“后日美同盟”时代中日关系展望

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Paradigm in Sino-Japanese ties

By Wang Ping (China Daily)

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The prospects of Sino-Japanese relations have entered a broader trajectory because of Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama's attitude and policy changes toward the United States and China ever since he came to power.

After the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) took over the reins of government from the Liberal Democratic Party, Tokyo has made unremitting efforts to change its past "dependency" status in its decades-long alliance with Washington and press its largest ally to "respect" Japanese people's aspirations for "independence and self-reliance".

The change in equation in US-Japan ties is expected to have a direct impact on the development of Sino-Japanese relations. However, the situation is not that optimistic given a string of Asian offensives recently made by US leaders from Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to President Barack Obama. After taking office, Obama began to refocus US attention on the Asia-Pacific region. During his recent trip to Japan, the US president said he would be a "Pacific President", and reiterated during his maiden state visit to China the stance that Washington would not "contain" Beijing.

Obama's remarks indicate the US' desire to regain its declining influence in Asia as the world's sole superpower, which will possibly affect Sino-Japanese relations.

After coming to power, Hatoyama worked out an Asian strategy ahead of the US, the first time since the end of World War II. Before him, Japan's China policy was always subject to Washington's attitude toward Beijing.

Recently, the ruling parties in China and Japan have established a regular consultation mechanism and DPJ Secretary-General Ichiro Ozawa consequently positioned the future Sino-Japanese relationship as "the 21st century partnership in human history".

China would like to see a more independent and self-reliant Japan and hopes that the US plays a positive role in the Asia-Pacific region together with China, Japan and other countries. The US should extend active support to East Asian integration, which is an important component of broader Asia-Pacific cooperation.

At the East Asia Summit concluded not long ago, Premier Wen Jiabao pointed out that East Asian countries should, in a gradual, open and inclusive manner, expand common ground, deepen cooperation and step forward toward building a long-term East Asian community.

Geographically, East Asia only comprises China, the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese chain of islands in the narrow sense. But in a broader sense, the region also covers Southeast Asian nations and part of Russia's territories in Northeast Asia. Practically, East Asia refers to a common political, cultural and geographic concept that regional members have managed to forge on the basis of equality, and common concerns on political, economic and security interests as well as a common historical and cultural identity.

That East Asian countries enhance strategic reciprocity is inevitable. The ever-changing international situation makes it a necessity for East Asian countries to ceaselessly strengthen their political, military and security cooperation in a bid to protect regional interests and ensure the fulfillment of their development targets. Economic complementarity among East Asian nations will help cement the foundation of the region's economic cooperation.

To tackle the global financial crisis and fend off risks that are likely to be engendered by globalization, regional members have reached a consensus on the building of a EU-style community. Also, the unique ideological and moral consciousness among the East Asian civilization belts, a kind of cultural bonding built on identical or approximate traditions and cultures, is expected to constitute a common ideological foundation for the regional community. Built on Confucianism, East Asian civilizations and values advocate collectivity and humanity as well as family and social harmony, which will bring regional members closer. Despite huge changes East Asian countries have experienced in their relations, they are sure to explore an open-to-all formula for regional cooperation that will help rejuvenate Asia and contribute much to world peace.

As two influential powers in East Asia, the environment remains another key area for China and Japan to promote enhanced reciprocity. It also serves as a top priority for East Asian cooperation. China and Japan have signed a joint declaration on environmental protection and climate change, committing themselves to extensive cooperation on prevention of water pollution, building an experimental "circular economy" zone, reducing air pollutant emissions, curbing acid rain and sand erosion, as well as on coal power production. They have also abided by the differential principle and cooperated actively under the framework of the Kyoto Protocol for a new and more efficient framework on greenhouse gas emissions after the Protocol expires in 2012.

The two countries should work together to jointly tackle climate change as a common and immediate challenge to mankind, and conduct effective cooperation on economical use of energy, improvement of efficiency, new and renewable energies as well as reuse of carbon dioxide and its storage.

A Sino-Japanese relationship in the post-US-Japan alliance should be built on increased mutual trust. The two countries should gradually reduce the influence of the US in developing bilateral ties and try to increase mutual understanding among their peoples and develop China-Japan-US ties into an equilateral triangular relationship.

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“后日美同盟”时代中日关系展望 (原文)

以民主党上台为标志，日本进入“后日美同盟时代”。其实，所谓“日美同盟”并非真正意义的“同盟”。因其缺少平等内涵，有日本学者索性称日本是美国的“附属国”。鸠山政权对美外交的关键词就是“对等”二字，其用意与其说是要加强两国的同盟关系，到不如说是要告诫美国：“从此以后请尊重日本独立自主的关切！”

日美关系直接影响到中日关系的发展走向，日美两国不仅是世界数一数二的实力大国，又是结盟关系，这对邻国的威胁确实很大。不过。美国总统奥巴马上台后，努力调整美国的亚太战略。在最近访问日本期间他表示要做“太平洋大总统”，访问中国期间他重申“不遏制中国”。虽说要“听其言，观其行”，但此话一出还是为亚太局势增添了一些轻松气氛。纵观战后日本对华外交的发展，总是受制于美国对华外交战略的展开。

鸠山民主党新政权上台后，日本第一次先于美国出台亚洲新战略，鸠山的“构建东亚共同体”主张虽然不属于新创造，但是，如此明确主动的亚洲外交战略的提出，在战后日本的执政党中实属罕见。最近中日两国执政党建立了定期协商机制，小泽一郎民主党干事长将未来的中日关系定位在“21世纪人类史上的伙伴关系”。中国乐见日本走向“自主独立”，也希望美国在亚太地区与中国、日本以及其他亚太国家共同发挥作用。东亚区域合作是亚太区域合作的重要组成部分，美国应当积极支持。

在前不久结束的东亚峰会上，温总理指出，要遵循开放包容、循序渐进的原则，凝聚共识，深化合作，朝着建立东亚共同体的长远目标迈进。所谓“东亚”，从地理上看，有狭义与广义两种。狭义的东亚指中国、朝鲜半岛、日本列岛等地；广义的东亚除上述地区外还指马来群岛诸国等东南亚国家与地区，有时也包括处于东北亚一角的部分俄罗斯领土。从历史上看，东亚指华夏文明所覆盖的中心地带以及这一文明所辐射的周边地带。华夏文明体系在2000余年的时间里，决定了东亚国际关系格局的走向。从现实来看，“东亚”是指该区域内各国在基于平等意识、共同政治经济安全利益以及共同历史传统文化认知基础上所形成的一个区域性政治概念、文化概念以及地理概念。政治互信、经济互补、文化认同是构建东亚共同体不可或缺的基础与前提。

首先是地缘政治基础。“远亲不如近邻”，战略互惠是东亚各国的必然选择。国际形势的发展需要东亚各国不断地加强政治、军事以及安全领域的合作，以保障本地区的利益及其发展目标的实现。其次是经济合作基础。东亚各国在经济发展上具有互补性，为了应对世界性金融风暴，弥补全球化带来的风险，构建东亚共同体成为区域内各国的共识。最后是传统文化基础。东亚文明圈具有自己独特的思想道德意识，这种以相同或相近的传统文化为纽带而形成的关系很难被割断，它是构建东亚共同体的思想文化基础。儒家文化倡导集体主义、社会理性，

强调社会整体利益，这种具有普世特征的价值观即将或正在为人类的和平与发展做出贡献。价值观是文化的核心问题，东亚价值观的主要特征是，重家庭、重社会、重人伦。它具体表现为：“以人为本”的道德取向；对“集体价值”的认同；对“和合精神”的倡导。

当然，构建东亚共同体并非易事，亚洲区域合作的理想与实践已历经百年沧桑。近代日本的区域合作思想在亚洲政治思想史上占有重要地位，同时，近代日本从“兴亚”到“侵亚”的苦涩历程也为我们提供了惨痛的历史教训。在总结经验与教训之后，亚洲各国一定能寻找到一条复兴亚洲并贡献于世界和平的开放式区域合作之路。

环保领域的合作是中日构建战略互惠关系中的亮点，也是东亚区域合作的首要内容。中日两国已签订有关在环境保护和气候变化领域合作的联合声明，双方约定，在防止水污染、建设“循环经济”试验区、抑制大气污染物排放、治理酸雨和黄沙、煤炭发电厂的脱硫与脱硝、环保知识普及等领域展开合作。同时，遵循“共同但有区别”的原则，在《京都议定书》的框架下积极参与构筑 2013年以后的具有实效性的温室气体减排新框架。确认“气候变化是人类所面临的共同威胁”，中日应“携手努力，合作应对”，并在节约能源、提高能效、新能源、可再生能源、煤炭发电厂设备改造以及二氧化碳回收和储藏等领域进行技术合作。

“后日美同盟时代”中日关系的特征将表现为：日本对华外交自主性增强；中日在合作与竞争中逐渐增加互信；美国因素对中日关系的影响适当减退。中日两国人民相互认识的变化对中日关系的发展仍然发挥着重要作用，中日美三角关系逐步向等边外交方向发展。

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