China-U.S. Relations in China's Overall Diplomacy in the New Era

—On China and U.S. Working Together to Build a New-Type Relationship between Major Countries

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CHINA-U.S. BILATERAL RELATIONS take a special and important position in China's overall diplomacy. To maintain and promote a healthy and steady development of China-U.S. relations is a priority in China's foreign policy.

The goal of China's policy towards the United States is consistent with that of its national foreign strategy. If we say that the central goal of China's foreign strategy is to uphold its sovereignty, national security and development interests and seek a generally peaceful and favorable external environment for the great revitalization of the Chinese nation, then properly handling its relations with the United States is an important condition and requirement for realizing that goal. If we say that unswervingly taking the road to peaceful development is a strategic choice made by the collective leadership, the ruling party and the people of China, then a major issue to be successfully addressed for China's peaceful development

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is for China and the United States to develop a model of their bilateral relationship featuring cooperation not confrontation, winwin results not "zero-sum" game, and healthy competition not malicious rivalry, namely a new-type relationship between major countries.

China has made clear its political commitment to working with the United States for a new-type relationship between major countries. During the fourth China-U.S. Strategic and Economic Dialogues last May, President Hu Jintao elaborated on the importance of a new-type relationship between major countries to be jointly developed by China and the United States, a relationship that is reassuring to both the Chinese and American peoples and to the people across the world. He stressed that "we should prove that the traditional belief that big powers are bound to enter into confrontation and conflicts is wrong, and seek new ways of developing relations between major countries in the era of economic globalization." During his visit to the United States last February, Vice President Xi Jinping made it clear that the two countries should work together to build a new-type relationship between major countries in the 21st century and "set a good example of constructive and cooperative state-to-state relations for countries with different political systems, historical and cultural backgrounds and economic development levels, an example that finds no precedent and offers inspiration for future generations." How China and the United States should build and develop a newtype relationship has also been a central topic in State Councilor Dai Bingguo's many rounds of strategic dialogue with the United States, and, as the dialogue deepens, this theme has become more and more distinct and prominent.

China's strategic gesture and political signal have been echoed by the other side of the Pacific. President Obama, Vice President Biden and Secretary of State Clinton have stated on many occasions that the United States welcomes a strong, prosperous and stable China that plays an even greater role in the world, that "China's rise isn't our (America's) demise" and that "the United States and China are building a new model for interaction between a rising power and an established power" and working jointly to "find a new answer to the ancient question of what happens when an established power and a rising power meet."

As a matter of fact, China and the United States started to explore a new-type relationship between major countries 40 years ago when President Nixon visited China and leaders of the two countries jointly reopened the door of China-U.S. contacts. This endeavor reflects Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important conclusion that he made 23 years ago that "Sino-U.S. relations must be improved." It reflects the 16-character guiding principle for China-U.S. relations President Jiang Zemin put forward during his meeting with President Clinton in 1993, i.e. "enhance trust, reduce trouble, develop cooperation and avoid confrontation." It also reflects the common understanding that President Hu Jintao reached with President Obama during his visit to the United States in 2011 on working together to build a cooperative partnership based on mutual respect and mutual benefit. It is furthermore reflected in what the two sides have done together over the years, namely, their dialogue for fostering mutual trust, their communication for managing disputes and their cooperation for safeguarding common interests.

Complex and profound changes are taking place in the international landscape and the global economy as well as human society. It requires China to stick to its set path, commit to peace and cooperation and blaze a new path to revitalization of a big nation like none in the past. It requires China and the United States to reject the predestination notion and blaze a new path to a relationship between major countries that features peaceful coexistence and win-win cooperation. And it requires the world to follow the trend of economic globalization and political multi-polarity and blaze a new path towards diversity, tolerance, lasting peace and common prosperity. Where China-U.S. relations head for will factor significantly in the exploratory efforts in the above three aspects and bear on the future of the two countries and the whole world.

II

CHINA-U.S. RELATIONS TODAY have changed considerably compared with what they were when President Nixon visited

China 40 years ago and when the two countries established diplomatic relations 33 years ago. Even the most pessimistic people have to recognize that the two sides have accumulated some strategic common understanding, a profound cooperation foundation and rich experience about how to get along with each other. All this has made it possible and feasible for the two sides to establish a more stable and reliable pattern of healthy interactions and initiate a new-type relationship between major countries.

First, the two countries have realized that win-win cooperation is the most common denominator for them to handle relations with each other under the new historic circumstances. That can be viewed as a most fundamental strategic agreement, building on the notion of "peace will benefit both whereas conflict will serve neither's interest" and providing a basis for the two sides to form strategic consensus or tacit agreement at a higher level in their future contacts. China and the United States are both confident nations, with a firm conviction that they are the masters of their own fate, and they should have due respect for each other. They have made it clear to each other in their public policy statements and private strategic communications that they have no territorial claims to each other, which has removed a principal root cause that used to cause confrontation and conflicts between traditional major countries. They both recognize that they need each other to realize their development and prosperity and they need to understand, respect and cooperate with each other in international affairs as they are in a changed era with greater interdependence. In the new era, they must work hard to avoid repeating the mistake of vicious rivalry among traditional major countries and avoid moving their bilateral relations to a lose-lose alley. Like it or not, that is an inevitable choice that serves the fundamental interests of both sides and the common interests of the international community.

Second, there have been a range of increasingly well-developed channels of dialogue and communication between the two countries, providing an institutional support for the steady development of bilateral relations. Recent years have seen high-level contacts between the two countries at a frequency never seen before. Since January 2009, President Hu Jintao and President

Obama have had 12 meetings, 7 telephone conversations and 34 exchanges of correspondence. NPC Chairman Wu Bangguo and Premier Wen Jiabao respectively met with President Obama and other leaders of the United States on many occasions. Vice President Biden and Vice President Xi Jinping exchanged visits. The two sides have put in place over 60 dialogue and consultation mechanisms covering the whole spectrum of areas in the bilateral relationship, including the China-U.S. Strategic and Economic Dialogues (with Vice Premier Wang Qishan and State Councilor Dai Bingguo as special representatives of the Chinese President and Secretary of State Clinton and Treasury Secretary Geithner as special representatives of the U.S. President), the High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchange (with State Councilor Liu Yandong and Secretary of State Clinton as the co-chairs), the Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade (with Vice Premier Wang Qishan talking to the U.S. Treasury of Commerce and the Trade Representative), and the Joint Commission on Science and Technology Cooperation. In addition, the two countries have established the heads-of-state hotline and foreign-minister hotline. Vice Premier Wang Qishan and Treasury Secretary Geithner have frequently communicated with each other over the phone. State Councilor Dai Bingguo have had five small-group meetings with Secretary of State Clinton and three with National Security Advisor Donilon, all of which lasted longer than general official talks. All these frequent, diversified and institutionalized high-level exchanges have played an important part in building understanding, reducing misunderstanding and expanding cooperation, producing practical, fruitful and visible results and common understanding. Both sides have indicated their intention to continue their cross-departmental communication and coordination on a long-term basis.

Military-to-military relationship is an important part of China-U.S. relations. Progress has been made in the inter-military exchanges and cooperation between China and the United States in recent years. The two sides have had dialogues and communication on important issues related to enhancing mutual trust between the two countries and militaries through the Defense Consultative Talks, working meetings, the maritime military

security consultation mechanism, direct telephone conversation between the Ministry of National Defense and the Department of Defense and other channels. The two sides have also carried out multi-level and multi-form exchanges involving diversified services such as China-U.S. Joint Maritime Search and Rescue Exercise, cooperation in searching the bodies of the U.S. military personnel missing in action and interactions between military academies and retired officers. The military relationship, however, has been impacted and disrupted from time to time by the U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and other problems. Some dialogues and exchanges were once suspended. The U.S. side must bear full responsibility for all this. The Chinese side has been promoting the military relations between the two countries. Vice President Xi Jinping called on the Pentagon during his visit to the United States last February, during which he made important points in guiding the sound development of the military relations. During his visit to the U.S. last May, State Councilor and Defense Minister Liang Guanglie expressed the Chinese intention to develop the bilateral military relations and contribute positively to the joint cause of the two countries to build a new-type relationship between major countries. He said, "We should chart the course of the development of our military relations in the 21st century from a broader strategic perspective and build a new-type military relationship of mutual benefit and win-win cooperation, that is consistent with the development of the state relationship between the two countries." As long as the United States takes concrete steps to remove obstacles that have long been in the way of the military relations such as its arms sales to Taiwan and the DeLay Amendment, the military relations between the two countries will grow smoothly, which will contribute significantly to the building of a new-type relationship between China and the United States.

Third, the interests of the two countries have been unshakably and irreversibly intertwined. This pattern will continue and grow deeper. Business ties have become a key bond connecting China and the United States. The U.S. capital and technology have contributed importantly to the development in China and the United States has also gained handsome profit in return. China and the U.S. are now

each other's second largest trading partners. The two-way trade totaled \$446.6 billion in 2011, an increase of 182 folds compared with that immediately after the establishment of diplomatic relations. Every day, more than \$1billion worth of goods and services are traded between the two countries. China has been the fastest growing export market for the United States for ten straight years. According to the U.S.-China Business Council, between 2001 and 2010, the U.S. export to China grew by 468%, whereas its export to other countries and regions as a whole only by 55% during the same period. About 4-8 million jobs in the United States were directly related to its trade with China. The U.S. consumers saved more than \$600 billion by purchasing Chinese products. By the end of 2011, the United States had invested 61,068 projects in China, with contracts worth \$162.3 billion and already made \$67.6 billion of investment. The report by the American Chamber of Commerce in China shows that over 60% U.S. enterprises in China enjoy a higher profit margin than the world average. Chinese companies have made \$6 billion direct investment in nonfinancial sectors in the United States including industry, science and technology, agriculture, energy, insurance, transportation, etc.

Forth, people-to-people exchanges have become an inexhaustible driving force for a sustained development of China-U.S. relations. Our two peoples have long cherished friendly sentiments toward each other and wish to see the two countries becoming friends, not enemies. They stood together at the anti-fascist united front. Stories such as the "Flying Tigers" are still being told widely in our two countries. The poll by Gallup in February showed that 13% Americans saw China as an ally and 63% believed that China and the United States were "friendly to each other, though not allies." According to the poll by the Committee of 100 in April, nearly 80% Chinese considered the United States as China's most important partner. There are 9,000 people travelling across the Pacific Ocean every day, about 200 flights every week and more than 3 million people every year. China and the United States have had 38 pairs of sister provinces/states and 176 pairs of sister cities established. There are as many as 100,000 Chinese and American students studying in the United States and China every year. About 300 million Chinese have learnt or are learning English. In the United States, over 1,000 universities offer Chinese courses and over 4,000 primary or secondary schools teach Chinese language with more than 200,000 learning Chinese language. The education institutions of the two countries have worked together and established more than 80 Confucius Institutes and more than 300 Confucius Classrooms in the United States. To build a new-type relationship between major countries conforms to the people's will.

Fifth, to continue to expand and deepen international coordination and cooperation is a basic requirement and important driving force for the two countries to pursue a new-type relationship between major countries. China and the United States, facing each other across the Pacific Ocean, are the biggest developing country and developed country respectively, and are both permanent members of the UN Security Council, therefore they shoulder a major and unique responsibility in upholding regional and international peace, security and prosperity. The reopening of the door to diplomatic relations between the two countries 40 years ago was a result of the global vision of the leaders of the two countries in approaching bilateral relations. At present, our bilateral relations have an impact that goes far beyond the bilateral scope and has an increasingly deeper global significance. The two sides have carried out effective coordination and cooperation in addressing global challenges and non-traditional security threats ranging from responding to the international financial crisis, working for global economic recovery and growth, and upholding the international nonproliferation system to combating piracy, handling climate change and ensuring food and energy security. The two countries have agreed that their cooperation is indispensable, though unable, to solve all the problems in the world. State Councilor Dai Bingguo pointed out at the fourth round of China-U.S. Strategic and Economic Dialogues that the two countries should form C2, not G2.

III

THERE ARE FIVE thorny problems for China and the U.S. to address if they want to successfully build a cooperative partnership and

embark on the path of a new-type relationship between major countries.

First, lack of strategic mutual trust. Without trust, one cannot establish oneself in society. Likewise, without trust, state-to-state relations cannot go smoothly. It is unfair to say that there is no mutual trust between China and the United States. But it is true that the mutual trust is inadequate. Being a big country, neither of us will give up its faith, value and social system deeply rooted in its history, culture and tradition. Both will firmly maintain their own interests. A minute misreading of the strategic intention of the other side may have severe consequences. Dr. Henry Kissinger believes that improper policies of China or the United States may reflect in much higher cost than a war in the long run. It is more and more imperative to build up China-U.S. mutual trust, whether it is for managing the bilateral relations or for dealing with common global and regional issues, whether it is out of the need for the longterm development of the bilateral relations or to meet the common expectations of the international community.

"He who knows others is intelligent, and he who knows himself is wise." China has become the second largest economy in the world. But being big does not necessarily mean being strong. China remains a developing country and will be so in a fairly long time to come. It is imperative for China to focus on development and people's well-being, stay firm on the path of peaceful development and work for a peaceful and stable international environment. China's diplomacy is of a defensive not expansive nature and is of a peaceful not violent nature.

China has no intention to challenge the U.S. standing, still less to compete with it for hegemony. It does not square with the fact to think that China intends to challenge the American international standing. On the other hand, to keep to the road of peaceful development, China needs to rely on its own efforts and also to have the understanding and support of the outside world. In this respect, the U.S. choice is of crucial importance.

Recently, there have been signs in the United States to blame China for American domestic problems. Instead of trying to resolve specific problems between the United States and China simply as they stand, they tend to magnify the problems out of proportion by seeing them through the lens of competition for domination between major powers and by speculating and analysing China's intentions in the worst possible light. In the course of returning to the Asia-Pacific, the United States has been vigorously strengthening its alliance system, advancing the antiballistic missile system in the Asia-Pacific, pursuing "sea-air battle" and intervening in the disputes between China and its neighbors. What is the true motive behind all these moves? What signals do they want to send to China and the region? All these have not only made China raise doubts, but also have upset other countries in the region. The United States must face the issue and convince China, other countries in the region and the international community that there is no gap between its policy statements on China and its true intentions.

Second, the bottleneck of core interests. China and the United States are each other's stakeholders, with more rather than less converging interests. To respect each other's core interests and major concerns will help create conditions and atmosphere necessary for upholding one's own core interests and major concerns. China has never done anything to undermine the U.S. core interests and major concerns, yet what the United States has done in matters concerning China's core and important interests and major concerns is unsatisfactory.

The Taiwan issue is the most important and most sensitive issue in the China-U.S. relations and it is vital to the political foundation of the bilateral relations. Deng Xiaoping once said that there was no other issue between China and the United States than the Taiwan issue, and that once the Taiwan issue was resolved, the knot between the two countries would have been untied. What has happened shows that if the Taiwan issue is properly handled, China-U.S. relations will grow smoothly. Otherwise, the bilateral relations will suffer setbacks and even severe impact.

Although the U.S. side has consistently reiterated its commitment to the one China policy and opposition to Taiwan independence, it has continued to sell arms to Taiwan even today, 30 years after the issuance of the *Communiqué of August 17*. Those who believe

that to indefinitely keep the cross-Straits separation serves the U.S. interests have clearly misjudged the situation across the Straits and misplaced the Taiwan issue in the U.S. relations with China. In the context of increasingly intertwined interests between China and the United States, to play the Taiwan card is a liability instead of an asset. It serves the interests of a small minority, but undermines the broader China-U.S. relations and will only land the United States in a more passive strategic position. Deng Xiaoping also said that, "Frankly speaking, doing this (selling arms to Taiwan) will not pose a terrible threat to the People's Republic of China, but it will create an obstacle to a peaceful and negotiated resolution of the reunification issue." More and more people in the United States believe that it is unrealistic for the United States to continue infinitely its arms sales to Taiwan and build a closer relationship with an ever stronger China.

The United States should abide by its commitment made in the Communiqué of August 17, take a more unequivocal position of containing Taiwan independence rather than obstructing China's reunification and translate its commitment to the one China policy into concrete actions. It should play a positive and constructive role in maintaining stability across the Straits, promoting peace and stability in the region and creating an enabling environment to sustain the stability of China-U.S. relations. This serves the long-term interests of the United States. If the U.S. side abandons its anachronistic thinking, the Taiwan issue can become a positive factor for advancing bilateral relations.

The United States acknowledges that mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and settlement of issues in the spirit of partnership constitute the foundation for the development of bilateral relations. However, the United States has often criticized China publicly on issues related to Tibet, Xinjiang, democracy, human rights and other issues, and it has even openly meddled in China's domestic affairs. Apparently, some Americans have never stopped their attempt for a "peaceful evolution" in China. It is easy to find some dissenting voices in a populous and multi-ethnic country like China, yet seeing it as an opportunity for "color revolution" is a major strategic mistake. The vast majority of

the Chinese people cherish the hard-won stability and hope to see reforms progress in the context of overall stability, which is exactly what the Chinese government is doing. "Peaceful evolution" failed to succeed even when there was a huge disparity in strength between the United States and China, it would only be a forlorn hope at present and in future. As the Chinese saying goes, "If you don't want others to know, you'd better not do it." The less small tricks one plays behind the scene, the more attention both sides would truly pay to win-win cooperation between the two countries, which would only benefit the two countries, the world and the sound new-type relationship between big powers.

Third, truly implementing the principle of treating each other as equals. This is an inherent element in democracy in international relations. There have never existed such issues as one looking for the other's favor, one owing to the other or one above the other in China-U.S. relations. Rather, to develop the bilateral relations is a choice made by both sides to safeguard the common practical and long-term strategic interests. Deng Xiaoping once said that, "As to China-U.S. relations, I heard some Americans say that China tried to improve its relations with the United States because China wanted to ask for U.S. favors. I don't think the claim is right. It follows from the above logic that once China is developed and powerful economically and militarily, then China will neither pursue good relations with the United States nor work with it to tackle challenges in the world. The logic is wrong."

Equality doesn't mean China will sit with the United States on exactly the same status, "managing the world together" or "dividing the world" between them. Instead, either of the two countries should, in mind and in action, regard the other as an equal partner of dialogue and cooperation, try to put itself in the other's shoes, accommodate the other's concerns in a reciprocal manner and handle bilateral relations in accordance with the *Charter of the United Nations* and other universally-accepted norms. Neither side should see itself as above the other side or try to change the rules arbitrarily just to maximize its own interests.

China and the United States can not change into each other. It is quite normal for them to have different strategic goals in their

foreign policies, and different diplomatic philosophy and means. It doesn't mean they cannot achieve win-win results. In fact, the interests they share in the traditional international political, economic, security and other fields have increased and their cooperation in new international space like the cyber-space has expanded. Practice has proved that the two countries will be able to find the confluence of interests and carry out win-win cooperation as long as they follow the principle of equality in good faith. It will in no way help the bilateral relations and will only damage the overall atmosphere of bilateral relations if, on the contrary, one side tries to pressure the other side for self-serving purposes, goes so far as to publicly accuse the other side of being a "selective stakeholder" and "standing on the wrong side of history" or even threatens to form an "international united front" to force the other side to succumb. The Chinese side has always stood for resolution of problems in a constructive manner and by accommodating each other's comfort level. It has not acted or spoken irresponsibly with regard to bilateral relations. But China is firm in its determination to safeguard its independence, state sovereignty and national dignity.

Fourth, restructuring the trade mix. The economic and trade frictions existing between China the U.S. are, in fact, a sign of the interests between the two countries being more closely interwined and they can be addressed as their relations grow mature. What is important is that we should adopt a forward-looking approach toward this issue and refrain from politicizing economic and trade issues. Still less should one side push for a so-called timetable for a solution based on its own domestic political agenda. China presents a huge market of more than 1.3 billion consumers. It will generate an import demand of US\$10 trillion in the coming five years. Many of those countries that have close economic and trade links with China have seen enormous potential for cooperation from China's five-year development plan. They are designing their development strategies with more consideration given to China's five-year plan for reference and for more cooperation opportunities. That is a wise move. Conversely, if one only notes differences over specific issues or only sees trees while losing sight of the wood, not only these issues will not be resolved, even worse, opportunities of expanding

cooperation and achieving greater win-win results may also be lost.

Both China and the U.S. face the arduous task of restructuring the economy, ensuring growth, and promoting employment. To find new fulcrum and platforms, and accelerate the building of an all-round economic partnership of mutual benefit are of vital importance to a steady economic recovery and growth of the two countries and of the world at large. Premier Wen Jiabao has long offered a package proposal for closer China-U.S. cooperation in economy, trade, finance, investment and infrastructure, including expanding the two-way trade, two-way investment and cooperation in new energy, new materials, energy conservation, environmental protection, space, aviation and other sectors so as to create new cooperation highlights. If the U.S. responds positively to China's proposal, addresses each other's economic and trade concerns through dialogue and consultation instead of protectionism, and takes concrete steps to relax its restrictions of dwindling practical value on high-tech exports to China, the economic and trade ties between the two countries are expected to grow substantially stronger.

Fifth, ensuring healthy interactions in the Asia-Pacific. China and the U.S., both being Pacific countries, have their interests more intertwined, more direct contacts and greater far-reaching influence in the region than anywhere else. During his visit to the U.S., Vice President Xi Jinping said "The vast Pacific Ocean has ample space for China and the United States." China has always respected the legitimate interests and concerns of the U.S. in this region. It welcomes U.S. efforts for peace, stability and prosperity in this part of the world. At the same time, it hopes that the U.S. will respect China's interests and concerns.

There have been some problems recently in China's neighborhood. China is not the maker of these problems, and still less the perpetrator of the harm. Rather, it is a victim on which harm has been imposed. If it were true that China's policy had led to regional instability as alleged by someone, how could they account for the robust development of the Asia-Pacific driven by China's growth and the unprecedented integration of the interests between China and its neighboring countries? If China had sought

regional hegemony and pushed for exclusive regional mechanisms as some have claimed, how could they explain China's consistent efforts for a dominant role by ASEAN in regional affairs, the fact that China was the first to openly welcome for the U.S. to the East Asia Summit, and that it vigorously sought cooperation with other countries on regional hotspot issues? China has never sought a dominant position in the region in its strategic objectives or distinguish friends and foes on the basis of ideology in the Asia-Pacific. As a matter of fact, China has lived up to the Asian spirit of standing on its own feet, being bold in opening new ground, being open and inclusive and sharing weal and woe with concrete actions not rhetorics. Its policy of good-neighborliness and friendship has delivered tangible benefits to countries in the region.

On the other hand, many countries are deeply concerned about the U.S. efforts to build up military alliance and military forces in the region, moves that are very much tinted with the Cold War mentality. They run counter to the mainstream aspiration of the general public for peace, development and cooperation in the region. Many of those who know China-U.S. relations echo the concern, believing that the U.S. has given too much emphasis to the military dimension with inadequate input to other urgent areas. No country in the Asia-Pacific wants to be forced to make a choice between China and the United States. Political leaders in some regional countries have openly warned the U.S. against handling its relations with China with a Cold War mentality.

It is pointed out in the *China-U.S. Joint Statement* in 2011 that "working together, both leaders support efforts to build a more stable, peaceful, and prosperous Asia-Pacific region for the 21st century." Starting from June 2011, China and the U.S. have had three rounds of consultation on the Asia-Pacific affairs with a focus on a healthy interaction in this region. The two sides have agreed to work together under the principle of mutually respecting each other and accommodating each other's interests and concerns to provide public goods to the people in the region, i.e. a peaceful and stable regional environment, a development prospect of common prosperity and a cooperative partnership of mutual benefit. A healthy interaction between China and the U.S. in the Asia-Pacific

meets the fundamental interests of the two countries, the trend of the times and the prevailing expectations of countries in the region.

IV

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the forerunner of the Chinese revolution, said "Those who follow the trend of the times prosper and those who don't perish." The transformation of China-U.S. relations from adversaries to important partners is a move that conforms to the trend of the times and also a result of strategic decision made by leaders of the two countries transcending the limitations of the times. Mao Zedong, the founding father of the People's Republic, took a far-sighted view on China-U.S. relations. He said in 1956 that "the Chinese and the American peoples are friends. But the relations between the two governments are not friendly. The governmental relations are not good in my generation, but they might improve in my son's generation. Even if they still would not improve then, they would change for the better in my grandson's generation." It was his strategic decision to "push the big ball with the small ball" that opened the door for China-U.S. contacts and has led the bilateral relations to where they are today. In his remarks during his visit to China in 1972, President Nixon said "we have great differences today. What brings us together is that we have common interests which transcend those differences."

It took 40 years for China and the U.S. to come to the consensus on the path of building a new-type relationship between major countries for the benefit of the two sides and the world at large. Looking forward to the second 40 years of their relations, the two countries should focus on moving forward along this path with solid steps. Just as State Councilor Dai Bingguo proposed to the U.S. side at the 4th China-U.S. Strategic and Economic Dialogues that, "this new-type relationship between major countries should have the following features: respect each other and treat each other as equals politically; carry out comprehensive, mutually beneficial and win-win cooperation economically; build up mutual trust and tolerance and share responsibilities in security matters; learn from and promote each other culturally; and seek common ground

while reserving differences and live side by side in peace with each other ideologically. This has been evolved from the vision of our two presidents for the China-U.S. cooperative partnership based on mutual respect and mutual benefit. They represent both means and goals." As long as China and the U.S. adhere to the consensus of the two presidents, to the goal of building a cooperative partnership between the two countries, and to the spirit of the three joint communiqués and the China-U.S. joint statements, this path of a new-type relationship between major countries will become broader and broader, and will lead the two countries to a bright future. We expects the U.S. to move forward with us in the same direction and to jointly write a new chapter in the history of international relations.