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US-China Policy Under an Obama Administration

巴拉克·奥巴马 主导的对华政策

By Barack Obama / 巴拉克·奥巴马



COURTESY OF OBAMA FOR AMERICA

Senator Barack Obama

In the coming years, the United States and China face challenges that require fresh thinking and a change from the US policy approach of the past eight years. How the US and China meet these challenges, and the extent to which we can find common ground, will be important both for our own countries and for others in Asia and beyond.

China has achieved extraordinary, sustained growth over the past three decades. Hundreds of millions of people in China live better now than most thought possible even two decades ago.

But as China's leaders acknowledge, China must make some basic adjustments if it is to continue sustained, shared economic growth. China must develop practices that are more environmentally sustainable and less energy intensive, that boost domestic consumption as an engine of growth, that enhance the social safety net, and that encourage indigenous technology innovation. Otherwise, the country's future performance may fall well short of its potential.

The United States has the world's largest and strongest economy, but we, too, must make serious adjustments in order to be competitive in the 21st century. We must end the fiscal irresponsibility of recent years that has led to record high deficits and a record low national savings rate. We must invest in infrastructure, education, health

care, science and technology. And we must break our addiction to oil and launch a historic effort to transform our economy by investing in renewable technologies, energy efficiency and the next generation of clean vehicles. These initiatives will help lay the foundation for broad based, bottom-up economic growth that benefits all Americans and helps strengthen US-China relations as well.

We know that America and China can accomplish much when we recognize our common interests. US and Chinese cooperation in the Six Party Talks on the North Korean nuclear issue over the past few years makes clear that we can work together constructively, bilaterally and with others, to reduce tensions on even extraordinarily sensitive issues.

More broadly, the United States supports and benefits from security and stability in Asia. We need to address the principal causes of regional tension. As I made clear in my congratulatory letter to Ma Ying-jeou on his inauguration, we support steps to build trust across the Taiwan Strait and improvements in relations between Beijing and Taipei, now more possible with good will by both sides than at any time since the mid-1990s. Reduction of tensions between China and Japan is in the interests of those two countries, and of the United States. We seek the type of stability and well-being on the Korean peninsula that can only be brought about by the complete elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons program and normalization of relations between North Korea and all the participants in the Six Party Talks. And finally, and critically, we need a strong foundation for a long-term positive and constructive relationship with an emerging China.

I firmly believe that an active, sophisticated and nimble US diplomatic, economic and security presence in the region is critical to achieving these and related goals. Our alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand are the foundation of the US security presence in the region and contribute greatly to regional stability, threatening to no one. Along with the forward deployment of our military forces in the Western Pacific, they are a necessary but not sufficient basis

for a sound strategy to strengthen regional security and stability. An Obama Administration will look for opportunities to work with China and others in the region to foster an environment where regional stability and prosperity flourish.

Asia's economic and security landscape is changing, and this requires special attention to understanding unfolding developments in the region. But America's interests in the vitality and stability of the region are enduring.

With this in mind, I want to address some of the key issues that directly involve our two countries.

Trade and investment undergirds prosperity, and the US and China have one of the largest and most important bilateral economic relationships in the world. Our two nations are the first and third largest trading nations, and China has in recent years been America's most rapidly growing major export market.

I know that America and the world can benefit from trade with China, but only if China agrees to play by the rules and act as a positive force for balanced world growth. I want China's economy to continue to grow, its domestic demand to expand and its vitality to contribute to regional and global prosperity. But China's current growth is unbalanced, and in recent years domestic consumption has actually gone down as a percentage of GDP. To increase internal demand Beijing will have to improve substantially its social safety net and upgrade its financial services sector to bring its consumption in line with international norms.

Central to any rebalancing of our economic relationship with China must be change in its currency practices. Because it pegs its currency at an artificially low rate, China is running massive current account surpluses. This is not good for American firms and workers, not good for the world, and ultimately likely to produce inflation problems in China itself.

As President, I will use all the diplomatic avenues available to seek a change in China's currency practices. I will also undertake more sustained and serious efforts to combat intellectual property piracy in China, and to address regulations that discriminate against foreign investments in major



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Election Day is November 4 / 美国大选日 - 11月4日

sectors and other unfair trading practices. And I will work with the Chinese government to establish a better system for both countries to monitor products produced for export and act when dangerous products are identified.

As president, I will take a vigorous, pragmatic approach to addressing these issues, utilizing our domestic trade remedy laws as well as the WTO's dispute settlement mechanism wherever appropriate. High-level dialogue among economic leaders in both countries is also important to achieving real progress. My approach to our economic relationship is positive and forward-looking: to remove obstructions to gaining the benefits of trade and thus to enable faster, and healthier, growth in both economies.

Climate change is a truly common challenge and a long-term problem that must be addressed now. The United States has done too little on the issue, and I will work with the Congress and the private sector to change that.

The United States and China have heavy, if different, responsibilities to meet this vital challenge. For too long, however, each has pointed a finger at the other's attitudes as an excuse for not itself doing more. That must stop.

The climate change challenge demands that the United States and China develop much higher levels of cooperation without delay. We are currently the world's two largest consumers of oil and the two largest emitters of green-

house gasses. As the world's richest developed economy and largest and most dynamic developing country, our cooperation to reduce the threat of climate change can produce models, practices and technologies that will provide impetus to global efforts, including those to reach agreement on a post-Kyoto climate regime.

America and China have developed a mature, wide-ranging relationship over the past 30-plus years. Yet we still have to do serious work if we are to create the level of mutual trust necessary for long-term cooperation in a rapidly changing region. Each country has deep concerns about the long-term intentions of the other, and those concerns will not disappear of their own accord.

Cooperation on the key, enduring global challenges, such as climate change, can deepen understanding and enhance confidence. We also need to deepen high-level dialogues on a sustained basis on economic, security and global political issues. Our militaries should increase not only the quantity of their contacts but the quality of their engagement.

In the modern world, non-traditional security threats are looming increasingly large. These include the challenges of terrorism, proliferation, failed states, infectious diseases, humanitarian disasters and piracy on the high seas. The United States and China have developed some coopera-

tion in each of these areas, but in some we continue to have real differences, about which we must be candid. In particular, I look to China to work with us to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, to halt the genocide in Darfur and to help reverse the slide into anarchy in Zimbabwe.

Greater progress in protecting the human rights of all its people and moving toward democracy and rule of law will better enable China to achieve its full potential as a nation, domestically and internationally. China's own people will expect, indeed demand, this. Such change will not weaken China, as its leaders may fear, but will provide a firmer basis for long-term stability and prosperity. China cannot stand indefinitely apart from the global trend toward democratic government, rule of law and full exercise of human rights. Protection of the unique cultural and religious traditions of the Tibetan people is an integral part of such an agenda.

Since the 1970s, America's policy of engaging China has produced major benefits for both sides and for Asia overall. The US-China relationship has had its share of challenges, and new ones will inevitably emerge. Especially in a world of common security, where events in any corner of the globe can affect the entire planet, the world more than ever requires that every major country not only pursue its narrow interests but also accept its responsibility to pursue urgently needed solutions to these broader problems. My administration will seek to revitalize America and lead it to realize its full potential for constructive engagement in Asia and in the global arena.

Barack Obama is the junior US Senator from Illinois and the 2008 Democratic nominee for US President.

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【原文译文】

此文章仅为英文译文，原意请以英文为准

在 未来数年内，美中两国将面临一系列挑战，要求我们重新思考和改变过去八年美国的政策路线。美中两国如何才能应对这些挑战，我

们能够在多大程度上找到共同点，这些对两国以及亚洲乃至世界其他国家而言都有着至关重要的作用。过去三十年来，中国取得了非凡而又持久稳定的发展。如今，数亿中国人民的生活状况比二十年前大多数中国人想象的还要好。

但正如中国领导人所认同的那样，如果中国希望继续保持持久稳定的经济发展，就必须从根本上做出一些调整。中国必须采取行动，保护环境并减少能源密集型生产，推动国内消费使其成为经济增长的引擎，改善社会保障体系，同时鼓励技术创新。否则，未来中国或许不能充分发挥其潜力。

美国是全球最强大的经济体，但我们同样必须做出重大调整才能保持在二十一世纪的竞争力。我们必须消除近年来因财政无作为而造成的空前的高赤字和低国民储蓄率状况；必须加大对基础设施建设、教育、医疗保健、科学与技术领域的投资；必须打破对石油的依赖，并采取具有历史意义的措施，通过投资于可再生技

术、高效和新一代清洁型汽车来实现我们经济的转型。这些举措将为更广泛的、“自下而上”的经济发展奠定坚实的基础，从而造福所有美国人民，同时也有助于巩固中美关系。

我们知道，只要美中两国认识到我们的共同利益，就能在很多方面实现双方的目标。在过去几年内，美中两国在六方会谈中就朝鲜核问题的合作清楚地表明，我们双方能够开展建设性的双边合作，并与其它国家携手，缓解即便是格外敏感的问题所引起的紧张状态。

更宽泛地说，美国支持并得益于亚洲地区的安全与稳定。我们需要化解造成地区紧张的主要因素。正如我在致马英九就任贺电中所指出的一样，我们支持台湾海峡两岸建立信任的举措，同时也支持中国大陆与台湾之间关系的改善。在双方善意的努力之下，两岸关系迎来了自二十世纪九十年代中期以来的最好时机。中日两国关系紧张状态的缓解符合中日双方以及美国的利益。我们认为，只有完全取消朝鲜

的核武器计划，同时实现朝鲜与六方会谈所有成员国之间的关系正常化，方能实现朝鲜半岛的稳定与和平。最后，同时也是迫在眉睫的，我们需要一个牢固的基础，与中国这个新兴经济体建立长期积极而具有建设性的关系。

我坚信，美国通过积极、成熟而灵活的外交、经济与安全举措保持在这一地区的影响力，对于上述这些目标和其相关目标的实现起着至关重要的作用。我们与日本、韩国、澳大利亚、菲律宾和泰国之间的盟友关系是美国在该地区维持安全力量存在的基础，为地区稳定做出了巨大的贡献，不会对任何国家造成威胁。这些盟友关系，以及我们在西太平洋前沿部署的军事力量，是我们加强地区安全稳定战略的必要基础，然而这一基础尚不充分。奥巴马政府将寻求与中国以及该地区其他国家合作的机会，从而推进地区的稳定与繁荣发展。

亚洲的经济与安全形势正在发生着变化，这就要求我们特别关注和理解该地区

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美国参议员巴拉克·奥巴马

的发展和演变。但美国希望该地区充满活力、保持稳定的愿望却始终未变。

有鉴于此，我希望谈一谈一些直接涉及美中两国的关键性问题。

贸易与投资有助于促进繁荣，而美中两国之间的双边经济关系是全球最大、最重要经济关系之一。美国与中国分别是世界第一大和第三大贸易国，最近几年，中国已经成为美国增长最快的主要出口市场。

我深知，美国乃至整个世界都能够受益于对华贸易，但前提必须是中国同意遵守市场规则，并在世界均衡发展中扮演积极的角色。我希望中国经济能够继续发展，其国内需求能够继续扩大，中国的勃勃生机与活力将继续为地区乃至全球繁荣做出积极的贡献。但中国目前的发展并不均衡，近年来，国内消费占GDP的比例实际有所下滑。为了增加国内需求，中国政府必须显著改善其社会保障体系，实现其金融服务产业升级，从而使国内消费与国际接轨。

若要实现双边经济关系的均衡发展，中心问题是中国必须改变其汇率政策。由于中国人为制定低货币汇率政策，使中国保持有巨大的国际收支经常项目顺差。这不利于美国企业和雇员，也不利于世界的发展，并最终可能造成中国国内的通胀问题。

作为总统，我将利用一切可行的外交途径寻求中国货币政策的改变。此外，我还将做出更多持久的努力来应对中国的知识产权侵权行为，并试图解决在主要产业

中对外国投资存在歧视性法规的问题，以及其它不公平贸易规则的问题。我将与中国政府合作建立更有效的体制，使双方国家能够对出口产品实施监管，并在发现危险产品时采取行动。

作为总统，我将采取强有力的、切实可行的措施来解决这些问题，在适当时候

运用我们的国内贸易救济法以及世贸组织的争议解决机制。此外，两国经济事务领导人之间积极开展高层对话也对取得实质性进展有着至关重要的作用。针对两国的经济关系，我将采取积极的、具有前瞻性的作法：消除贸易障碍，从贸易中受惠，从而实现两国经济更迅速、更健康的发展。

全球气候变化无疑是大家共同面临的挑战，也是一个长期的问题，解决这一问题已变得刻不容缓。过去，美国在这一问题方面做得太少，而我将与国会以及私有部门一起改变这一现状。

美中两国都肩负着应对这一重大挑战的责任，即使双方的责任不尽相同。但长久以来，双方都在互相指责对方的态度，以此作为推卸责任的借口。这一切必须停止。

气候变化的挑战要求美中两国立刻行动起来，将双方合作提升到更高的水平。我们是当今世界两个最大的石油消费国，也是最大的温室气体排放国。一个是全球最富有的发达国家，一个是世界最大、最具活力的发展中国家，双方旨在消除气候变化所带来的威胁方面的合作能够树立典范，由此产生的实践和技术将为全球努力提供动力，包括就建立后京都气候体制达成协议的努力。

在过去三十多年里，美中两国已经建立了成熟而广泛的合作关系。但如果我们希望建立高度互信，而这种互信正是在这一快速变化的地区开展长期合作所必需的，我们仍需付出巨大的努力。两国都对

对方的长期意图有着很深的顾虑，而这些顾虑是不会自行消失的。

在气候变化等这些持久的全球重大挑战方面展开合作能够加深理解、提高信心。此外，我们还需要深化经济、安全和全球政策问题方面持久的高层对话。两国军方不仅应当增加接触的次数，同时也应当提高双方沟通交流的质量。

在当今世界，非传统的安全威胁变得日益突出。这其中包括来自恐怖主义、核扩散、政局动荡的国家、传染性疾病、人道主义灾难和公海抢劫等的挑战。美中两国已经在这些领域展开了一定程度的合作，但在一些领域两国仍存在着现实的分歧，这一点我们必须正视。我尤其希望中方能够与我们合作，共同阻止伊朗发展核武器，结束达尔福尔血腥屠杀，并帮助扭转津巴布韦的无政府状态。

更好地保护全体民众的人权，向着民主与法治前进，将使中国在国内和国际上能够更充分地发挥其作为一个国家的潜力。这是中国人民的企盼，同时也是中国人民所真正需要的。这种改变不会像中国领导人可能担心的那样削弱中国的实力，相反，它将为中国的长期稳定与繁荣奠定更坚实的基础。向民主政府、法治社会和全面保护人权迈进是全球大势之所趋，中国不可能无限期地孤立于这一全球趋势之外。保护西藏人民独特的宗教与文化传统是这一议程的重要组成部分。

自二十世纪七十年代以来，美国施行的对华接触政策已经为两国乃至整个亚洲带来了巨大的利益。中美关系有着其独有的挑战，新的问题也必会出现。在如今这个共享安全的世界，牵一发而动全身，我们的星球比以往任何时候都更加需要每一个主要国家在追求其狭义的自身利益的同时，也要承担起责任去解决迫在眉睫的，更为宽泛的问题。我领导的政府将力求为美国注入新的生命力，并领导美国充分发挥其潜力，与亚洲乃至世界各国开展建设性的合作。



巴拉克-奥巴马是来自伊利诺伊州的美国资深参议员，2008年美国总统选举民主党籍候选人。