Be Improved” 中美关系终归要好起来才行, in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3, 350–51.
- 14 Deng Xiaoping, “With Stable Policies of Reform and Opening to the Outside World, China Can Have Great Hopes for the Future,” in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, English edition, 1994), 310–11.
- 15 Li Shenming 李慎明, the vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, led the production of eight episodes of the television series *Be Prepared for Danger in Times of Peace: Lessons from the Collapse of the Soviet Communist Party* 居安思危——前苏共党垮台的教训 (Beijing 北京: Zhongguo Fangzheng Chubanshe 中国方正出版社, 2007). The PLA also produced internally circulated TV anti-peaceful evolution political commentaries.
- 16 This professor from the Central Party School, Dong Yunhu, has since abandoned his academic career and has become a high-ranking government official. He later served as the director of the Foreign Propaganda Office of the CCP Central Committee, deputy director of the Information Office of the State Council, director of the Propaganda Department of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, and director of the Propaganda of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai CCP Municipal Committee. In 2018 he served as chairman of the Shanghai CPPCC.
- 17 On July 12, 1994, Jiang Zemin delivered a speech at the conference of China’s diplomatic missions abroad, entitled “Diplomatic Work Must Unswervingly Safeguard the Supreme Interests of the State and the Nation,” in which Jiang talked about the sixteen-character policy on relations with the United States: “Increase trust; reduce trouble; develop cooperation; and not engage in confrontation.” See Ni Shixiong 倪世雄, “Jiang Zemin and U.S.-China Relations” 江泽民与中美关系, *Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping Theory* 毛泽东邓小平理论研究, no. 6 (2009): 56–64.
- 18 The Three Represents are these: the Communist Party of China must represent the development requirements of advanced productive forces, represent the forward direction of advanced culture, and represent the fundamental interests of the greatest majority of the people.
- 19 Xiong Guangkai 熊光楷, “The Strategic Significance of the Translation of the Chinese Idiom in Diplomacy: Hiding One’s Capacity and Biding One’s Time” 中文词汇‘韬光养晦’翻译的外交战略意义, *Public Diplomacy Quarterly* 公共外交季刊, no. 2 (2010): 55–59.
- 20 Schell, “Death of Engagement.”
- 21 Jane Perlez, “Close Army Ties of China’s New Leader Could Test U.S.,” *New York Times*, November 4, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/04/world/asia/chinas-xi-jinping-would-be-force-for-us-to-contend-with.html>.
- 22 Liu Xuanzun, “China Hikes Defense Budget by 6.8% in 2021,” *Global Times*, March 5, 2021, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202103/1217416.shtml>.
- 23 See Nan Tian and Fei Su, “A New Estimate of China’s Military Expenditure” (Stockholm: SIPRI, 2021), https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2021-01/2101_sipri_report_a_new_estimate_of_chinas_military_expenditure.pdf.
- 24 It is important to remember that the People’s Liberation Army is a “party-army” (党军), responsible solely to the CCP as the ruling party and not the nation, state, or government of the PRC.
- 25 Heard on Radio Free Asia, December 3, 2020.
- 26 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997).
- 27 Graham Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides’s Trap?* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017).



28 Gao Qiqi 高琪琦 and Jing Yuejin 景跃进, eds., *Conceptual Issues in Comparative Politics* 比较政治中的概念问题 (Beijing 北京: Central Compilation and Translation Press 中央编译出版社, 2014), 85.

29 Gao and Jing, *Conceptual Issues*, 90.

30 For example, Spain realized peaceful democratic political transformation, and its foundation was established in the last ten years of General Franco's rule. At that time Spain was already a de facto authoritarian regime. Yet in the former Soviet Union, although there was no large-scale bloodshed in the process of political upheaval, it did not smoothly move toward a democratic political system, and in fact stayed at the stage of Yeltsin-Putin's strongman-type authoritarian rule. This shows that the totalitarian system cannot directly advance to the democratic political system, but authoritarian rule can.

31 Minxin Pei, "From Tiananmen to Neo-Stalinism," *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 1 (January 2020): 148-57.

中共眼中的中美关系

一个局内人的观点

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中国共产党如何看待中美关系? 是什么因素促使中共接近美国? 尽管我不是研究中美关系的专家, 但作为前中共党内人士和在中共中央党校工作多年的教授, 我想在此提供一些我个人有关这些问题的反思。

回顾过去半个世纪以来的中美关系, 我们中国人首先应该肯定和感谢美国政府对中国的接触政策。接触政策帮助大陆中国结束长达将近 30 年的孤立和贫穷状态, 中国经济社会的快速发展与巨大变化, 是与美国政府, 美国科技界, 知识界, 经济界真诚的交流帮助分不开的。这些帮助为中国恢复经济社会活力, 接触和认识现代文明, 融入国际社会提供了极为宝贵的历史机遇和发展空间。因而, 许多中国人才有机会走出国门, 由此改变了他们和他们的家庭的命运。目前已经有 500 多万中国人移居于美国, 他们中的绝大多数是 1980 年代以后通过求学, 打工和移民, 或成为持有绿卡的永久定居者, 或归化为美国的华裔公民。反过来, 他们与亲戚, 朋友和回国的同事们的密切联系互动, 也有助于拓宽中国人民的视野和思想的开放。

然而, 客观地看, 过去 70 年来中共出于根本利益需要, 既利用美国又敌视美国的基本心态没有改变过。与此相比, 从 1970 年代以来, 美国两党及政府对中共政权一直抱有不切实际的良好愿望, 迫切希望中国共产党统治下的中华人民共和国 (PRC) 在世界上能成为一个比较自由甚至民主的负责任大国。然而, 这导致美国对中共的真正的本质及其长期的战略目标发生根本性的错误认识。而中共始终隐藏它的真正目标和意图, 以便于从美国获得巨大的利益。尽管中美两国内部都有经济政治与人事的变化, 以及在中美关系中有不断的摩擦, 冲突, 包括短期局部的紧张等, 但在两国之间还基本维持着相对正常的外交关系, 冲突与风险也大体能够管控。

由此, 过去半个世纪的接触政策所产生的效应是多重性的: 一方面接触政策帮助中国人民摆脱贫困孤立, 走向世界, 并使得公民社会在中国萌芽生根并逐步发展起来; 另一方面接触政策也使中国在中共的新极权统治下快速崛起。中共已下定决心要重构已有的世界秩序和规则, 领导世界转向自由民主的相反方向。

自从 2012 年习近平上台以来, 他继续着毛泽东和邓小平建立的对美外交战略——即利用接触政策以争取时间和条件去实现中共的目标。但是, 随着中国实力的增强, 习近平错误地判断现在的国际格局是“东升西降”, 他变得更具有攻击性并对他欲取代美国的战略意图直言不讳。乃至近些年来中美关系中的麻烦与冲突逐步增长, 中共日益成为战后国际关系, 自由民主制度和美国安全的最大挑战与最大威胁。2021 年 3 月 22 号在安德雷奇举行的两国外交最高层官员的会谈表明, 中美之间的关系有可能将退回到五十年前的状态。



未来美国政府如何认识与处理中美关系,不仅关系到中美两国人民的福祉,而且直接影响到未来世界的和平与稳定。作为曾经的中共体制内人,回顾过去 50 年中美关系的变化,我有三点基本看法希望与美国人民分享,以使我们能更清楚地看明白中共和它的战略是什么。

首先,自从它获得国家权力 70 多年来,中共将处理内政外交“融于一盘棋”,把增强控制力,防止政权垮台置于最优先地位。着眼于这点,外交是内政的延伸,外交是中共党牢固掌控国家权力的工具。

其次,就中共党的全球战略目标而言,在中国的全部对外关系中,中美关系是其中首要的,核心的,最重要的因素。因此,中国共产党对中美关系和接触政策的态度,取决于它们如何满足并服务于中共国内政治的需要。

第三点,国际参与和经济发展不可能软化中共党政权的政治特征。意识形态与极端高压相混合使它成为极权主义政权,精确的数字监控和镇压使极权主义控制有了新的特点。所有这些使中国成为美国更加危险的敌手。

中美接触政策的“蜜月期”

正是尼克松开创了中美接触政策,他不仅从地缘政治角度看美国联中制俄的必要,而且从全球安全的长远角度看改变中美关系的重大意义。早在 1967 年尼克松就写到:“放眼长远,我们无法永远把中国拒于国际大家庭之外,让他们在那里孕育自己的幻想,滋养仇恨,并威胁邻国。在这个小小的星球上,不能让最具潜能的十亿人生活在愤怒的孤立之中。”¹但是尼克松忘记问了:共产主义中国能否那么容易地就融进国际社会?

从中国这边说,打开中美接触大门的是毛泽东,但奠定中美接触政策的中方策略框架是邓小平。邓小平对接触政策持积极态度,首先是出于文革结束时国内经济几乎崩溃的压力,同时在当时的美苏对抗中选边站美国,有利于中共依仗美国实力减轻俄国对中共的威胁。

1979 年 1 月,中美正式建立外交关系。紧接着邓小平历史性的一月访美,许多中共官员访问欧美发达国家,这些访问促进了中共打开国门推进改革的决心,中国开始经历显著的变化。

1979 年邓小平被自己的访美见闻深深地触动了,他说了句经典的话:“二战后凡是跟美国走的都富起来了,战后凡是跟美国作对的都还很穷。”²1980 年代初,中共全党从上到下都希望改变中国贫穷落后面貌。1980 年代我住在苏州,一次与苏州日报资深记者聊天,那记者说前不久他去采访当时首次访美归来的某位市领导,本以为领导会谈美帝国主义正陷入如何没落,如何垂死挣扎之中,但当他听到市领导的话竟然被惊呆了。那领导说:“啊呀,现在我只知道什么是文明人的生活,我们这儿都是野蛮人啊。”当然,这次采访一个字都没有见报。

1980 年代初,邓小平强调第三次世界大战打不起来,中国要利用历史机遇充分发展自己。中共从中央,省,到地方都热情宣传中美友好和对外开放,中共决定(设计)沿海十四个城市作为开放特区,以各种优惠政策努力吸引外资外企进入中国。与此同时,中国派遣留学人员赴欧美,学习前沿科技与社会科学理论。

那么，为什么邓小平访美返回中国后很快发动中越边境战争？当时中共内部流传两种说法，一是向美国递“投名状”，不惜教训昔日国际共运的小兄弟，表示真心与美国交好；二是邓小平想要通过打这一仗牢牢地控制中国的军队。（但是，中国人民从来不知道自己无奈地陷于多么贫困的生活，从来不知道战争中究竟有多少战士死亡了。）邓小平实施了百万裁军计划和将军工企业转变为生产民用产品，这样省下军费来发展经济。他也制定了三步走战略步骤，目标是到 2049 年——即在中华人民共和国 100 周年时——使中国成为现代大国。

中国经济加快增长，是美国乐见其成的事。美国期待中国在经济变化中逐步形成民主政治的因素。尼克松总统说：“因此，我们的目标应该是，在力所能及的范围，促使改变的发生。”³ 从建立接触政策起，美国的战略始终是期望在中国出现走向自由的变化——经济的，社会的和政治的。或许令美国政府没有料到的是，邓小平设定四项基本原则，为中国政治划好了边界：坚持社会主义道路，坚持人民民主专政，坚持党的领导，坚持马克思主义毛泽东思想⁴。从一开始，中国共产党的高层领导就很明确，接受和利用接触政策的根本目的是恢复中国经济，以巩固中共政权。经济领域可以适度开放空间，但在政治领域决不允许改变四项基本原则，决不允许挑战中共一党独掌权力的统治地位。

然而，经济改革与对外开放同时带来了民主思想和普世价值，因而在党和国家内引发意识形态的困惑。1982 年到 1983 年，随着某种自由化趋势的扩展，党内的改革者开始提出对古典马克思主义理论作出反思，中共党内保守派不能容忍这些，发起“清除精神污染运动”以反击。然而，这个运动是短命的，1984 年党内具有自由思想的领导人胡耀邦和赵紫阳再次推进哲学和政治的思考，朝着自由的方向更加开放了。早在 1980 年，邓小平自己说过需要政治改革并于 1982 年再次提出，1986 年前后他又把中国政治体制改革问题提上官方议事日程。而在这同一时期，中国发生第一次全国性范围的支持民主的思潮和运动。尽管邓小平对中国政治体制改革做了多次批示，但他对西方自由民主思想进入中国所产生的任何负面影响一直保持高度警惕，并绝不允许政治变化超出中共控制的范围。他与中共党内几个老领导人一起施加强大压力，平息了 1979 年的“民主墙运动”，1980 年的湖南学生运动，1986 年全国范围的学生运动（这次学生运动开始于河北，安徽，然后很快蔓延到其他城市）。后来的结果是，胡耀邦被迫辞去中共中央党的总书记职务，并把挑战党的领导的知识分子方励志，王若望，刘宾雁开除出党。在这么做的同时，邓小平还颇为自傲地说：“我们讲民主，不能搬用资产阶级的民主，不能搞三权鼎立那一套。”⁵ 1986 学潮被邓与党内保守派贴上“资产阶级自由化”的标签。这样的定性与处理，为 1989 年 6.4 天安门广场事件的发生埋下了伏笔。

1979 年中美建交到 1989 年 6.4 事件发生前，这一段是中美接触政策的“蜜月”期。中共领导人不仅利用了接触政策为实现自己的目标创造有利条件，而且在一些敏感复杂问题上从来没有退让过。美国领导人，部分出于他们的美好愿望和想象，有意无意地掩盖和忽略了一些敏感和复杂问题（当时主要是人权，公民权利和台湾问题），甚而以某些暧昧言谈作了事实上的让步。当时美国政界学界一些头脑清醒的人士表达了美国对中国的接触政策的疑虑，但是他们明显处于少数地位⁶。后来的事实证明，这种疑虑是有道理的，当时的美国政府领导人似乎没有太在意于此，而且美国的政治精英们普遍接受与支持了接触政策，并且陶醉于此。接触政策的一个重大缺陷与失误在于，它假设了中国共产党能够转向分享权力和接受民主，因而它错误地大量接触中国的精英们而不是与中国人民更多的接触。



六. 四事件后邓小平明确了对中美关系的基本策略框架

1989年的六四事件和随后苏联东欧国家的政治剧变，极大地撼动了中共执政的根基，使中国共产党的最高层极为震惊。如何尽快地稳定国内局势，缓解国际压力，成为中共党当时面对的重大而紧迫的问题。后来的中美关系与接触政策的总体框架，正是在那样的背景下逐步明确起来的。

1989年6月4日，当军队向天安门广场的学生和北京城其他地方的市民开枪时举世震惊，并立即引发全世界的严重抗议，这是中国共产党自毁国际声誉，中国的国际关系也随之紧绷。西方七国(G-7)强烈谴责中国并且对中国实行多种制裁措施。中共党内当时很紧张，首先，天安门广场事件使与外部世界正面而积极地接触了十年的中国共产党，面临着国际环境陡然恶化的巨大压力。北京发生的事正与当时东欧国家的骚动混乱相似——挑战共产党的统治。然后，两年后政治混乱蔓延到前苏联，苏共党(CPSU)被推翻。那些中共党内的人几乎无法相信发生了这些绝非寻常的事情。

这两方面的因素都使中共压力很大，党内上下弥漫着惶然恐慌气氛。此后的一年多时间里，邓小平着力挽回被动的政治局面，试图对内稳定党心民心，对外努力恢复正常国际环境，特别是中美关系。针对国际封锁，邓在党内作了个有影响的讲话：我们为什么要害怕封锁？改革开放前中国共产党被封锁过30年，但是党和国家不照样生存过来了吗？邓小平还说，中国十亿人本身就是个大市场，我们不用去求他们回来——要不了多久，他们就会心甘情愿地来找我们，因为他们需要我们。当时这是内部讲话，用于稳定党内情绪。但是第二年七月，当邓小平会见加拿大前总理皮埃尔·特鲁多时，他的谈话明确地表达并更加公开了这个意思。⁸与此同时，中共连续发布多个文件，反腐败，整顿党风，建立举报制度（包括党内相互检举其他的人），调整中共党与中国其他民主党派（八个被允许存在以给中共装点门面的“统一战线”党派），中共与社会公众关系等，力求缓解民怨，稳定国内局势。

关键的一点是，邓小平错误地判断1989年是美国在背后赞成中国争取民主的抗议者。此后，邓小平频繁接见国际人士，美国民间或官方的人士，也有美国半官方人士，竭力修复对外关系特别是与华盛顿的关系。他放出的话语，既有软中带硬，也有无根据的“倒打一耙”。邓小平把6.4事件归咎于西方国家和美国，说：“西方世界确实希望中国动乱……，美国，还有西方其他一些国家，都对社会主义国家搞和平演变。美国现在有一种打法：打一场无硝烟的世界大战。”⁹

在一次会见泰国总理时，邓小平说“世界上的国家里，最不怕孤立，封锁，制裁的就是中国。建国以后，我们处于被孤立，被封锁，被制裁的地位有几十年之久。但归根结底，没有损害我们多少。‘事实表明，那些要制裁我们的人也开始在总结经验了。’”¹⁰在另一次会见前坦桑尼亚总统尼雷尔时，邓小平说“中国平息暴乱后，七国首脑发表宣言制裁中国，他们有什么资格！谁给他们的权力！他们谈论人权，自由，民主仅仅是为了保护他们强国，富国的利益，以追求军事和政治的霸权而已。我们从不听这些东西（鬼话）。”¹¹

尔后，1989年10月31日邓小平接见前美国总统尼克松，先是无端地夸奖了一番尼克松，说：“我非常赞赏你的看法，考虑国与国之间的关系主要应该从国家自身的战略利益出发……所以，你1972年的中国之行，不仅是明智的而且是非常勇敢的行动。”接着，邓小平一盆脏水泼过去：“坦率地说，北京不久前发生的动乱和反革命暴乱，首先是由国际上反共反社会主义（的力

量)煽动起来的。很遗憾,美国在这个问题上卷入得太深了,并且不断地责骂中国。中国是真正的受害者。中国没有做任何一件对不起美国的事。”接着,邓小平为开枪辩护,态度强硬地说:“请你告诉布什总统,结束过去,应该美国采取主动,也只能由美国采取主动。……中国不可能主动。因为强的是美国,弱的是中国,受害的是中国。要中国来乞求取消制裁,办不到。哪怕拖一百年,中国人也不会那样做。”最后,邓小平拿中国市场做诱惑,提醒尼克松:“中国市场毕竟还没有充分开发出来,美国利用中国市场还有很多事情能够做。我们欢迎美国商人进行对华商业活动,这恐怕也是结束过去的一个重要内容。”¹²

今天回头看,我们能感觉邓小平说话确实很有“艺术”。明明他是施害者,结果他把自己和中共党说成了受害者。邓小平把 6.4 事件归咎于西方国家和美国,很重要的是出于平息中共全党和全国民众对开枪事件不满的需要。

无视美国国民的谴责情绪,布什总统竭力想使中美关系回到正轨(这是美国人善良天真的另一个例子),将他的国家安全顾问布伦特·斯考克罗夫特(Brent Scowcroft)派去北京进行两次秘密旅行,1989年7月和12月,以至于连美国大使都没有通知。取代使邓小平一直处于孤立和防御状态的,是布什的特使主动显示出某种明显的温和态度,结果使自己落入了邓小平的手中。中国民众无从知道这些秘密访问,甚至中共党内中央机构的人也不都知道。邓小平会见布什总统特使斯考克罗夫特来访时的态度强硬而傲慢,但同时也伸出橄榄枝。邓小平说:“中国威胁不了美国,美国不应该把中国当作威胁自己的对手。我们没有做任何一件伤害美国的事。……双方都让点步,总能找到好的都可以接受的办法。”¹³斯考克罗夫特,这位文质彬彬“君子”类型的美国外交官,不是用对抗性的而是用外交礼仪的“谦卑”风度,化解了邓小平会见时的隐隐对抗的尴尬气氛。但是这也许对后来处理中美关系的冲突开了个不好的头。

经过一年多的内外调整,邓小平逐步形成了中共党应对 6.4 天安门广场事件与苏联东欧国家剧变的国内外大政基本方针。1989年9月4号,在邓对中央委员会宣布他退休的讲话中,邓小平谈到:

“我认为这场发生在苏联和东欧国家的动乱……无疑是帝国主义者想要改变社会主义国家的颜色。现在的问题不是苏联的旗帜是否会落下,而是中国的旗帜是否会落下……只要中国不垮掉,世界五分之一的人口就能坚持社会主义……总之,国际形势可以概括为三句话。第一,冷静观察;第二稳住阵脚;第三平和应对。不要急躁,急躁不好。我们应该冷静,冷静,再冷静。”¹⁴

最早邓小平宣布的是十二字方针“稳住阵脚,冷静观察,沉着应对”,后来是 24 字方针:稳住阵脚,冷静观察,沉着应对,有所作为,决不当头,韬光养晦。

后面的短语“韬光养晦”,作为邓小平指导中国外交政策,是最著名的格言。许多人不知道,正是苏联和东欧阵营的垮塌,触发邓小平提出这个战略方针。中共党的最顶层官员在苏联东欧垮塌后,力促邓中国应当接替领导世界共产主义。邓小平坚持“我们决不当头”而必须“韬光养晦。”

邓小平通盘运筹内政外交,对中共党内强调了几条。他的政治智慧和丰富的经验清醒地看到当时中国还没有实力直接抗衡美国,中共政权要能生存下来必须竭尽全力做好自己的事。他也懂得中



共产党统治的合法性与政权生存依赖于经济改革, 如果中国不能摆脱贫困, 中共党迟早要垮台. 中国的经济不仅取决于坚持改革开放政策, 也取决于将如何缓和中美关系. 在当时, 中国远远达不到与美国和欧洲国家平起平坐的实力, 如果中国想要进入国际经济共同体和利用世界市场增强国家实力, 中国只能放低姿态, 放软身段, 柔和低调地处理与美国和西方世界的关系. 另一方面, 中国必须通过隐藏自己的长期战略目标, 假装“被削弱”和“无害”来欺骗西方世界, 以有效利用西方国家的市场, 技术, 资本, 人才资源, 等待时机反击西方以赢得最终的战争胜利. 这是中国古代帝王们过去多次使用的战略战术——兵不厌诈.

后邓时期处理中美关系的基本框架

邓小平制定的中美关系四点方针基本框架, 管住了后来的 20 年. 中共在江泽民, 胡锦涛时期逐步趋近于美国, 但 2009 年以后开始发生变化.

反和平演变成为中共的长期一贯方针

“反对和平演变”, 防止政权被暗中颠覆, 是从毛泽东时期就成为中共党内意识形态宣传的基本方针之一. 天安门事件与苏联剧变后, 中共在党内大力强化这方面的宣传灌输, 从四个方面下了功夫, 其首要目标是消除美国的影响.

第一个策略是把中共党所有党员官员的前途命运与中共政权捆绑为一体. 1989 年以后, 中共持续不断强化党内“危机教育”, 强调一旦中共党下台, 就像在前共产主义国家里一样, 数十万党员干部都将面临被关押甚至被杀, 绝大多数党员和干部将面临失业而生计艰难. 尤其是, 中共党以罗马尼亚齐奥塞斯库夫妇被枪决为例警告全党, 保持政治权力事关中共党和国家的生死存亡, 进一步强化“反自由化, 反和平演变”就是政治正确的立场与姿态;

第二点是主动组织一些机构 (中央党校, 中国社科院, 著名大学研究国际共运学者, 军方亦有人员参与) 研究前苏联东欧政治剧变的原因, 教训与对策, 以预防中共自己的垮台. 这类研究 (从 1990 年代至 2000 年代早期) 形成两种不同学术观点: 一种倾向于促进政治改革, 逐步走向民主宪政体制; 然而另一种竭力固守共产党传统思维, 与美国打一场看不见硝烟的战争¹⁵. 这两种倾向都对中共最高层有影响, 但最终是保守倾向占了上风.

第三点是主动发起意识形态进攻. 中共意识到与美国的冲突最终将聚焦于意识形态——但是中共党意识形态因与社会现实相矛盾, 有悖常识, 而使之难以为中共令人反感的统治作正当性辩护. 所以, 党内部分“理论家”努力重塑新的意识形态, 以抵抗普世价值, 自由民主宪政等现代政治文明理念对全党和中国社会的思想影响力. 一方面, 中共将自己定义的“中国特色”的民主法治等写进社会主义核心价值观, 另一方面攻击与否定自由民主等普世价值理论. 作为替代, 中共试图将中国传统文化与马克思主义理论融合起来, 以构成“21 世纪的中国马克思主义.” 随着中共党意识形态支柱的坍塌, 中共内部越来越多地利用谎言欺骗, 利益引诱与高压惩罚来聚拢党心.

第四点是中共党寻求把反和平演变与操控社会大众情绪等结合起来. 中共党高度提防和限制国外社会公益组织在中国大陆的活动, 打压萌芽生长中的中国大陆公民社会力量, 公民组织和公民

行动。而且，中共党在中国民众中鼓动与操控民族主义情绪，鼓吹“大一统”的国家本位主义意识，煽动仇美心理来强化政权合法性的社会心理。

以“主权”压“人权”，“维护人权”成为引发中美争议的一个重要因素

过去中共党内对人权几乎没有概念，他们几乎是“鹦鹉学舌”般地照搬前苏联在这个问题上的话语。6.4 事件后，中共外交部居然无人能写文章回应国际社会对中共的谴责。中央党校一教师偶然获知这一情况后即给外交部帮忙。在他帮外交部写的文章中提出“生存权和发展权高于人权”的“中国特色”人权观点，恰好呼应了邓小平的“国权高于人权”的说法，后来这两点成为中共当局关于人权问题的基本口径。¹⁶

显然，正因为中共看透了中国市场对美国商人的巨大诱惑力，他们知道美国大公司会“自动”对美国政府施加影响，迫使美国政府让步，这就使中共不在乎对他们暴力侵害人权的批评。他们在国内变得更加严酷地压迫民众。中共党剥夺民众的基本信仰权，言论权，知情权，迁徙权，工作权，残酷迫害揭露真相，主持正义的记者，律师，学者，社会公益组织人士，摧毁教堂逮捕教会人员与信众。在少数民族地区，他们继续其长期推行的“大一统”做法，扭曲民族自治政策，削弱与剥夺民族自治的能力，最近强暴推行变相的民族灭绝政策。2019 年以来中共对香港民众的粗暴镇压，强行通过港版国安法，以莫须有罪名拘禁并判刑捍卫自由权利的各界知名人士。这些年中共侵犯人权的问题愈亦严重，正引起全世界的广泛关注和公愤。

美国两党政府先后多次与中共交涉，救助遭受中共迫害者——有时候成功，有时候失败。美国政府强烈谴责中共对新疆，西藏，内蒙，香港民众的残暴行径。在川普政府的最后阶段，美国明确了中共正在对维吾尔族实施“种族灭绝”的判断，拜登政府继续坚持了这个判断，这一判断立即引发全世界的高度关注。最新的安德雷奇中美双方会晤，一开始布林肯就明确提出新疆，香港问题，清楚地阐明了它们的重要性和美国政府的立场，而这激怒了中共中央政治局委员和国家外事委员会的权威领导杨洁篪，他表示美国无权训斥中国和“干涉中国内部事务”。

加大对外开放，以利于中国的经济增长

江泽民接任中国共产党中央委员会总书记后，初期强调反和平演变，并有否定经济改革成果和对外开放的倾向。但是江泽民意识到，如果经济搞不好，不仅中共党无法维持统治地位，而且邓小平的十年功绩也就被否定了，邓小平不可能坐视不管。1992 年初，邓作了著名的深圳视察，他一再强调改革开放，发展经济，并且发了狠话：“谁反对改革开放谁就下台。”这是直接警告江泽民，推动江泽民在中共 14 大会议明确宣布目标是建立社会主义市场经济体制。

中共努力吸引外资外企（包括美国公司）进入中国的市场，加强与发达国家（首先是美国）的经济，文化，科技交流。在这同时，中共利用中外经济文化交流机会，隐秘地获得经济，商业，科技，政治，军事情报。特别是盗窃高新科技研究成果，不仅在中国境内的外企中进行盗窃，而且中国学者去国外都有可能被有关部门要求“配合”窃取各种资料。笔者大约在 10 年前曾经与一归国学者聊到有意去国外名校访学，这位学者随即说了一句：如果有部门要求你“配合”什么，你千万不要答应啊。当时没有在意，现在回想起来，这学者的提醒大有深意。在相当长一个时期内，这些危害美国安全的隐秘活动只被很少数的美国人察觉到。



“韬光养晦” 是约束中共处理中美关系最为重要的一条原则

中国人说的“韬光养晦”，典型地表现出中国传统文化中的权谋思维。中共从 1989 到 2009 这 20 年里是认真地韬光养晦的，因为中共需要时间成为更大更强。江泽民 1994 年在一次内部报告中谈到了他处理中美关系的 16 字原则，向美示弱¹⁷。当认定中美之间国力悬殊太多，还无力与美正面冲突时，中共遇到冲突时就“忍”了。由此，1993 年的“银河号”事件忍了；1996 年台海危机忍了；1999 年中国驻布尔格莱德使馆被炸，中美关系一时跌至最低点，最终中美双方谈判解决，中方也“吞进去”了。2001 年 4 月，美国 EP-3 间谍飞机与中共空军战斗机相撞（中共军机曾经骚扰过美机）事件，再次恶化中美关系。在美方两次表示遗憾后，中方再一次“忍”了。

在这两次事件中，中方都有人员伤亡。在一定层面上说中国政府可以以“受害方”名义把事情闹大些，以获取更多的利益赔偿。然而，中国政府被动顺从美国了。这令中国民众相当失望，直接影响到中国政府的威信。中国民众长期被政府的反美宣传所蛊惑，纷纷自发地上街游行示威，冲击毁坏在北京的美国驻华使馆。（尽管实际上抗议者行动是中国政府背后精心策划的。）而这又“吓着”了中共和中国政府。他们害怕民众的民族主义愤怒情绪会返转为对政府顺从于美国的不满而引火烧身，于是通过各种手段尽快地平息民众情绪，限制民众行为，以尽快结束外交事件。

在这两个事件后，中共党内重申邓小平的“韬光养晦”思想，使这一原本着重作为外交方面的策略原则，逐渐地成为中共全党上下必须遵行的基本方针。这被党内中高层官员普遍地接受了。有两件事给我印象很深。一件事是大约 2001 年 8、9 月间，中央党校在哈尔滨市举办全国党校系统会议。（在中国，党校系统包含大约 2800 所党校，遍布于中国各级行政层面。）这个会议是关于“江泽民三个代表重要思想”的研讨会¹⁸。开会期间，我与当时中央党校一位很有影响的正局级领导聊天，我谈到民间认为政府的态度太软弱，不满意中国对 2001 年 4 月中美撞机事件的处理。她回答说：“我们怎么可能强硬呢？美国太强大了啊。”

另一件事给我印象很深的是，“三个代表”思想提出后，中央党校常务副校长郑必坚提出中国“和平崛起”的想法，中国官方媒体广为宣传，引起世界广泛注意。一段时间后，“和平崛起”等不再提起了，被“和平发展”说法取代了。当时我注意到这个改变（任何一个像我一样作政党意识形态研究的学者，都会仔细察看中共措辞的变化，因为它们常常带有很深的政治含意）。我问郑必坚的助手——中央党校国际战略研究所所长：“为什么‘和平崛起’不再提了？”那位所长说：主要考虑西方国家对“崛起”两字有疑虑，觉得似乎隐含着某种“潜在威胁”意味——所以改为“和平发展”，强调中国的发展不对任何国家构成威胁。

为了掩饰“韬光养晦”真实的战略意图，熊光楷——中共的军队情报系统最高层负责人，还在此成语的英文翻译上大做文章，声称翻译为“hide our capabilities and bide our time”是错误的，完全歪曲了中国和平外交战略方针的内涵和实质，给中国“正常对外交往造成了不应有的负面影响。”熊光楷声称‘韬光养晦’的核心含意就是不要锋芒毕露，特别是自己有才能的时候，更不要太张扬自己的才能，保持低姿态……’。任何稍稍了解中国历史和文字的人，都知道“韬光养晦”“卧薪尝胆”一类成语的背后含义¹⁹。

正如一个中国政策宣传者的领导人——国务院新闻办公室负责人赵启正讽刺地解释说：‘和平’是说给外国人的，‘崛起’是说给我们自己的。”²⁰

确实如此，中共在中美关系中娴熟地运用着东方社会的权谋文化。2001年中国加入WTO后，中美关系进入到一个新的阶段。美国对中国将可能的变化颇为乐观，以为市场经济会把中国带向通往民主政治的路上。当时在约翰·霍普金斯大学向学生们演讲时，总统比尔·克林顿说，“加入世界贸易组织，中国不仅仅是在同意进口更多我们的产品，而且是同意进口民主最珍贵的价值观之一——经济自由。．．．．．中国在经济方面自由化越多，中国人民潜在的自由化愿望就越多，他们的主动性，他们的想象力，他们出色的企业家精神就越多．．．．．(和)自由的精灵就不会再回到禁锢它的瓶子中。”小布什总统宣称：“经济自由创造自由的习惯，自由习惯创造民主期望．．．．．，与中国自由贸易吧，时间在我们这边。”

美国人太天真了。在中国文化与美国文化之间，有许多不同。美国文化的一个基本传统是不说谎，遵守规则和契约精神。在中国文化中，欺骗存在于我们的文化血脉里，我们没有契约精神，缺乏公正意识，对同样一件事，人们在不同的环境里说不同的话；有些事，今天说的话明天就能被改变。所以，美国人不必在乎中共说了些什么——但是他们必须非常小心中共干了些什么。假如美国人天真地相信中共的漂亮言辞和空洞宣传，他们就会上当受骗。这就是中国式的狡猾。中共并不认为这是不道德的，正相反，他们认为这是“策略”——正如中国古代的孙子兵法说的“兵不厌诈”。

中共利用一切事物来达到他们的目的。他们认为，只要目的正当，可以不择手段。他们用各种好听的话语引诱跨国公司进入中国，然后跨国公司很快就发现他们掉进了陷阱：他们被迫转让他们的技术或者面临打压，中国在获得了他们所需要的外国技术后，中共经常想出各种办法强迫这些公司退出中国市场。艾伦·马斯克的特斯拉汽车公司现在正经历这种情况。

2008年中国举办奥运会获得巨大成功，美国陷入次贷金融危机。这刺激了中共高层领导人们，他们认为中国的崛起和美国的衰落是不可避免。因此，他们感觉不再需要藏着中国的勃勃野心而忍受美国人的“压制”了，中国必须进入世界中心。中美关系开始出现隐秘，微妙的变化。北京的中共领导人开始想象，‘具有中国特色的社会主义’可能等于或超过美国模式。从2008年底，“韬光养晦”就是开始逐步被抛弃的。

中共有个说法“外交内政一盘棋”，意思就是利用外交达成他们的国内外政治目标，以维护一党政权，这是中共秘而不宣的一贯意图。

中共利用2008年奥运会做了几件事：第一，初步建立起一个大规模，系统性，全方位监控中国民众的系统，这是以最新的高科技为基础的，遍布于全国范围的系统。那时，政府说这套系统仅用于奥运会安全保卫，仅仅是临时性的——但实际上，习近平掌握权力后进一步强化这套体系，下大功夫提高其监控的严密性精准性。一年后，另一套严密的安全监控体系覆盖北京全市，其借口是为保障纪念人民共和国而举行的60周年军队阅兵大典的安全。

第二，中共利用成功举办奥运会努力宣传“中国模式”。北京奥运会开幕式上的宏大场面，精美炫丽的各种表演让世界赞叹不已，展现了一副繁荣昌盛，开放自由中国的假象，各国媒体对中国的正面报道明显地多于以往。同年，美国的次贷危机爆发了，直接冲击了全球经济。中美景象的巨大反差，一时使世界都关注“中国模式”，并成为热点话题。中美经济处于两个极端。借英美等国学者的话，中共夸张宣传“北京共识”以对抗“华盛顿共识”，所谓“中国模式”的真正含义是企图



把私人经济的活力与国家控制资源混合起来, 掩盖垄断权力的一党统治, 从而避开极为需要的政治改革. 在一定程度上说, 这是中共抛弃“韬光养晦”方针, 向世界扩张渗透的开始.

第三, 中共利用成功举办奥运会的影响力, 为中国在世界事务中“争得应有地位”作心理准备, 中共党内放弃“韬光养晦”的声音逐渐出现. 一边是中国成功举办奥运会, 另一边是美国陷于金融危机大萧条, 中共自夸中国政府投入的四万亿人民币 (美金约 6400 亿) 救市, 不仅使中国继续经济高速增长, 而且给世界经济托了底. 中共党内出现一种声音, 认为中国国力已经今非昔比, 中国必须争得自己应有的地位: 那就是从“大国”转成“强国”, 从世界规则 (包括 WTO 规则) 的接受者转变成制定规则的参与者.

作为中央党校的教师, 我既给官员讲课也要参加他们的各种讨论. 从 2009 年到 2012 年间, 我逐渐感受到这种心理变化. 最初是质疑声. 一次讨论中, 一个官员问我: “蔡老师, 邓小平说‘韬光养晦’, 那是当时的情况. ‘韬光养晦’要养到什么时候呢?” 此后, 在多次讨论中听到的议论是: 在全球金融海啸中, 唯有中国是“定海神针”, 这些证明了中国“中国特色”的优越性, “中国道路”, “中国模式”具有全球性重大意义, 中国为第三世界国家寻找到了新的发展道路, 等等.

正是在这个背景下, 新选举上任的奥巴马总统于 2009 年 11 月访华. 这次访问没有获得好的效果, 中国领导人以冷淡无礼接待他. 不仅如此, 中共的傲慢态度开始在中国南海问题上表现出来, 中共海军开始挑衅美国太平洋第七舰队. 随着中共在国内的加强压制, 2009–2010 年似乎是中共对外显露自信心的一个转折点.

中美关系从摩擦冲突到冷战对立

习近平 2012 年底上台时, 中国党内和民间都处在民族主义情绪不断膨胀的状态中. 利用这个情况, 习近平鼓吹并煽动民族主义情绪高涨, 推进军事扩张, 向西方与美国施加压力. 最终美国受够了中国的困扰, 在川普政府时期做出了根本性的政策转变. 实际上放弃接触政策, 而选择以“战略竞争者”来取代.

从习近平 2012 年上台后到现在, 他对内利用民族主义情绪强化仇恨意识, 对外愈加傲慢. 如果说, 胡锦涛时期中国的民族主义情绪还是恢复自信向内努力, 致于“全面建设小康社会”的话, 那么习近平时期的民族主义情绪则逐步显出对外扩张, 霸道, 蛮横的倾向. 习近平 2009 年在墨西哥访问时说: “有些外国人, 吃饱了没事干, 对我们的国家指手画脚. 中国一不输出革命, 二不输出饥饿和贫困, 三不去折腾你们, 还有什么好说的?”²¹ 这些话语已经显现出习的蛮横性格, 但是当时美国人没有在意, 甚至许多人相信他也许是中国的戈尔巴乔夫. 正相反, 习近平掌权后进一步强化民族主义情绪, 利用民族仇恨意识, 毒害中国人民.

中共教育人民 仇恨美国. 从 1949 年到今天, 70 多年来他们把美国视为敌人, 持续不断煽动反美情绪. 事实上, 中共长期称美国为“美帝国主义”, 几十年一贯制对民众灌输仇美意识, 已经在中国几代人心里扎了根. 我和我们那一代人从小是在反美教育中长大的. 从幼儿园到小学, 我最熟悉的话就是“打倒美帝野心狼”, “美帝国主义亡我之心不死”, 等等. 有一次, 我买了把玩具手枪送给一个 6 岁的小男孩, 小男孩端着玩具枪冲口而出: “打死美国佬.” 我当时就被震惊了. 9.11 攻击事件发生后, 中国民众中的反美情绪逐渐升温. 2020 年中共战狼式外交进一步反映

了民众的反美情绪，杨洁篪在安德雷奇两国高层官员会谈中对美方的攻击性话语引来大陆一片叫好声。

中共的反美宣传在中国社会不同人群中有不同的反应。由于大陆言论管控极为严厉，人们不能公开反对中共官方媒体的反美煽动。

习近平利用民族主义情绪打着“中华民族伟大复兴”的旗号向世界扩张，在中共党的第十八次全国代表大会上就提出“构建人类命运共同体”，随之 2013 年着手实施“一带一路”计划。2015 年后，习在一些讲话中抛出更有欺骗性的言辞，比如“为世界提供“中国方案”，“中国智慧”等。中共官媒把吹捧习与膨胀民族主义情绪合为一体。中共每年在“对外宣传”上花费巨款，包括由中共中央对外联络部（简称中联部）组织在北京召开世界政党大会。这不仅显示中共意识形态在世界上扩张影响力，也营造“万邦来朝”觐见习近平的场面，以满足他称霸世界帝天下的虚幻想象。

中共对美国和其他国家的渗透，特别是意识形态的渗透，早在 21 世纪初就开始了，但当时规模与领域有限。后来胡锦涛 2007 年在中共党全国代表大会上提出需要建设中国“软实力”，对外宣传活动放在非常重要而又优先的位置上。随着中共经济实力的增强，它向世界扩张乃至称霸世界的野心逐步膨胀，其渗透活动日益扩大范围。最初的海外宣传渗透以文化交流为名义，然后扩张到媒体，金融，经济，科技，教育，智库，博物馆，以及其他领域与机构。据报道，几乎所有在美国的独立中文媒体，现在都已经被中共收购或者被控制了；中共干预和挑战美国高校和智库的学术自由。中共还“长臂控制”中国在美学生和遍布全美国的华人团体，他们甚至在美国大学里建立中共党支部（在许多其他国家里也有这种情况）。与此同时，中国逐渐对美国和其他国家学者关闭学术交流的大门，限制他们进入中国。中共设置了许多障碍，来严重限制外国学者从事中国研究，以及与中国学者与官员之间的交流。

军事备战与对美军加剧对峙，战争危险日益迫近

随着 1991 年苏联的解体，唯一能号称拥有世界一流军队的国家就是美国。习近平上台后，强调着力推进深化国防军队改革与提高军事训练实战水平，“实现强军目标，建设世界一流军队”和“准备打仗并打赢战争”。这些都明显是瞄着美军为目标的。

中国国防军队费用不断增长。2021 年，中国国防军费支出为 13553.43 亿元（约为 2091.6 亿美元），比 2020 年增长 6.8%²²。在世界上是第二大军费预算开支，然而，据斯德哥尔摩国际和平研究所（SIPRI）估计：“2019 年中国实际的军费开支已经达到 2400 亿美元，比北京估计的数字高出 38%。²³”

中国军费大幅度扩张，既是习近平搞军队改革的需要，也用于为习近平吹嘘的“一带一路”。前几年我应邀参与了军队的意识形态与思想政治教育“精品课”评选，听了一星期讲课人的竞争性演讲，其中有相当数量的讲课，是讲军队要“为一带一路保驾护航。”

而且，中国当局蓄意加剧南海的紧张局势。2011 年，当时的美国副总统拜登出访中国，习近平曾经亲口保证不会在南海进行军事扩张，并且于 2016 年再见奥巴马时，在白宫玫瑰园他再次信誓



旦旦地公开重申他的承诺。但是后来的行动再次证明中共从不遵守他的承诺。中共在南海加紧建造人工岛，并且开始在岛上部署军队和武器，可能很快就建成一个海军基地。中共声称所谓“九段线”内的南海水域属于中国的地盘，已经挑起与东南亚几个国家的争端，并且蛮横地拒绝接受海牙国际仲裁的决定，即中国声称的对南海水域领土要求完全无效。所有这些行动已经极大地增加了南海，东海和台湾海峡的紧张局势。2015年9月，习近平对奥巴马说：“太平洋足够大，容得下中美两个大国，”看起来习似乎是呼吁中美和平共处，但事实上暴露了他想与美国平起平坐称霸世界的野心。

2021年1月1日，中共实施新修订的《国防法》，有两个关键词被加进原来的第二条。如下“国家的军事活动是预防和抵抗侵略，阻止武装颠覆和分裂，保卫国家主权，统一，领土完整，安全和发展利益所进行的活动。”这两个关键词“分裂”和“发展利益”大有深意：一个针对台湾；另一个针对所有国家发出威胁信号，最重要的是针对美国。无论谁阻挡中共统一台湾，无论谁影响到中国的发展利益，中共军队就将对谁开战。²⁴

2021年2月10日，美国拜登总统于宣布在五角大楼成立对中国战略工作小组。中共政府似乎没有对此发布任何评论，但10天后用发射远程洲际导弹作出回应。2月20日，中国海军核潜艇在烟台附近深海发射了巨浪3型潜射洲际导弹（SLBM）。官方公开播出发射视频，官方评论强调称这一导弹具有重大的“洲际威慑”意义，这意味着PLA（人民解放军）将具备全球一流的海基核打击能力……官方评论继续说：“近期，某些国家自恃武力，频繁对世界其他国家施加压力，试图不劳而获攫取利益，对此我们显然不会答应。在这一时刻发射隐藏多年的新一代潜射导弹，这已经表明了我方的坚决态度”。这些迹象表明，中共已经走上了军国主义图谋发动战争的道路，并把美国作为最具有威胁性的敌人。事实上，无论美国哪个党上台执政，都不可能使中共改变观点。

利用疫情谋取霸权

2019年底中国武汉爆发新冠肺炎，但中共隐瞒真相延误防治时机，这导致武汉病毒疫情向世界扩散，直至现在还没有结束。全世界已经有上亿人感染病毒，数百万人被夺去生命。2020年中共进一步利用疫情散布假消息，在外交上以战狼式谩骂代替正常的国家沟通，诬陷病毒起源于美国，企图甩锅推卸责任。中共千方百计地隐瞒真相，阻止世卫组织和各国政府寻找病毒起源，0号病人资料以及疫情初期的真实情况。

随着疫情的继续，中国宣布其经济增长率放慢至2.3%，而同期世界上许多国家经济没有一个疫情国家的经济是正增长。2020年11月举行的《读懂中国》论坛上，北京大学一位教授称，中国从抗击疫情中获得的收益为67万亿元，约占中国2020年GDP总量的三分之二。²⁵反之，美国深受武汉病毒疫情困扰，其经济，社会，包括大选等都遭到重创。所有这些都表明，中共正在利用疫情反对美国，试图从疫情中获得利益以暗中争夺世界领导权。

接触政策注定会黯然终结

中美关系最终走向冷战与对抗。接触政策的黯然终结是不可避免的结果。尽管接触政策已难以继续，但任何极权统治者都无法消除美国持续给中共党内与中国民众的巨大影响力。中，美两国人民之间的经济和文化交流一直持续加强着，随着美国的资本，公司，产品和文化进入了中国，随

着许多中国人到海外探望孩子, 亲戚, 随着朋友们出国求学打工, 随着中美通婚的家庭越来越多, 许多人已经亲眼见到了美国与西方国家的真实情况, 中共极权政权的虚假宣传已经破产了. 在极权统治下, 中共一面公开煽动反美情绪, 一面许多人秘密地把他们的财产, 孩子和家庭成员转移到美国. 他们被中国网民揭露为两面人, 嘲讽他们: “反美是工作, 移美是生活”. 事实上, 许多中共党员和官员, 中国社会相当大数量的精英, 特别是中产阶级, 非常认可与接受美国的自由民主制度和普世价值观.

另外许多美国人相当感伤于接触政策的结束, 这完全可以理解. 但在我看来, 这是必然的结局. 因为接触政策基于两个错误的假定上, 即国际交流和经济发展能够使中共向着愿意分享权力, 放弃霸权统治的现代政党方向转变. 但是中共的基本任务和组织原则是消灭资本主义和实现无产阶级专政, 这与美国的价值观和政治制度完全对立. 这两个冲突的制度体系不可能和平共处. 结果, 中共与美国不可避免地走向对峙或者对抗 (冷战或热战即是对抗的外在表现). 事实上, 正是中共一手毁掉了接触政策, 因为中共利用接触政策达到了目的, 接触政策对他们已经没有任何用处了.

中美究竟是敌手还是对手?

中共视美国为不怀善意的敌手甚至是敌人 (enemy), 而美国把中共为看作为它的竞争对手. 这些不同的概念产生处理双边关系中的不同策略, 不同的策略又带来不同的政策后果. 敌手或敌人是你死我活的关系, 但是竞争者, 则仅仅寻求在反复博弈中获得利益.

中共始终视美国为敌人, 出于两点原因: 一是担心政权被推翻. 缺乏自信的多疑和需要为独裁合法性作辩护, 是中共制造出最大敌人的根本原因. 因而, 从我儿童时期到今天, 标语口号 “美帝国主义亡我之心不死” 始终没有停止过. 在国内, 中共每隔几年必须搞一次政治运动, 以消灭一切反对力量, 他们始终防备美国和其他西方国家对中国的影 响. 用他们的话说叫 “反对和平演变.” 无论何时, 凡是有中共党政府与民众激化矛盾冲突时, 中共党即以背后有 “国外敌对势力黑手” 作借口镇压抗议者. 经过几十年的反美宣传, 在中共党内外 “反美” 情绪已经成为不容质疑的政治正确.

二是, 中共始终把 “消灭帝国主义, 解放全人类,” “把红旗插遍全球” 作为政治目标. 70 多年来, 无论是毛泽东高调的 “反和平演变,” “一切帝国主义反动派都是纸老虎”; 无论是邓小平的 “冷静观察, 稳住阵脚,” “韬光养晦,” 还是习近平的 “底线思维,” “不可犯颠覆性错误,” 维护 “政治安全, 政权安全,” “构建人类命运共同体,” 根本点都是把中美关系看作是 “你死我活” 的敌对关系, 只是因为自身国力之弱和国际环境因素等制约, 但是现在中共察觉到美国在衰弱, 自己在强大的自我膨胀, 据此北京正在调整他对美国的策略.

另一方面, 无论对中国怀着多少疑虑, 美国继续把中国当作正常国家看待, 美国政府给予中国贸易最惠国待遇摒弃支持中国加入 WTO. 当时美国乐意见到中国快速增强国家实力, 假想经济自由会带来政治变化. 虽然美国用心良苦, 但这种行动极为天真.

直到最近几年, 美国无论是政界, 商界, 学界精英还是众多智库, 都不认为中国将成为美国最大的竞争对手; 对上述看法持反对意见的, 比如塞缪尔·亨廷顿的 “文明冲突论,”²⁶ 格雷厄姆·艾利



森认真地提出未来中美之间有可能爆发战争²⁷，也都被嘲讽。主流精英们没人认为中国是美国潜在的敌人。然而，“文明冲突论”特别是“修昔底德陷阱”这个说法，迅速被中共接过去，作为煽动中国民众反美情绪的借口，为加剧中美关系紧张，准备未来战争作社会心理动员。

尽管中共始终视美国为敌手，但因它在过去的落后贫困，它需要时间来增强国力。因而中国必须“韬光养晦”，必须与美国和解交好。然而，现在习近平认为它牢牢地掌控着中国，而且国力增强到足以挑战美国，中共不需要再“韬光养晦”，他就开始露出攻击性。这从最近几个月中共在南海的军事扩张和对台湾的军事威胁中可以明显地看到。

3月18日在美国安德雷奇举行的中美两国会晤，开场再次变成了罕见的两国高层外交官唇枪舌剑。杨洁篪，中国外交界最高层官员完全不顾及基本的外交礼仪，甚至把中国人骂大街的语言用于外交场合，指责与其地位相等的美国最高外交官。杨洁篪的言词再次显示中共只相信弱肉强食的“凭拳头说话”外交。

令人深为关切的是，2020年习撕毁“一国两制”承诺，不惜毁掉香港也要暴力强制推行国安法。而美国与欧盟国家未能作出坚决有力的制裁来支持香港民众的抗争，这等于默认与接受了中共的强势逼迫。当武汉病毒在全球扩散疫情，给美国与全球经济造成严重损害时，习说中国现在有实力“平视世界”。在中共领导人的眼里是“东升西降”，他们的判断是“危中有机，危可转机”去实现“中华民族伟大复兴。”

是威权主义还是极权主义？

中共统治下的中国究竟是威权主义国家还是极权主义国家？这一问题至今美国两党都没有清晰过，然而中共的统治空前地严酷。即便前国务卿蓬佩奥的讲话也只是称中共为威权主义国家。实质上中共政权一直都是极权主义的一党专政国家。

毛，邓与尼克松开始中美接触时，只是外交政策有所松动，而对国内统治从来没有松动过。1980年代后中共在经济体制有所松动，但从没有松动过垄断政权，垄断思想话语权，垄断经济资源和制度资源。然而，在美国政治，政府以及学术界最有影响力的人物似乎对此都忽略了。由此，美国继续执行接触政策没能影响中国向自由民主方向演进，反过来却被中共利用接触政策潜入美国盗窃科学技术知识产权和商业，政治情报，甚至利诱美国政界商界学界科技界精英服务于中共的利益。自从习上台以后，中共党越发加紧偷盗与渗透。

只要中国极权制度不改变，中美关系注定了将进入根本性对抗的时期，这是由两国根本不同的制度性质和价值理念所决定，也是两国不同的国家利益所决定的。这将危及世界和平。

中美关系的未来可能性：是“竞争与合作”还是“对峙与对抗”？

中美安德雷奇高层会晤前，布林肯谈到处理中美关系，“美国的三原则是：应该竞争的竞争；能够合作的竞争；必须要对抗的时候对抗。”其实这三原则是存在逻辑冲突的。它们表明美国政府既深知中美关系的复杂性与艰巨性，但依旧希望最好的结果。多年以后，美国政府和各个方面的精英们意识到中国发生了一些政治变化，他们没有认识到中国已经转变为一个新极权主义。许多人

依然把中共政权看作为威权主义. 依赖于单方面的美好愿望和幻想, 继续坚持接触政策, 客观上使接触政策具有了某种“绥靖”效应.

笔者认为, 中美关系将不可避免地走向对峙与对抗, 持这一看法是基于以下几点: 如果中共统治只是威权主义性质, 则有可能形成竞争为主调, 一定范围的合作以及必要时对抗的中美关系, 正如美国政府所希望的. 这对极权主义制度是不可能的.

尽管极权主义与威权主义都是专制独裁制度, 但两者有着明显的差异. 政治学家乔万尼·萨托利区分不同类型的专制独裁制度. 对照萨托利理论, 分析不同类型专制制度的核心特征, 就很清楚地表明中共政权是极权而不是威权.²⁸

布热津斯基的著作, 一位研究共产主义制度的杰出学者也指出相似的结论. 他写道: “极权主义的两个决定性维度是恐惧+意识形态. 正是二者的极度结合造就了这一体制的其他特点.²⁹ 极权主义的极端性, 僵硬性以及控制的严密程度, 决定了极权主义不可能直接推进到自由民主制度, 必须先有极权主义向威权主义的松动.³⁰

高压恐怖和意识形态这两根支柱支撑了希特勒, 斯大林乃至后斯大林时代的前苏联, 东欧国家, 包括毛时期的中共极权统治. 习近平上台后, 他努力利用高科技从而获得超级强大的监控能力, 超过了希特勒和前苏联. 在布热津斯基概括的基础上, 也许我们现在可以定义中共在中国的统治为: 恐惧+意识形态+数字技术控制系统 (利用信息技术和人工智能)=重新定义为高度精致的新极权. 运用萨托利, 布热津斯基, 汉娜·阿伦特, 乔治·奥维尔和其他研究独裁制度的学者理论, 应该很容易分辨出中共统治是什么.

说习近平政权为极权主义, 因为他同样实行“一个主义, 一个领袖, 一个党”和“大一统 (汉族一统国家).” 习近平步毛泽东后尘, 大搞个人崇拜, 把自己等同于党, 修改宪法, 用进一步加强压制胁迫和谎言欺骗, 以稳固终身独裁. 希特勒控制下的纳粹党是“国家社会主义”基于种族主义; 习近平的极端民族主义也是与种族主义相关联. 长期以来, 中共持续不断强化大汉族主义优越感, 对新疆, 西藏, 内蒙等少数民族实行变相的文化种族灭绝.

说中共是精致的新纳粹主义, 是因为它利用大数据, 人脸识别技术 (AI), 一天 24 小时监视人们. 这种精准监控与警察、国安部门的恐怖镇压严密地结合起来, 中国大陆已经很难发出反对的声音了. 自 2013 年以来, 我的 7 位朋友因发出反对声音而全部被被习当局捏造罪名拘留和被囚监.

总之, 随着对内镇压对外扩张, 中共政权已经恶劣地沦为新斯大林极权主义³¹, 其性质与价值理念与美国以及所有自由民主国家是根本对立的. 中共一直把美国看作敌人, 现在更加如此. 因此, 中美之间难以形成国务卿安托尼·布林肯所认为的“竞争, 合作, 某种情况下的对抗”的多重关系, 最大的可能趋势就是走向对峙和对抗.

可以说中共的极权主义体制和中共习近平个人的负面因素, 将会使美国面对着一个不按常理, 不讲规则, 不讲诚信, 难有正常预期性的敌手. 这将更加增加美国以及世界的高度风险. 与此同时, 中共长期而深度地渗透进入美国社会, 尤其是精英阶层, 极大地影响了美国对华政策的制



定,使华盛顿难以看清中共的真实战略意图,目标和动机,因而无法有效应对和消除中共的威胁。总之,中共政权没有底线,中共是美国安全和世界和平的最大威胁。

中共不是铁板一块,我从1986年起在中共党校系统工作,三十多年与中共中高层官员的接触经历,我能说至少有60%–70%的中共中高层官员是了解现代世界文明进步趋势的。他们懂得只有民主宪政政府才能使中国长治久安,才能使自己获得人权保障与人格尊严和人身安全。中共党内的有识之士是认识到美国的善意的。美国应该继续支持中国的公民社会,中国公民社会现在已经转入地下;同时,扶植和支持党内自由民主力量重新回到政治改革路线,以实现中国社会的良性和平转型。

最后,虽然难以想象,我建议美国要做应对中共可能突然瓦解的充分准备。中共貌似强大,但这个改良的新极权主义斯大林专制政权内部是相当脆弱的。中共有饿龙一样的野心但内里是个纸老虎。在某些情况下,有许多因素可能导致意想不到的局面突变,甚至政权的坍塌。这些因素包括:经济模式的不可持续性例如高水平的负债率;其虚假浮夸的意识形态宣传与真实现状之间,其在市场与国家之间相互冲突的分配双轨制,其不断扩大的社会贫富悬殊,其持续不断的腐败问题,其最高权力继任方面的激烈内斗等内在固有的无法克服的矛盾冲突。习近平的过分多疑和狭隘猜忌导致其在内部不断清洗异己,这些带来中共内部中高层官员的极度不安全感,以至于人人自危。

所有上述因素,使任何可能的突发性事件引发一连串连锁反应,而出现不可预料的情况,甚至政权的坍塌。回想那些——没人预料到前苏联和东欧国家的突然垮塌——但它们发生了。由随机性事件触发的突然而瞬间的崩溃,几乎不可避免地带来中国内部的失序混乱,这将给中国外部的世界带来严重的后果。因此,美国要有清晰的认识和充分的应对预案。

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在这篇文章里,我尝试提出了几点相互关联的论点。首先,中共政权是改进了的新极权主义而不是威权主义;其次,中共在国际关系方面,特别是与美国的关系,最优先考虑的是巩固它对国内的控制和防止政权的倒台。第三,中美关系的性质实际上是无情对抗的敌手而不是竞争的对手。第四,中美双方体量都大,都有相当实力,谁都不可能一口吞了谁,两国之间的“热战”对于全世界将是灾难性的。正是基于这些评估,我建议美国需要清楚地看透中共和中国是什么——战略性的敌手——由此制定相对于中国的战略和政策。一厢情愿的“接触政策”必须被冷静周全的防御政策所取代,以保护美国避免中国的侵犯——同时带给它进攻性的压力,因为中共比美国人想象的要虚弱的多。

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- 5 邓小平,《旗帜鲜明地反对资产阶级自由化》,《邓小平文选》,第3卷,第195页.
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- 7 有一种内部说法:据说中共6.4开枪,一方面欧美发达国家政府公开宣布制裁中国,但暗地里欧美大公司为了利益游说本国政府放松制裁,通过一些非官方渠道接触.这使邓小平等中共高层有恃无恐.这个讲话,我在《邓小平文选》第3卷中没有查到.但是我对当时传达的这个讲话大意印象极为深刻.中共在编撰中共领导人的文选时,不会全部公开发布所有的讲话,文稿,有相当部分依旧处于保密状态.
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- 9 邓小平,《我们有信心把中国的事情做得更好》,《邓小平文选》第3卷,第325页.
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- 16 说明:这位来自中央党校的教授董云虎,从此中断了他的学术生涯,成为中共的省部级官员.后来曾任中央外宣办,国务院新闻办公室副主任,西藏自治区宣传部长,中共上海市委常委宣传部长;2018年任职上海市政协主席.
- 17 江泽民于1994年7月12日在驻外使节会议上作《外交工作要坚定不移地维护国家和民族最高利益》报告,报告中谈到对美关系16字方针:“增加信任,减少麻烦,发展合作,不搞对抗”.请见:《江泽民与中美关系》,作者:倪世雄,《毛泽东邓小平理论研究》杂志,2009年第6期,第56-64页.
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- 27 哈佛学者格雷厄姆·艾利森, 注定要开战? 美国和中国能逃脱“修昔底德”陷阱? (波士顿: 亨廷顿, 密费林, 哈尔科特, 2017)。
- 28 高琪琦 景跃进 (主编)《比较政治中的概念问题》(北京: 中央编译出版社, 2014) 第 85 页。
- 29 《比较政治中的概念问题》, 第 90 页。
- 30 注: 例西班牙和平推进的民主政治转型并得到巩固, 其基础建立在佛朗哥将军统治的最后十年。那时西班牙已是事实上的威权主义政权。而前苏联尽管政治剧变过程中没有大规模的流血冲突, 但并没有顺利走向民主政治体制而是事实上停留在叶利钦—普金的强人型威权统治阶段。这表明, 极权体制不可能直接推进到民主政治体制, 但威权统治可以推进到民主政治体制。
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China's Global Sharp Power

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