

Join Hands to Create a Bright Future of Peace and Prosperity

—Address at the Opening Ceremony of the 5th World Peace Forum

16 July 2016, Beijing

By Liu Yandong*

Mid-summer is a season of lush exuberance. And it is especially so in my alma mater, Tsinghua University. It is a great pleasure to be back here for the Fifth World Peace Forum. Let me begin by extending congratulations on the opening of the Forum and warm regards to distinguished guests, experts and scholars from different parts of the world.

The World Peace Forum is the first high-level, non-governmental international security forum hosted by China. Since its inception five years ago, Chinese and foreign participants have had in-depth discussions on major international security topics, shared ideas for future cooperation, and offered advice for long-term stability and security, thus contributing to world peace and security.

The theme of this year's Forum, "The Order of Common Security: Cooperation, Inclusiveness

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and Open-access”, is highly relevant to the reality and needs of today. Just two days ago, an appalling act of terror struck Nice, France, causing severe casualties. I just visited Nice two weeks ago and was deeply saddened by the tragic deaths of innocent civilians. We condemn the terrorist attack in the strongest possible term and extend our deep condolences to the families of the victims and our sympathy to the wounded. We hope there will be greater cooperation between China, France and the international community in combating both the symptoms and root causes of terrorism, the common enemy of human society.

As an ancient Chinese saying goes, “Tranquility enables all to live and thrive, while chaos allows no moment of peace for anyone.” For thousands of years, the pursuit of peace has been the primary aspiration of mankind.

History and reality tell us that the future and destiny of human society is determined by how countries engage with each other. In the world today, countries share more things in common than ever before, common development, shared interests, common challenges and joint governance. The human society has increasingly become an inter-connected community of shared future. That said, the world is not tranquil and mankind is troubled with various security challenges and threats. It remains a long and arduous task to maintain world peace and promote common development.

Ours is an era that calls for win-win cooperation. Against the backdrop of globalization, countries are inter-dependent like never before with their interests deeply entwined. There are important opportunities such as the prevailing trend of peace and development, rapid advances in science and technology and

vibrant regional cooperation. There are also challenges posed by terrorism, climate change, and energy and resource security. No single country can monopolize the benefits of opportunities, nor stay immune to challenges. The only viable choice is to share opportunities and meet challenges together in the spirit of solidarity and through win-win cooperation.

Ours is an era that calls for inclusive co-existence. Different political systems and development paths exist in parallel. Many ethnic groups and civilizations draw on each other's strength. Various political thoughts and social trends interact with and influence each other. All this form a picture of diversity. However, hegemonism and power politics manifest themselves from time to time. Lack of justice, equality and fairness is still prevalent in international relations, posing potential threats to world peace and security. "It is only natural that things cannot be all the same." Different countries and civilizations need to uphold the spirit of inclusiveness, abandon arrogance and prejudice, and respect other countries' choice of development path, model and concept. Only in this way can they live in harmony and jointly foster a sound environment of stability and development.

Ours is an era that calls for openness and sharing. The deep impact of the international financial crisis continues to unfold. Protectionism and isolationism in various forms have resurfaced. Multilateral trade negotiations encountered continuous setbacks. World economic recovery is an uphill journey. Openness leads to progress while isolation backwardness. Reality calls on all parties to carry forward the spirit of openness when pursuing development, build a new system of an open economy, and accelerate regional cooperation and connectivity. This will help countries realize

integration through openness and development through integration, and achieve common progress and prosperity.

In the face of these global challenges, President Xi Jinping has proposed an important initiative to build a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation and develop a community of shared future for mankind. This is a creative leap over the traditional theory on international relations and offers foresight and vision for the progress of human civilization. It contributes China's wisdom and proposal for coping with the complex and grim security threats and building a common security order. I hope we will uphold the spirit of cooperation, inclusiveness and openness, step up dialogue to enhance mutual trust and coordination, and jointly create a bright future of peace and prosperity.

First, we need to build partnerships of equality and mutual trust. Partnership is vital for state-to-state relations just like friendship is for people-to-people relations. Those who work in unity of purpose can be partners. Those who seek common ground and shelve differences can also be partners. China respects countries' right to independently choose their foreign policy. We maintain that a more inclusive and constructive partnership should be cultivated that has no imaginary enemy and does not target a third party. A new path of "partnership but not alliance" should be explored. Countries are all equal irrespective of size, strength and wealth. They shall abide by basic norms governing international relations with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter at the center, respect other countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity, and refrain from interfering in others' internal affairs. Countries need to uphold equal consultation in international affairs, enhance trust, and work for more democratic, law-based and rational

international relations.

Second, we should stick to win-win cooperation to promote common development of all countries. Development holds the master key to maintaining peace and stability and resolving all kinds of security issues. Countries should concentrate on development, actively carry out practical cooperation in business and trade, energy and science and technology, and make great efforts to improve people's lives and narrow the wealth gap so that all peoples can better share in the fruits of development. Countries should establish the concept of win-win and all-win development and abandon the zero-sum mentality and winner-takes-all approach. While pursuing one's own interests, those of others should also be taken into account. And one's own development should be promoted in the context of common development. We must step up macro-economic policy coordination, push for reforms in global economic governance, uphold an open world economic system, and jointly respond to the risks and challenges in the world economy.

Third, we should increase dialogue and consultation to strive for peace and security. Albert Einstein once said that peace is based on understanding and self-restraint, not on violence. If some of us indulge in the Cold-War mentality, believe in jungle law, and opt for a military-focused and confrontational approach, they will go against the trend of our times and only aggravate the security dilemma. China calls on all countries to follow the path of peaceful development, establish a security concept featuring common, comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable security, and work hand in hand to create a fair and just security architecture by all and for all. We believe dialogue, consultation

and cooperation is the right way to resolve disagreements and address complex hotspot issues. Consensus should be built through dialogue and security strengthened through cooperation.

Fourth, we should pursue sustainable development to ensure the preservation of a sound ecology for the world. There is only one Earth that mankind calls home. Countries, while exploiting and developing nature, should also preserve it and promote sustainable development and the all-round development of man. We should collaborate with one another to encourage scientific and technological innovation, make robust efforts to develop green, low-carbon, and circular economy, actively implement the Paris Agreement on climate change, and realize global sustainable development at a higher level. Developed countries should truly assume their historical responsibilities, honor their commitment on emission reduction, and help developing countries with climate change mitigation and adaptation. The competent government authorities, business associations, and NGOs in various countries should engage in international cooperation to protect the Earth, our shared home.

Fifth, we should deepen people-to-people and cultural exchanges to encourage mutual learning among civilizations. State-to-state relations are based on amity between the peoples. There is a great diversity of histories, cultures, social systems, and development stages in our world. Exchanges and mutual learning between different civilizations offer peoples in different countries the chance to experience different cultures, draw on one another's wisdom, and find common ground. This gives us the lubricant for addressing differences and the impetus for growing mutual understanding and friendship.

Interactions and cooperation in the fields of education, science and technology, culture and health care also provide driving forces for the development of all countries and the world economy. We should deepen cooperation in people-to-people and cultural exchanges, make good use of various mechanisms of exchange and dialogue, and give full play to the role of the United Nations and relevant international and regional organizations, governments, think tanks, the media, and NGOS. Cultural interaction will connect hearts and minds and generate popular support and positive energy for the peaceful co-existence and common development of all countries.

The aspiration for peace and development runs deep in the genes of the Chinese nation. To strive for the great renewal of the nation is the greatest dream of the Chinese people since modern times. Now, the Chinese economy is in the middle of a new transformation marked by a new normal of moderated growth speed, improved structure, and the rise of new drivers of growth. Only 40 years ago, China was still an agrarian country with large swathes of rural areas. Per capita GDP was less than US\$200, and urbanization rate below 18%. Now, China is the world's second largest economy, with per capita GDP close to US\$8,000 and 56% of the permanent residents living in cities. We have lifted over 600 million people out of poverty and contributed 70% to the global poverty-reduction endeavor. Within only decades, we have brought about enormous changes in national development and people's lives and reached a new historical starting point.

That said, there are also growing pains and challenges in the process of transformation. The problems that developed countries had dealt with for centuries during their industrialization have

cropped up in China in only 40 years. We are confronted with serious problems of an extensive growth model and unbalanced, uncoordinated and unsustainable development. We still have 55 million people living in poverty and 222 million Chinese are above the age of 60. As a society that has yet to achieve moderate prosperity, we face huge pressure in old-age care and social security. There remains a long way to go before we can realize modernization for the 1.3 billion Chinese people. The next five years will be decisive for China's efforts to build itself into a society of initial prosperity in all respects. We have laid out a new development plan and established the concept of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development. We will make development the top priority and innovation the primary driving force and work hard to double the 2010 GDP and incomes of urban and rural residents by 2020 to deliver a better life for all Chinese people.

China is a member of the international family and we need a peaceful and stable international environment to make the Chinese dream come true. At the same time, China's development will bring opportunities and benefits to countries around the world. Having suffered a great deal from the scourge of war, the Chinese people know full well the value of peace. An ancient Chinese saying tells us that you should not do unto others what you do not want others to do unto you. China will stay committed to peaceful development and deepen strategic mutual trust, business cooperation and people-to-people and cultural exchanges with other countries to work for a community of shared future and interests for mankind.

China is committed to the independent foreign policy of peace and steadfastly fulfills its international obligations.

China advocates and works towards the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, plays a constructive role in the political settlement of global hotspot issues, engages in international cooperation in counter-terrorism, cyber security, climate change and other non-traditional security fields and actively participates in various international disaster rescue and relief efforts and humanitarian assistance. China has been conducting escort operations in the Gulf of Aden and waters off the coast of Somalia to safeguard important international shipping lanes.

China is the biggest contributor of peacekeepers among the permanent members of the UN Security Council, having sent more than 30,000 peacekeepers on 29 peacekeeping operations. On 31 May, Shen Liangliang, a 29-year-old Chinese peacekeeper in Mali died in a terrorist attack on the UN camp. According to his parents, he had planned to come home for his betrothal at the end of his one-year stint. A young life was thus tragically lost so far away from home before he could tie the knot with the love of his life. He laid down his life for the cause of peace in Mali and Africa. Just six days ago, when intense armed conflicts erupted in Juba, the capital of South Sudan, Li Lei and Yang Shupeng, two young Chinese peacekeepers were killed in action, and another five Chinese soldiers were wounded. These touching stories are a testimony to the sacrifices and solemn commitment made by the Chinese people to uphold world peace.

China follows a win-win strategy of opening-up and is doing all it can to contribute to world development. In 2015, China ranked No.1 in trade in goods. Its outbound investment totaled US\$118 billion and the number of outbound tourists

reached 120 million. The Chinese economy contributed as much as 25% to world economic growth, serving as an anchor and stabilizer for world economic recovery. China will continue to work with various countries on the “Belt and Road” initiative, building a silk road that is green, healthy, hi-tech and peaceful, and promoting common development on the Eurasian continent. This September, China will host the G20 Summit in Hangzhou, aiming to make new contribution to world economic recovery and global economic governance.

China stands for no confrontation, no conflict, friendly consultation and peaceful resolution in addressing tensions and disagreements. Since the 1960s, China has, through negotiation and consultation, delimited 20,000 kilometers of land boundary with 12 out of its 14 neighbors on land. This fully demonstrates China’s sincerity for good-neighborliness and commitment to mutual benefit and marked a concrete contribution to stability in Asia and beyond.

Recently, the arbitral tribunal on the South China Sea arbitration case brought by the Philippines issued its so-called final award, trying to negate China’s territorial sovereignty and maritime entitlements in the South China Sea. The arbitral tribunal established at the unilateral request of the Aquino III government lacks legitimacy. Its conduct has been unlawful from the very beginning as it willfully expanded, overstepped and abused its mandate. Its so-called award is thus null and void. The Chinese government did not accept or participate in the arbitration case, still less would we recognize or enforce the so-called award. China will continue to observe the UN Charter and the basic norms governing international relations enshrined therein, and stay

committed to peacefully settling relevant disputes in the South China Sea through negotiation and consultation with countries directly concerned on the basis of respecting historical facts and in accordance with international law. China will continue to work with ASEAN countries to make the South China Sea a sea of peace, friendship and cooperation.

China is actively advancing people-to-people exchanges with other countries to promote mutual learning and harmonious co-existence among civilizations. China has long been committed to promoting friendly exchanges with all countries and has established high-level people-to-people exchange mechanisms with countries and international and regional organizations including the US, Russia, the UK, France, the EU and Indonesia. As a participant and facilitator of these exchanges, I feel keenly that exchanges among civilizations and the sharing of thoughts and ideas have a subtle but powerful influence that can provide strong momentum for the growth of international relations and pursuit of common security.

When the Ebola outbreak hit Africa in 2014, we responded swiftly and carried out the largest ever overseas health assistance since the founding of New China. Altogether, we provided RMB750 million in funds and materials and sent more than 1,000 health workers to Africa. In the face of difficulties, we extended a helping hand to the people in West Africa and worked closely with other countries. This success story in global health cooperation also showcased the great power of people-to-people exchanges. All in all, China will always be a contributor to world peace, facilitator of global development and proponent of a just and reasonable international order. We stand ready to make unremitting efforts and

greater contribution to lasting peace and prosperity of the world.

The World Peace Forum has become an important Asian, even global forum for international security. I hope the Forum will build on its successful experience to cultivate a sound high-level platform and play an important role in advancing friendship, deepening mutual trust, building consensus and promoting cooperation. I hope that during the Forum, you will have in-depth dialogue and communication, contribute ideas and suggestions and share with each other your insights for common security and development.

The famous Chinese writer Ba Jin once said, hope is like a star which will shine through any cloud. The aspiration for peace is like the star of hope for mankind. It will cut through the dark clouds of turbulence and conflict and shine upon our beautiful world with full splendor. Let us stay true to the conviction of safeguarding world peace and promoting common development, uphold the spirit of cooperation, inclusiveness and opening-up and work together for a better future of lasting peace and common prosperity. ☸

Keynote Speech At the Lunch Meeting of the 5th World Peace Forum

16 July 2016, Beijing

By Zhang Yesui*

It gives me great pleasure to be back at the World Peace Forum. I am happy to see that, since its establishment five years ago, the Forum has grown into an influential international security forum.

The world is living through major transformation like never before. On the one hand, peace, development, cooperation and win-win progress are the predominant trend of our time. Never before in human history have countries been so interconnected. Global cooperation is expanding in all dimensions and on all levels. On the other hand, peace and development are under assault from a host of new threats and challenges, and certain new developments in international security merit our close attention. Let me specify:

— Regional turbulence and hot-spots are generating greater concern and casting a shadow over regional peace and stability. They have set off a massive flow of refugees and other humanitarian issues.

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— Global growth is anemic, resulting in greater economic difficulty and social tension in some countries, and the rise and spread of populist, protectionist and xenophobic sentiments.

— Terrorism and extremism are fanning out to all corners of the globe. Religious radicalism is being rapidly transmitted through the Internet. Terrorist activities have become more rampant and destructive in many places, posing a grave danger. China strongly condemns the terrorist attack in the French city of Nice. We mourn for the lost lives and express sincere sympathy to the injured and the bereaved families. China has also suffered from terrorism. We stand ready to work with France and the rest of the international community to strengthen counter-terrorism cooperation and jointly protect the safety of people around the globe and uphold world peace and stability.

— Last but not least, climate change, cyber security and public health security and other issues have become transnational, interconnected and unpredictable.

In the face of these profound changes in the global landscape and a wider array of complex threats, we must heed the call of Chinese President Xi Jinping to embrace a new concept of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security.

With their interests intertwined and security shared, countries must realize that they are increasingly part of a community of shared future. It is time to bury the Cold War mentality and such outdated concepts as zero-sum game, for those that can neither bring security to individual nations nor usher in lasting peace and security in the world.

A society can only enjoy harmony if all its members are treated as equals; the world will only be stable if all countries are treated as equals. In China's view, all countries are equal members of the international community irrespective of their size, strength and wealth. They all have the right to equal participation in international and regional security affairs. We must respect all countries' sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as well as their independently chosen social system and development path. Interference in other countries' internal affairs and imposition of regime change under the pretext of "protecting human rights", instead of securing peace, will only aggravate humanitarian disasters, tensions and conflicts. Only by treating each other with respect and as equals can tensions and frictions be resolved and peace and security be consolidated.

History is filled with examples of conflict and confrontation between emerging and established powers. Today, however, given the development of human society and the breadth and depth of their interdependence and convergence of interests, no country could afford the cost of confrontation or conflict. With a commitment to no conflict and no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation, we stand a good chance of avoiding the Thucydides trap and building a new model of peaceful interaction between emerging and established powers.

Development is the bedrock of security. Peace, like a tree, needs fertile land to grow. We need to enhance macroeconomic policy coordination, firmly advance trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, unequivocally oppose protectionism and build a more equitable, just and open global economy. When formulating macroeconomic policies, major economies must

consider the potential spillover effect as well as their own interests. We need to bolster the independent development capacity of developing countries and establish a new type of global partnership for development featuring greater equality and balance, so that the fruits of development will reach all nations.

Faced with complex security challenges, it is imperative to build up international and regional security mechanisms. The central role of the United Nations and its Security Council in upholding international security must be fully leveraged to enhance conflict prevention capabilities and seek peaceful settlement of disputes. We need to discuss the forging of new architectures for regional security cooperation based on the conditions of each region, guided by the principles of incremental progress, consensus building and sensitivity to each other's comfort level. These regional architectures can serve as "safeguards" and "safety valves" for international and regional security.

China follows an independent foreign policy of peace and a path of peaceful development. We have been working hard to maintain, build and contribute to international and regional security. We are a champion and practitioner of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. We do not interfere in others' internal affairs or seek hegemony, expansion and sphere of influence. We both firmly uphold our sovereignty, security and development interests, and fully respect and accommodate other countries' legitimate concerns and lawful interests. We are committed to building a new type of international relations underpinned by win-win cooperation.

Committed to peaceful resolution of disputes and frictions through negotiations, China has settled boundary issues with 12 of its

14 land neighbors and delimitation of the Beibu Gulf with Vietnam. China is a staunch force for international order underpinned by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. As a permanent member of the Security Council, China takes an active part in UN peacekeeping missions and is the largest peacekeeper contributor among the P5. China is committed to protecting international sea lanes with the rest of the international community. Since 2009, the Chinese navy has deployed 70 vessels in 23 groups to the Gulf of Aden and waters off the Somalia coast, providing escort services for over 6,000 Chinese and foreign vessels. As the country develops, China will offer more public goods for international peace and security.

The Belt and Road Initiative, a blueprint full of oriental wisdom, is proposed by China to advance common prosperity and development in the world. It is an innovation aimed at promoting common security through common development. The Initiative has been warmly received by countries along the routes. China has signed Belt and Road cooperation agreements with over 30 countries and production capacity cooperation agreements with more than 20 countries. To date, 46 overseas cooperation zones have been jointly established by China and 17 countries along the routes, with more than US\$14 billion invested by Chinese companies and 60,000 jobs created for local communities. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank is up and running, and the Silk Road Fund and China-Eurasia Economic Cooperation Fund have been set up. Last year, two-way trade between China and Belt and Road countries exceeded US\$1 trillion. As the development of the Belt and Road gets to an advanced stage, we will continue to follow the principle of wide consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits, synergize the

Initiative and the development strategies of countries along the routes, deepen cooperation in such priority areas as connectivity, production capacity and people-to-people exchange, and promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, so that the initiative will deliver more benefits to the people of various countries and inject strong impetus to peace and prosperity on the Eurasian continent and beyond.

China firmly opposes terrorism in all its manifestations and maintains that a holistic counter-terrorism approach is needed to address both the symptoms and root causes. China opposes double standards and the practice of associating terrorism with specific country, ethnic group or religion. Fighting the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) and other East Turkestan forces is part and parcel of the international counter-terrorism campaign. We supported the central role of the UN and its Security Council in international counter-terrorism cooperation, and have taken an active part in counter-terrorism exchange and cooperation in the frameworks of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, APEC, BRICS, the ASEAN Regional Forum and the Global Counterterrorism Forum. China will host an international symposium on combating cyber terrorism in the coming October in Beijing.

China will work with other countries to enhance cyber security dialogue and cooperation, facilitate the formulation of international cyber space rules acceptable to all parties, work out an international cyber space counter-terrorism convention, and improve the judicial assistance mechanism for combating cyber crimes, all in a joint effort to maintain peace and security in cyber space.

Since the beginning of this year, the Korean Peninsula has

witnessed continuous tension. We are committed to denuclearization, peace and stability of the Peninsula and a settlement through dialogue and consultation. As a permanent member of the Security Council, China has implemented the relevant Security Council resolutions in their entirety and honored its international responsibilities and obligations. China has proposed a parallel approach of denuclearizing the Peninsula and replacing the armistice treaty with a peace mechanism. It reaffirms the overarching goal of denuclearization and helps resolve the parties' concerns in a reasonable and balanced way, thus encouraging the parties to meet each other half way. We will explore with other parties possible pathways and steps to deliver this approach in a bid to contribute to efforts of properly resolving the Korean nuclear issue and maintaining peace and stability of Northeast Asia.

It takes the concerted efforts of all to maintain peace and stability in the region. The deployment of the THAAD system by the US and the ROK runs counter to the efforts to realize denuclearization and maintain peace and stability on the Peninsula. With a coverage and capability far beyond what is actually needed, the system hurts the strategic and security interests of China and other countries in the region. It will upset regional strategic balance and escalate arms race, and have serious repercussions for global strategic balance and stability. We strongly urge the US and the ROK to stop the deployment of the THAAD system and refrain from taking actions that will complicate regional situation.

Just a few days ago, the arbitral tribunal constituted at the unilateral request of the previous Philippine administration issued a so-called award. In view of this, the Chinese government publicized a set of important documents to reaffirm our consistent position of


non-acceptance and non-recognition of the award.

The South China Sea arbitration instituted by the Philippines is nothing but a typical example of a case fraught with political prejudices. The arbitration was politically motivated, carefully packaged and unilaterally initiated. The tribunal was politically driven and assembled on a temporary basis. And the award was elaborately concocted with political aims. It can be said with certainty that the arbitration is, in every sense, complete political manipulation. It is an attempt aimed not to settle the disputes between China and the Philippines or to uphold peace and stability in the South China Sea. Such an act violates the rule of law and tramples on international law and the norms governing international relations. It sets a dangerous and egregious precedent, which must be guarded against by the international community.

The tribunal's *ultra vires* act and its illegitimate ruling are extremely dangerous. The award, which is riddled with errors on procedures, law, evidence and facts, is void of impartiality and credibility and has no binding force. It has undermined the integrity and authority of UNCLOS, shaken the confidence of countries in third-party arbitration mechanisms, eroded the very basis of modern international law and international order, and undercut regional peace and stability.

China's territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests will not be affected by the award in any way. China opposes and will never accept any claim or action arising from this award. Still less will China conduct negotiation with any country on the basis of this illegal award. No individual, country or organization shall succeed in using the award to pressure China or undermine China's firm resolve

to safeguard its sovereignty and rights as well as international equity and justice. Such a firm position of China is both for the sake of protecting its own rights and interests, and aimed to uphold international rule of law, equity and justice, and the authority and integrity of UNCLOS.

Negotiation and consultation is the only way out for the resolution of the South China Sea issue. Being the largest littoral country of the South China Sea, China will, acting on the larger interest of peace and stability in the South China Sea and the fundamental interests of all countries in the region, work with relevant countries, including the Philippines, to resolve the disputes through negotiation and consultation on the basis of respecting historical facts and in accordance with international law. We are ready to join efforts with ASEAN countries to promote the full and effective implementation of the DOC, take forward the consultations on the Code of Conduct and step up maritime cooperation including joint development, with a view to making the South China Sea a sea of peace, friendship and cooperation. We hope non-littoral countries could play a positive and constructive role by supporting the resolution of relevant disputes through direct negotiations and the joint efforts by China and ASEAN countries to maintain peace and stability in the South China Sea. 

Champion the Idea of a Community of Common Destiny and Build a Bright Future of World Peace and Security

—Speech at the Evening Reception of the 5th World Peace Forum

16 July 2016, Beijing

By Sun Jianguo*

Today, peace, development and win-win cooperation have become the overriding theme of the times, and the world is increasingly growing into a community of common destiny in which the interests of one country are intertwined with those of others. However, this world is by no means trouble-free, since hegemony, power politics and zero-sum gaming have yet to become history, and global challenges like wars and conflicts, terrorism and climate change are emerging in an endless stream. There remains a vast gap between the reality and mankind's ideal of maintaining world peace for common development. In view of such a situation, President Xi Jinping stressed the important idea of "a community of common destiny for all mankind". This idea, which encapsulates the wisdom of mankind

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and echoes the Zeitgeist, has extensive and profound theoretical significance, is based on a wide range of effective practices, and enjoys a broad prospect of sustainable development. It represents China's contribution of its wisdom and strategy with respect to momentous issues like global governance and international security, on which the world's future depends. At present, the international community is working hard towards the establishment of a just and reasonable order of common security and actively advocating the concepts of cooperation, inclusiveness and open access, which are in a high degree of accord with the principle of building a community of common destiny for mankind.

I. We should promote international cooperation with a broader and more farsighted vision. Sincere cooperation and mutual benefit are always a fundamental way to maintain world peace as well as great objectives pursued by all the peace-loving forces in the world. The idea of a community of common destiny for all mankind advocated by China, which involves the substitution of cooperation for confrontation and that of win-win cooperation for monopoly, is exactly a response to the pursuit of mankind that befits the times. Nowadays, the increasingly close ties between countries and the ever growing need for common progress have urged us to deepen our understanding of and reflections on how to enhance cooperation.

First of all, the advocacy of cooperation should be a rule of survival in the current times. Throughout history, cooperation between one state and another has usually been an expedient or a strategic necessity resulting from antagonism between one of them and a third party. Nowadays, with the deepening of

economic globalization, the steady advance in the application of IT to society, the fusion of the interests of different countries, and the complicated entanglement of security threats, cooperation is the only way to protect us from security threats and achieve common development. Enhancing international cooperation can no longer be any state's means of self-interest or opportunist option. Instead, it should be a somewhat mandatory rule of survival and requirement of the times.

Secondly, promoting cooperation calls for strategic initiative on the part of the great powers in the world. Marx and Engels made the profound observation that communication between civilizations is a constant process towards greater initiative. Lasting peace has to be achieved through international cooperation. To attain this goal requires strengthening all countries' strategic initiative to promote it. In this process, the will and action of great powers will make other countries follow the lead. At present, China is seeking further progress in building a new model of major-country relationship with the United States featuring no conflict or confrontation, mutual respect, and win-win cooperation, making steady efforts to deepen the strategic partnership with Russia in all aspects, and striving to build a partnership of peace, growth, reform and civilization with Europe. At a new starting point, all great powers, rising power and established power alike, with a higher level of strategic initiative, should continue to expand result-oriented cooperation, and work jointly to deal with threats and challenges. This is not only a unique historical obligation to be taken on by great powers, but also an inevitable choice that would serve their interests and meet the needs of the times.

Thirdly, deepening cooperation calls for abandoning the pursuit of monopoly. Sincere cooperation would be impossible without the willingness of the parties involved to meet each other halfway. While pursuing its own interests, any country must consider other countries' concerns and may even need to make compromises or sacrifices on certain issues. As early as the 1950s, the Chinese government proposed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, essentially as an objection to the bullying of weak countries by powerful ones, which might advance their interests at the expense of the former. This idea, which is rooted in the Chinese nation's traditional advocacy of "universal love" and opposition to war, represents a call for justice from China, a country that struggled in untold misery for 100 years. At present, the Chinese government is advocating the idea of a community of common destiny for mankind, and emphasizing the need to build partnerships of equality, negotiation and mutual understanding. As the latest evolution from the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, this idea has become a fundamental principle and guideline for building a new model of international relations. In recent years, over the North Korean nuclear issue, China has made the greatest contribution, shouldered the greatest responsibilities and withstood the greatest pressures to maintain general stability on the peninsula. Over the South China Sea issue, despite continual provocations and infringements, China has long exercised restraint and insisted on addressing the disputes through dialogue, making a prominent contribution to maintaining stability. We sincerely hope that other countries concerned would share with China the responsibility for building mutual trust and ensuring peace and stability in the region and the world at large.

II. We should enhance inclusiveness on a more profound level. Inclusiveness is a humanistic value commonly praised and pursued in both the East and the West. As Shakespeare put it, “The quality of mercy ... droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven upon the place beneath.” Like the vast ocean admitting all rivers that run into it, Chinese culture has always espoused the same way of dealing with other people. With the development of globalization and information technology, the coexistence of different civilizations and courses of development has become a distinct feature of the times. In his discussions on the community of common destiny for all mankind, President Xi has emphasized that different civilizations and countries ought to “learn from each other eclectically and incorporate things of diverse nature” and “bring about a creative development in human civilization”. Inclusiveness should transcend ideology and social system and be transformed into a source of promoting more cooperation and greater harmony between countries.

Firstly, we should always keep calm in the changing balance of power. Historically, changes in relative strength have frequently led to mutations in the global strategic structure and often caused misunderstandings and even triggered conflicts. It calls for joint efforts of rising powers and established ones to get rid of such historical inertia. The rising powers need to adhere to the path of peaceful development and contribute to world prosperity and stability through their own development. The established powers should accept the development of the emerging powers rather than observe it through colored glasses. In recent years, holding aloft the banner of peaceful development, China has drawn worldwide attention to what has been achieved through the hard work of all the Chinese people. China’s

development is neither achieved through robbing other countries nor harming their interests. China has succeeded in feeding 20% of the world population with 9% of the world's arable land and 6% of its fresh water. However, China's per capita GDP still ranks below the 80th in the world, less than 1/7 of that of the United States, with nearly 200 million people still in poverty. For quite a long time to come, China will remain a developing country. Nevertheless, a few countries still regard China's development as a threat and feel rather upset about it. Some of them even insist on containing China. Such an aberrant mentality runs counter to the spirit of inclusiveness. If left unchecked, it is bound to aggravate suspicion and antagonism between countries, even worse, lead to the tension and turbulence in the international community.

Secondly, we need to constantly deepen multilateral and inclusive dialogue and exchange. Civilizations in the world will be enriched by inclusiveness and communication. Inclusiveness promotes communication, which in turn enhances the former. At present, even though countries have attached greater importance to dialogue and communication, inequality is still widespread. Small and weak countries have little right to speak, international arbitration has been manipulated, and little care is shown to the rights of low-income and vulnerable people. All these inequities undermine the communication and mutual trust and impede the cultivation and development of inclusiveness. We maintain that all countries and nations, regardless of their size, strength and level of development, have equal rights to seek development and share prosperity. All countries should, on the basis of treating each other equally and respecting history and reality, manage their differences properly through wide participation, inclusive

dialogue, and mutual respect of core interests and major concerns. This would be the only way to translate the inclusive spirit into concrete action to enhance strategic confidence and cooperation for the benefit of all mankind.

Thirdly, we should continue to expand the platforms and mechanisms for pluralism and better understanding.

Despite the diversity of global platforms and mechanisms for communication, many of them are alliance-based or exclusive in terms of ideology or levels of development. Worse still, some members of the Western strategic community have recently called for building international mechanisms based on Western values and recommended the substitution of the G7 for the more inclusive G20. This would go against the spirit of tolerance, undermine fairness and justice, and aggravate misunderstanding and misjudgment. We oppose the parochial and closed model of governance in which the destiny of most countries are determined by a few, and advocate the creation of an open, comprehensive, universal and pluralist mechanism of exchange.

III. We should guide harmonious openness with more just and reasonable standards. Since the modern times, the acceleration of opening up around the world has contributed to prosperity and development. However, instances of injustice and violations of the rules have occurred from time to time, with the strong bullying the weak and the smaller blackmailing the larger, which has disrupted regional and global stability. In our opinion, we should reflect upon international behavior in the context of global openness, honor the spirit of international law and the universally acknowledged principles of international relations, and strive to bring about just, rational, harmonious and well-

organized open access.

Firstly, we should enforce international norms in a fair and reasonable way. The rule of law is essential to global governance in the context of open access and serves as a cornerstone of world peace and stability. China has always been a staunch defender and practitioner of the existing international law. On the basis of international norms, China has thoroughly settled disputes over land borders with 12 out of 14 neighboring countries, and has finished demarcating the border in the Gulf of Tonkin with Vietnam.

However, the recent South China Sea arbitration case has been a confusion of right and wrong—a farce initiated by the Philippines in bad faith at the instigation and under the manipulation of some great powers. China will never accept or acknowledge the so-called final decision by the ad hoc court of arbitration, which, having been illegally arrived at, has no legal effect whatsoever. Despite the cloak of international law, the litigation and the decision have seriously violated the common practice of international arbitration and represent a complete departure from the purpose of the UNCLOS, which is to promote peaceful settlement of disputes. They have seriously damaged the integrity and authority of the UNCLOS and gravely infringed upon China's lawful rights as a sovereign state and a signatory to the UNCLOS. Therefore, being unfair and illegal, they constitute an egregious injury to the equitable and rational observation of international rules.

A small number of countries have adopted double standard regarding international rules, refusing to sign and acknowledge

relevant international laws and, meanwhile, posing as a judge in the name of maintaining law and order. This constitutes a blatant violation and infringement of the spirit of international law. In our opinion, to follow and maintain the principles of international law and international relations means to firmly defend the integrity and authority of the relevant international legal principles and rules. Like most of the other countries, China hopes for a more fair and just system of international law adhered to by all countries in all aspects, which would provide a legal basis for better-regulated order in an open world.

Secondly, we should find just and rational solutions to real tensions. The fair and just settlement of disputes between countries is a prerequisite of equal and open communication. Most of the regional hot issues have complicated historical background and present-day causes. To focus on either history or the current reality alone would be unlikely to produce a conclusion or solution that is acceptable to all. Only by combining the two would it be possible to find out the crux of the problem and resolve the disputes. Over the South China Sea issue, China respects history and emphasizes the sufficient historical and legal basis for its indisputable sovereignty over the South China Sea islands and the adjacent waters; in addition, considering the current situation, it has maintained peace and stability in the South China Sea according to the principle of “carrying out joint development while shelving disputes” proposed in the early 1980s. History has proven, and will continue to prove, that this proposal is the most practical, most viable and most effective way to resolve the disputes. We also believe that all countries, regardless of their size, have equal obligation to respect history and the reality. A larger country should not bully a smaller one—

China has never done so; nor should a smaller country make a great commotion about nothing. 17 years ago, the Philippines let a naval vessel run aground at Second Thomas Shoal and, since then, it has never kept its repeated promises to remove it. Who is changing the status quo, and who is making trouble? Public opinion is the best judge, and facts speak louder than words.

Thirdly, we should make objective and accurate judgment between right and wrong. To confuse right and wrong is bound to cause the strong to abuse their strength and the weak to lose the basis for asserting their rights, rendering fair and reciprocal open access impossible. In dealing with other countries, we have always been in true to facts and made policies in a fair and reasonable way. However, over certain major issues, some countries have practiced double standard in favor of their own interests. In recent years, a few of them have made extensive military intrusions into the South China Sea for naval and aerial exercises and frequent close range reconnaissance, posing a serious threat to peace and stability in the region. Moreover, they have criticized and threatened China for its rightful military defense buildup on its own territory, in the name of “defending the freedom of navigation and flight in the South China Sea”. A handful of people with ulterior motives slandered China’s defense policy and the development of armed forces, making the groundless accusation that China is seeking hegemony through military power. In fact, the per capita military expenditure of the PLA is less than \$70,000, which is much lower than that of the U.S., the U.K., France and Japan, which ranges between \$200,000 and \$300,000. China also contributes more UN peacekeepers than any of the other four permanent members of the UN Security Council, and the world’s second largest amount of funds for UN

peacekeeping. At present, China is striving to build up national defense and armed forces to a level that is commensurate with international standing, and is sure to make a greater contribution to regional peace and global security.

The PLA never forgets its duty to be ready to fight for peace at any time, and holds dear the vision of mutual support through thick and thin. The waves of difficulty can never be so rough as to drown bright hopes and that the sea of suspicion can never be so broad as to eclipse a broad vision. Building a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity is a lofty and arduous undertaking. However long and tortuous the journey might be, so long as we make concerted efforts to build a community of common destiny for all mankind, join hands to build new partnerships of win-win cooperation, take a constructive part in global security affairs with a more tolerant attitude and an opener mind, and actively seek the “biggest common denominator” for the security interests of different countries, we will surely be able to cope with all problems and challenges, and forestall the scourge of war. ☞

Remarks at the 5th World Peace Forum

17 July 2016, Beijing

By Zhang Zhijun*

It's my great pleasure to attend the 5th World Peace Forum and to share with you some of my observations on the Taiwan question and the situation across the Taiwan Straits.

I. Origin of the Taiwan Question

To understand the Taiwan question, one should first of all know about two basic facts. First, Taiwan is an inalienable part of the Chinese territory. Second, the Taiwan question is an aftermath of China's civil war and an internal affair of China.

The Chinese people were the first to develop Taiwan, and the ancestors of most of Taiwan residents today came from China's mainland. Though subjected to colonial rule by foreign powers for some brief periods in the history, Taiwan has been under effective administration of the Chinese government for most

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of the time. Its last colonial rule was from 1895 to 1945. In April 1895, Japan threatened the government of the Qing Dynasty with force and made it sign the *Treaty of Shimonoseki*, through which Japan forcibly occupied Taiwan and set the stage for an all-out war of aggression against China in the 1930s and 1940s. In the Chinese people's war against Japanese aggression, the Chinese government proclaimed in December 1941 that all treaties, conventions, agreements and contracts concerning relations between China and Japan were abrogated, and that China would recover "Taiwan, Penghu and the four north-eastern provinces". China's solemn demand of recovering its territories occupied by Japan won the respect and support of the world's anti-fascist forces. The *Cairo Declaration* issued by the governments of China, the United States and Great Britain in December 1943 stated that all territories Japan had stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, shall be restored to China. This provision was confirmed and reiterated in the *Potsdam Proclamation* issued in July 1945. Japan's surrender marked the end of 50 years of Japanese colonial rule over Taiwan and the return of Taiwan to China. Knowledge of this history makes it easy to understand that the legal status of Taiwan as an inalienable part of China cannot be denied or challenged.

Foreign friends who know about the history of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) and the KMT will understand that the Taiwan question is an aftermath of China's civil war. Not long after the victory of the war against Japanese aggression, the KMT ruling clique launched an all-out civil war. After it was defeated, the KMT retreated to Taiwan. In 1949, the People's Republic of China was founded and its government replaced that of the Republic of China as the sole legal government of China and

the sole legal representative of the entire China in international affairs. Preparations were made at the time for reunification of Taiwan with the motherland. However, the Korean War broke out in June 1950 and the US invaded the Taiwan Straits with its Seventh Fleet and forcibly obstructed the reunification of China. As a result, the solution of the civil war legacy was put off.

Since 1949, although the mainland and Taiwan are yet to be reunified, the fact that both sides belong to one and the same China does not change, neither does China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. There is only one China in the world, and Taiwan is an inalienable part of China. This proposition has been widely accepted by the overwhelming majority of countries and international organizations such as the United Nations. As China's internal affair, the Taiwan question shall be settled by the Chinese people, and it brooks no intervention by external forces.

II. History of Cross-Straits Relations and Lessons Learnt

Since 1949, the cross-Straits relations have gone through twists and turns. The two sides were in military and political confrontation for a long period of time. Not until 1987 did compatriots on the two sides of the Straits break the isolation and start exchanges and interactions. In 1992, the two authorized institutions, Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) on the mainland and Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) on Taiwan, through negotiations in Hong Kong and exchange of letters and telegraphs, reached the consensus that "both sides across the Straits stick to the one China principle" and express it in their respective verbal wording. It has been referred to as the

“1992 Consensus”, which laid the political foundation for the full development of cross-Straits relations.

As cross-Straits ties developed, the “Taiwan independence” forces constantly created troubles. In the 1990s, the then Taiwan leader Lee Teng-hui abandoned the one China principle, put forward the “state-to-state theory” and led to crises across the Straits. During the term of Chen Shui-bian of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in Taiwan from 2000 to 2008, Chen constantly upgraded his “Taiwan independence” secessionist activities, and even plotted for “*de jure* independence” of Taiwan. Consequently, relations across the Straits were highly volatile and even pushed to the brink of war, and Chinese compatriots on the two sides suffered a lot.

In May 2008, the KMT regained power in Taiwan, and the two sides of the Taiwan Straits jointly confirmed their common political foundation of sticking to the “1992 Consensus” and opposing “Taiwan Independence”. The cross-Straits relations embarked on the path of peaceful development with historical changes in the relations.

Firstly, tensions and turbulence were replaced by peace and stability across the Straits.

Secondly, the two sides established political mutual trust, and leaders from both sides had a historic meeting. After establishment of the regular mechanism of contacts and communication between Taiwan Affairs Office and Mainland Affairs Council in 2014, CPC General Secretary and President Xi Jinping had a historic meeting with Taiwan leader Ma Ying-jeou

in Singapore on 7 November 2015. The two leaders exchanged views and reached consensus on pushing forward peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and striving for national rejuvenation. The meeting demonstrated to the world that both sides across the Straits can address their own political divergence and maintain peace and stability through peaceful means based on the one China principle and the Chinese people across the Straits have the ability and wisdom to solve their own problems.

Thirdly, consultations between the two sides have made great progress. On the basis of the “1992 Consensus”, ARATS and SEF reopened their institutionalized consultations, which had been suspended for nearly 10 years. They held 11 consultations and signed 23 cooperation agreements, addressing many issues closely related to the interests of compatriots on both sides of the Straits.

Fourthly, abundant achievements have been made in economic cooperation. The two sides have signed and implemented the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA). Trade across the Straits has grown dramatically. In recent years, the trade volume has reached a historical high of US\$ 190 billion. The mainland has become Taiwan’s largest trading partner, export market and origin of trade surplus.

Fifthly, personnel exchanges and cooperation in various fields have been enhanced. The number of travelers across the Straits surged to 9.86 million person-times in 2015, including 3.5 million mainland tourists to Taiwan. Exchanges in culture, education and religion and among youth and women have also developed vigorously.

Sixthly, through practical communications between the two sides, issues related to Taiwan's participation in some international organizations have been addressed properly, thus reducing internal frictions between the two sides in international affairs.

Comparing the different scenarios in cross-Straits relations before and after 2008, we can learn a lot of useful lessons. The most important one is that the one China principle is the stability anchor of the cross-Straits relations. As long as we stick to this principle, steady development of cross-Straits relations can be achieved and peace and stability can be maintained across the Taiwan Straits. Deviation from this principle will bring tensions and even major turbulence to the cross-Straits relations. We have emphasized again and again the importance of the "1992 Consensus". It is important because it embodies the one China principle, explicitly defines the fundamental nature of cross-Straits relations, which are not state-to-state relations. It answers the question of who are the two parties in cross-Straits relations and lays foundation for promoting exchanges and cooperation and solving the hard issues between the two sides of the Straits. It is the key to the abundant achievements in peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits over the past eight years.

III. Current Situation of Cross-Straits Relations

The political situation of Taiwan has undergone major changes since the beginning of this year, which exerted important impact on the relations and situation across the Taiwan Straits. As a result, people are worried about the prospects of the relations.

The worries are not unfounded. DPP, a political party which sticks to its “Taiwan independence” stance, has come back to power in Taiwan. People remember clearly what had happened during its last administration, when it promoted the “Taiwan independence” policy and caused turbulence in the situation across the Straits, as well as its role after 2008, as an opposition party, in obstructing the cross-Straits relations.

Though the DPP leader stated the desire to promote peaceful and stable development of cross-Straits relations, she has remained ambiguous about the nature of cross-Straits relations, the fundamental issue that is of utmost concern to compatriots on both sides, and refused to clearly recognize the “1992 Consensus” and its core connotation that both sides of the Straits belong to one China. The political foundation for peaceful development of cross-Straits relations since 2008 is thus ruined.

From the policy statements and actions of the new Taiwan authorities, people also see the strategic orientation of weakening and severing the historical connections between Taiwan and the mainland in political, economic and cultural terms.

It is the acts of the new Taiwan authorities that have caused suspension of the institutionalized communication and consultation mechanism between the two sides, worsened the cross-Straits relations, negatively affected the progress of exchanges and cooperation in many fields, and added uncertainties and risks to the cross-Straits relations.

IV. Our General Policy toward Taiwan


As the cross-Straits relations get more complex and grim, many foreign friends pay closer attention to our attitude and general policy toward Taiwan. This year, CPC and state leaders of China have made important remarks on many occasions, stressing that our general policy toward Taiwan is clear and consistent, and it will not change with political changes in Taiwan. These remarks have demonstrated the strong resolution of the CPC, the Chinese government and the entire Chinese people to oppose “Taiwan independence” and safeguard the country’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. They have also demonstrated the sincere wish of the mainland to continue to maintain peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and safeguard peace and stability across the Taiwan Straits on the basis of the “1992 Consensus”. Hereby, I wish to emphasize the following three points.

First of all, we will continue to adhere to the political foundation which embodies the one China principle, so as to maintain and push forward peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and seek peaceful reunification of the motherland. Facts have proven that the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations based on the “1992 Consensus” is a correct path leading to peace and stability across the Straits, greater benefits for the compatriots on both sides and peaceful reunification of the motherland. We are ready to have exchanges and jointly promote peaceful development of cross-Straits relations with whichever political party or organization in Taiwan with whatever propositions in the past, as long as it admits to the historical fact of the “1992 Consensus” and agrees to the core connotation.

Second, we will resolutely safeguard state sovereignty and territorial integrity, oppose “Taiwan independence” secessionist acts of any form and thwart any attempt to split Taiwan from the motherland. With a vivid memory of the history of aggression and humiliation by foreign powers, the Chinese people are firmly determined and consistent in safeguarding national unity and opposing secessionism. In his speech at the ceremony marking the 95th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, General Secretary Xi Jinping reiterated the stance of opposing “Taiwan independence”, clearly setting out our bottom line. There was a long warm applause after his remarks, showing the common aspiration and determination of the entire Chinese nation. History will continue to prove that “Taiwan independence” is doomed to failure.

Third, we will continue to push forward exchanges and cooperation across the Straits in all fields to bring benefits to the people on both sides. Compatriots on the two sides are of one family and share the same roots and blood. We will continue to share development opportunities of the mainland with our Taiwan compatriots and promote economic and social integration of the two sides. We will try our best to do whatever things that can help enhance our ties and benefit the people, promote peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, and safeguard overall interests of the Chinese nation.

The direction of cross-Straits relations bears on the vital interests of people across the Straits and the future of the Chinese nation. No one in the world has stronger aspiration than we do for maintaining peace and stability across the Straits and peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. We will

work unrelentingly to this end. We hope that the international community and relevant countries will continue to stick to the one China policy and give their understanding and support to the just cause of the Chinese government and people of maintaining peace and stability, advancing peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and realizing reunification of China. 

Inclusiveness of Security Cooperation

— Speech at the 5th World Peace Forum on 16th July 2016, Beijing

By Yukio Hatoyama*

At this Forum two years ago, I addressed the topic of “Asia-Pacific Major Power Relations and Regional Security.” In that talk, I cited the emerging shift in the world’s political and economic focus, away from the United States and other Atlantic region powers, to the Asia-Pacific. I noted how, against this backdrop, the stability of Asia is a factor destined to strongly contribute to global stability. In support of that position, I stressed the significance of developing what I refer to as the vision of an “East Asian Community.” Today, two years later, major changes have appeared in the political and economic scene. Taking this into consideration, in my talk here today, I wish to discuss the redoubled need to promote this Community concept, while touching upon what I believe to be feasible measures for moving in that direction.

First, however, I would like to comment on

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certain aspects of the current global situation.

As we all know, the vicious terrorist attacks inspired by the extremist element the Islamic State, are no longer limited to Syria, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Unspeakably tragic actions have also been carried out in Paris, Brussels and other major European cities.

Then last month, in an Orlando, Florida nightclub in the United States, a crazed gunman, apparently declaring allegiance to IS, killed 49 people in an unprecedented shooting spree.

The terrorist attack earlier this month at a cafe in the Bangladeshi capital of Dhaka claimed 20 lives. Specifically targeted in that assault were foreigners, with seven Japanese citizens also dying in the carnage.

Naturally, we can never condone terrorist acts of any kind. However, it also warrants mention that the coordinated attacks in Paris occurred after French President Francois Hollande declared his intent to begin air strikes against IS targets.

In Brussels, certain young people suffering racial and social discrimination have joined the Islamic State. There are reports that the attack in Dhaka was also perpetrated by IS, as revenge for aerial bombardment of its positions.

With terrorism, there are always underlying factors. While such acts may be evil, we cannot simply conclude that aerial bombing, which packs far greater lethal force than terrorism, represents the powers of good. It is critical, that is, to realize the

hopelessness of stamping out terrorism with military force.

In the United States, a truly unparalleled presidential election campaign is being waged. On the Republican side, Donald Trump, a man who is not a politician, or even originally a member of the Republican Party, has become the nominee. On the Democratic side, we have Senator Bernie Sanders, a self-declared socialist independent, who is not a member of the Democratic Party. Although Mr. Sanders lost to Hillary Clinton in the nomination race, he certainly put up a strong fight.

I see these results as a reflection of the sentiment of the American people, who are fed up with the existing political scene. Under the neo-liberalism that characterizes U.S. politics today, developments include a major concentration of wealth in a mere one percent of the population, with many of the remaining 99 percent falling into poverty. The growing dissatisfaction with this imbalance had prompted hopes for an escape from the old political order. Last month's mass shooting in Orlando is likely to have an impact on the presidential election in the fall. The world will be closely watching to see if American society at last decides to tighten controls on guns, restrict immigration by followers of the Islamic faith, or take other proposed actions.

In Japan, the administration of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe remains in power. Among his policies, Prime Minister Abe has gained passage of a law authorizing use of the right of collective self-defense. This legislation was pushed through while ignoring the sentiment of the Japanese people – the majority of whom view this as a violation of the nation's Constitution. In taking that action, Mr. Abe stressed his so-called "China Threat Theory." His

administration claims that Japan needs to strengthen its alliance with the United States, as well as its self-defense capacity. He says this is necessary to confront North Korea, which continues nuclear weapon development and ballistic missile test launches, as well as China, which is bolstering its military might.

In December of 2014, Prime Minister Abe held a long-awaited summit meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping. At that time, a four-point letter of agreement was signed. However, certain interpretations of that pact differ. For example, the Japanese government still refuses to acknowledge that territorial issues exist with regard to the Senkaku Islands. As a result, the political relations between Japan and China remain in a chilled state.

On Japan's economic front, with the exception of a certain number of large, export-focused companies, the majority of small- and medium-sized firms, as well as most regions throughout the nation, are struggling under great hardship. Under the "Abenomics" recovery plan championed by Prime Minister Abe, the monetary expansion policy did succeed in temporarily buoying the economy. However, the true objectives of Abenomics have not been achieved. Therefore, I feel there is little choice but to declare this approach a failure.

Realizing this, government's plans to raise Japan's national consumption tax rate next year were postponed for the second time. Mr. Abe, however, cannot afford to admit to his government's economic mismanagement. To justify the tax hike delay, at the G7 Ise-Shima Summit this May, he even claimed that the global economy had worsened to a level like that just

before the financial crisis that began in 2008. As we saw, other world leaders at the gathering were highly bemused by this view. As things stand today, Japan has yet to recover from its “two lost decades.”

Under the leadership of President Xi, China continues to make steady progress. While the type of double-digit economic growth seen in recent years has slowed, China’s 13th Five-Year Plan targets average annual GDP growth of 6.5 percent. This involves the use of innovation and other means. To achieve this goal, President Xi has announced the “One Belt, One Road Plan.” That includes pledges to channel resources into broad-based infrastructure building, from Asia to Europe. In my view, the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank will serve as a powerful vehicle for realizing this vision.

On the other hand, fears that China is bolstering its military capabilities in the South China Sea are expanding among the Japanese and U.S. governments. The territorial rights of the Spratly Islands, however, comprise an issue to be resolved through peaceful dialogue, between the parties involved. Last year, President Xi announced plans to reduce China’s military force by 300,000 troops. This, I believe, is a decision that deserves keen attention.

Many world leaders are intent on generating imaginary enemies, striving to capture public support for greater military strength to protect the nation from such foes. This method has proved effective in the U.S., under the impact of the military-industrial complex. It is also being used in Japan, where confidence has declined due to the sluggish economy. It may be

expressed, “Poverty dulls the wit.” Lately, the Japanese business community seems to be rejoicing over the lifting of the ban on arms exports.

I do not deny the need for minimum self-defense capacity to protect the nation. However, if military strength is raised on claims of providing “deterrent force,” we can also expect other countries to increase their own militaries. That, in turn, will heat up the arms race. This may be good news for the munitions industry. In essence, however, it will serve to escalate the threat of confrontation, and effectively lower the highly touted deterrence capability.

In Japan, last month brought major news coverage of entries by Chinese warships into the “contiguous zone” bordering the Senkaku Islands. Because this zone is outside of the actual territorial waters, vessels are free to navigate there. The Japanese media, however, is typically obsessed with reporting that the presence of such ships is evidence of strengthened military operations by China. Therefore, particularly heavy coverage is given to such actions. From the perspective of China, which asserts its territorial rights over the Senkaku Islands, there are no problems with routing ships through this zone. On the Japan side, however, the government can be expected to utilize such reports as grounds for advocating greater national military strength. Clearly, greater self-restraint is demanded on both sides, including the handling of news reports.

What is demanded of today’s global leaders, are not actions taken to heighten their own status. It is far more important to find ways to effectively and significantly reduce military buildups

around the world, including nuclear weapons. It is vital for such leaders to see that true peace will never be achieved by force.

It is high time to commence efforts toward lasting peace not through military force, but on the power of dialogue and cooperation. When disputes occur, we must be able to hold constructive discussions. Upon the outbreak of the conflict in the Ukraine, for example, the industrialized nations expelled Russia from the G8, which became the G7 as a result. To effectively deal with that issue, Russia must be included in the dialogue. China, the nation with the world's largest population and second greatest economy, should also be added to this group, making it the "G9." If this is not done, the group will come to be dismissed as little more than a forum for the self-satisfaction of the advanced nations.

"Active pacifism" has nothing to do with the brand of military contributions advocated by Prime Minister Abe. Active pacifism means not being content just because no wars are being fought, going on to find the root causes of poverty, discrimination and other factors that trigger conflict. The responses to IS should also be based on the theory of active pacifism.

I continue to support the importance of developing East Asia as a fertile base for growth in the 21st century. Toward that end, I have championed the vision of the "East Asian Community" – a concept structured to serve as a critical stage for promoting the cause of active pacifism, based on the spirit of "fraternity."

The model for such a community has been the European Union. The EU had its beginnings as the European Coal and

Steel Community, following World War II. Over the years, it encountered many hurdles, and twists and turns in the road. As such, I view the eventual formation of the European Union as a truly landmark achievement in global history. Recently, however, the EU has come to face severe trials.

This concerns the financial crisis originating in Greece, along with the troubles in gaining acceptance for Syrian refugees. Then, as a result of the national referendum held on June 23, the British have voted to leave the EU.

I feel that we all appreciate, when living within the ideal of a regional community, the difficulties involved in surmounting the egoistic tendencies of one's own nation. There are also stiff challenges with introducing a common currency for use between nations characterized by economic disparities. Yet another key theme, meanwhile, is to what degree to permit free movements of people within the realm of the regional community itself.

Despite these struggles, however, it is also true that the EU effectively functions as a “war-denouncing community.” In that, and other contexts, the actual need for a community has certainly not been lost. For that matter, the headaches of the EU can serve as a precious learning experience in the quest to realize the East Asian Community.

To realize this East Asian Community, it is crucial for the nations of East Asia to create an arena for fruitful dialogue, capable of promoting cooperation in core fields such as education, culture, economics, the environment, energy, disaster countermeasures and security. At the end of last year, the 10

ASEAN nations formed a union focused on economic activity. If the three nations of Japan, China and South Korea were added to this group, it would truly create the nucleus of a full-fledged community. In China, President Xi has already spoken out on the need for a so-called East Asian Community.

In my opinion, the communities of the 21st century must set their sights on the denouncing of war, rather than on sheer economic activity. Accordingly, it is important that such communities be fully open and flexible. They must avoid raising tall barriers to the outside, such as the customs unions of the past. Allowing that to happen could very well set the stage for new conflicts. Since it is also vital to raise awareness of a mutual community, a flexible approach for the nations gathering to address the issues of each sector is acceptable. This is an effective means of achieving the pacifist objective of a war-denouncing community.

For Japan, China and South Korea to serve as the focus in realizing the East Asian Community, forums will be required to promote fruitful dialogue, whenever necessary. With this goal in mind, I hereby propose the creation of the “East Asian Peace Council” on Jeju Island, and the “East Asian Community Council” in Okinawa.

In my estimate, the most pressing theme in East Asia today is clearly the issue of North Korea. In the past, many lives on Jeju Island were lost in the struggle to unify the Korean Peninsula. My idea is to establish a forum on Jeju to debate and analyze the North-South problem, along with other security matters impacting East Asia. Efforts would naturally be made to bring


North Korean into the fold.

Okinawa, once known as the “Kingdom of Ryukyu,” flourished as a hub of cultural and economic exchange with the nations of East Asia from times of old. Toward the end of World War II, however, the island became the site of fierce fighting, with large numbers of islanders dying in that conflict. After the war, Okinawa has continued to be characterized by the heavy presence of U.S. military bases. My vision is to establish a deliberative body there, to promote cooperation in all relevant fields. The ultimate goal would be to return the island to a military-base-free environment, regardless of how long it takes. In this way, Okinawa would be liberated from its long history as a focus of military activity, to an island cornerstone of peace.

From the start, it will most likely prove difficult to gain the participation of North Korea in the proposed East Asian Peace Council. However, I do feel there is ample potential for the East Asian Community Council to bring Pyongyang onboard in fields such as culture, sports, the environment and energy. As bonds of trust are built on that foundation, an environment would be steadily cultivated for North Korea to join in the Peace Conference as well. Jeju and Okinawa would thus work together as islands devoted to the quest for peace, with the two councils playing a significant role in making the East Asian Community a reality.

I am confident that the East Asian Community can play a pioneering role as an open and flexible cooperative body. This in turn, would help guide East Asia down the road to emerging as an antiwar zone. Going forward, I envision the scenario of a steady

stream of such open and flexible communities stretching around the planet. The ultimate and ideal result, naturally, would be a world free of war and other conflict.

In closing, let us all come together, in taking the first step down the road to transforming this dream into reality. 

Inclusiveness of Security and Cooperation

—Speech at the 5th World Peace Forum on 16th July 2016, Beijing

By Dominique de Villepin*

The 5th World Peace Forum organized by the University of Tsinghua, known in the world for academic excellence and intellectual commitment, gives opportunity to deal with major issues in a period of troubles. It's not only a place bringing together different points of views on peace building, it is also a demanding forum fostering debates between all the participants, speakers as well as professors and students. In this respect, the aim of such a forum highlights the Chinese commitment to the world and to the peace of tomorrow.

- Dealing with inclusiveness is more than necessary in a world torn apart between rival identities, failing States, regional instabilities and rising confrontation of international powers. Wherever you look, it seems that globalization is at the root of two main paradoxes:

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- First, globalization has opened a new world order in which every country, each people and each individual is in quest for recognition in an ever more confusing world. Yes, history is back for better and worse instead of the pacified “end of history” some believed in after the end of the Cold War. Wounded identities and local rivalries are at the heart of the risk of confrontation increasing all around the world.
 - Second paradox: globalization has created political, economic and cultural interdependences that led to facilitate cooperation, on the one side, and to spread fear and violence all around the world on the other side: instead of creating closer links and dialogue, globalization led to new kinds of exclusion, isolation and radicalization. That’s what we face today in the rise of terrorism and the expansion of regional conflict. In recent days, fear of globalization also appeared in the UK’s referendum rejecting both global migration and European cooperation.
- In this new world, we have to learn to face together huge challenges: on the one hand, the common threat of terrorism. On the other hand, the rising risk of major power confrontation in Eastern Europe and in the Middle-East as well as in Eastern Asia.

I) Diplomacy seems to be in danger in a time of rising confrontation. We have failed to build a long term vision for peace

1) Over the last decades, the main arguments of the international community have been limited to exclusion, sanction and military operations

The overuse of economic sanctions has hindered the diplomatic work on mutual understanding

- Demonization is the opposite of what diplomacy should advocate for. It only leads to break the link and exclude partners:
- It's true in Russia: economic exclusion decided by Europe and the US during the Ukrainian crisis has only worsened the situation:
 - Russian people is all the more supporting leadership policies as it is hard hit by sanctions;
 - European economy, on its side, has been affected by this series of sanctions and counter-sanctions;
- It was also true in Iran until a recent period, where economic sanctions contributed to impoverish the populations and to demonize a potential partner.

Recurring use of force has given legitimacy to criminal groups by fueling resentment among local populations

- Through repeated military interventions, we have reinforced the spirit of war instead of the voice of peace:
- That was the case in 2001, when the US invaded Afghanistan as the Soviet Union had done two decades earlier. Of course, America had been targeted by terrorists on its own soil: but tackling terrorism is not about war and invasion, it's about building the conditions of peace, integration and cooperation;

- That was the case in 2003 with the operation in Iraq when Western countries bypassed the UN rules, destabilizing the Middle East to an incredible extent:
 - American intervention destroyed existing administrations and State;
 - It contributed to further antagonize Shia and Sunni communities whose rivalries flared up again;
- That was also the case more recently with the intervention in Libya:
 - War in Libya didn't limit itself to protect civil populations as allowed by the UN, but overthrew the regime;
 - Look at the current situation: spread of violence, free circulation of weapons in the region and expansion of Daech.

The problematic use of legal coercion can also lead to break the dialogue and increase escalation

- We see that in the ruling given on last Tuesday by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague regarding the territorial controversy between China and the Philippines:
 - Exerting coercion by law doesn't provide lasting response to disputes:
 - Negotiating a legal solution means bringing people together

around the same table: it means finding a common ground to initiate a discussion: bilateral dialogue is the priority;

- Arbitration is a diplomatic tool in a diplomatic process, not a judiciary decision that could be imposed on one of the parties;
- That's why I think arbitration can only be common choice of the parties and not a way to force contentious decision;
- In the South China Sea, territorial and maritime disputes must be tackled on regional basis and in a cooperative framework to create a secure environment.

2) Because of the vicious circles of exclusion, our world is on the verge of major confrontations

Incapacity of dialogue has created a cycle of wars in the Middle-East

- First, incapacity of dialogue between the regime of Bachar Al Assad and divided Syrian opposition;
- Since 2011, Syria has experienced a terrible civil war resulting in humanitarian catastrophes, with more than 250,000 victims;
- Meanwhile, Daech managed to gain territories between Syria and Iraq, feeding on religious frustration and political exclusion at the crossroads of Iraq intervention, Syrian war and globalized distress;

- Second, incapacity of dialogue between the major powers of the region as we see in growing tensions between Saudi Arabia and Iran:
 - Iranian and Saudi powers appear as leaders of the old confrontation between Sunnis and Shia's, but also between Arabs and Persians;
 - They are involved in various conflicts that could escalate into direct or proxy wars like in Syria, in Iraq and in Yemen;
- Incapacity of dialogue between global powers in the region, especially between Russia and the USA in 2015. This lack of cooperation has made the Middle East a confusing battleground for soldiers of all countries and all origins.

Military threats and economic retaliation have also increased the risk of confrontation in Europe and in Asia

- Western countries and Russia are facing frozen conflicts in Eastern Europe: despite growing dangers of war, we don't see enough ambition to revive cooperation:
 - European sanctions against Russia have been extended in last June;
 - Russia has decided to reduce energy supply;
 - On both sides, the lack of inclusiveness is the major source of misunderstanding:

- Western countries have not heard Russian frustration after the collapse of USSR as is shown by the deployment of NATO troops on Russian borders;
- Meanwhile, Russia asserts its own vision of sovereignty and self-determination;
- We also see signs of tension between China and the USA in South China Sea:
 - Containment policies belong to the past;
 - We need to avoid any military escalation.

II) Today more than ever, we have to make inclusiveness the cornerstone of cooperation

1) Addressing cross-border challenges can be achieved only with coordinated and inclusive response

It is the case with terrorism that needs to be tackled collectively

- Far from being a local concern, terrorism has become a global issue:
 - The entire world is affected by jihadist terrorism:
 - It's a global crisis in its consequences:
 - o Every major Western country has been struck, as proven with the 9/11 and more recently in Paris. Every member

of the security council has been targeted, like Russia in 2004, London in 2005 and China with the bombings in Kunming in 2014;

- o But let's be aware that most of the victims of Islamist terrorism are Muslims, in fact more than 80%;
- It's also a global crisis in its causes:
 - o In Africa and in the Middle East, the rising number of failing States has reinforced violent extremism ;
 - o In Western countries, marginalization of some communities has also been breeding ground for terrorism;
- Because it's a global issue, terrorism needs a global response through a global alliance:
 - It means reinventing the tools of cooperation by involving as many States as possible:
 - o We need to improve collective structures like the UN Counter-terrorism Center created in 2011;
 - o We need a new permanent military force though harmonizing recruitment;
 - It also means sharing objectives and resources:
 - o We must create a global agenda on terrorism and a shared

definition of the threat ;

- o We also must optimize intelligence sharing about terrorist groups and individuals that constitute international dangers.

Implementing inclusive responses requires to launch concrete initiatives

- In the Middle-East, we need a new architecture of peace fostering robust, inclusive and comprehensive cooperation:
 - Gathering regional powers around the table of negotiations is no longer about winning the war or building the peace, it is about avoiding collective suicide and saving the future of the region:
 - First of all, the two competing leaders need to talk face-to-face: resuming dialogue between Iran and Saudi Arabia is the cornerstone of peace: together they could create common institutions of oil and gas management as France and Germany did in 1951 with coal and steel. The ECSC was created as a token of peace;
 - Second, we should promote what succeeded in the past in the Helsinki Conference of 1975: I advocate for a Helsinki Conference in the Middle East about cooperation and security under the authority of the 5+1:
 - o This framework has proven to be successful last year with the Vienna Agreement on the nuclear program of

Iran;

- o The Security Council could give impulse to this conference joining together not only Iran and Saudi Arabia, but all the regional countries like Syria, Egypt, Turkey and Yemen.

2) Building a more balanced and representative world governance is also a priority to improve inclusiveness

Today, we still have to work on developing diversity and fairness in global governance

- Inclusive cooperation is coming up against Western hegemony:

- It's visible in economic fields where the USA have huge privileges like the domination of the dollar and global influence of the Big three in credit rating:
 - o We could organize a G3 with China, the USA and the Euro-zone to enhance permanent currency cooperation on monetary stability;
 - o Likewise, I do believe that Asian credit system has a major role to play in providing new vision and methodology as put forward by Prime Minister Li Keqiang;
- It's visible in technological area with the GAFA and American leadership in digital governance;

- It's visible regarding military affairs: NATO has long been a testimony of these global unbalances;
- However, there have been some progress in sharing power at the global scale:
 - Since the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944, there were only small steps in improving financial cooperation:
 - Inclusiveness of national players was reinforced by the gradual increase of State members of the IMF from 44 to almost 190 ;
 - Representativeness of emerging countries was gradually improved: in 2010 through the governance reform and in 2016 through the integration of the RMB in the currency basket of the IMF. But a lot could and should still be done;
 - Inclusiveness could also be achieved through new financial institutions like the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank launched in 2014:
 - It's because they are inclusive and open that we should greet the creation of new multilateral tools;
 - This new initiative has already led to great projects under the leadership of JIN Liqun;

Let's be aware that multilateralism is key to guarantee inclusiveness

- For long time, diplomacy has been underpinned by common institutions of collective security:
 - After the barbaric events of the Second World War, the UN aimed at creating a new world multipolarity. We saw that in the rising involvement of multiple stakeholders:
 - Look at the growing inclusion of the world with almost 200 State members against only 51 at the beginning;
 - Today, look at the growing commitment of emerging countries: China is more and more active in the world affairs, especially regarding the UN peacekeeping: there are more than 3,000 Chinese soldiers and experts implied in operations like South Sudan or Liberia.
- But the UN are facing difficulties. They need to be a place of legitimacy, of debate and consensus:
 - In the recent period, the whole system has been strongly challenged and criticized: that was the case in 2003: the UN were unable to prevent the war in Iraq by enforcing effectively the international law;
 - That's why we need more diversity and representativeness:
 - By enlarging the Security Council through extension in the number of non-permanent States and a longer duration of their mandates;
 - By appointing new permanent members: India and

Germany, for instance, as well as African countries would have a place in the Council;

III) Let's be clear: inclusiveness has not only to be guaranteed, it has to be achieved

1) Inclusiveness is not only about dialogue and political exchanges. It is about concrete action making every part of this world able to become a responsible member of the international community

Inclusive diplomacy needs mediators and bridge builders to turn peace objectives into reality

- Mediation is the role of France: inclusiveness was the political legacy of General De Gaulle: in a time when China was considered with suspicion by the US power, he stretched out a hand of dialogue and friendship:
 - In 1964, General de Gaulle was the first Western president to create permanent diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China;
 - His goal was to base long-term relationships on two old States and cultures;
- There are at least three lessons that can be learned from this attitude:
 - First, diplomacy requires openness and balance;

- Second, diplomacy needs long time to deploy and act efficiently;
- Third, diplomacy can only work in dynamic environment.

In the long run, development and prosperity are the best weapons against radicalization and remoteness

- Opening to education, employment and public services is the best answer to hate and isolation:

- I firmly think diplomacy as well as politics must focus on projects providing hope and progress. The One Belt One Road Initiative unveiled by President XI Jinping in autumn 2013 offers a promise of development, a promise of growth and a promise of peace:

- First, the New Silk Road is a pillar for growth because it bets on infrastructures to stimulate economy and open up remote regions. By building ports, airports, roads, highways and railways from China to Europe across the Middle East and North Africa, it will create a huge network of countries and economies:

- o It will boost growth because infrastructures are a productive sector with high return and a strong need of workforces;

- o It will boost development because marginalized areas like Kirghizstan or Uzbekistan will become more accessible and open to the world;

- Second, the New Silk Road is a pillar for cultural dialogue as was the case in the old times Silk Road during the blooming period of the Tang dynasty:
 - o The rise of cross-border exchanges will create bridges between people and civilizations through tourism, art and education;
 - o University program could be launched along the New Silk Road to improve academic excellence and share intellectual views;
- I think the New Silk Road is only the start of numerous projects that could be implemented on the same model: for a long time, I have been supporting such a perspective between Europe and Africa:
 - Stimulating trade and development in the frame of a Euro-African Union around the Mediterranean Sea appears to me as one of the most ambitious achievements we have to realize in the coming years:
 - Economic achievement through big investments in resources, mining and agriculture;
 - Political achievements through common policies and, if needed, military assistance;
 - Environmental and cultural achievements as well to build a more open, stable and sustainable world.

2) We also need to reinvent inclusiveness by developing global State building expertise

Today, failed States have become the major source of wars: strong States like China and France as well as the international community have a huge responsibility in helping them:


- Implementing inclusive policies also means assisting endangered countries to be back on track and to be heard worldwide:
 - It should be the aim of regional organizations to provide support to weak States:
 - Existing organizations like the Arab League, the European Union or the African Union are supposed to promote cooperation and mutual development inside and beyond the borders;
 - In the same way, good governance inside regional alliances should become a priority by learning from each other and sharing administrative good practices.
 - The international community has also to set up specific task forces in order to assist failing states:
 - We need to create alternatives to instability by building administrative capacities and local security forces;
 - We also need to better share and monitor good practices in governance to fight corruption and stabilize countries.

Exclusion is a risk we cannot afford any more. Because exclusion creates insecurity. Because exclusion is the engine of a spiral of war.

On the contrary, all my experience taught me that inclusion and openness offer the best ground for stability.

While exclusion gives arguments to enemies of peace, inclusion deprives them from their weapons.

While exclusion makes peace impossible and repeatedly postponed, inclusion is the first step towards peace.

Because we live in a world striving for more recognition, more dialogue and more fairness. 

Open-access of International Security Cooperation

—Speech at the 5th World Peace Forum on 16th July 2016, Beijing

By Shaukat Aziz*

I consider it a special privilege to address this distinguished gathering today.

As we look around the world, we see several challenges before us that threaten to destabilize the international system, undermine peace and slow development. Taken individually, these events — like the attacks we are seeing on civilians around the world — can shock and disturb us. Combined together, they fundamentally impact our global security.

There has arguably never been a more important time for the major world powers must work together to try and address these challenges.

At the same time, the political world order is seeing major transformations. This brings both challenges, and opportunities.

In my presentation, I will describe the security

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challenges facing the world today — and the ways in which we can work together to forge a more stable, peaceful world.

But first, let me take some moment to describe the global power shifts we are seeing.

The geopolitical norms we knew for decades are changing. How we adapt to them will determine the course of our future — and that of our children.

Much has been said of the “**Thucydides Trap**”. To quickly recap, this warns that when new powers rise — and alter the status quo — the risk of conflict increases. While I believe this can be prevented, it deserves our careful attention to prevent any escalation.

It is only natural that the political order installed after the Second World War is set to change.

Asia — and China — are at the centre of this tectonic shift. The economic growth emanating from China, and its progressive economic policies, has been a vital factor in promoting peace, prosperity and stability in the region. We have seen remarkable improvements in global standards of living. If I could give you one vital statistic to illustrate how far we have come — the number of people living on less than \$1.25 a day has been reduced from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015, according to the United Nations.

However, many countries have signalled they are not comfortable with China's ascendance.

My experience in and out of government has taught me — a **multipolar world is better than a unipolar one**. The existence of new world powers could be a source of strength for all nations.

Now, let me take some time to summarise what I see as some of the threats we collectively face as a world, which cannot be resolved with a unilateral approach.

For this discussion, I would like to highlight 5 areas where the risks we face are increasing — and where much more needs to be done.

Firstly, let me talk about **terrorism**. It is clear that whatever we have been doing just is not working. Last week's Bastille day attack in France was the latest in a series of horrific incidents across the world.

We must devise an effective strategy to overcome the threat posed by international terrorism, which has multiplied into a myriad of problems. Terrorism knows no borders, and cannot be tackled by one country alone. The recent wave of attacks has repeatedly illustrated the need for all the major world powers to work together.

- We must ask ourselves, what were the intelligence failures that allow groups like ISIS to spread regionally and recruit globally? We must find who is funding these non-state actors, who is supporting and who is encouraging them.
- It is important to recognize our failings — we still have not developed a successful counter-strategy. This is something

which needs global coordination, intelligence sharing and joint security and military action. We must also deal countries directly affected by these elements as well as those who may be backing them.

- We must **address the root causes** of terrorism. Terrorism and extremism are both factors of poverty and **deprivation**. What do I mean when I talk about deprivation in this context? We must understand that it can manifest itself in many ways. Deprivation can be:

- Lack of income
- Lack of opportunity
- Lack of human rights
- Lack of a voice
- Lack of resolution of disputes

It is when deprivation reaches a stage where people they feel they are not heard that they can become increasingly vulnerable to being converted to extreme causes.

It is important to stress that terrorism knows no borders or religion. Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance and the majority of Muslims are peace-loving people. But, increasingly, Islam is misunderstood and misrepresented in the West owing to the actions of fanatics. We must therefore challenge such a thesis — and promote inter-civilizational harmony and understanding

through dialogue and engagement.

With all this in mind — how can we tackle the spread of extremism? There is need for building bridges, giving opportunities, jobs — and a stake in society and its prosperity. We must address longstanding conflicts afflicting the Islamic world, such as in Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Kashmir, which have caused anger and frustration among people across the world. In addition, we need to redouble our efforts to develop sophisticated intelligence sharing capabilities and cross-border coordination.

But also, we must look beyond politics — beyond religious and ethnic prejudice and preconception — and approach the task with humanity.

This leads me to my next point, which is that — fundamentally — too many countries have made the mistake of treating terrorism as a security — or military — matter. It is a matter of **hearts and minds**. It is necessary to touch the people — not just their leaders. This would involve generating hope and promoting interfaith harmony as well as inter-civilizational and inter-cultural dialogue. It is time to resort to a more holistic and broad-based approach, which addresses the threat of terrorism along with its related effects.

Another issue we collectively face is the spread of **disruptive technology**. While it may not directly affect our security, its social implications — if not managed correctly — can have great long-term impact.

- Disruptive technology affects the entire world, and, while it can lead to undoubted benefits in quality of life and efficiency of running a business, it can also bring mass unemployment as more and more work is done by machines.
- On top of this, technology is being successfully used by non-state actors to recruit and communicate across the world, vastly expanding their reach — and our response has so far been far behind.

The third serious — and growing — global threat stems from the **technological revolution** we have seen. As our world has moved online, our vulnerability to **cyber attack** has increased too. We must develop dedicated task forces to tackle the threat of cyber crime.

Fourthly, let us not forget that some of the biggest issues we collectively face are **economic**. Global powers must address the growing problem of inequality and focus on encouraging equitable growth. The collapse of world oil prices, the impact of economic shocks - most recently, of Brexit — risk leaving millions of people worse off. If left unattended, these issues can lead to feelings of anger and resentment — and, as we have already seen across the world, play into the hands of more radical political movements and even extremists.

Finally — to conclude my overview of the global security threats we face — **migration** has become an increasingly pressing issue. We have already seen its repercussions in Europe. Any rapid rise in migration — whether humanitarian or economic — requires strong, capable leadership to get the necessary buy-in

of its people, as well as the ability to successfully integrate the migrants into society.

I would now like to focus on **Asia**. It is undeniable that Asia will be the focal point of geopolitics in the 21st century, as evidenced by the continent's demographics, economic strength and increasing importance on the world's political stage. The continent is already an engine of growth for the world economy — with China fast becoming its centrifugal force.

We must recognize that the global political order installed by the Western powers after the Second World War has been changing and will continue to develop in the years to come. Asia must be properly represented, and have a seat at the table, of all global institutions.

- It is natural that China's geopolitical influence is on the ascent, in response to its growing economic stature.
- Following on from this point — China's defence capability should rise too. This should not be a source of worry for the world. China must have the capacity to protect its interests — and those in the region, if necessary. **Sustainable peace in the region should be pursued through strength — not weakness.**
- Boosting China's military capacity would also allow it to become one of the main peacekeepers to the world — building on its leading work in the UN's peacekeeping missions.

It is not possible to talk about global security without discussing the **Middle East**. The political turmoil there has been affecting people far beyond its borders.

It is time for the major world powers — the United States, China, Europe, Russia — to re-assess their approach to conflict. As we have seen from repeated examples in the Middle East, **regime change is not the answer**.

- In recent history, the military interventions of the Western powers in certain countries have left dangerous power vacuums. These interventions were done with no clear exit strategy. Removing a leader — no matter how strong the case against them it — without having a clear and cohesive plan for the country you leave behind will not help.
- In the power vacuums left behind, sectarian, ethnic and tribal divisions have been exploited by extremist elements. We have seen the troubling growth of sectarian bloodshed — in the Levant, in the Arab world as a whole — affecting the communities of countries across the Middle East and South Asia.

Instead, they should focus on building **linkages and interdependencies**, which are the true guarantors of peace in the world. This includes trade and energy cooperation, developing a framework for intra-regional cooperation, technology and intelligence sharing. At the same time, existing tensions and conflicts should not be ignored and require attention, diplomacy and leadership.

It is these economic linkages and interconnectivities that are the true drivers of peace. Trade, economic cooperation, people-to-people contact — they will all help secure a more peaceful future.

As well as developing a new architecture for global cooperation, we must also **resolve long-standing tensions and differences** — and manage any potential hot spots through careful diplomacy. This involves:

Working to diffuse tension over disputed areas, such as those in the **South China Sea**. Focusing on areas where diplomacy and dialogue can be developed will help establish a working relationship.

We must promote reconciliation between **North Korea and South Korea**. The peninsula remains a potential flashpoint, with nuclear capability.

We should strive to find a solution to the **Kashmir** issue, which has been languishing for decades with no solution in sight.

Overall, focusing on areas where diplomacy and dialogue can be developed will help establish a working relationship.

China has already set the tone in this respect, with its “**One Belt, One Road**” initiative, which seeks to build connections along old and new trade routes between Central Asia, South Asia, China, Russia and Europe. There is a great opportunity for other world powers — the US, Russia and the European countries — to build on its progress and focus on developing cooperation,

collaboration and connectivity.

- We must develop more country-to-country linkages. Pakistan has recently seen a major benefit from the “One Belt One Road” policy, which includes **\$46 billion** being deployed in Pakistan over several years. This includes infrastructure development, energy generation, and other mutually agreed projects which will lead to substantial job creation, improved infrastructure — and a positive fallout on growth and income levels. It will be a real game-changer for Pakistan — and the prosperity and security of the region as a whole.
- In addition, I would point out that the US-China relationship which will be crucial to the 21st century. These two global powers — along with Russia and Europe — should find new ways to engage each other in a constructive and peaceful way, while giving sufficient space to each other.

The willingness of countries around the world to subscribe to the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank is an encouraging sign, which showed there is a space for a modern global institution to play a role. Still, the multilateral institutions created after the Second World War — the UN Security Council, the IMF and World Bank — require considerable reform to be effective and relevant in today’s world.

One of the challenges all major powers face will be how they navigate between two diverging new paradigms:

Firstly, the **traditional paradigm of power and rivalry:**

This has been witnessed through: the recent move towards building strings of alliances and consolidating old relationships; through the way countries have been redeploying their navy in the Pacific; and through increased economic rivalry.

Secondly, there is **the emerging paradigm of interdependence and common interest:**

What do I mean by this? The interdependence paradigm has been gaining grass roots support in most major powers — within civil society, business, the media, academia and in international organizations. Given the growing evidence of global challenges, and the compulsion to cooperate for survival and stability, it is possible that the 21st Century may witness a historic shift from strategic competition to global collaboration.

At the present stage of history, **both paradigms coexist uneasily**, as evident in the seemingly contradictory behavior of states. This is a new trend which requires close attention over the next few years.

Despite their strategic competition, all major powers have a common interest in containing and resolving the growing plethora of inter-state and intra-state conflicts that rage across Asia and the Middle East.

The present challenge for the main stakeholder nations is how to manage the current transition. Crucially, they must be able to live with each other.

This brings me to my main point about the challenges we

face. The major global threats — of terrorism, security failures, nuclear proliferation, cyber attacks and natural disasters — **cannot be solved unilaterally**. They all require cooperation and working together on a wider scale.

No country can today stand on its own and address these dangers. **No one has an exclusive on wisdom**. We need to share information. We need to coordinate our responses. We need to build a reserve of trust so that — when crises do arise — we can work effectively, and not run the risk of escalation through misunderstanding.

Let me conclude by taking a few moments to talk about leadership.


Today, the world suffers from a leadership deficit. While there are able leaders, there are not enough that can show forward-thinking leadership. Across the world, many politicians and decision-makers are too often preoccupied with the next election and do not take a long term strategic view.

What makes a **strategic leader**? They must be change-makers, not incrementalists. They must have the vision and ability to think beyond the political cycle — even, sometimes, at their own cost.

Any reforms or ambitious initiatives, both on a domestic and multilateral level, require effective and strategic leadership to guide them. We cannot afford to spend time hesitating and slowly adapting to the new world order.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, only far-sighted, strategic leadership can truly help us manage this period of change and guide us through the security challenges we face.

Finally, let us remember that — whoever they are and wherever they may be — something unites us all. People want a better future for themselves and their children. It is up to the main stakeholders of the world to work together and to give them the bright future they deserve. Only then can we begin to create the conditions for a durable and lasting peace — only then can we provide an enabling environment for development.

Cooperation — rather than Confrontation — should be the guiding principle in tackling complicated relationships at the regional and global levels. This is the true safeguard for peace. 

携手开创和平与繁荣的美好未来

——在第五届世界和平论坛开幕式上的致辞

2016年7月16日，北京

刘延东 中国副总理

盛夏时节，水木清华。很高兴回到我的母校清华大学出席第五届世界和平论坛。首先，我对论坛的开幕表示热烈祝贺！向来自世界各地的各位嘉宾和专家学者致以诚挚问候！

世界和平论坛是中国举办的第一个高级别非官方国际安全论坛。论坛创立5年来，中外各界人士围绕重大国际安全等议题深入研讨交流，共商合作大计，共谋长治久安良策，为世界和平与安全事业作出了积极贡献。

本届论坛以“共同安全秩序：合作、包容、开放”为主题，契合当前形势和需要，很有意义。就在前天，法国尼斯发生了严重的恐怖袭击事件，造成重大人员伤亡。我半个月前刚刚访问过尼斯，对大量无辜平民不幸罹难深感痛心。我们对恐怖行径予以最强烈的谴责，对遇难者表示深切哀悼，并对遇难者家属和受伤人员表示慰问。希望中法两国和国际社会进一步加强合作，标本兼治，共同打击恐怖主义这一人类社会的共同敌人。

中国古语讲，“天下太平，万物安宁；天下大乱，无有安国。”千百年来，追求和平可谓人类最朴素的心愿。历史和现实告诉我们，各国以什么样的态度和方式对待彼此，决定着人类社会的前途命运。当今时代，世界各国的发展共同性、利益共同性、挑战共同性、治理共同性日益凸显，人类社会越来越成为你中有我、我中有你的命运共同体。同时，天下并不太平，人类仍然受到各种安全挑战与威胁的困扰，维护世界和平、促进共同发展任重道远。

当今时代是一个需要合作共赢的时代。全球化背景下，国与国相互依存空前紧密，利益共生不断深化。各国既面临和平发展大势所趋、科技进步日新月异、区域合作方兴未艾等重要机遇，也面

临恐怖主义、气候变化、能源资源安全等全球性挑战。在机遇面前，没有任何一个国家可以独占专享；在挑战面前，也没有任何一个国家可以独善其身。同舟共济、合作共赢、共享机遇、共迎挑战才是唯一正确选择。

当今时代是一个需要包容共生的时代。当今时代，不同政治社会制度、发展道路模式共生并存，多个民族、多种文明交流互鉴，各种政治社会思潮与思想激荡交融，共同构成了人类社会的多彩图景。但霸权主义、强权政治仍时有表现，国际关系中不公正、不平等、不合理现象依然突出，威胁世界和平与安全。“物之不齐，物之情也”。不同国家、不同文明只有秉持包容精神，摒弃傲慢与偏见，尊重各国自主选择的发展道路、模式、理念，才能和谐相处，共同营造稳定发展的良好环境。

当今时代是一个需要开放共享的时代。当前，国际金融危机深层次影响继续显现，形形色色的保护主义、孤立主义有所抬头，多边贸易谈判进程举步维艰，世界经济复苏进程曲折艰难。开放带来进步，封闭导致落后。形势发展呼唤各方进一步发扬开放精神，打开大门搞建设，构建开放型经济新体制，加快区域合作和互联互通，推动各国在开放中融合、在融合中发展，实现共同进步、共同繁荣。

针对当前人类社会面临的各种问题和挑战，中国国家主席习近平先生提出构建以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系，携手打造人类命运共同体的重要倡议。这是对传统国际关系理论的创新与超越，也是对人类文明发展进步潮流的前瞻思考，提供了应对复杂严峻的安全威胁和构建共同安全秩序的中国智慧和方案。希望我们秉持合作、包容、开放精神，加强交流对话，增进互信协作，携手开创一个和平与繁荣的美好未来。

第一，我们应构建伙伴关系，努力促进平等互信。人与人要交朋友，国与国要做伙伴。志同道合是伙伴，求同存异也是伙伴。中国尊重各国自主选择对外政策的权利，但我们主张努力构建不设假想敌、不针对第三方、更富包容性和建设性的伙伴关系，走“结伴而不结盟”的新路。国家不分大小、强弱、贫富一律平等，各国应恪守以联合国宪章宗旨和原则为核心的国际关系基本准则，尊重各国主权和领土完整，坚持不干涉别国内政。在国际事务中坚持平等协商，增进互信，推动国际关系民主化、法治化、合理化。

第二，我们应坚持合作共赢，努力促进各国共同发展。发展是维护和平稳定、解决各类安全问题的“总钥匙”。各国应聚焦发展主题，积极开展经贸、能源、科技等务实合作，积极改善民生，缩小贫富差距，让发展成果更多更好惠及各国人民。各国应树立双赢、共赢的理念，摒弃零和游戏、赢者通吃的思维，把

追求自身利益同兼顾他方利益结合起来，把推动本国发展同促进共同发展联系起来。要加强宏观经济政策协调，积极推动全球经济治理变革，维护开放型世界经济体制，共同应对世界经济风险和挑战。

第三，我们应加强对话协商，努力实现和平与安全。爱因斯坦曾经说过，和平建立在谅解和自我克制的基础上，而不是建立在暴力的基础上。沉溺于冷战思维，搞弱肉强食、穷兵黩武和对立对抗，有违时代潮流，只会加剧安全困境。中方主张，各国走和平发展道路，树立共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观，共同营造公道正义、共建共享的安全格局。要通过对话、协商和合作解决国与国之间的矛盾分歧和复杂热点问题，以对话谋共识，以合作促安全。

第四，我们应坚持可持续发展，努力建设全球生态文明。人类只有一个地球，我们共有一个家园。各国都应在利用和改造自然过程中，呵护和保护自然，推动可持续发展和人的全面发展。各国应积极开展协作，推动科技创新，大力发展绿色、低碳、循环经济，积极落实气候变化《巴黎协定》，实现更高水平全球可持续发展。发达国家应积极承担历史性责任，兑现减排承诺，并帮助发展中国家减缓和适应气候变化。各国政府主管部门、行业企业、非政府组织等各界力量应携手开展国际合作，共同保护地球家园。

第五，我们应深化人文交流，努力推动不同文明互学互鉴。国之交在于民相亲。世界各国的历史文化、社会制度、发展阶段千差万别，文明交流互鉴可以让各国人民体验多元文化，相互汲取智慧，产生共同语言，从而成为化解矛盾与分歧的“润滑剂”、增进理解与友谊的“助推器”。教育、科技、文化、卫生等领域交流合作，还可以为各国发展和世界经济增长提供助力。我们应深化人文领域合作，用好各类交流对话机制平台，发挥联合国及相关国际地区组织、各国政府、智库、媒体和各类非政府组织的作用，以文明对话和融合促进心灵相通，为各国和平共处、共同发展夯实民意基础，注入“正能量”、“暖力量”。

追求和平与发展是中华民族的固有基因，努力实现中华民族伟大复兴是近代以来中国人民最伟大的梦想。当前，中国经济发展正面临新的转型，进入速度变化、结构优化、动力转换的新常态。仅仅40年前，中国还是一个农业和农村为主的国家，人均GDP不足200美元，城镇化率不到18%。现在中国已成为世界第二大经济体，人均GDP接近8000美元，常住人口城镇化率达到56%，6亿多人口摆脱贫困，对全球减贫事业的贡献率达到70%。我们用几十年时间实现了国家面貌和人民生活的巨大变化，站在了一个新的历史起点上，但也面临着“成长的烦恼”和转型的阵痛。发达国家在几百年工业化进程中遇到的问题，我们在近40年间集中出现了，发展方式粗放，不平衡、不协调、不可持续的问题仍然突出。中国还有

5500多万人口处于贫困状态，60岁以上人口达2.22亿，未富先老和社会保障面临着巨大压力，把13亿人带入现代化还有很长的路要走。未来五年是中国全面建成小康社会的决胜阶段，我们制定了新的发展规划，确立了创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的发展理念，坚持把发展作为第一要务，把创新作为第一动力，努力实现到2020年国内生产总值和城乡居民人均收入比2010年翻一番，让全体人民过上更加幸福美好的生活。

中国是世界大家庭的一员，实现“中国梦”离不开和平稳定的国际环境。同时，中国的发展，也必将为各国发展带来机遇、增进福祉。中国人民曾饱尝战祸之苦，最懂得和平之珍贵。“己所不欲，勿施于人”。中国坚定不移走和平发展道路，着力深化与各国的战略互信、经贸合作和人文交流，努力推动形成人类命运共同体。

中国坚持独立自主的和平外交政策，坚定不移履行国际责任和义务。中国倡导并践行共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观，建设性参与全球热点问题的政治解决，深入参与反恐、网络安全、气候变化等非传统安全领域国际合作，积极参加各种国际灾难救援和人道主义援助。中国在亚丁湾、索马里海域开展护航行动，保卫了国际重要航道的安全。中国是联合国安理会常任理事国中派出维和人员最多的国家，累计派出维和人员达3万余人次，先后参加29项维和行动。今年5月31日，年仅29岁的中国赴马里维和士兵申亮亮在营地遭遇恐怖袭击不幸牺牲。他的父母说，本来他维和一年回来后就要订婚。一条年轻的生命还没有走向婚礼的美好殿堂就陨落在异国他乡，贡献给了马里和非洲的和平事业。就在6天前，南苏丹首都朱巴爆发激烈武装冲突，李磊和杨树朋这两位年轻的中国维和军人在执行任务时献出了宝贵的生命，还有5名中国军人受伤。这些真实感人的事迹背后，是中国人民为维护世界和平作出的牺牲，体现了中国致力于捍卫和平的庄严承诺。

中国奉行互利共赢的开放战略，积极为世界发展尽力。2015年，中国货物贸易总额居全球首位，对外投资1180亿美元，出境旅游人次达1.2亿，中国经济对世界经济增长的贡献率达25%，为世界经济复苏增长发挥了“压舱石”和“稳定器”的作用。中国将继续同各国共建“一带一路”，打造绿色、健康、智力、和平丝绸之路，促进欧亚大陆共同发展。今年9月，中国将在浙江杭州主办二十国集团领导人峰会，为推动全球经济复苏和加强全球经济治理作出新的贡献。

中国主张不冲突不对抗，友好协商、和平处理矛盾分歧。自20世纪60年代以来，中国通过谈判协商与14个陆地邻国中的12个解决了约20000公里陆地边界问题，这充分显示了中国睦邻友好的诚意和互利共赢的决心，为维护亚洲乃至世

界稳定作出了实实在在的贡献。日前，菲律宾南海仲裁案仲裁庭公布所谓裁决，企图否定中国在南海的领土主权和海洋权益。应菲律宾阿基诺三世政府单方面请求建立的仲裁庭缺乏合法基础，自始至终违法操作，任意扩权、越权、滥权，所作裁决是非法的、无效的。中国政府不接受、不参与仲裁案，更不会承认和执行所谓裁决。中国将继续遵循《联合国宪章》及其所确认的国际关系基本准则，坚持与直接有关当事国，在尊重历史事实的基础上，根据国际法，通过谈判协商和平解决南海有关争议。中国愿继续同东盟国家一道努力，将南海建设成为和平之海、友谊之海、合作之海。

中国积极推进与各国人文交流，促进文明互鉴、和谐共生。多年来，中国积极发展与各国的友好交往，目前同美、俄、英、法、欧盟、印尼等多个国家或国际地区组织建立了高级别人文交流机制。作为中国对外人文交流的亲历者、推动者，我深深感到，文明交流和思想沟通，有如涓涓细流，润物无声，能够为国际关系发展和谋求共同安全环境提供源源不断的动力。2014年非洲爆发埃博拉疫情，我们快速反应，开展了新中国成立以来最大规模的卫生援外行动，援助资金和物资7.5亿元人民币，累计派出1000多名医疗卫生人员，与西非人民守望相助、共克时艰，与各国密切互动、携手合作，奏响了全球卫生合作的时代和音，展现了人文交流的巨大能量和无穷魅力！总之，中国永远是世界和平的建设者，是全球发展的贡献者，是公正合理国际秩序的维护者，愿为世界持久和平和繁荣发展作出不懈努力和更大贡献。

世界和平论坛已经成为亚洲乃至世界重要的国际安全论坛。希望论坛总结成功经验，搭建好高端平台，在增进友谊、深化互信、凝聚共识、推动合作方面继续发挥重要作用。希望各位嘉宾在此次论坛期间深入对话沟通，积极建言献策，为共同安全与发展事业奉献真知灼见。

中国著名作家巴金曾经说过，人类的希望像是一颗永恒的星，乌云掩不住它的光芒。对和平的执著追求，就是全人类的希望之星，它必将穿透动荡和冲突的阴霾，发出璀璨夺目的光辉，照耀我们美丽的家园！让我们始终坚守维护世界和平、促进共同发展的坚定信念，秉持合作、包容、开放的精神，携手开创持久和平和共同繁荣的美好未来。✎

在第五届世界和平论坛午餐会上的讲话

2016年7月16日，北京

张业遂 外交部副部长

我很高兴再次应邀出席世界和平论坛午餐会。我高兴地看到，论坛成立5年来，已发展成为一个具有影响力的国际安全论坛。

当前，世界正处在前所未有的大变革之中。一方面，和平、发展、合作、共赢是时代潮流，各国联系空前紧密，全球合作向多层次全方位拓展。另一方面，人类和平与发展也面临一系列新威胁新挑战，国际安全形势中的一些新动向值得高度关注。

局部动荡、热点问题更加突出，不断冲击地区和平稳定，引发了大规模难民潮等人道主义问题。

世界经济增长疲弱，加剧一些国家经济社会矛盾，刺激民粹主义、保护主义、排外主义思潮抬头并形成外溢效应。

恐怖极端势力向世界各地扩散，宗教极端思想借助网络手段加速蔓延，全球恐怖活动频度和烈度上升，恐怖主义危害性更加突出。中方对在法国尼斯发生的恐怖袭击事件表示强烈谴责，对事件遇难者致以深切哀悼，向事件中的受伤人员和遇难者家属表示诚挚的慰问。中国也是恐怖主义的受害者，愿意同法国以及国际社会其他成员一道，加强反恐合作，共同捍卫世界各族人民的生命安全，维护世界和平稳定。

气候变化、网络安全、公共卫生安全等问题日益突出，呈现跨国性、联动性、突发性等特点。

面对深刻演变的国际形势和复杂多元的安全威胁，正如中国国家主席习近平提出的那样，应该创新安全理念，倡导共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全。

当今世界，各国利益交织、安危与共，彼此正在结成日益紧密的命运共同体。固守冷战思维、零和博弈等旧观念，不仅无法确保

自身安全,更难以维护国际社会的长治久安。

人与人平等,社会才能和谐;国与国平等,世界才能稳定。国家不分大小、强弱、贫富,都是国际社会平等的成员,都有平等参与国际和地区安全事务的权利。要尊重各国主权、独立和领土完整,尊重各国自主选择的社会制度和发展道路。以“保护人权”等理由为名,行干涉别国内政、颠覆他国政权之实,不但难以实现和平,反而会加剧人道主义灾难,使矛盾冲突愈演愈烈。各国只有相互尊重、平等相待,才能化解矛盾和摩擦,巩固和平与安全。

历史上,新兴大国和守成大国走向对抗冲突的事例屡见不鲜。人类社会发展到今天,国与国之间相互依存、利益交融达到前所未有的广度和深度,已付不起对抗冲突的代价。坚持不冲突不对抗、相互尊重、合作共赢,就有可能跨越“修昔底德陷阱”,开创新兴大国和守成大国和平相处的新模式。

发展是安全的基石,贫瘠的土壤长不出和平的大树。应加强宏观经济政策协调,坚定不移推进贸易和投资自由化便利化,旗帜鲜明反对保护主义,致力于构建更加公平、公正、开放的世界经济体系。主要经济体在制定宏观经济政策时,不仅要考虑自身利益,也要考虑外溢性影响。要增强发展中国家自主发展能力,推动建立更加平等均衡的新型全球发展伙伴关系,使各国人民共享发展成果。

面对错综复杂的安全挑战,加强国际和地区安全机制建设势在必行。应当充分发挥联合国及其安理会在维护国际安全方面的核心作用,提升预防冲突能力,推动争端的和平解决。要在循序渐进、协商一致、照顾各方舒适度等原则指导下,探讨建立符合各区域特点的地区安全合作新架构,为维护国际和地区安全提供“保险栓”和“安全阀”。

中国一贯奉行独立自主的和平外交政策,坚定不移走和平发展道路,始终是国际和地区安全的维护者、建设者、贡献者。我们倡导并践行和平共处五项原则,不干涉别国内政,不称霸、不扩张、不谋求势力范围。我们坚定维护自身主权、安全、发展利益,同时充分尊重和照顾其他国家的正当关切和合法权益,推动构建以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系。

中国坚持以和平方式谈判解决有关分歧摩擦,与14个陆上邻国中的12个通过谈判解决了边界问题,同越南解决了北部湾划界问题。中国坚定维护以联合国宪章宗旨和原则为核心的国际秩序。作为安理会常任理事国,中国积极参与联合国维和行动,是派遣人员最多的安理会常任理事国。中国积极致力于同国际社会一道维护国际通道安全。2009年以来,中国海军累计派出23批70艘次舰船赴亚丁湾、索马里海域执行护航任务,为6000多艘中外船只提供护航。随着国家的进一步发展,中国将为国际和平与安全贡献更多的公共产品。

“一带一路”倡议是中国为世界共同繁荣发展提供的一项充满东方智慧的方案，也是以共同发展促进共同安全的创新举措，得到沿线国家普遍积极响应。中国同30多个国家签署了共建“一带一路”的合作协议，同20多个国家签署了产能合作协议，同沿线17个国家共同建设了46个境外合作区，中国企业累计投资超过140亿美元，为当地创造了6万个就业岗位。亚洲基础设施投资银行正式运营，丝路基金、中国—欧亚经济合作基金顺利组建。去年，中国同“一带一路”参与国双边贸易额突破1万亿美元。随着“一带一路”建设从开局起步向深入推进阶段迈进，我们将秉持共商、共建、共享原则，进一步加强同沿线国家发展战略对接，深化互联互通、产能合作、人文交流等重点领域合作，推进贸易和投资自由化便利化，让“一带一路”更多造福各国人民，为亚欧大陆乃至世界的和平与繁荣注入强劲动力。

中国坚决反对各种形式的恐怖主义，主张反恐应综合施策、标本兼治，反对搞“双重标准”，反对将恐怖主义同特定的国家、民族或宗教相联系。打击以“东伊运”为代表的“东突”恐怖势力，是国际反恐斗争的重要组成部分。我们支持联合国及其安理会在国际反恐合作中发挥核心作用，积极参与上海合作组织、亚太经合组织、金砖国家、东盟地区论坛、“全球反恐论坛”等框架下的反恐交流与合作，并将于今年10月在北京召开打击网络恐怖主义国际研讨会。

中国愿与各方加强网络安全对话合作，推动制定各方普遍接受的网络空间国际规则，制定网络空间国际反恐公约，健全打击网络犯罪司法协助机制，共同维护网络空间和平安全。

今年年初以来，朝鲜半岛局势持续紧张。我们坚持朝鲜半岛无核化，坚持维护半岛和平稳定，坚持通过对话协商解决问题。作为联合国安理会常任理事国，中国全面完整执行安理会有关涉朝决议，认真履行自身承担的国际责任和义务。中方提出的半岛无核化和停和机制转换并行推进的思路，既明确了无核化的大方向，又能够合理平衡地解决各方关切，有利于各方相向而行。我们愿同其他各方进一步探讨如何推进这一思路的路径和步骤，为妥善解决朝核问题、维护东北亚地区和平稳定作出贡献。

维护地区和平稳定需要各方共同努力。美国和韩国在韩国部署“萨德”反导系统，与各方实现半岛无核化、维护半岛和平稳定的努力背道而驰。“萨德”反导系统覆盖范围和反导能力远远超出实际需要，损害中国和其他域内国家的战略安全利益，将破坏地区战略平衡，加剧军事竞赛，并将对全球战略平衡和稳定带来严重冲击。我们强烈敦促美韩停止“萨德”反导系统部署进程，不要采取导致地区形势复杂化的行动。

几天前，应菲律宾前政府单方面请求建立的仲裁庭作出了所谓的裁决。对此，中国政府发布了一系列重要文件，重申了不接受、不承认仲裁裁决的严正立场。

菲律宾南海仲裁案是一个充满政治偏见的典型案例。仲裁的诉求是出于政治目的包装和单方面提起的，仲裁庭的组成是出于政治目的临时拼凑的，仲裁结果是实现政治图谋精心炮制的。可以肯定地说，菲律宾南海仲裁案完全是一场政治操作，其出发点不是为了解决中菲之间的争议，也不是为了维护南海和平与稳定。这种做法违背了法治精神，践踏了国际法和国际关系准则，在国际上开启了危险和恶劣的先例，必须引起国际社会高度警惕。

仲裁庭肆意越权和枉法裁判极具危害。其裁决充满程序、法律、证据和事实上的错误，完全没有公正性、公信力和约束力。这一裁决破坏了《联合国海洋法公约》的完整性和权威性，动摇了各国对第三方争端解决机制的信心，冲击了现代国际法和国际秩序的基础，也损害了地区和平与稳定。

中国在南海的领土主权和海洋权益不会因裁决结果受到任何影响。中国反对而且不接受任何基于该裁决的主张和行动，更不会在这一非法裁决的基础上同任何国家就南海问题进行谈判。任何人、任何国家、任何组织都不要指望通过这一仲裁结果向中方施压，动摇中国维护主权和权利、维护国际公平正义的坚定意志。中方的坚定立场，既是为了维护自身权利，也是为了践行国际法治，维护国际公平正义及《公约》的权威性和完整性。

解决南海问题，谈判协商是唯一出路。作为南海最大的沿岸国，中国着眼维护南海和平稳定的大局，着眼维护地区各国的根本利益，愿同包括菲律宾在内的有关国家在尊重历史事实的基础上，根据国际法，通过谈判协商解决有关争议。我们愿与东盟国家一道努力，全面、有效、完整落实《南海各方行为宣言》，积极推进“南海行为准则”磋商进程，大力加强海上务实合作包括共同开发，共同将南海建设成为和平之海、友谊之海、合作之海。我们希望域外国家发挥积极和建设性作用，支持有关争议通过直接谈判来解决，支持中国和东盟一起维护南海地区的和平与稳定。

践行人类命运共同体重要思想 共创世界和平与安全美好未来

——在第五届世界和平论坛晚宴上的演讲

2016年7月16日，北京

孙建国 海军上将

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今天的世界，和平、发展、合作、共赢已经成为时代的主旋律，国际社会日益成为你中有我、我中有你的命运共同体。但天下远不太平，霸权主义、强权政治、零和博弈仍未退出历史舞台，战争冲突、恐怖主义、气候变化等全球性挑战层出不穷。人类维护世界和平、促进共同发展的美好理想与现实之间仍存在着巨大鸿沟。面对这样的形势，习近平主席鲜明提出人类命运共同体重要思想。这一思想传承人类智慧，呼应时代律动，有着博大精深的理论内涵、丰富生动的实践基础、广阔持续的发展空间，在完善全球治理、维护世界安全等攸关世界前途命运的重大问题上贡献了中国智慧和中方方略。当前，国际社会正努力推动建立公正合理的共同安全秩序，积极倡导合作、包容、开放理念，这与打造人类命运共同体的主旨要义高度契合。

一、以更加宽广长远的视野促进国际合作

真诚合作、互利共赢始终是维护世界和平的根本途径，也是世界爱好和平力量孜孜以求的重大课题。中国倡导的人类命运共同体思想，主张以合作取代对抗、以共赢取代独占，正是对人类社会美好追求的时代回应。当前，国家间的联系更趋紧密，携手共进的需求更加突出，迫切需要我们深化对增进合作的认识与思考。

首先，崇尚合作应成为当今时代的生存法则。历史上，国家间的合作往往是权宜之计、策略之需；与一方的合作常常是为了与另一方的对抗。当今时代，经济全球化深入发展，社会信息化持续推

进，各国利益相互交融，安全威胁复杂联动，惟有合作才能抵御安全风险、实现共同发展。加强国际合作，不能再是一个国家利己行为的手段工具和投机选项，而应成为带有强制性的生存法则和时代要求。

其次，推进合作更需要世界大国的战略自觉。马克思、恩格斯曾深刻阐述，人类文明交往是一个不断趋于自觉的过程。通过国际合作实现持久和平，就必须增进各国推进合作的战略自觉。在此历史进程中，大国的意愿和行动具有重要的引领示范作用。当前，中国积极推动构建不冲突不对抗、相互尊重、合作共赢的中美新型大国关系，持续推进中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系深入发展，努力打造中欧和平、增长、改革、文明四大伙伴关系。站在新的历史起点上，大国之间无论守成发展和新兴发展，都应秉持更加主动的战略自觉，不断深化务实合作，共同应对风险挑战。这不仅是大国必须担负的独特历史责任，更是符合自身利益、顺应时代要求的必然选择。

第三，深化合作要摒弃一方独占的利益要求。真诚合作是相向而行的结果，互谅互让是真诚合作的前提。任何国家在追求本国利益时必须兼顾他国关切，甚至需要在一些问题上作出妥协、付出代价。早在上世纪50年代，中国政府就提出了和平共处五项原则，其实质就是反对恃强凌弱，把增进本国利益建立在侵占他国利益之上。这一思想根植于中华民族“兼爱非攻”的优秀文化，也是从中国近代百年深重苦难中发出的正义呼声。当前中国政府积极倡导人类命运共同体思想，强调建立平等相待、互商互谅的伙伴关系，与和平共处五项原则既一脉相承，又与时俱进，成为积极构建新型国际关系的根本遵循和行动指南。近年来在朝核问题上，中方做了最大的努力和付出，承担了最大的责任和压力，维护了半岛总体稳定局面。在南海问题上，中国面对持续挑衅侵权，长期保持克制忍让，坚持以对话方式处理争端，对维护局势稳定作出了突出贡献。我们真诚希望相关国家与中方一道，共同担起积累互信、确保地区和世界和平稳定的责任。

二、以更加丰富深刻的内涵增进相互包容

包容是东西方普遍赞美和追崇的人文情怀。莎士比亚说过，“包容如同天上的细雨滋润着大地。”中国文化历来推崇“海纳百川，有容乃大”的哲理。随着全球化和信息化的深入发展，多种文明同生共存、不同发展道路齐驱并进已成为鲜明的时代特征。习近平主席在人类命运共同体的论述中强调，不同文明和国家要“互学互鉴，兼收并蓄”，“推动人类文明实现创造性发展”。包容应超越意识形态和社会制度，转化为各国深化合作、增进和谐的动力源泉。

要始终保持对国际力量发展变化的正常心态。从历史上看,世界各国的发展变化往往牵动国际战略格局演变,常常容易产生误解,甚至是引发战争的重要诱因。要摆脱这一历史惯性,特别需要发展中大国与守成大国的共同努力。对于发展中大国来说,要始终坚持和平发展道路,通过自身发展促进世界繁荣稳定;对于守成大国来说,要以正常的心态客观包容看待发展中大国的发展,避免戴上有色眼镜。近年来,中国高举和平发展旗帜,依靠全体人民的艰苦奋斗,取得了举世瞩目的建设成就。中国的发展一不靠对外掠夺,二不靠损害他国利益,用世界9%的耕地和6%的淡水,解决了全球近20%人口的吃饭问题。与此同时,中国人均GDP排在世界80名后,仅为美国的1/7,按照联合国每天低于2美元的标准,还有近2亿人口要脱贫,在今后相当长的时间内,中国仍属发展中国家。尽管如此,有的国家仍把中国的发展看成威胁,对中国的发展倍感焦虑,有的人甚至坚持对华遏制战略。此等不正常的心态与包容精神完全背道而驰,任其发展,势必增加国家间的猜疑对立,甚至导致国际社会的紧张动荡。

要不断深化多方参与、兼容并蓄的对话交流。不同文明因包容而多彩,因交流而丰富;包容是交流的动力,交流又增进了包容。当今世界,各国日益重视对话交流,但不平等现象仍普遍存在,国际话语权、仲裁权受到操控,发展中国家、穷国、弱国利益时常受到侵害。这种现象影响了交流和互信,更妨碍了包容精神的培育和发展。我们主张,国家和民族不分大小、贫富、强弱,都有谋求发展、共享繁荣的平等权利,各国应在平等相待基础上,通过广泛参与、兼容并蓄的对话交流,尊重相互核心利益和重大关切,既讲历史、又讲现实,妥善处理分歧。惟有如此,才能将包容精神物化为加强战略信任与合作的实际行动,造福全人类。

要持续扩大广泛多元、增进理解的平台机制。当前,国际上各种交流平台机制种类繁多,但不少都具有结盟性、排他性,或以意识形态区分、或以发展水平划界;更有甚之,西方战略界近有人提出加强以西方价值观为内核的国际机制建设,建议用七国集团取代包容性更强的二十国集团。这种做法违背包容精神,有损公平正义,加深误解误判。我们反对狭隘封闭、由少数国家决定多数国家命运的治理模式,主张建立全面开放、广泛多元的交流机制。

三、以更加公正合理的标准引领和谐开放

近代以来,全球开放进程不断加快,促进了世界的繁荣发展,但不公正、无规则现象时有发生,既有恃强凌弱,也有以小讹大,给地区和全球稳定带来干扰

挑战。我们主张对全球开放背景下的国际行为进行反思,更好地体现国际法精神和公认的国际关系准则,努力实现公正合理、和谐有序的开放。

要公正合理践行国际规则。合理制定和公正践行国际法规是和谐开放中实现全球治理的要义,是维护世界和平稳定的基石。一直以来,中国都是现行国际法规的坚定维护者和践行者,按照国际法规基本准则,已同14个邻国中的12个国家彻底解决陆地边界问题,与越南完成北部湾海域划界。但近期所谓的南海仲裁案却混淆是非、颠倒黑白。临时仲裁庭作出所谓最终裁决,完全是在某些大国的操控唆使下,菲律宾背信弃义非法诉讼、临时仲裁庭非法裁决的一场闹剧,不具备任何法律效力,中方绝不会接受和承认。这个诉讼和裁决打着国际法的幌子,严重违背国际仲裁一般实践,完全背离《联合国海洋法公约》促进和平解决争端的目的及宗旨,严重损害《公约》的完整性和权威性,严重侵犯中国作为主权国家和《公约》缔约国的合法权利,是不公平和不合法的,是对公正合理践行国际规则的极大损害。个别国家采取合则用、不合则弃的双重标准,既不承认、不遵守相关国际法规,却又打着维护国际法的旗号充当所谓“裁判”,这种虚伪的行为更是对国际法精神的违反和侵害。我们认为,遵守和维护国际法和国际关系准则,关键是要坚决维护相关国际法理和规则的合理性、公正性、系统性。中国和其他大多数国家一样,希望有一个更加公平公正的国际法体系,各国都能够严格遵守国际法规则,为进一步优化全球开放秩序、实现共同和平发展提供有效的法治基础。

要公正合理解决现实矛盾。公平公正解决国家间的矛盾纷争,是确保平等开放交流的必要前提。地区热点问题大多有复杂的历史经纬和现实成因,只讲历史或者只讲现实,都很难找到公正合理、能为大家接受的结论和解决办法。只有将历史与现实结合起来,才能看清症结、化解纷争。例如,在南海问题上,中国既遵循历史,明确对南海诸岛及其附近海域拥有无可争辩的主权,拥有充分的历史和法理依据;也着眼现实,上世纪80年代初就从大局出发,提出“搁置争议、共同开发”,维持了南海的和平与稳定。历史已经并将继续证明,这一主张将是解决南海争端最现实、最可行、最有效的思路。同时我们也认为,在尊重历史和现实问题上,国家无论大小都负有同样重要的责任,大国不能以大欺小,中国从来没有以大欺小;小国也不能无理取闹。17年前,菲律宾将军舰搁浅在仁爱礁,一再承诺将其拖走,至今言而无信,甚至还背信弃义提出非法诉讼。是谁在滋事生非、无理取闹?事实胜于雄辩。

要公正合理判断是非曲直。混淆是非曲直,必然导致强者恃强、弱者失据,公平对等的互动开放无从谈起。在国际交往中,我们始终从事情本身的是非曲直

出发，公正合理地制定政策。但有的国家却完全根据自己的利益取舍歪曲事实，甚至搞双重标准。近年来，个别国家一方面以所谓“维护南海航行和飞越自由”为名，调集大量军事力量进入南海地区，大肆炫耀武力，对南海和平稳定构成严重威胁，另一方面却对中国在自己领土上不得不进行的正当建设横加指责。少数别有用心的人还歪曲中国的国防政策和军队建设发展，无端指责中国“以武谋霸”。实际上，中国军队的建设水平还远远落后于世界先进国家军队，中国军人人均军费只有6万多美元，与美日等数十万美元相差甚远。中国已是联合国安理会“五常”中派出维和人员最多的国家，贡献的维和经费已上升到世界第二位。当前，中国正努力推动建设与中国国际地位相称的巩固国防和强大军队，必将为地区和平与世界安全作出更大贡献。

中国军队时刻牢记枕戈待旦、捍卫和平的职责，深切期盼同舟共济、守望相助的愿景。困难的风浪再高也不能湮灭美好的憧憬，猜疑的海面再宽也不能遮蔽远大的胸怀。建设持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界是崇高而艰巨的事业。不管征程多么曲折漫长，只要各国同心打造人类命运共同体，携手构建合作共赢新伙伴，以更加包容的气度、更加开放的胸襟，建设性参与国际安全事务，努力寻求各国安全利益的最大公约数，就一定能够有效应对各种问题和挑战，防战争祸患于未然。



在第五届世界和平论坛上的午餐演讲

2016年7月17日，北京

张志军 国务院台湾事务办公室主任

很高兴出席第五届世界和平论坛并与大家分享我们对台湾问题和台海局势的看法。

一、台湾问题的由来

了解台湾问题，首先要了解两个基本事实：一是台湾是中国领土不可分割的一部分。二是，台湾问题是中国内战的遗留问题，是中国的内政。

中国人最早开发台湾，现在台湾居民的祖先，绝大多数是从中国大陆移民而来。历史上台湾虽然经历过短暂的外国殖民统治，但绝大多数时候处于中国政府的有效治理之下。台湾最后一次被殖民侵占是在1895年至1945年。1895年4月，日本以武力胁迫清朝政府签订不平等的《马关条约》，强行霸占台湾，拉开了上世纪三四十年代日本全面侵华战争的序幕。在全民族的反侵略战争中，中国政府于1941年12月宣布：所有一切条约、协定、合同有涉及中日关系者，一律废止；中国将“收复台湾、澎湖、东北四省土地”。中国收复被日本霸占领土的严正要求，得到了世界反法西斯力量的尊重和支持。1943年12月，中美英三国政府发表《开罗宣言》，明确宣布：日本应将所窃取于中国的领土，包括满洲、台湾、澎湖群岛等在内的土地，归还中国。这一立场在1945年7月发表的《波茨坦公告》中得到确认和重申。日本投降后，其对台湾50年的殖民统治得以终结，台湾回归中国。了解这段历史就容易理解，台湾是中国领土不可分割一部分的法律地位不容置疑，更不容挑战。

凡对中国共产党和中国国民党的历史恩怨有所了解的外国朋

友，都不难理解今天的台湾问题是中国内战的遗留问题。抗战胜利后不久，国民党统治集团发动全面内战，失败后退踞台湾。1949年，中华人民共和国成立，取代中华民国政府成为全中国的唯一合法政府和在国际上的唯一合法代表，并着手进行统一台湾的准备。1950年6月，朝鲜战争爆发，美国即派遣第七舰队入侵台湾海峡，公然以武力阻扰中国统一进程，使中国内战遗留问题的解决被拖延。

1949年以来，尽管大陆与台湾尚未统一，但两岸同属一个中国的事实没有改变，中国的主权和领土完整并未改变。世界上只有一个中国，台湾是中国领土不可分割的一部分，这一主张已为绝大多数国家和联合国等国际组织普遍接受。作为中国内部事务，台湾问题理应由两岸中国人自己来解决，任何外来势力都没有权利插手干涉。

二、两岸关系发展历程和启示

1949年以来，两岸关系发展历经曲折、跌宕起伏。两岸曾经长期处于军事对峙、政治对立状态。1987年，两岸同胞打破隔绝状态，开始相互往来。1992年，两岸双方授权民间团体海协会和台湾海基会通过在香港商谈和互致函电，达成了各自以口头方式表述“海峡两岸均坚持一个中国原则”的共识，为日后两岸关系全面发展奠定了政治基础。这一共识后来被称为“九二共识”。

在两岸关系得到改善的同时，“台独”分裂势力也在不断制造麻烦。上世纪90年代，台湾地区领导人李登辉背弃一个中国原则，抛出“两国论”，引发台海危机。2000—2008年，民进党的陈水扁在台执政期间，不断升级“台独”分裂活动，甚至谋求“台湾法理独立”，使两岸关系高度紧张动荡，走到战争边缘，两岸同胞深受其害。

2008年5月，国民党在台湾重新上台执政，两岸双方共同确认坚持“九二共识”、反对“台独”的共同政治基础，开辟了两岸关系和平发展道路，两岸关系面貌发生了历史性变化。

一是扭转了台海紧张动荡局面，保持了台海和平稳定。

二是两岸双方建立起政治互信，实现了两岸领导人历史性会面。继2014年国台办和台湾方面陆委会建立常态化联系沟通机制之后，2015年11月7日，中共中央总书记、国家主席习近平同台湾方面领导人马英九在新加坡会面，就推进两岸关系和平发展，致力民族复兴交换看法，达成积极共识。向世界表明，两岸双方可以在一个中国原则基础上，通过和平方式，在推进两岸关系和平发展的进程中逐步解决政治分歧，维护台海和平稳定；两岸中国人完全有能力、有智慧解决好自

己的问题。

三是两岸协商取得积极成果。在“九二共识”基础上，海协会与台湾海基会重启中断近10年的制度性协商机制，举行了11次商谈，签署了23项合作协议，解决了许多关乎两岸同胞切身利益的实际问题。

四是经济合作成果丰硕。两岸签署并实施经济合作框架协议（ECFA），两岸经济合作扩大深入，相互投资贸易快速增长。近年来两岸贸易额增至1900亿美元的历史新高。大陆已经是台湾最大贸易伙伴、出口市场和顺差来源地。

五是两岸人员往来和各领域交流更加密切。两岸人员往来激增，2015年达到986万人次；大陆居民赴台旅游达350万人次。两岸文化、教育、宗教、青年、妇女等各领域交流蓬勃发展。

六是通过两岸务实沟通，妥善处理了台湾参与一些国际组织活动问题，大大减少两岸涉外内耗。

从2008年之前和之后两岸关系发展的不同境遇中，我们可以得到很多有益启示。其中最重要的是，一个中国原则是两岸关系的定海神针。坚持这一原则，两岸关系就能稳定发展、台海就可以保持和平安宁。背离这一原则，台海就会险象环生，就可能出大乱子。我们一再强调“九二共识”的重要性，就在于它体现了一个中国原则，清晰界定了两岸关系的性质，表明两岸不是国与国的关系。它解决了两岸关系中双方是在和谁打交道的问题，为两岸双方破解难题，推进各领域交流合作奠定了基础。它是过去8年两岸关系和平发展丰硕成果和台海和平稳定之关键。

三、当前两岸关系形势

今年以来，台湾政局发生重大变化，对两岸关系和台海局势产生重大影响，引发人们对两岸关系发展前景的担忧。

人们的担忧不无道理。因为他们看到：一个坚持“台独”立场的政党在台湾上台执政。人们对民进党上一次执政期间竭力推行“台独”导致台海局势动荡记忆犹新，对该党2008年以来在野期间在两岸关系中扮演的阻挠破坏角色感受深切。

虽然民进党当局领导人声称将持续推动两岸关系和平稳定发展，但在两岸同胞最关切的两岸关系性质这一根本问题上态度模糊，拒绝承认“九二共识”和认同其两岸同属一中的核心意涵，破坏了8年来两岸关系和平发展的政治基础。

人们从台湾新当局的政策宣示和行动中更注意到，其从政治上、经济上、文化上等各方面弱化和切断台湾同大陆历史连结的战略取向。

台湾新当局的所作所为导致了两岸制度化沟通和协商谈判机制的中断，导致

了两岸关系气氛的逆转，影响到两岸诸多领域交流合作的持续推进，使两岸关系增添了不确定性和风险。

四、我们的对台方针政策

在两岸关系趋于复杂严峻之际，许多外国朋友十分关注我们对台态度和方针政策。今年以来，我们党和国家领导人多次发表重要讲话，强调我们的对台大政方针是明确的、一贯的，不会因为台湾局势的变化而改变，宣示了我们党和政府以及全国人民反对“台独”、维护国家主权和领土完整的坚定意志和决心，也表明了大陆方面愿意继续在“九二共识”基础上维护两岸关系和平发展和台海和平稳定的真诚愿望。在此，我强调三点。

第一，我们将继续坚持体现一中原则的政治基础，维护和推进两岸关系和平发展，争取国家和平统一的前景。事实证明，在“九二共识”基础上开辟的两岸关系和平发展是一条维护台海和平、造福两岸同胞、通向和平统一的光明大道。两岸应该坚定不移地沿着这条道路走下去。无论台湾哪个政党、团体，无论其过去主张过什么，只要承认“九二共识”的历史事实，认同其核心意涵，我们都愿意同其交往，共同推进两岸关系和平发展。

第二，我们将坚决维护国家主权和领土完整，遏制任何形式的“台独”分裂行径，粉碎任何将台湾从祖国分裂出去的图谋。中国人民对历史上民族弱乱时倍受外敌欺凌、国破山河碎有着极其深刻的记忆，对维护国家统一、绝不允许国家被分裂有着坚如磐石的意志和始终如一的态度。今年7月1日，习近平总书记在庆祝中国共产党成立95周年大会上再次宣示了反对“台独”的坚定立场，清晰划出了一条红线。会场响起长时间的热烈掌声，彰显了全体中华儿女的共同心愿和坚定意志。历史将继续证明：“台独”是没有出路的！

第三，我们将继续推进两岸各领域交流合作，为两岸同胞谋福祉。两岸同胞是命运与共的骨肉兄弟，是血浓于水的一家人。我们愿意继续同台湾同胞分享大陆发展机遇，推动两岸经济社会融合。只要是有利于增进两岸同胞感情和福祉的事，只要是有利于推动两岸关系和平发展的事，只要是有利于维护中华民族整体利益的事，我们都会尽力去做。

两岸关系走向攸关两岸民众的切身利益，攸关中华民族的未来，没有人比我们更希望维护台海和平稳定与两岸关系和平发展，我们将坚持不懈为此付出努力。希望国际社会和有关国家继续恪守一个中国政策，理解和支持中国政府和中国人民维护台海和平稳定、推进两岸关系和平发展、实现祖国统一的正义事业。