Follow the Guidance of Xi Jinping Thought On Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for A New Era to Break New Ground in China’s Foreign Relations

By Wang Yi*

I

The Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era laid out in the report of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) is a major theoretical innovation by our Party, and the latest achievement and a significant advancement of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context. It provides a strong theoretical framework and guideline for the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era. It will inspire the Chinese people to make big strides toward a great modern socialist country and blaze a path of steady and sustained development. It will show the world the bright prospects of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and underline the global significance of China’s development and the far-reaching impact of China’s path.

China’s diplomatic work is an integral part of

* Wang Yi is Foreign Minister of the People’s Republic of China.
the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The report delivered by General Secretary Xi Jinping at the 19th Party Congress lays out a master plan for China’s foreign policy in the new era. It provides an incisive review of the major diplomatic achievements of the past five years, and sets out the direction and tasks of China’s foreign policy in the years ahead. The report, integrating innovations in practice and theory, outlines a series of major policy initiatives on China’s external relations, the international order and global governance, which have enriched the theoretical framework of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. Keeping pace with the changing times and offering fresh and farsighted ideas, the report serves as a guide to action for China’s diplomatic work in the new era.

The centerpiece of the foreign policy sections of the report is to build a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind. By giving a coherent answer to important questions such as what our world should be like, what kind of foreign policy China needs, what is the best way to build state-to-state ties, and how to explore a better future for mankind, these sections articulate a new vision, put forward a new mission, and open a new vista for China’s foreign relations in the new era.

The vision of a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind is rooted in China’s rich history, culture, policies and diplomatic practice.

This vision emanates from our Party’s historical mission. General Secretary Xi Jinping proclaims in the report that “the Communist Party of China strives for both the wellbeing of the Chinese people and human progress. To make new and great
contributions for mankind is our Party’s abiding mission”. These words highlight the sense of mission, global vision and concern for the world among members of the CPC. They underline our Party’s commitment to pursuing happiness for not just the people of China but also the people of the world and our Party’s internationalist approach ever since its founding. This is an important distinction that sets our Party apart from many political parties of other countries and a key principle China must always follow in developing external relations.

This vision derived from China’s great cultural heritage. The Chinese nation, in its more than 5,000-year history, has created a splendid civilization, which values love and empathy, non-aggression, neighbourliness, peace, and harmony without uniformity, and sees the world as one community. These values have shaped China’s guiding philosophy in foreign affairs and reflect Chinese wisdom in handling contemporary international relations.

This vision encapsulates the fine tradition of China’s foreign relations. Since the founding of the People’s Republic, our Party has put forward a series of foreign policy initiatives and strategic guidelines in the day-to-day diplomatic practice. We advocated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, pursued friendship and cooperation with other countries, and promoted the common development of all countries while seeking our own development. All this is widely appreciated and supported by the international community and creates even brighter prospects for China’s peaceful development.

This vision grows naturally from the latest practice of
China’s major-country diplomacy. Since the 18th Party Congress five years ago, General Secretary Xi Jinping, with a keen understanding of the trend of the times and the world, has been personally involved in China’s foreign affairs, and proposed a whole set of new thinking, measures and strategies, under the guidance of which China’s foreign policy has developed a distinct vision, approach and style, and made comprehensive and historic achievements never before seen. China has calmly responded to the transformation of the international landscape, fully engaged in global affairs and major international initiatives, and provided China’s input and proposals. China has been building a global network of partnerships and working hard to implement the Belt and Road Initiative to contribute more public goods welcomed by the international community. China has assumed more international responsibilities and fulfilled its due obligations as a major and responsible country by taking on global challenges and endeavoring to improve global governance. China’s diplomatic actions over the past five years speak volumes about a China that works for peace and justice, contributes to human progress, and advances with the times in both theory and practice.

Building a community with a shared future for mankind, a proposal that fits the trend of world development and the common aspirations of all peoples, thus represents a central mission for China’s foreign policy in the new era.

In today’s world, peace and development remain the overriding trend. However, mankind is confronted with many common challenges resulting from turbulence, conflicts and imbalances. “No country can address alone the many challenges facing mankind, no country can afford to retreat into self-
People around the world hope to embrace a new vision that responds to the call of the times and promotes harmony among nations.

Building a community with a shared future for mankind is such a vision. It responds to the urgent call and long-standing pursuit of the international community for peace, development, cooperation and progress. It points out the right way forward in addressing current security and development challenges and promoting sound development of international relations. It guides China’s diplomacy in responding to the development trend of the times and standing on a moral high ground.

Building a community with a shared future for mankind is a crystallization of innovations in the theory of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. It has drawn on the culture and wisdom of both China and other countries, and seeks to integrate China’s development with that of the world. In his report to the 19th National Party Congress, General Secretary Xi Jinping called upon people of all countries to work together and build an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world that enjoys lasting peace, universal security and common prosperity. He also outlined the pathway toward that goal.

To achieve lasting peace is to replace Cold War mentality and power politics with mutual respect, equal consultation and harmonious co-existence.

To achieve universal security means fostering a vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, resolving disputes and differences through dialogue and
consultation and removing security threats through cooperation.

To achieve common prosperity, countries are encouraged to draw on each other’s strength, and work for the rebalancing of economic globalization, common development and progress through mutual assistance and mutually reinforcing efforts.

To build an open and inclusive world means staying committed to open development and cultural diversity rather than seclusion, isolation or estrangement, and advocating exchange and mutual learning between countries and cultures.

To build a clean and beautiful world emphasizes environmental and ecological protection, as well as cooperation in addressing climate change with a view to protecting planet Earth.

Building a community with a shared future for mankind is an important vision put forward by the CPC. It has demonstrated our Party’s readiness and ability to make even bigger contribution to resolving the issues and promoting progress and development of mankind.

Fostering a new type of international relations is first and foremost about taking a new approach to developing state-to-state relations, which will pave the way for building a community with a shared future for mankind. In this endeavor, we need to adhere to the following three key principles, i.e. mutual respect, fairness and justice, and win-win cooperation.

Mutual respect is the prerequisite. Countries, regardless
of their size, strength and wealth, all stand as equals. Different systems, religions and cultures should be treated equally. It is important to respect countries’ differences in history, culture, tradition and the context of their development stage. It is imperative to respect each other’s core interests and major concerns as well as the independent choices of the people.

Given the differences in political system and development path of various countries, none should be regarded as the only choice, nor should we mechanically copy others. Countries and regions need to enhance interactions to diffuse misgivings and build consensus, hence achieving their own growth and prosperity and contributing to the progress of mankind as well.

Fairness and justice are norms of behavior among countries. By following the trend of the history, we need to rise above the laws of the jungle and oppose interference in other countries’ internal affairs or imposition of one’s own will on others. It is important to support the UN in playing a central role in international affairs, observe the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and adhere to international law and universally recognized norms governing international relations. Efforts should be made to build a more just and equitable international order by supporting the greater say and representation of developing countries in international affairs.

Win-win cooperation is the goal. No country can stand aloof from the global challenges of terrorism, cyber insecurity and climate change. With the future of all countries closely connected and our interests intertwined, the only right choice is to meet the risks and challenges together and work for mutual
benefit and common development. It is imperative to rise above
the outdated thinking of categorizing countries into hierarchical
groupings or blocs, and reject the zero-sum game and winner-
take-all mentality. Countries need to expand converging interests
and meet challenges together, with a view to upholding peace and
promoting development.

To build a new type of international relations and a
community with a shared future for mankind represents China’s
continuity and progress in its pursuit of peaceful development.
Representing our vision and aspiration for a better world, it forms
a natural connection between the Chinese dream and the dream
of the world.

This vision, having transcended the differences between
nationalities, political parties and systems, reflects the biggest
common interests of all countries and the common values of
mankind, hence being echoed and supported by more and more
countries. By facilitating communication between countries, it
will help forge sound international relations featuring efforts to
seek common ground while putting aside differences, harmony
without uniformity, mutual benefit and win-win cooperation.

II

As we implement General Secretary Xi Jinping’s thought on
diplomacy, it is important for us to have a keen understanding of
what a new type of international relations and a community with
a shared future for mankind are essentially about. To undertake
this central mission, we must have a comprehensive grasp of the
new ideas, new thinking and new strategies of China’s foreign
policy covering different areas and different fronts. We must identify clear priorities and make coordinated and all-round progress on a path toward greater national strength, one different from that followed by traditional powers. That is a responsibility to mankind’s progress that history assigns to China as a major socialist country. It is also a historical mission of our Party as we strive for political advancement of mankind.

Partnership is an important pathway to a new type of international relations. Those who share the same ideal and follow the same path can be partners; those who seek common ground while reserving differences can also be partners. Embracing an approach of dialogue and partnership instead of confrontation or alliance, China has forged partnerships of various forms with about 100 countries, regions and regional organizations. Those partnerships cover different parts of the world and different types of countries through a multi-dimensional and multi-layered network. China will pursue greater convergence of interests with other countries and work for a framework of major-country relations featuring overall stability and balanced development. It will deepen relations with its neighbors in accordance with the principle of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness and with the policy of pursuing friendship and partnership. The emphasis on friendship, justice and good faith is a defining feature of new China’s diplomacy that reflects its core values. So China will stay committed to the principle of upholding justice while pursuing shared interests and that of sincerity, real results, affinity and good faith as it works to enhance solidarity and cooperation with other developing countries to safeguard and advance common interests.
The Belt and Road Initiative is a good example of China’s commitment to building a community with a shared future for mankind. China will stick to the principle of pursuing shared benefits through consultation and collaboration in the implementation of the outcomes of the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation. Efforts will be made to form greater synergy between development strategies of different countries, tap the complementarity of countries with their respective strengths, and deliver key programs and projects. This way, the Belt and Road Initiative will grow into a joint enterprise for all participating countries, a grand symphony, so to speak.

Opening-up must be upheld as a fundamental national policy of China for a long time to come. As a firm supporter of free trade, China will keep its door open to achieve greater development. It will also advocate an open world economy, and uphold and strengthen the multilateral trading regime by promoting FTA arrangements, regional economic integration, and trade and investment liberalization and facilitation. China will continue to support other developing countries in capacity building for greater self-development. That will help narrow the North-South gap, make economic globalization a more open, inclusive and balanced process that delivers win-win outcomes to all, and secure robust and sustainable growth of the world economy.

As a responsible major country, China will stay fully and deeply engaged in global governance, and stand for the sharing of responsibilities as well as benefits. Guided by the vision on development, security, civilization and governance put forward by General Secretary Xi Jinping, China will take an active part
in the reform of the global governance system and steer it in the right direction. To be specific, China will support a greater role by the UN, the G20, APEC, the SCO, BRICS and other frameworks, and push forward the implementation of the 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development and the Paris Agreement on climate change. China will also actively participate in rule-making in such frontier areas as the ocean, polar affairs and cyberspace to increase China’s role and influence in agenda-setting and rule-making in global affairs.

It must be pointed out that China’s call for building a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind is a natural extension of China’s efforts to pursue its own development and consistent with China’s need to protect its legitimate rights and interests. China will stay firmly committed to following an independent path of peaceful development, to safeguarding its sovereignty, security and development interests, and to properly resolving disputes through dialogue and negotiation. We will unequivocally stand for the one China principle, oppose and forestall any separatist attempt at “Taiwan independence”, and oppose any external interference into China’s internal affairs. We will stay true to our abiding mission of serving the people through effective foreign relations and go all out to safeguard China’s legitimate interests overseas. This is what people would naturally expect from China’s foreign policy in the new era.

Our diplomatic efforts and achievements over the past five years demonstrate both the confidence and the ability of the CPC to achieve remarkable development at home while working with others for common development. We can offer not only Chinese
wisdom to mankind’s exploration for a better social system but also a new pathway to modernization for other developing countries. As we study and act on the guiding principles laid out at the 19th Party Congress, it is important that we reaffirm confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics, exchange governance experience with other countries, tell good stories about China in the new era, and promote the fine traditional Chinese culture. This way, we can win greater international understanding and appreciation of China’s development path and foreign policy, and increase China’s moral appeal and international influence.

As the tide of the times surges forward, so does the development of China. Our country is conquering waves and forging ahead with unprecedented confidence, courage and perseverance. We must rally even more closely around the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core and follow the spirit of the 19th Party Congress and Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics as a source of strength. We will keep up with the times and strive for continued progress on a new journey of China’s foreign policy in the new era. We will take concrete steps to make new contribution to national rejuvenation of China and to peace and development of mankind.
China-US Relations at a New Era: Striving for Progresses While Maintaining Stabilities

By Yang Jiemian*

The year of 2017 is another eventful one in China-US relations. At the beginning of the year Mr. Donald Trump became the 45th President of the United States with unconventional concepts, principles and plans for American domestic and foreign agendas. At the end of the year, President Trump put forward a New US National Security Strategy for a New Era, that makes China a rivalry to the US. In October the Communist Party of China convened its 19th National Congress (hence “the CPC 19th Congress”) that endorsed Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, that charted a new blueprint for major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, and that China will promote coordination and cooperation with other major countries and work to build a framework for major country relations featuring overall stability and balanced development. Therefore, the two countries are starting a new leg of the journey of China-US relations.

* Yang Jiemian is former President of Shanghai Institutes for International Studies.
China-US relations often coincide with major changes in their respective own countries as well as in the Asia-Pacific region and the world at large. China and the United States formally established diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979, which coincided with China’s launching of Reform and Opening-up. Once again, China and the United States cooperated closely against international terrorism in the wake of “9/11” in 2001 and the global financial crisis in 2008, both of which exerted great impacts on international relations at defining times. As the CPC 19th National Congress pointed out, at present the world is undergoing major developments, transformation, and adjustment. Confronting these new developments, China formulated the guideline of striving for progresses while maintaining stabilities to usher China-US relations into a new stage of consultation, cooperation and competition.

While meeting President Trump at Mar-a-Largo, Florida, on April 6, 2017 President Xi stressed that sound China-US relations will not only benefit the two countries and the two peoples, but the world at large, and that there are a thousand reasons to make China-US relations a success, but not a single reason to break it. Therefore, it is of great importance to examine how the two presidents and countries could match up each other under the new internal and external circumstances.

I. The US Presidential election and China-US relations. The US presidential elections often bring turbulence to China-US relations. This is especially so because of the division in America and Trump’s personal factor. To summarize what the China-US relations went through in the US election year, we may draw the following three features.
First, China and the United States have been trying to redefine their relations in the new contexts. In the face of new changes and challenges, China is readjusting its relations with the United States. China continues to stress the very nature of its relations with the United States. China holds this relationship is the one between the largest developing country and the strongest developed one. China further points out that, being the Number One and Two of the global economies, China and the United States shoulder special responsibilities. President Xi Jinping pointed out in his congratulatory message to Trump’s election on November 9, 2016 that as the biggest developing country and the biggest developed country respectively, as well as the top two economies in the world, China and the US bear special and important responsibilities in maintaining world peace and stability, and promoting global development and prosperity, as well as share broad common interests. As a matter of fact, China has been more on a major country’s standing to define its relations with the United States.

Trump’s view on US-China relations are developed on the criticism of his predecessors while gradually building up its own. In the Obama years, the United States tried hard to contain China’s rapid rise by holding to the world leadership and advocating the Rebalancing Strategy in the Asia-Pacific region. While seeing the failure of this dual strategy against China, the American political forces and strategists during the campaign, tried to find a new and better way to deal with China. On one hand, during the presidential campaign, Ms. Hillary Clinton advocated to be firm but wise with China, a rival to the US, and she would work with allies to promote strong rules of the road and institutions in Asia, and press China to play by the rules—including in cyberspace, on currency, human rights, trade, territorial disputes, and climate change—and hold it
accountable if it does not, while working with China where it is in our interest. On the other hand, Candidate Trump attacked China for business cheating and job stealing, tried to test the non-negotiability of the one-China principle, and reversed the strategic triangular among the United States, Russia and China by uniting with Russia and pressing on China. But the later developments showed that Mr. Trump and his main advisors made wrong calculation and had to change their original China policy to more realistic and accommodating one.

Second, China and the United States have been adopting different approaches to the non-interference in internal affairs. China believed in non-interference in internal affairs and reexamined its policies to the United States. Furthermore, China took no position to either candidates and had no interests in exploiting the American political infighting for the immediate gains. Therefore, China was calm enough to react effectively to Trump’s election whereas some governments paid a price for their open declaration of predicting Hillary’s winning the election. This calm and detached approach pays off in the end.

President-elect Trump took a call from the Chinese Taiwan’s leader, Ms. Tsai Ing-wen, on December 2, 2016. This is the first phone-conversation in decades between a Taiwanese leader and a US President or President-elect since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States. On December 12, 2016 the President-elect Trump said on “Fox News Sunday”: “I fully understand the ‘one China’ policy, but I don’t know why we have to be bound by a ‘one China’ policy unless we make a deal with China having to do with other things, including trade.” China’s reaction was firm but measured. The next day, the Foreign Ministry
Spokesman Geng Shuang strongly reacted and said: “We have noted the report and lodged solemn representations with the party concerned in the US.” “The one China principle is the political basis of the China-US relationship. We urge the relevant party in the US to honor its commitment to the one China policy and the principles of the three joint communiqués, and properly deal with Taiwan-related issues in a discreet manner, so as to avoid unnecessary disruptions to the overall China-US relationship.”

Third, China and the United States have been able to establish direct and effective contacts. When Mr. Trump was elected, the two sides immediately set in motion for communication. The two presidents expressed their desires to keep China-US relations on the right track. The two sides kept high level contacts with frequent visits and serious talks aiming at stable and effective transition from the Obama administration to the Trump one. Thus, the two countries avoided the initial shock to China-US relations.

II. The trends of China-US relations have generally been stable and cooperative in the first year of the Trump administration. It has been generally believed that China and the United States have avoided a head-on collision overshadowed by Candidate Trump’s bellicose words against China during the campaign. The main reasons are as follows:

First, China and the United States try to look at and deal with China-US relations from a strategic and long-term perspective. The election of Mr. Trump as the US president coincided with the 45th anniversary of the ice-breaking visit to China by President Nixon. At the beginning of his first meeting with President Trump at Mar-a-Largo resort, Florida on April 6, 2017, President Xi pointed out:
Since the normalization of China-US relations 45 years ago, though bilateral relations have undergone ups and downs, yet it has made historic progress and brought enormous practical benefits to the two peoples. How to further develop China-US relations in the next 45 years? It is a question requires deep thinking, and the leaders of the two countries should make political decisions and historic commitments. At the welcoming banquet in honor of the visiting President Trump in Beijing on November 9, 2017, President Xi Jinping emphasized that President Donald Trump’s visit to China carries important historical significance. “In the past two days, President Donald Trump and I have drawn up a blueprint for the development of China-US relations in the coming years.”

On the American side, President Trump does not only want to make America Great Again, but also to be a landmark president as such predecessors as George Washington, Franklin Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan. President Trump tries to reverse the down-turns of the United States and find effective way to cope with China’s rise. Therefore, the Trump administration echoed China’s calling for long-term visions, but with different perspectives. When putting China-US relations against broader backgrounds, President Trump shows a self-contradictionary duality. On the one hand, he knows that the US needs to cooperate with China. On the other hand, President Trump is concerned about China’s rising to challenge the US global leadership and makes China as a vital and strategic competitor. Before the expanded bilateral meeting with President Xi Jinping in Beijing on November 9, 2017 President Trump made the following remarks: “I just want to thank you for the very warm welcome, and I look forward to many years of success and friendship, working together to solve not only our problems but world problems, and problems of great danger and security.”
Second, China puts cooperation first but the US does not abandon competition and confrontation. China still takes it as its primary task to create favorable environments for the national rejuvenation and modernization. Therefore, China needs to work with the United States for both domestic and international reasons. China wants and stresses that cooperation is the only correct way for China-US relations. At Mar-a-Largo, President Xi Jinping pointed out that there are a thousand reasons to make China-US relations a success, but not a single reason to break it. At the CPC 19th National Congress in October 2017, President Xi set a two-stage plan to make China a socialist country that is strong and beautiful by the mid-21st Century. Obviously, cooperative China-US relations would help the realization of China’s historical goals whereas confrontation will be obstructing and damaging.

President Trump’s position on competition is deep-rooted. He believes that the world is full of competition as stated in the NSS report. Furthermore, his businessman’s background drives him for maximum benefits through financial competition. Therefore, President Trump wants to extract the most in China-US economic relations. He could talk about cooperation when the situation requires him so. But President Trump and his administration would not hesitate to impose pressures on China in such cases as trade negotiation and strategic definings.

Third, China and the United State strove for effective communications to handle their relations. Despite their differences the two countries attach great importance to high level and effective communications between them. The two countries have maintained good communications at summit and high levels. At the summit level, the two presidents met thrice in 2017 respectively at Mar-a-
Largo in May, Hamburg in July and Beijing in November. They also have phone calls on a monthly base to exchange views on the matters of mutual concerns. At the summit meeting in Beijing on November 9, 2017, both sides agreed to continue giving play to the strategic leading role of diplomatic activities between the two heads of state in developing China-US relations.

On the high levels of mutual visits, the Chinese State Councilor Yang Jiechi paid two visits to the United States respectively in February and September, 2017. US Secretary of State Tillerson visited China in March and September, 2017. All of their visits were aiming at making preparation for the mutual visits of the two presidents. According to the Mar-a-Largo decision, Marine Corps General Joseph Dunford, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, visited China in August, 2017. During the visit, the two militaries signed the framework to build a new communication mechanism for their joint staff departments. The Chinese host arranged him a visit to the PLA’s Northern Theater Command whose terms of reference covers the Korean Peninsula.

As regards the institutional mechanisms, China and the United States agreed to launch four high level dialogue mechanisms. The two sides managed to have the first round of all the four dialogues before President Trump’s visit to Beijing in November 2017.

The first diplomatic and security dialogue. On June 21, 2017, Chinese State Councilor Yang Jiechi co-chaired the first China-US diplomatic and security dialogue in Washington D.C. with Secretary of State Tillerson and Secretary of Defense Mattis of the US. Both sides believed that the first China-US diplomatic and security dialogue is constructive and fruitful. They agreed to continue to
make full use of this platform, constantly enhance mutual trust, expand consensus, promote cooperation, handle and control disputes, so as to let this platform play a positive role in promoting China-US relations for greater development.

The first China-U.S. Comprehensive Economic Dialogue (CED). It was held in Washington D.C. On July 19, 2017. The Chinese Vice Premier Wang Yang and US Treasury Secretary Mnuchin and Commerce Secretary Ross were the co-chairs. A candid and friendly spirit prevailed in the CED. The two sides recognize win-win cooperation is the principle of their commercial relations, dialogue and consultation the approach to problems, and communication on their major economic policies an important way in their dialogue and cooperation. The two sides agreed that their economic teams will take follow-up actions to identify issues in the one-year plan and its early harvest to consolidate dialogue outcomes and give commercial relations a better role to play as the “ballast” and “propeller” in overall bilateral relations.

The first US-China Social and Cultural Dialogue (SCD). Chinese Vice Premier Liu Yandong and US Secretary of State Tillerson co-chaired the SCD in Washington, DC on September 28, 2017. In their joint statement issued on September 29, 2017 the two sides hold: “The SCD showcases how our peoples can live together for the next 50 years and build a shared future. Together, we can nurture greater connections between our scholars, scientists, students, journalists, and non-governmental leaders for the benefit of our two countries and the world.”

The first Law Enforcement and Cyber-security Dialogue. It was held in Washington, DC on October 4. The meeting was co-chaired
by visiting State Councilor Guo Shengkun, also minister of public security, US Attorney General Jeff Sessions and Acting Secretary for Homeland Security Elaine Duke. During the meeting, the two sides reached broad consensus on issues of counter-terrorism, counter-narcotics, cyber-security, repatriation and immigration.

III. President Trump’s visit to China. Since Mao-Nixon meeting in 1972, summits have always played important roles in promoting China-US relations. However, given the special situation, President Trump’s first state visit to China has the following significances and impacts:

First, rounds of mutual gearing-up helped the visit result in significant outcomes. President Trump’s first state visit to China on November 8-10, 2017 is an on-going process and its outcomes should be understood accordingly. Actually Trump’s state visit is a result of joint efforts started on Day One upon President Trump’s election with three rounds of China-US gearing-ups.

The first round runs from November 8, 2016 to February 9, 2017. This round was the initial gearing-up between the two countries as Candidate Trump’s election rhetoric attacking China and President-elect Trump’s phone talks with Ms. Tsai on December 4, 2016, which cast shadows on the future China-US relations. After Chinese strong criticism and persuasion, President Trump finally wrote to President Xi on February 8, 2017 to promise on One China policy, thus removing a major obstacle for the two presidents’ direct communication and interaction. The next day, the two presidents had a very cordial phone conversation, during which President Trump stressed that he fully understands the importance for the US government to adhere to the one-China policy and that the US
government firmly upholds the one-China policy. At a joint press meeting with the visiting Japanese Prime Minister Abe on February 10, President Trump spoke highly of his telephone conversations with President Xi the previous night by saying: “It was a very, very warm conversation. I think we are on the process of getting along very well.”

The second round is between February 10 and April 7, 2017 symbolized by the Mar-a-Largo informal summit. This summit also started the process that resulted in President Trump’s state visit to China. The Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi disclosed the details of the two presidents’ interaction at the Mar-a-Largo as follows: “President Trump said that China owns great and amazing civilization. President Xi Jinping led China to make many achievements, which wins respects of the world. He had a pleasant time with President Xi Jinping and established extraordinary friendship. He is willing to continually cooperate with President Xi Jinping. President Donald Trump accepted President Xi Jinping’s invitation for a state visit to China later this year.”

The third round is from May 7 through to November 10, 2017. This is a period that the two sides tried to carry out cooperation agreed at Mar-a-Largo, and that they worked out more strategic and doable plans for the present and future China-US relations. There saw many meetings include Xi-Trump meeting on the sideline of G20 Hamburg summit on July 8, 2017. Senior officials on both sides were busy preparing the deliverable for President Trump’s state visit to China.

President Trump was the first foreign head of state visiting China after the CPC 19th National Congress. Moreover, he was also
the first head of state to call President Xi Jinping at the conclusion of the Party Congress, and it was indeed the first time for an American President to do so. President Trump’s visit to China was constructive and fruitful. During the visit, President Xi Jinping and President Donald Trump held in-depth exchanges of views and reached important consensus, which set the tone and direction for our relationship. The two Presidents agreed to stay in close contact with each other to provide strategic guidance for the China-U.S. relationship. The two sides decided to enhance high-level exchanges and make best use of high-level dialogue mechanisms. The two sides agreed to expand mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields and manage possible differences on the basis of mutual respect. The two sides agreed to promote mutual understanding and friendship between our two great peoples and promote even better cooperation at sub-national levels. The two sides agreed to join hands in response to various global, international and regional issues, in particular the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula. The two sides also signed a number of business deals of over 250 billion dollars.

Second, one should never underestimate President Trump’s back-steps. President Trump made certain back-steps which reduce the visit’s positive and constructive significance. As soon as he left China, he directed the Trade Representative to impose 301 investigations on China. The United States and European Union joined the chorus to deny China’s market economy status. Furthermore, he signed the National Security Strategy that names China as rival and strategic competitor.

These back-steps come from a combination of various reasons. Most of all, the Trump administration stays on the track of rival-driven and paranoid of enemy-pushing. It could not move out of
the Cold War mentality and is being driven by zero sum game in its dealings with China. Besides, the Trump administration still deems China as a main challenge to its global leadership and holds that China tries to overhaul the current international system led by the United States. Confronting China’s rapidly and continuously enhanced national strength, the United States is gravely concerned that China’s potential is fast turning into reality. In addition, the Trump administration believes in power, the so-called principled realism. According to its logic, many Americans believe in Thucydides’ Trap and pre-empt China’s rise. Last but not least, the backlashes of the American establishment. The anti-Trump coalition launched large-scale of denouncement against his visit to China. The Trump administration is under great pressure and has to show its toughness towards China. Once again, President Trump’s visit to China became another typical case of US duality in its approaches and attitudes towards US-China relations.

Finally, the summit outcomes gave out many positive signals. Once again, the Beijing summit shows that, so long as the two countries could stay on the right track of cooperation instead of confrontation, China and the United States could find the way to expand their commonalities and reduce differences.

For instance, the summit reaffirmed the principle of cooperation under the new circumstance. President Xi Jinping emphasized that China-US relations are now at a new starting point in history. China is willing to work with the US to respect each other, benefit each other, focus on cooperation and properly manage differences, so as to bring more sense of gain to the two peoples as well as people of the region and the world. President Trump expressed that the US-China relations are great. Cooperation between the US and China
conforms to the fundamental interests of both countries and is of great importance in resolving major global issues. He is willing to keep close communication with President Xi Jinping to promote the in-depth development of US-China relations and push for closer cooperation between the two countries in international affairs.

Another example is the North Korean nuclear issue. Some people believe that there was little progress on the Korean Peninsula nuclear issue during the visit. But the two Presidents reaffirmed their commitment to a denuclearized and peaceful Korean Peninsula, and their determination to fully implement all the United Nations Security Council resolutions and seek a diplomatic solution to the problem. This is a very important and strong signal, and hopefully a solution to this difficult and sensitive issue can be found and stability on the Peninsula can be restored.

**IV. Challenges and Ways Ahead.** On December 18, 2017 the Trump administration issued the National Security Strategy report, which named China along with Russia as a rivalry and revisionist power. The report further pointed out: Although the United States seeks to continue to cooperate with China, China is using economic inducements and penalties, influence operations, and implied military threats to persuade other states to heed its political and security agenda. China’s infrastructure investments and trade strategies reinforce its geopolitical aspirations. Its efforts to build and militarize outposts in the South China Sea endanger the free flow of trade, threaten the sovereignty of other nations, and undermine regional stability. China has mounted a rapid military modernization campaign designed to limit U.S. access to the region and provide China a freer hand there. China presents its ambitions as mutually beneficial, but Chinese dominance risks diminishing the sovereignty
of many states in the Indo-Pacific.

Many Chinese are wondering why President Trump changed his warm words to sharp criticism so quickly. However, if we compare President Trump and his predecessors, there are similarities. In fact, China-US relations have always been of dualities. On the one hand, there are strong drivers for cooperation. This explains why American presidents would often say some warm or nice words about China-US relations. On the other hand, there are built-in suspicions and oppositions on the American side. Additionally, China-US relations often are victimized by American infighting. Under the Trump administration, these dualities are even more prominent because of the following three main reasons.

The election of President Trump reflects the great division of American society and the tug-of-war between the establishment and anti-establishment forces. This struggle is far from end and will linger on for many years along with the further and fundamental changes both inside and outside the United States. Although the United States will stay as the strongest country in the world for coming decades, its declining trajectory has been increasingly obvious. This is the first time in the past two and half centuries that the United States has arrived at the point of no-return on its relative and absolute decline. Therefore, it is very painful for the whole nation to accept this fact and change its overall understanding of the nation and the world. Likewise, it is equally painful for the ruling group to formulate and carry out the strategies and policies accordingly. The uncertainties and changeable natures make the US side waver between cooperation and confrontation with China throughout this transitional period. Therefore, we must always factor in those negative and obstructive while looking at and dealing with
China-US relations.

Then what should both China and the United States do to strive for future cooperation and narrow differences.

First of all, China and the United States should overcome the present difficulties and meet the challenges. The most important guiding principle and practice here is to have a bigger picture while dealing with these differences and challenges. The Trump administration poses uncertainties both at home and abroad. President Trump signed an executive memorandum on August 14, 2016 that will likely trigger an investigation into China’s alleged violation of U.S. intellectual property, a measure that could eventually result in a wide range of penalties as the administration seeks a new way to deal with what it calls Chinese violations of the rules of international trade. President Trump believes that China is a part of the problem on the denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula. Given the fact that President Trump’s attention is focused on these issues, the two sides need to find out ways to manage them. Then they could move on to other more comprehensive and important issues.

Second, China and the United States should have a balanced view on the pros and cons in their relations. Again, the most important principle and practice here is to build up commonalities and cooperation so as to reduce the negative and destructive ones in proportion. While some American circles and people would focus on the differences, the real statesmen should fully realize the benefits while making efforts to remove the negative factors. This philosophical understanding of China-US relations becomes extremely important at a historically redefining time. A balanced
view would help the two countries see both the trees and forests. This fundamental way of thinking will lead to strengthening the belief that there are more common interests than mutual differences between them and cooperation is the only correct choice. Based on this positive belief, China and the United States could enhance their pragmatic cooperation, improve the current institutions and set new rules both bilaterally, regionally and globally.

Third, China and the United States should work with other members of the international community for better governance regionally and globally. Agenda-setting, rule-making and institution-building are the most important three tasks. Agenda-setting means that the two countries and the others need to single out what are the most important and urgent to do. The issues and problems are enormous but the capabilities of the international community are limited. Therefore, prioritization would become the key to the solutions. China and the United States should take the lead to present a list of priorities. Among others, China and the United States should focus on the development agendas, anti-terrorism and removing extremism, etc.

Rule-making is an important step to ensure the said agendas to be implemented and fulfilled. China is catching up fast to play its role in this field. The significance of rule-making can never be underestimated. It is related to legal, tangible and intangible fields. They are not only related to economic and financial fields, but also the new frontiers such as cyberspace, outer-space and artificial intelligence.

Institution building embraces the norms, mechanisms and laws governing China-US relations. In the past 45 years China and the
United States have made quite some efforts, some are successful and some are not. In the coming 50 years, the two countries need to work harder at strategic thinking and top-level planning so that the institution building would play an even greater role in promoting this important relationship.

Last but not least, China and the United States should stay on the right track of cooperation. The United States is inclined to stress the differences and focus on the competition side of China-US relations. As a matter of course, the Chinese puts cooperation before competition. To conclude, this author agreeably quote the Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Ms Hua Chunying’s response to the American NSS report:

Cooperation is the only right choice for China and the United States and win-win cooperation can lead to a better future. As two major countries, it is not surprising for China and the United States to have some disagreements. It is advisable for our two countries to properly handle them in a constructive way on the basis of respecting each other's core interests and major concerns. We urge the US side to stop deliberately distorting China's strategic intentions, and abandon such outdated concepts as the Cold War mentality and the zero-sum game, otherwise it will only end up harming itself as well as others. We hope that the United States can correspond with the trend of the times and the will of the people, put the world and China-US relations in perspective, honor the relevant commitments and join hands with China to uphold the sound and steady growth of China-US relations. This is the right choice that serves the interests of the two peoples and people around the world.
Located at the crossroads of three continents: Europe, Asia and Africa, the Middle East enjoys a strategic position and abundant oil and gas reserves. With 742 billion barrels in proven oil reserves and 88 trillion cubic meters in proven natural gas reserves, it accounts for 61.5% and 42% of the world’s total. It has always been a place where major countries vie for influence. Since 2011, the region has seen continued turbulence and major changes in its regional dynamics. Many experts believe that the Middle East is undergoing the most profound changes since World War I, which will reshape the regional political landscape and seriously undermine global security and stability. Regional hotspots and terrorism are the most eye-catching issues in the developments of the Middle East and hence a focus of world attention.

Over the years, several hotspots in the Middle East have interacted with ethnic, religious, sectarian,
geopolitical factors and major countries outside of the region and become the most prominent issues affecting regional security and stability. Even though some hotspot issues have seen new developments, their political settlement is not an easy task. Breakthroughs have been achieved in Palestine’s internal reconciliation. The Trump administration has announced that it will vigorously push for a resumption of the Palestinian-Israeli peace talks and will announce a new “Middle East Peace Plan”. The peace process in the Middle East has attracted wide attention and raised great expectations in the international community. The Geneva peace talks and the Astana process on the Syrian issue are being pushed forward in parallel and the parties are better aware of the urgency of a political settlement. For Yemen and Libya, though there is still a deadlock, the parties generally agree that a political settlement is the only way out. While the counter-terrorism warfare in Iraq keeps making progress, there are concerns over the rising risk of new and wider conflicts in the region that might be triggered by the independence referendum of the Kurdish region. The crisis in which gulf states severed their diplomatic ties with Qatar seriously undermined the unity of the Gulf Cooperation Council, and it might take a long time to break the deadlock and solve the differences. So long as these hotspots in the Middle East remain unresolved, there will be no stability in the region and the world can hardly enjoy peace. At present, uncertainties and destabilizing factors in the Middle East are still prominent. Turbulence in the Middle East affects not only regional countries, but also the neighboring regions, and has an impact on world peace, stability and development.

Non-traditional security threats including terrorism and the refugee issue are still grave, representing another prominent
factor affecting regional developments and causing wide concern among the international community. An intensive and forceful international campaign has weakened the standing of the “Islamic State” and this “established entity” is now at the end of its rope. Nevertheless, what remains of ISIS is still putting up a desperate struggle, hoping to spread its influence to North Africa, Central Asia, South Asia and other countries and regions in the West. They are going after easier targets in order to maximize the effect of terror, threatening international security wherever they go. The threat of the spread of various aggressive and extremist religious forces still remains. The international fight against terrorism is definitely going to be a prolonged process. Long-term turbulence has reduced the Middle East to a major source of refugees for the world. It is estimated that there are nearly 12 million displaced people in the Middle East, five times that of 2005. While the regional population accounts for only 8% of the world’s total, half of the world’s refugees are from the Middle East. A huge number of refugees poured to the neighboring countries and Europe, seriously undermining their stability.

Turbulence in the Middle East has posed grave challenges to the social and economic development of regional countries. Lack of balanced development and social unrest or chaos form a vicious circle. Countries are finding it hard to explore new paths and spearhead reform and it will take long to turn disorder into order. Nevertheless, stability and sound governance have become the common aspiration of the people in the region and the regional economy is on the track of recovery. The average growth rate increased from 0.94% in 2015 to 2.58% in 2016 and 4.17% in 2017, which is higher than the global average of 3.5%. However, the regional average unemployment rate is 12.73%, the average
external debt-to-GDP ratio is 49.57% and the average inflation rate stands at 9.3%. Development remains an arduous task. It is the common and urgent task of most countries in the region to strike a balance between reform, development and stability and find the paths and modes of development that suit their respective national conditions.

The Chinese government has all along maintained that security and development of China is inextricably linked with that of the world. China has established diplomatic relations and maintained friendly cooperation with each and every country in the Middle East. In 2016, the bilateral trade volume between China and countries in the region reached US$228.39 billion and China imported 190 million tons of crude oil from the Middle East, which accounted for about 50% of its total oil imports. China follows closely the situation in the Middle East, particularly developments of hotspot issues, and pays high attention to the grave security risks facing many countries in the region. China sincerely hopes that peace and stability would prevail in the Middle East. China steadfastly supports the resolution of hotspot issues in the Middle East through negotiation and dialogue. To promote political settlement of hotspot issues in the Middle East, China designated a Special Envoy on Middle East Affairs in 2002 and a Special Envoy of the Chinese Government on Syrian Issue in 2016. Their mediating efforts among relevant parties have received extensive welcome from regional countries.

In conducting diplomacy in the Middle East, China transcends the chaos and mayhem on the ground, champions justice and fairness, calls for settlement of conflicts and disputes through negotiation and dialogue, and vigorously promotes
cooperation under the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative, thus promoting peace through development and demonstrating China’s role as a responsible major country. In January 2016, in an important speech at the Arab League headquarters, President Xi Jinping put forward, for the first time, the following three principles. First, China does not look for a proxy in the Middle East; second, it does not seek any sphere of influence; and third, it does not attempt to fill the “vacuum”. It helps project China’s image as a major country that seeks to contribute to Middle East governance through cooperation, and ushers in a new chapter of China’s Middle East diplomacy with distinctive Chinese style and characteristics.

China’s Middle East diplomacy resolutely adheres to the UN Charter and basic norms of the international law, upholds fairness and justice, and follows the principle of non-interference in others’ internal affairs. However, non-interference does not mean doing nothing. On the contrary, China actively promotes dialogue rather than confrontation and partnerships rather than alliances, and maintains that regional conflicts should be solved through political means. China has been playing an important and constructive role in encouraging political settlement through negotiations by all parties. On the issue of Palestine, China stands with the international community to support the Middle East peace process. China supports the Palestinian people in establishing an independent State with full sovereignty, based on the 1967 borders, and with East Jerusalem as its capital. In July, President Xi Jinping once again received President Mahmoud Abbas of Palestine in China, and put forward a four-point proposal on moving forward the settlement of the Palestinian issue: first, firmly advance the political settlement on the basis of the two-state
solution; second, adhere to a vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security; third, further coordinate efforts of the international community to seek great synergy for peace; and fourth, adopt a holistic approach to promote peace through development. On the Syrian issue, China emphasizes that political dialogue is the fundamental way out and remains committed to upholding international norms and rule of law. China has put forward the six-point proposal, four-point initiative, five principles, as well as the four-step framework, with a view to actively promoting peace talks and bringing the Syrian crisis back to the track of political settlement. On the Iranian nuclear issue, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a P5+1 member, China has always taken an objective, fair and responsible stance, urged all parties to keep in mind the bigger picture of safeguarding the international nuclear non-proliferation regime and upholding peace and stability of the Middle East, and promoted the political and diplomatic settlement of the Iranian nuclear issue, thus contributing significantly to the conclusion and smooth execution of the JCPOA. Since the beginning of the crisis in which some countries severed diplomatic relations with Qatar, China has received the UAE minister of state and the Qatari foreign minister, gained a deep understanding of the positions of the parties concerned, and made a three-point proposal. China has also provided humanitarian assistance to countries involved in the Palestine issue, the Syrian issue, Yemen and other hotspot issues, helping to ease the humanitarian crisis in regional countries.

China firmly supports the United Nations in playing its role in the settlement of hotspot issues in the Middle East. China is taking an active part in the peacekeeping mechanism in the Middle East, as well as UN peacekeeping operations in the Middle
East. China has joined the UN capability readiness system, and set up a permanent peacekeeping force of 8,000 troops. The UN peacekeeping operations in the Middle East with China’s participation include: the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in Jerusalem, UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), African Union-UN Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), and UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara.

China’s Middle East diplomacy comprises principles, positions, ideas and actions. In recent years, China proposed to promote peace through development and has worked together with Middle East and Arab countries to jointly build the Belt and Road, contributing China’s wisdom and solution to the development and governance of the region. In 2004, China and Arab countries established the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum (CASCFF), which has become an important platform in the new era for strengthening collective dialogue and cooperation between the two sides. In 2010, the two sides forged a strategic cooperative relationship of comprehensive cooperation and common development. In 2014, President Xi Jinping delivered a keynote address at the opening ceremony of the sixth Ministerial Conference of the CASCFF, in which he proposed to build the Belt and Road together with Arab countries to guide the development of China-Arab relations and the CASCFF and to establish a 1+2+3 cooperation framework to chart the course of strategic and institutional development of China-Arab collective cooperation. In January 2016, at the Arab League headquarters, President Xi Jinping delivered an important speech in which he set out guiding principles for jointly building the Belt and Road with the Middle East and stressed that China should be the “builder of regional
peace, promoter of development, booster of industrialization, supporter of stability and partner of people-to-people exchanges in the Middle East”. He announced four action plans to promote stability, explore new ways of cooperation, conduct production capacity cooperation and enhance friendship. He emphasized that the key to overcoming difficulties lies in accelerated development. Turmoil in the Middle East stems from the lack of development, and the ultimate solution will depend on development.

The development-first approach which China advocates identifies the Belt and Road Initiative as the general framework for deepening cooperation between the two sides. This approach is recognized by more and more regional countries as it not only serves the aspirations and interests of Middle East countries, but also facilitates the building of a new Middle East featuring harmony and stability. In the past five years, China has signed memoranda of understanding on Belt and Road cooperation with eight regional countries and production capacity cooperation documents or agreements with five. Ten countries in the region have become founding members of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). China-Arab cooperation has progressed on both the bilateral and multilateral fronts and has expanded from cooperation in traditional areas of oil and gas, trade and project contracting to comprehensive, multi-dimensional cooperation. China is also actively advancing the projects of Saudi-China Industrial Cluster (Jizan), the China-Oman Industrial Park in Duqm, the China-UAE Production Capacity Demonstration Zone and the China-Egypt Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone. By participating in the building of industrial parks and special economic zones, China hopes to provide more support to Arab countries’ strategy of diversified economic development.
China actively advocates and vigorously promotes inter-civilization dialogue with Middle East countries to strengthen people-to-people connectivity. President Xi Jinping notes that friendship, which derives from close contact between the people, holds the key to sound state-to-state relations. Connecting the hearts of the people not only consolidates the social foundation for practical cooperation, but also pushes forward reform and improvement of the global governance system, thus creating conditions for building a community with a shared future for mankind. The two sides have implemented the “hundred, thousand and ten thousand” project for enhancing China-Arab friendship. Under the project, the two sides would launch a program for the translation of 100 Chinese and Arab classics into each other’s language; invite 100 experts and scholars to visit each other’s countries; provide 1,000 training opportunities for young Arab leaders and invite 1,500 leaders of Arab political parties to visit China; provide 10,000 scholarships and 10,000 training opportunities for Arab states and organize mutual visits for 10,000 Chinese and Arab artists. In April 2017, with the joint efforts of China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education and the Shanghai Municipal Government, the China-Arab Research Center on Reform and Development was established in Shanghai. It will further enhance the sharing of governance experience and mutual learning between China and Arab countries. In August 2017, the CASCF “China-Arab Civilization Dialogue De-radicalization Roundtable” was held in Chengdu. The two sides reached broad consensus during the meeting and jointly emphasized that dialogue among civilizations should embrace equality and respect for diversity and be conducted in the spirit of inclusiveness, mutual learning and harmony without uniformity. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education
of China also jointly initiated the “Joint Training Program for Chinese-Arabic Translators” to nurture high-level Chinese-Arabic translation talents for Arab countries. Other forms of mutual visits and training are also well underway.

The Middle East is still plagued by war and chaos. It is the common aspiration of regional people to address differences, overcome difficulties and accelerate development. Regional countries also expect China to inject more strength into regional stability and development. The Middle East has become an ever more important area in China’s diplomacy and development strategy. The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China successfully concluded not long ago put forward the building of a new model of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind as the two goals for major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. This not only summarizes the overarching goal of China’s diplomacy in the new era, but also shows to the Middle East countries and other members of the international community China’s commitment to working with them towards the common aspiration. As President Xi Jinping points out, the new era will see China moving closer to the center stage and making greater contributions to mankind. China’s Middle East diplomacy in the new era will contribute China’s proposals to the early settlement of regional issues, provide China’s ideas on the exploration of development paths by regional countries, create development opportunities for building the Belt and Road for mutual benefit, and offer Oriental wisdom to the exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations. China’s Middle East diplomacy can and will play its due role in advancing the Middle East peace process.
Europe has been shocked by the British who voted in the referendum to leave the European Union and, to make things worse, the new US President Donald Trump who supports Brexit and seeks to talk down the EU. Jean-Claud Junker, President of the European Commission, openly admitted that the EU is locked in a “survival crisis”. The European elites who have pushed for integration fear that other EU members may follow the footsteps of the UK and that “black swan” incidents may happen. The last thing they wanted to see would be the victory of anti-immigration and anti-integration populists in the Dutch and French parliamentary elections this year. Such a complicated environment dampens the enthusiasm of the Europeans to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the integration process.

To people’s relief, the “black swan” incidents didn’t happen. The far-right candidates lost the

* Ding Yuanhong is Former Head of the Chinese Mission to the European Union.
elections in Austria and the Netherlands. In the French election which the Europeans had followed with utmost interest, Macron, the anti-establishment yet pro-European integration candidate, claimed the victory, releasing the Europeans from anxieties and rekindling their hope for integration. At the same time, Theresa May, the British Prime Minister who insisted on a hard Brexit, suffered an unexpected failure in the early election she had called, costing the Conservative Party its majority in the House of Commons and further dividing her party and the UK over Brexit. President Trump of the United States, who had put European leaders off, was bogged down in the internal strife that had been growing intense at home. These developments, complemented by the notable economic recovery, have cheered up EU leaders who believed the time to reshape the EU had come. Led by President Macron and Chancellor Merkel, French, German, Italian and Spanish leaders will soon convene a summit to plan the way forward to advance European integration “at different paces and intensity”, as decided by EU leaders at a summit in March to mark the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome.

Europe has now restored temporary calm like the ocean after a storm. Under the seemingly peaceful surface, there are still undercurrents within and beyond EU borders that may turn into powerful waves, setting back the European integration.

Within its borders, the EU is grappling with three challenges: rising nationalism, declining international competitiveness and an unclear direction for the future. On the external front, it has to make prompt responses to Brexit negotiations, deteriorating trans-Atlantic relations and policy differences with Russia. None of these issues, which are closely interconnected, can be resolved easily.
Let me turn to what is happening within the EU. **First, nationalism is rising.** Academics abroad share the view that nationalism is resurging after many years of globalization, as evidenced by Brexit, the “America First” policy pursued by President Trump, and the US exit from the TTIP and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change. Nationalism and globalism are at loggerheads worldwide, which is particularly prominent in Europe.

The resurgence of nationalism is largely a result of the setbacks in globalization which has been promoted and led by Western capitalist countries, or the social division and the frustration of the grassroots who have benefitted unfairly from globalization and suffered from the widening wealth gap. This is best represented by Brexit and the election of Donald Trump as an anti-establishment figure. Ian Bremmer, a renowned American expert on international issues, said in a recent article that nationalism has resurfaced because the problems that globalization was supposed to tackle are still with us. In other words, more and more people in the richest countries in the world believe that globalization only benefits the elites, who don’t care about nation states and their boundaries. As such, supporters of nationalism are characteristically anti-immigration and anti-globalization. A case in point is President Trump’s recent statement that he would go ahead with his plan to build a wall along the US-Mexico border, even if the expenses incurred may send the Federal government to a standstill.

Following Macron’s election as French President, Antonio Tajani, President of the European Parliament, concluded that the resurgence of populism (which should be known as nationalism) has come to an end. Bremmer countered in his article that Macron
faces stiff opposition from both the far right and the far left. Hungary and Poland have become increasingly rebellious. The Brexit negotiations have stalled. The aversion and anger towards the EU continues to grow across Europe. An election is never the end but the beginning. This is proved by what is happening in Europe. In final analysis, Brexit and the opposition of Central European countries such as Hungary and Poland to the allocation of refugees by the EU testify to the shift from integration back to nation states. This will also hold back France and Germany as they are pushing for European integration.

**Second, EU’s international competitiveness is on the decline.** Devastated by the 2008 global financial crisis, the EU tumbled into a severe economic crisis, with anemic recovery. It was a major factor that weighed down the global economy. Statistics show that the Eurozone grew slower than non-Eurozone countries in the EU for several years, while EU countries grew slower than non-EU countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia, and still less than emerging economies and some developing countries. Such an abnormal phenomenon underlines the declining international competitiveness of the EU, which presents a severe challenge for it.

In the early days, integration was instrumental for the economic growth of EU members. As international competition gets intense, the downside of integration manifests itself. With expanding membership and diversifying interests, it is increasingly difficult for the EU mechanism of “shared sovereignty and consensus” to adjust to the fast evolving international landscape. On the contrary, it becomes hardened to change or reform and even grows into bureaucracy. When meeting with the press early
this year, Junker admitted that populism that had gained traction in some European countries is largely a mistake made by the EU itself. The EU and the European Commission gives people the impression that we are taking charge of everything. We try to exert influence on things that should better be done by member states, local governments and regional authorities. In other words, the EU institutions based on the principle of shared sovereignty have evolved into centralism which goes against the vision for integration.

Belgian Prime Minister Charles Michel said that when we talked about Europe in the past 10 and 15 years, we only mentioned crises: refugee crisis, budget crisis and financial crisis. We must now realize the new European dream, said Michel. What is the new European dream? Even the Europeans may not know the answer. The old European Dream, or a Federated Europe, which is the vision of those who advocate European integration, proves to be not workable. As Tusk said, the Utopian attempt to build a Federated Europe is speeding up the disintegration of the EU.

The EU is stuck in a dilemma. If it continues on the current path, the prospect is bleak. If it does not reform, it cannot survive. However, it is not able to pursue necessary reforms. Not only member states are haunted by the curse “anyone who makes reform loses votes”. (A case in point is the plummeting support for Macron after he took office.) What is worse, it is all the more difficult to reach consensus on reform among the 27 member states.

Third, it remains unclear where the EU should be heading. Member states didn’t reach a common understanding on this even
in the early days when the European integration started. France and Germany, the two locomotive countries that drive integration, have different calculations. The French wanted an integrated Europe in the hope to contain the rise of Germany, the country which had wrought havoc on Europe. Germany, on the other hand, had no other choice but to accept integration so as to improve its tattered image after the Second World War. Yet, Germany never abandons its strategic goal to turn Europe into Germany’s Europe. The accession of the UK and Central and Eastern European countries, which joined the EU after the Soviet Union collapsed in the 1990s, resulted in more diversified interests. Divisions also grow over the future of the EU.

The shifting international dynamics over the past 10 years and the inherent problems of the EU further divide the bloc. There are both economic disparity between the North and the South, and differences on values between the West and the East. The EU is yet to embark on a new path toward deeper integration. When the new Treaty of Rome was signed in March, Junker said the challenges we are confronted with at the moment can by no means compare with those facing the founders of the EU. Things have changed. EU leaders, however, fail to adopt a new thinking. They still get along with the idea of a closely united Europe.

In the five plans announced by the European Commission concerning the future of the EU, France and Germany, in collaboration with Italy and Spain, set the vision for a multi-speed Europe. Core countries and other members are encouraged to pursue integration at different paces. Central and Eastern European countries fear that they may be regarded as second-class countries and, therefore, have reservations on this idea. In the Rome
Declaration adopted at the EU Summit in March, the statement was changed from “Some countries could work more closely and deepen integration at a faster pace.” to “We will act together at different paces and intensity where necessary.” Even so, the Polish prime minister still voiced his dissatisfaction over the declaration. It, therefore, can be expected that the EU plan for a multi-speed Europe will not proceed smoothly. The question still lingers as to where the EU is heading.

It is worth noting that the European Commission recently prepared to invoke Article 7 of the Treaty of Maastricht to sanction Poland on the ground that Poland’s judicial reform goes against the EU principle on the rule of law. The European Commission also sued Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic at the European Court of Justice for refusing to accept refugees. The French President made preparations for the France-Germany-Italy-Spain Summit to plan the future of the European integration. He visited Austria, Romania and Bulgaria, but refused to go to Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Sanctioning member states and bringing them to the court seldom happens in the history of the EU. What has happened shows that the differences and disagreements between East and West Europe can no longer be glossed over. And this surely bodes ill for the EU to advance integration.

On the external front. **First, the Brexit negotiations.** The negotiations started in late June, and two rounds have taken place (once every month). So far, the negotiations haven’t produced any agreement. First, Brexit is unprecedented in EU’s history. It will hurt both sides. As both sides want to minimize the damage and protect their own interests to the greatest possible extent, it is difficult for them to make compromises. Second, the EU wants
to use the negotiations as an opportunity to deter others from following the UK’s example and promote solidarity that is most needed by the EU at such a time of crisis. The EU, therefore, has asked for a high price in the negotiations and delayed talking about the future of UK-EU relations. The UK does not back down either. It first produced a hard exit plan and made it clear that it was prepared for any result, whether the negotiations succeed or fail. At the same time, the UK uses its advantage in terrorist intelligence, security and finance against the EU. It is extremely difficult to conclude the negotiations as scheduled within two years after the UK applied for exit from the EU, i.e. by March 29, 2019. During this process, Brexit negotiations will be the biggest uncertainty that has an impact on the entire Europe.

**Second, trans-Atlantic relations are deteriorating.** The US and EU are turning from allies into adversaries, who are now in an open face-off. At the deeper level, things have come to where they are now because the US has been the only super power following the disintegration of the Soviet Union and it seeks dominance in the world. With the unification of Germany and the deepened and expanded integration of Europe, the gap between the EU and the US is narrowing. The EU does not want to be subordinate to the US on the world stage and hopes to be on a par with it. This strategic objective has exacerbated EU-US differences.

Hillary Clinton, who had strong backing of EU countries, lost the US election, while Donald Trump at whom they openly expressed displeasure unexpectedly won the election. To make it worse, Trump, upon taking office, supported Brexit, criticized Germany and made negative statements on the EU. All these have further offended the EU which is dominated by Germany.
As a result, President Tusk of the European Council openly said Trump’s election as US President is an external threat to the EU. Chancellor Merkel of Germany said that days when we fully rely on others are, to some extent, over, and that we Europeans must have our fate firmly in our own hands.

That said, it is still far-fetched to say that Europe has embarked on a “path toward independence”. The US-Europe alliance built after the Second World War is the cornerstone of the diplomacy of both sides. It also underpins their growing strength over the past decades. The US and Europe are already closely interconnected and interdependent. Though the two sides have increasingly sharp differences amid frictions and quarrels, they still have to maintain trans-Atlantic relations for the sake of their fundamental interests. Yet both of them put their own interests first. Such a change has no small implications for Europe and the whole world.

Third, divergence on Russia policies. Such division arises because countries find themselves in different contexts with diverging strategic interests. In a nutshell, the US as the only super power does not want to see a resurgent Russia. Therefore, it has used NATO’s eastward expansion as a major way to squeeze Russia’s strategic space and continue to tear Russia apart following Soviet Union’s disintegration. After the end of the Cold War, the successive US presidents have never abandoned this strategic agenda. After taking office, Trump has made goodwill gestures to Russia. It is no coincidence that those who are opposed to Trump in the US accused him of colluding with Russia and make big stories out of it. This speaks to the entrenched anti-Russia sentiments in America. EU countries, especially Germany, France and Western
European countries, also expand their spheres of influence through NATO expansion. However, they believe in putting pressure on Russia as appropriate and pursue mutually beneficial cooperation with Russia out of geopolitical and economic considerations. This is in stark contrast with the US. In May when US-Russia relations became increasingly intense, Chancellor Merkel met President Putin in Sochi, though she had proclaimed that she would not visit Russia if there were no de-escalation of the situation in East Ukraine. President Macron of France also welcomed Putin in Paris soon after he took office. What the two European leaders did shows that Western European powers are reluctant to follow the US with regard to their Russia policies.

It is also worth noting that Central and Eastern European countries are also at loggerheads with Western European powers on their Russia policies. The former are more worried about security threats from Russia and, therefore, stand for sanctions on Russia even if their economic interests are at stake. While France and Germany underscore the importance to build Europe’s own defense forces to reshape European integration, Poland and other countries are firmly against it for fear that this weakens the security protection provided by the US-led NATO. In the US, both Obama and Trump seek to exploit such East-West division to weaken Europe. US Defense Secretary Mattis promised military assistance to Ukraine during his visit to the country. At the same time, the US administration sent a special envoy to Russia to consult on the US involvement in the Minsk Agreement process concerning Ukraine. In fact, the sudden interest of the US in Ukraine, a non-NATO country, underscores its intention to force its way into the Minsk Agreement process that has been dominated by Germany, France and other EU countries, and exert its own influence. Such division
among various stakeholders on their Russia policy has made the situation in Europe all the more complex.

At the moment, the world order is undergoing momentous changes. The order dominated by the US and Europe is hard to sustain, while a new one is yet to emerge. In the global landscape, the European situation, under the impact of internal and external factors, is the most fluid and exerts the most visible impact on the whole world. It, therefore, calls for more attention and research.
Belt and Road: Facing Squarely and Responding to Misgivings from the West

By Wang Yiwei*

General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out in his report to the 19th CPC National Congress that with decades of hard work, socialism with Chinese characteristics has crossed the threshold into a new era. It means that the Chinese nation, which since modern times began had endured so much for so long, has achieved a tremendous transformation; it has stood up, grown rich, and is becoming strong; it has come to embrace the brilliant prospects of rejuvenation. It means that scientific socialism is full of vitality in 21st century China, and that the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics is now flying high and proud for all to see. It means that the path, the theory, the system, and the culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics have kept developing, blazing a new trail for other developing countries to achieve modernization. It offers a new option for other countries and nations who want to speed up their

* Wang Yiwei is professor of Renmin University of China (RUC) and Director of the Institute of International Affairs of RUC.
development while preserving their independence; and it offers Chinese wisdom and a Chinese approach to solving the problems facing mankind.

“The Belt and Road Initiative has offered us an anchor and platform of cooperation and the building of a community with shared future for mankind has provided direction and vision for our cooperation”. This is the most frequently emphasized statement that the author heard at the CPC in Dialogue with World Political Parties High-Level Meeting. Indeed, the Belt and Road Initiative is the most important public good offered by China to the international community. It has demonstrated the Chinese wisdom and a Chinese approach to navigate globalization and global governance.

The Belt and Road stands for the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21\textsuperscript{st} Century Maritime Silk Road. It has three key words, the first of which is “21\textsuperscript{st} century.” The Belt and Road is first and foremost an integrated and interconnected transportation network of railways, highways, air and sea routes, oil pipelines, power transmission lines and communication networks. The core word is connectivity in which all things and humans are connected, vividly representing the unique features of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century. The second key word is “belt”, referring to economic corridors and economic development belts, reflecting the experience and model of China’s reform and opening-up endeavors. The building of the Silk Road Economic Belt is designed to promote development of all areas concerned by gradually expanding growth and carrying out greater regional cooperation. The Chinese people believe that accessibility to roads is crucial for getting prosperous and building expressways and ensuring internet accessibility will help people develop in
shorter time. The “road” here contains broader meanings. It plays the role of “the Way” in the Chinese classic *Tao Te Ching*, which believes that the Way creates everything as we know in the world. The Way in today’s world requires us to build a community with shared future for mankind. The Belt and Road is open and inclusive so that everyone can make contribution and share benefits.

It is not hard to understand from the above analysis that the Belt and Road Initiative encapsulates China’s experience of reform and opening up over the past 30-plus years and its civilization and wisdom of 5,000 years. It has unique Chinese characteristics, and such characteristics have shown increasingly strong appeal to other countries and gained global significance.

It is now quite trendy to include in various international forums the topic of the Belt and Road Initiative, which has become omnipresent when people talk about world affairs and China. However, as it is a newly proposed initiative and China is yet to gain more experience in international arena, there are still many misgivings from the West on the Belt and Road Initiative. “Can the Chinese model be applied overseas? Will open and transparent international rules be observed in pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative? How will the issues of debts, environmental protection and labor be resolved in the process?” These are the questions that the author came across when giving lectures on the Belt and Road Initiative in over 40 countries or participating in relevant forums.

**What are the misgivings all about?**

In general, misgivings from the West are mainly focused on the following aspects:
(I) Misgivings about the world

1. The coming decades are full of uncertainties. As the Western countries are concerned about what the Belt and Road Initiative will bring, they shift their worries about the world and their own future to China and the Belt and Road Initiative because they do not have adequate self-confidence.

2. Some Westerners use the Belt and Road Initiative as a pretext to make irresponsible and unfounded remarks on China. Though some political leaders with vision and wisdom view China and the Belt and Road Initiative objectively and positively, they are involved in rivalries between different political parties and as a result, China and the Belt and Road Initiative have become a victim of such rivalries.

3. Has the world really changed? Will China do better than the West? John Keneth Calbraith, an American scholar, once said that the perpetual stupidity of mankind lies in their tendency to regard unreasonable worries as extraordinary wisdom. Misgivings from the Western world on the Belt and Road Initiative stem from their inadequate knowledge and vision in the changing world. They have lamented the lack of vitalities in the West and hence become jealous and angry. And so have some intellectuals in China.

(II) Misgivings about China

1. Misgiving about China’s intention: Does China want to dump its excessive production capacity? Will China change international rules? Some Westerners simply take the Belt and Road Initiative as one of China’s diplomatic strategies to solve its
domestic issues and they are concerned that China will not care about how the outside world feels.

2. Misgiving about models: How will the Belt and Road Initiative be pursued? Rules have not been properly followed inside China, so how can it observe international rules? Is the principle of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits too good to be true?

3. Misgiving about China’s capability: Can China’s models be sustained and applied outside the country? Will China be able to advance the Belt and Road Initiative when its SOEs compete unfairly and its economy is slowing down? Will RMB be strong enough to back the Initiative as its internationalization is decelerating? Can the China Development Bank and the Export-Import Bank of China support the increase of funding which was announced by President Xi Jinping at the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation? How to coordinate various funding channels? Can China build an international funding mechanism under the Belt and Road Initiative?

4. Misgiving about outcomes: Will China dominate the world and put in place an order centering around itself? Even if the Belt and Road Initiative is something good, some Westerners still worry that China will reinstate the archaic tribute-paying system when it gets stronger.

(III) Misgivings about the Belt and Road Initiative

1. Misgiving about its nature: Is it a public good or one of China’s strategies? If it is a public good, then it is expected to help
improve the international system.

2. Misgiving about its pathways: Will the Belt and Road Initiative be open and transparent? Will it be rule-oriented or development-oriented? Will there be a level playing field? Will it only benefit China’s government procurement? How can other countries participate?

3. Misgiving about its modalities: What is the financing modality under the Belt and Road Initiative? Will it follow high standards in areas such as environmental protection and labor? What are its relations with existing mechanisms?

4. Misgiving about its effects: Is the Belt and Road Initiative China’s geopolitical strategy? How to resolve regional territorial disputes under the Initiative? Will it lead to discriminatory arrangements?

5. Misgiving about its effectiveness: How will the Belt and Road Initiative address multiple risks, especially the threat from Islamic terrorism? Will it achieve sustainable development?

6. Misgiving about its consequences: Will the Belt and Road Initiative result in a debt crisis? How to make pre-evaluation? The Chosun Ilbo of the ROK argued that the setbacks suffered in the Belt and Road Initiative were a result of expensive construction costs for countries in South Asia, Central Asia and East Africa and of the fact that Chinese companies are in charge of all projects and participating countries, as they cannot share technology or experience, are quite discontented, making the current development of the Belt and Road Initiative quite awkward.
• Why are there misgivings?

In general, there are three main reasons:

First, ignorance and prejudice. The Westerners do not understand the Belt and Road Initiative and lack proper historical perspective as they simply compare it to the Western examples such as the Marshal Plan. Some Europeans claim that Europe needs to open its eyes to see the world as historically there had never been such a grand cooperation initiative that goes beyond the imagination of Europeans. Therefore, they act with arrogance and prejudice, casting doubts on the Belt and Road Initiative and China.

Second, worries about the interests and future of the West. Some Westerners complain that China has touched their cheese and are concerned that their influence around the world is dwindling. As a result, they hold various misgivings on the Belt and Road Initiative.

Third, positions and postures. Those who trust and like China trust and like the Belt and Road Initiative. On the contrary, those who worry about and distrust China do the same to the Initiative. These misgivings show that the West is not comfortable with and not ready to accept a world in which China plays a navigating role and takes lead in a plan as grand as the Belt and Road Initiative.

General impression: developing countries are interested in what benefits the Belt and Road Initiative will bring while developed countries are concerned about what negative results it may lead to. Japan is uneasy with the leadership role of China and
places its hope on a change of mind by the United States and its continued leadership around the world. Europe thinks alike, but Japan has stronger eagerness for that. The Indo-Pacific strategic initiative in particular, which was put forward by Japan as a new version of TPP and accepted by the United States, has boosted Japan’s confidence.

• Psychological analysis:

From a psychological perspective, the misgivings have reflected an old thinking of the West which places self-interest above everything else.

(I) An outdated thinking:

1. Excessive and unnecessary concerns about long-term effects and possible risks.

2. Focus only on individual projects. For instance, when there was a suspension of power station projects in Pakistan, those who have misgivings began to worry.

3. Obsession with past problems: will there be a repetition of the debt crisis like the one in which China lent loans to Venezuela for its oil?

(II) A conflicting mentality: those who have misgivings want to know about the Belt and Road Initiative but don’t want to really understand it. They want cooperation but are afraid that they will only play a secondary role.
(III) A mentality caused by failed expectation: can China achieve what the United States and other Western countries have failed?

Some developing countries also hold the above-mentioned misgivings due to the fact that in terms of economic development, they are developing countries, but they follow Western ideology. Even some people in China also echo these misgivings. We therefore must take them seriously.

- We should listen to and follow those objective views and suggestions to improve our work.

(I) Pay equal attention to how we publicize and pursue the Belt and Road Initiative. By saying “welcome to participate in the Belt and Road Initiative”, we may unintentionally indicate that it is dominated by China. Therefore, it would be better to change it into “welcome to cooperate for the pursuit of the Belt and Road Initiative”, which includes cooperation with China as well as bilateral cooperation between countries concerned and multilateral cooperation.

(II) Implement in real earnest our commitments. We should not take extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits as slogans. As a guiding principle, it must be adhered to in all links.

(III) Coordinate various relationships. In pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative, ten major relationships need to be well handled.

(IV) Strengthen complementarities of the Belt and Road
Initiative with the United Nations in a firm commitment to addressing climate change and working for peaceful cooperation while implementing the idea of pursuing innovation-driven, coordinated, green, open and inclusive development.

(V) Tell a good story of the Belt and Road Initiative by working hard to achieve real results rather than win only compliments from others.

• We must resolutely refute unfounded remarks about the Belt and Road Initiative while remaining confident because facts speak louder. The following is the author’s responses to certain misgivings at various international forums.

Misgivings about specific projects: one should not make willful judgment without real understanding. Local people should have the final say. The fact is figures and projects involved in the Belt and Road Initiative have been printed on the local banknotes of Mauritius and Sri Lanka.

Misgivings about debt issues: do not just think about when the hen can be sold to pay for the debt but fail to see that the hen will lay eggs. In the early days of its reform and opening up, China borrowed from the World Bank and Asia Development Bank. The West was worried about a possible debt crisis, but it never happened when China’s economy took off. Do not take a narrow view on debts as economy has its positive externalities and the Belt and Road Initiative is aimed at building industrial chains rather than infrastructure only. China has invested RMB 200 million in every kilometer of its high-speed railways and in total put in RMB 4 trillion in its 20,000 high-speed railways. The ensuing
debt, instead of skyrocketing, has boosted rapid development and integration of China’s economy.

Misgivings about standards: AIIB uses US dollars and is committed to the high standard of being lean, green and clean. Besides, it has to be admitted that in some countries and projects, it is quite normal that the high standards of the West cannot be realized. What have the Western high standards brought to local communities? Through development financing and construction of industrial zones, China has been creating and fostering markets in other developing countries and will ultimately help them get financing in the international market and comply with international rules. China’s investment has solved the problem of “which comes first, the hen or the egg”, which the West cannot or will not solve. It has helped the countries along the Belt and Road gain necessary capital for development that lays foundation for future cooperation with Western developed countries.

Misgivings about the so-called neocolonialism: China has helped Africa in its industrialization and what has been achieved in a dozen years has outnumbered the results of Western colonization of hundreds of years. In addition to sharing the experience of realizing modernization through building networks of high-speed railways, expressways and regional airlines as well as industrialization, China has also engaged in projects for improving African people’s well-being and human rights.

Misgivings about so-called overlooking human rights: Karachi of Pakistan suffers power shortage every year. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor will make Pakistan realize independent energy supply in 2020. What a remarkable achievement that will be!
Misgivings about the so-called export of excessive production capacity: China is working to address the issue of excessive production capacity through peaceful cooperation, not through war as Japan and Germany did during the Second World War. China has learned with success from the models of Japan’s official development aid (ODA) and Singapore’s industrial parks. And never forget that even the term “Silk Road” was first proposed by a German.

- **Seek cooperation while making necessary struggles.** Struggles are for solidarity, not for engaging in war of words or venting angers. It has to be emphasized that the Belt and Road Initiative will accelerate the navigation of global capital to infrastructure and real economy so that hot money can be harnessed and put into effective use and blind investment will be turned into result-oriented investment.

In short, the Western world, which has long dominated global governance, has been uncomfortable with the Belt and Road Initiative for various reasons and held misgivings about it. This is nothing strange. As an initiative of centennial significance, the Belt and Road Initiative is bound to face different voices from the international community. We should respond to them actively and dispel the misgivings. We must refute the unfounded remarks to distinguish right and wrong. Undeniably, a series of new ideas, visions and measures of China, the Belt and Road Initiative in particular, are important international public goods offered by China to the international community. It is China’s plan full of the Chinese wisdom and thinking. Under the current circumstances, the Belt and Road Initiative can play a quite significant role for promoting further development of globalization and nurturing new
markets. Through the platform of the Belt and Road Initiative, parties concerned enjoy broad space for win-win cooperation. The West should change its mentality and keep abreast with the times. China and the Western world need to strengthen communication and exchanges, enhance mutual understanding and mutual trust and work together to build a community with shared future for mankind.

The Belt and Road Initiative indicates that China has completely rejected the mentality that it should follow the Western systems and institutions to catch up with and then overtake them. China will play a navigating role in the world and will never be obsessed with the assumption that the moon is brighter in foreign countries than in China. Actually we now share the same moon, which is the goal of building a community with shared future for mankind. After the Belt and Road Initiative has been proposed, the international community no longer talks about China’s rise in an abstract way. Instead, it focuses its attention on the Belt and Road Initiative. This has extended the historical perspective from spanning hundreds of years to thousands of years and deconstructed the theory that the West always plays a central role in world affairs. In particular, the vision of a community with shared future for mankind has transcended the universal values and called for common values for mankind.

Development of human history shows that rising of a major country is bound to generate cooperation initiatives and values that steer the future of the world. The Belt and Road Initiative shoulders such a mission. ो
The 6th Summit of China and Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC), marking the fifth anniversary of the opening of China-CEEC cooperation, was held in Budapest, Hungary on November 27, 2017. This meeting was held at a time right after the successful conclusion of the 19th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. At the summit, China’s new measures for domestic and foreign affairs which were endorsed in the Report of the CPC Congress were fully illustrated, the achievements of “16+1 Cooperation” in the past 5 years were systematically summarized, and a blueprint for future development was clearly drafted.

I. “16+1 Cooperation” : A Successful Practice of Major Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics

First of all, “16+1 cooperation” put into active

* Liu Zuokui is Research Fellow and Director of the China-CEE Institute under the Institute of European Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.
practice the new ideas and new thoughts of China’s diplomacy, with sub-regional cooperation as a new dimension, and has created a new situation in China’s diplomacy.

The concept of “central and Eastern Europe” in the framework of “16+1 cooperation” is a totally new geopolitical concept, different from the old definition of the region. Some scholars from the central and Eastern European countries believe that China reconstructs a specific area through its own logic and blueprints, but it is becoming more and more acceptable. The central and East European countries accept this Chinese proposed concept, because the redefinition of the “16+1 cooperation” platform is not to create a new exclusive national identity for the CEEC countries, but to add a new layer of identity for them in international affairs, without any conditions attached. The innovation and breakthrough of the “16+1 cooperation” shows distinctive Chinese characteristics and Chinese style.

Secondly, the “16+1 Cooperation” demonstrates a sincere wish of China to build a community with a shared future for mankind.

The “16+1 cooperation” framework is built on the background of worldwide financial crisis and great uncertainty in economic recovery. Both China and central and Eastern European countries have urgent need to open up new markets and develop new economic and trade partners. Chinese president Xi Jinping stressed that, in the era of economic globalization, China and EU have become a community of shared future with highly integrated interests. “16+1 cooperation” is undoubtedly an important fulcrum and grab for the construction of the China EU community of
shared future. Both in bilateral relations and in economic and trade cooperation, the cooperation between China and the central and Eastern European countries has once been the short board in the framework of China EU cooperation. “16+1 cooperation” not only made up the short board, but also integrated China with the central and Eastern European countries through a comprehensive, multi-level and wide range of mutually beneficial cooperation to become a community of shared future to overcome economic crisis and achieve common prosperity, as well as a new growth pole for China EU cooperation.

Thirdly, the “16+1 Cooperation” sticks to the core idea of win-win cooperation.

It always adheres to ideas of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit and win-win cooperation, and that explains why the 16 CEE countries widely accept and actively join in the “16+1 Cooperation”. In the past five years, the “16+1 Cooperation” has made numerous achievements: the connectivity and infrastructure in CEECs are developed rapidly, the economic and trade cooperation between China and CEE countries continues to rise compared to the western European countries. Even though, skeptics still doubt the concept of win-win cooperation raised by the Chinese side due to the imbalanced economic volumes of the two sides. We shall emphasize that win-win cooperation is neither a zero-sum game nor 50 to 50 and everybody got a share of the pie. Because of the asymmetry of the economic volumes and market sizes between China and CEEC as well as the dissimilarity and difference within CEECs, it is unrealistic for each country to equally distribute the interests in every projects. It is a win-win cooperation as long as there is no loss on both sides and it does
not cause harm to third parties. The major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics adheres to the ethics of legitimate justice and reasonable benefit, advocates pursuing justice and benefits simultaneously and always put justice above benefits. It is possible for China to give up part of the economic interests to promote the “16+1 Cooperation”, which is in accordance with the good tradition of Chinese diplomacy and China’s responsibilities and roles as a major country in international affairs. Since the Belt and Road initiative was proposed by China, the principle of win-win cooperation has further advanced toward the ideas of “wide consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits” in global governance. It means that all the participants shall not only work together and share the results, but also discuss the rules together and participate jointly, truly realizing the goal of equality and mutual benefit. China welcomes the 16 CEE countries to take part in the development of the Belt and Road initiative and the “16+1 Cooperation” on the basis of these spirits, because it will not only bring common development and prosperity, but also provide the “16+1 Cooperation” with a stronger foundation and a broader platform.

Fourthly, the “16+1 Cooperation” expands China’s network of global partnership.

It opens up a new way to develop relations with traditional friendly countries. For the last five years, China’s relations with Poland and Serbia have been respectively upgraded to a comprehensive strategic partnership, while the strategic partnership with the Czech Republic and the comprehensive strategic partnership with Hungary were also established. More importantly, the bilateral relations and level of mutual trust between China
and CEE countries are greatly enhanced through all kinds of meetings under the framework of the “16+1 Cooperation”. The partnership advocated by China is characterized by equality, peace and inclusiveness, with no classification of major or subordinate countries, no split of different blocs, no imaginary enemies and no targeting at any third party. So it’s neither reasonable nor necessary for some European think tanks to worry that China is dividing EU and seize geopolitical interests by promoting “16+1 Cooperation”. Although China is the initiator of “16+1 Cooperation”, China insists all parties involved shall be equal and shall discuss, construct and enjoy the benefit together. China does not seek a leading role with higher status than others members. At the same time, the “16+1 Cooperation”, like the Belt and Road initiative, endows great openness and inclusiveness. They are open to the third party, thus helping China to make numerous new friends. Following the road of peaceful development, China advocates dialogue rather than confrontation, partnerships rather than alliances.

II. “16+1 Cooperation” : The great significance of the construction of the platform

First, the “16+1 Cooperation” promotes the efficacy and equality of the bilateral cooperation between China and CEEC.

In the framework of “16+1 Cooperation”, bilateral cooperation is the foundation, “16+1 Cooperation” is the platform, and they depend on and complement each other. On this platform, those 17 countries negotiated equally, exchanged of needed goods, strengthened interconnection, and looked for opportunities on the multilateral platform. In the past five years, the network
of strategic partnership for China has been expanding, making significant progresses in the cooperation with various sub-regions in CEE. Local cooperation has become a new breakthrough point and highlight of “16+1 Cooperation”. Beginning with the China-Europe trains and taking the local leaders summits as a platform, China-CEEC cooperation has made a new path and made new achievements. Furthermore, on the platform of “16+1 Cooperation”, various CEECs have shown their own characteristics and potentials one after another, and played an active role in cooperation in various fields. In addition, in the field of bilateral cooperation, the two sides also deeply dug out the potential of cooperation, promoted the establishment of a series of professional cooperation platforms, and achieved positive results. In the future, the bilateral cooperation in the framework of “16+1 Cooperation” still has great potential and many opportunities, which will be one of the main growth points of China-CEEC cooperation.

Second, “16+1 Cooperation” is a new way of exploration to promote regional cooperation.

As a unique sub-regional cooperation, “16+1 Cooperation” has not only challenges but also opportunities, and provided large space for innovative diplomatic practices for regional cooperation. First, the global governance view of achieving shared growth through co-discussion and collaboration and the idea of democratization of international relations have been put into practice in “16+1 Cooperation”. The CEE has become an important fulcrum in constructing a community with a shared future between China and Europe. Those advanced concepts of cooperation containing Chinese wisdom enhanced centripetal force of “16+1 Cooperation”, and the innovative regional cooperation scheme
of China provided CEEC a totally new choice. Secondly, the establishment and improvement of high standard, high frequency and multi-level consultation mechanism not only greatly enhanced the relations between China and CEEC, but also protected the continuing stable development of “16+1 Cooperation”. Finally, booming local cooperation has greatly promoted the diversification of the forms of cooperation, which is the key for the “16+1 Cooperation” to set up an all-round, wide field and multi-level cooperation pattern.

Third, “16+1 Cooperation” has accelerated the development of the China-Europe relation.

China took the “16+1 Cooperation” as an important content and beneficial complement of China-Europe relation, and repeatedly mentioned the crucial influence and positive effect on China-Europe relation in all the important occasions and important documents issued related to the “16+1 Cooperation”. For more than five years, the “16+1 Cooperation” has produced practical results in promoting the development of economic, trade and investment relations between central and Eastern European countries and China. Under the “16+1 Cooperation” framework, the CEEC fully grasped the important opportunities, kept expanding cooperation space, and at the same time contributed to the cooperation between China and Europe in the Belt and Road. Considering the prospect of development, “16+1 Cooperation” will bring more benefits to the balanced development in EU region.
Last but not the least, “16+1 Cooperation” is an important platform for promoting the Belt and Road Initiative.

“16+1 Cooperation” has become an important policy communication platform for “Belt and Road” construction. Through the platform, from the top leadership, to the specific decision-making mechanism, to specific areas of cooperation, coordinators and those responsible persons achieved a seamless communication policy, and reached important strategic consensus, thus promoted a series of important cooperation projects and initiatives. “16+1” has laid a good foundation for promoting the connectivity between China and Europe. Through which China completed the composition of Maritime Silk Road and Silk Road on the Land in Europe. The Maritime Silk Road used the China-European land and Sea Express lines as a main handle and the land silk road used as the main handle the construction of the new Eurasian Continental Bridge and the promotion of the effective operation of the China-European regular train service. Since a series of hard connectivity projects were launched one after another in CEE region, and the matching soft connectivity projects were also gradually promoted, there has formed a multi-level and effective cooperation in infrastructure. In the framework of the Belt and Road, the trade cooperation between China and CEEC maintained steady progress, with the trade deficit issue properly addressed and investment cooperation recorded rapid growth. With flexibility, market-oriented and pragmatic cooperation as the main direction, the framework of “16+1 Cooperation” provided active assistance to the operation of the Belt and Road, by introducing various forms of financial instruments, providing a number of financial supports and formulating a series of financial arrangements, and has became a new highlight in financial
cooperation in the Belt and Road Initiative. “16+1 Cooperation” has also actively promoted people to people exchanges in the Belt and Road Initiative and formed a series of new initiatives of non-governmental exchanges and communication.

III. “16+1 Cooperation”: The Achievements In the Past Five Years

First, investment promotion flourishing in multiple fields.

The “16+1 Cooperation” has made outstanding achievements in the field of investment in the past five years, achieved gratifying progress in the major projects cooperation, and obtained remarkable achievements and improvements in the fields of infrastructure, energy, environmental protection, high-tech industry investment, etc. The investment data climbed year by year, which helped greatly the economic development of Central and Eastern European Countries. In particular, China’s investment in the western Balkans has made obvious progress, which attracted wide attention from the international community. Investment promotion will continue to be one of the main breakthrough points of cooperation between China and CEEC in the future, and will effectively improve the trade volume between China and CEEC and alleviate the trade deficit.

Second, local cooperation growing vigorously.

Local cooperation is a distinguishing feature of the cooperation between China and CEEC. It effectively solved the problem of asymmetric sizes of the markets of China and CEEC, achieved seamless connection between different grassroots
actors, enhanced the cooperation between China and CEEC in depth, and inspired the enthusiasm of all actors in cooperation. Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Hebei, Beijing and other provinces intensified their respective local cooperation with CEEC and have achieved remarkable results.

Third, enhancing precise and specialized cooperation.

The “16+1 Cooperation” framework increased the level of the precise cooperation in various specialized fields, perfected good guiding arrangement, and promoted the adaptation to the market rules and willingness of cooperation. On such basis, China and CEEC respectively put forward various cooperation platforms. Nearly 20 in total, those platforms involved various fields. All these have enriched the China-CEEC Cooperation, actively boosted the “16+1 Cooperation” for further development in CEEC, thus achieved the goal of comprehensive, multi-level and wide-ranging policy exchanges and pragmatic cooperation.

Fourth, rich and colorful people-to-people exchanges.

People-to-people exchanges between China and CEEC have also achieved great developments in the past five years. The scale, level and effectiveness of people-to-people exchange have been unprecedentedly promoted, the mutual understanding between China and CEEC went deeper. Cooperation in the fields of political parties, education, health, youth, media, think tanks etc. has achieved remarkable results. For example, in the field of think tanks cooperation, 16+1 Cooperation has become a hot topic in the research area of international studies, which greatly promoted the development of CEE as a research field in China and CEEC.
Fifth, making progress in promoting the Belt and Road Initiative.

The CEE region was wholly brought into the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative, and became the access point for the Belt and Road to the Europe. The “16+1 Cooperation” began to actively participate in the Belt and Road one year after its start, which promoted the Belt and Road Initiative to develop in CEE and Europe. It helped the realization of the Maritime Silk Road (China-Europe Land-Sea Express Route) and the Silk Road on the Land (the new Eurasian Continental Bridge and the China Europe Express) in Europe, introduced a series of connectivity projects, issued a series of financial support instruments, actively promoted the people-to-people connection, helped the Belt and Road to make remarkable achievements, and became one of the demonstration areas of the Belt and Road construction.

Sixth, initiating the early exploration.

The “16+1 Cooperation” is an important initiative to promote regional cooperation between China and Europe, earlier than the sub-regional cooperation between China and Northern and Southern European countries. Although it has met various problems and challenges during the process, in general, the achievements outweigh the problems, and it also provides valuable experiences for other sub-regional cooperation between China and EU. It is the first step of sub-regional cooperation between China and EU, and has created a new highlight of the cooperation between China and Europe.
IV. “16+1 Cooperation”: Successful Experiences In the Past Five Years

First, playing an active role to shape the cooperation framework.

The introduction of the “16+1 Cooperation” framework evidently demonstrated the initiative, enterprising and practicality of the Chinese policy makers. As a new initiative put forward by China, it is a new platform for cooperation constructed on the basis of the national conditions of the 17 countries and concrete requirements from these countries. The “16+1 Cooperation” has made innovation and breakthrough in regional cooperation, shown obvious Chinese characteristics, and provided new studying cases for China’s diplomacy.

Second, win-win cooperation and mutual benefit.

The “16+1 Cooperation” has kept adhering to the principle of mutual respect, equality, mutual benefit and win-win cooperation, which is the very reason for CEEC to approve and actively participate in this framework. In the past five years, “16+1 Cooperation” made impressive achievements, the connectivity and infrastructure between China and CEEC made great progress, and economic and trade cooperation between China and CEEC enhanced greatly at the backdrop of the downward trend of international trade as a whole. All these achievements are directly relevant to the principles of the win-win and mutual benefit cooperation advocated by China.
Third, open and inclusive cooperation.

From the beginning, the “16+1 Cooperation” is not an exclusive arrangement, but aimed at being an open platform, compatible with all kinds of beneficial and positive factors. The EU has always been invited as an observer, and Austria, EBRD, Greece, Switzerland and Belarus were also invited as observers during different periods, whose participation enlarged the scale of cooperation. The introduction of observers has greatly improved the openness of “16+1 Cooperation”, and provide institutional guarantee for the stakeholders to express their concerns and for each side to jointly promote the development of “16+1 Cooperation”.

Fourth, flexible, pragmatic and economic and trade-oriented cooperation.

The “16+1 Cooperation” actively adopted a pragmatic and flexible cooperation approach, incorporated any content of win-win cooperation into the framework of cooperation, regardless of its size, country, scale, or model. At the same time, “16+1 Cooperation” does not blindly expand the scope of cooperation, does not involve deep ideological problems, does not involve geopolitical disputes, nor high-politics fields such as military cooperation, but is wholly devoted to economic and trade cooperation and concentrated in the fields of financial, infrastructure and people to people exchanges.

Fifth, exchange and brainstorm with various partners.

The “16+1 Cooperation” gave full play to the multilateral
platform, created various opportunities for partners to exchange with each other. The establishment of various high-level and professional exchange channels, as well as professional conferences and platforms of different levels and scales, and the availability of multiple exchange channels could contribute to exchanges and brainstorms with various partners, and helped to reach more consensus. These platforms range from the exchanges of supreme leaders, to the meetings of national coordinators of China and CEECs, to coordination mechanisms of specific fields, such as the Contact Mechanism for the Investment Promotion Agencies of China and CEE Countries, 16+1 Transportation and Infrastructure Cooperation Association, the Executive Mechanism for the 16+1 Joint Chamber of Commerce, the 16+1 Agricultural Cooperation Association, the 16+1 Logistics Cooperation Association and so on, all increasing the opportunities for multilateral exchanges.

V. “16+1 Cooperation” : Challenges

From the beginning, the 16+1 Cooperation has not been smooth sailing, but rather faced with many challenges, which should be recognized by both China and CEEC.

1. The promotion of some flagship projects is less successful than expected

The flagship projects, for example, the Hungary-Serbia railway, have attracted wide concern, but progressed in a slow pace till now. Hungary-Serbia railway is a multilateral project, affected not only by the examination of the EU, but also by the specific conditions and financing modes of the partners such as Hungary and Serbia, and by the third parties such as Russia, thus progressed
quite slow. There will be more and more Chinese projects carried out in CEE, together with more and more restrictions in various aspects, which need time, patience and wisdom to gradually solve.

2. The EU and some of its member states remain hesitant and suspicious

16+1 Cooperation is an indivisible part of the cooperation between China and Europe, and a useful complement to China-Europe relationship. China has always insisted on forming the 16+1 Cooperation as an important “interface” for The Belt and Road Initiative to integrate into European economic circle, and the priority area for the construction of relations of Four Major Partnerships between China and Europe, as well as a new growth pole of China-Europe cooperation. Although our attitude is sincere, CEEC also have cooperation demands and wishes, the EU and some member states are still suspicious about it, sometimes worrying that China intends to “divide and rule” Europe, which to some degree affected the environment of 16+1 Cooperation. In this way, we still need to keep working on enhancing mutual trust and clarifying doubts between China and Europe.

3. The bottleneck of investment and financing is difficult to solve in short term

In order to promote the Belt and Road Initiative and 16+1 Cooperation, China have invested plenty of financial instruments in CEE, and promoted a number of projects to come to fruition in CEE. However, in general, some big projects, especially large infrastructure projects, were carried out more in the western Balkan states that have not yet joined the European Union rather than
the European Union members in CEE region. In order to avoid risks, we have proposed some conditions for financing sovereign guarantee, which obstructed lots of funds from China to be used in European Union member countries and therefore affected the enthusiasm of cooperation of the CEEC. Because of the different environment for investment and financing, and in considering of its high interest rate, China’s commercial financing is not competitive in the CEE market. The above difficulties need both sides to find a way to creatively solve problems and overcome obstacles.

4. With big diversity among different CEECs, there is a situation of “one zone, one policy” and “one country, one policy”

CEE is not a homogenous area, with great diversity among the situations of different regions and states. There is big difference among the Central Europe region, the Baltic Sea region and the Western Balkans region. The Central Europe region is relatively developed and deeply integrated into the European industrial chain, while the countries in the Baltic Sea region are relatively small and deeply involved in the European integration and the countries in the Western Balkan region are mostly candidate states of the EU. For each country, there are also obvious differences among their concrete conditions. Therefore, in facing difficulties of coordination, Chinese policy in CEEC should not be “one-size-fits-all”, but to precisely handle and properly issue policies in order to successfully arrange cooperation with different regions and states.

Conclusion:

So far, the continued development of “16+1 Cooperation” is closely related to China’s insistence to the principle of achieving
shared growth through co-discussion and collaboration. “Co-discussion” means to insist on discussing with all the other states equally and making rules together from the very beginning, without considering their size, power or wealth. “Collaboration” means to take a participatory and inclusive attitude as cooperative partners in all fields of international relation, international cooperation, international exchange or international projects, rather than force things on others. “Shared growth” means that no matter how many achievements and benefits have been made, they should not be exclusively owned by only one side, nor being beneficial to someone while doing harm to the others. “16+1 Cooperation” firmly adhered to those principles, it did not classify the 16 countries by their size, insisted on co-discussing and coordination in making policies, and shared the good results of cooperation.

In conclusion, “16+1 Cooperation” has made outstanding achievements and remarkable results in the past five years while problems also existed. However, as long as we join our efforts with the CEECs, maintain confidence and patience, being sincere and pragmatic, positive and enterprising, the “16+1 Cooperation” will continue to move forward steadily and firmly, and attain a yet higher level in the next five years to come.
In 2017, China-India relations have developed in a way that exceeds the expectations of most people. Chinese and Indian troops were locked in a stand-off in Dong Lang (Doklam) for as long as 71 days, plunging the bilateral relations to a historical low since the end of the Cold War. This, undoubtedly, dealt a significant blow to the relations.

On the other hand, Chinese and Indian leaders have made conscious efforts to undo the damage caused by this incident. Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi had a bilateral meeting on September 5 during the BRICS Xiamen Summit. President Xi underscored that China and India must uphold the fundamental view that the two countries are each other’s development opportunities, not threats. He expressed the hope that India could view China’s development in a correct and rational way and that the two countries should show

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* Lin Minwang is Research Fellow of the Institute of International Studies and Deputy Director of the Research Center for South Asia, Fudan University.
the world that peaceful co-existence and win-win cooperation is the only right option for China and India. When attending the China-Russia-India Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in New Delhi on December 11, 2017, Foreign Minister Wang Yi said that both China and India should follow through the important judgements of the leaders, forge consensus in wider areas and turn it into more concrete measures so as to increase positive fundamentals for the bilateral relations and build up positive energy for exchanges between the two countries. Wang’s statement received positive responses from his Indian counterpart.

China-India relations are poised to restart. Admittedly, past differences may have an impact on the relations going forward. To remove or address these differences, as President Xi often said to Prime Minister Modi in their meetings, the two sides must respect and accommodate each other’s concerns and deepen political trust. Only by taking a historical perspective and keeping to the right strategic direction can the two sides always pursue cooperation as the theme of their relations.

1. The Belt and Road Initiative should not be an obstacle in China-India relations

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has aroused suspicions and misgivings on the Indian side since it was put forward by China. India has been opposed to the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) under the BRI. On April 25-26, 2017, India resumed the building of the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIMEC). The third BCIMEC meeting was held in Kolkata, India, two and a half years after it was suspended. Nevertheless, India remains unchanged in its attitude
toward the BRI.

By making goodwill gestures, China has welcomed and encouraged India to be part of the BRI. At the BRI workshop hosted by the Observer Research Foundation on April 21, Liu Jinsong, Minister of the Chinese Embassy in India, explained China’s position. “CPEC is a project to improve people’s lives. China has no intention to involve itself in the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. China’s position on Kashmir remains unchanged. China may consider extending CPEC to link it with the BCIMEC and India’s North-South Economic Corridor. Synergies could also be created between India’s Project Mausam and Spice Route and China’s BRI.

However, China’s efforts have received no active responses from India. And India has chosen to interpret them in a different direction, believing that these proposals don’t fundamentally address its concerns. India held the view that its absence at the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation (BRF) will make China feel uneasy and that whether India’s present or not at the forum is crucial for China. To this end, India’s foreign ministry issued a spokesperson’s statement before the BRF to solidify its position.

The BRF held in early May highlight the exception of India on this matter. To India’s surprise, Japan and the US, out of people’s expectations, participated in the BRF. In particular, the US government confirmed sending a high-level delegation on May 12, which was described by India as a U-turn. The support from the US and Japan accentuates the fact that India does not fit in the big picture. As other South Asian countries have all
rallied behind the BRI which is, too, generally accepted by the international community, India only shows its opposition for opposition’s sake.

As part of their efforts to undercut the BRI, Japan and India pull together on the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC). India also advances connectivity with neighboring countries, promotes the building of the Chabahar Port in Iran, and restarts the construction of the highway connecting India, Myanmar and Thailand. China welcomes greater contribution by India to the economic development of the countries in the region and hopes that the connectivity promoted by India could be complementary with BRI projects. As President Xi said, China “wishes the best for friends and neighbors” when pursuing neighborhood diplomacy. Big countries shall, he said, “complement each other and work for continued progress”. International politics should not become a wrestling ground.

That said, India has also demonstrated some flexibility. At the China-Russia-India Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in December 2017, the three parties reached consensus on promoting connectivity on the Eurasian continent. “The three countries will, under the principle of wide consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits, promote policy, infrastructure, trade, financial and people-to-people connectivity. The connectivity initiatives of the three countries should be aligned and complementary instead of undercutting each other, so as to form economies of scale and promote regional integration.” This points out the direction for China and India to end confrontation on the BRI.
2. Is it true that India wants to be the pillar of America’s “Indo-Pacific Strategy”?

The assumption of office by US President Donald Trump in January 2017 also had an impact on US-India relations. Yet, the Modi-Trump meeting in June enables the US-India strategic partnership to continue.

If the US and India develop their relations with China as their common, hypothetical enemy, it will, without question, hurt India’s strategic interests. In the statement released after the Modi-Trump meeting, the two countries committed to follow four principles in the Indo-Pacific, which are obviously directed against China: i. reiterating the importance of respecting freedom of navigation, overflight, and commerce; ii. calling upon all nations to resolve territorial and maritime disputes peacefully and in accordance with international law; iii. supporting regional economic connectivity through the transparent development of infrastructure and the use of responsible debt financing practices, while ensuring respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the rule of law, and the environment; and iv. calling on other nations in the region to adhere to these principles. Such statements are obviously directed against China’s policy on the South China Sea and the BRI. They also highlight the lack of independence of India’s diplomacy and its endorsement of US diplomacy.

The US seeks to advance its own policy in the region by raising India’s status. On August 21, Trump made a speech on the situation of Afghanistan and South Asia in Virginia, shedding light on America’s emerging South Asia strategy. “India makes billions of dollars in trade with the United States, and we want
them to help us more with Afghanistan, especially in the area of economic assistance and development,” said Trump. Such a statement reveals Trump’s policy for South Asia. He seems to ask India to help the US address the issue of Afghanistan. And this will be the precondition under which the US allows India to continue to make money.

In America’s Indo-Pacific strategy, India is assigned the same strategic role. The two countries strengthen strategic and defense cooperation. The US seeks to enhance India’s independent defense capabilities. Apart from intelligence sharing, the US gradually removes legal barriers for selling sophisticated weapons to India. The weaponry the US sells to India reach the same level of those sold to its allies, such as P-8 maritime reconnaissance jets, UAVs and aircraft carrier technologies. As such, the India-US defense cooperation is transformed from a buyer-seller relationship to one of co-production.

The two countries also stay in communication on each other’s Indo-Pacific strategies. India’s Act East Policy is deeply aligned with the Indo-Pacific strategies of the US and Japan. An alliance with India, Japan and Australia as the major players has taken shape. The US, Japan and Australia are working to establish a leaders’ dialogue mechanism and a maritime security dialogue mechanism between the four sides. The US, Japan, Australia and India have also established bilateral dialogue mechanisms among themselves. For example, India-Australia Foreign and Defense Ministers’ Dialogue and US-India Foreign and Defense Ministers’ Dialogue.

China is not against India establishing normal state-to-state
relations with any major country. As India’s Act East diplomacy bears on China’s security interests, it is only natural that China reassesses India’s strategic independence on the diplomatic front. Yet, India is still uncertain about Trump’s foreign policy. As D.S. Hooda said in his article on the Indian Express, America’s diplomacy serves nothing but its own interests. India should be careful to be not used by the US. It is groundless for the US to accuse China of undermining the international rules-based order, because President Trump is the least observer of international norms. Therefore, he cautioned that India’s diplomacy must take its own national interests as the criterion. As China-US strategic competition may escalate, India must not seek to follow the US as the only diplomatic pursuit.

In the face of multiple uncertainties, India does not embrace the US without hesitation. In the 2017 DG-level dialogue between the US, Japan, India and Australia, India released a statement different from those of the other three countries. It made no mention of the rules-based order, freedom of navigation, maritime security or international law. Nor did it commit to deepen the dialogue mechanism. India wants to build a free, open, prosperous and inclusive architecture in the Indo-Pacific region, which is in stark contrast with the value-based alliance advocated by the US, Japan and Australia.

China understands the independence of India’s diplomacy. India also needs to show sufficient respect to China’s security concerns. Former Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh once stated that India undoubtedly needs to build good relations with both China and the US. This, however, is not a zero-sum game. India has no intention or will to be part of any strategy to contain
China. Such a big and vibrant country as China can never be contained.

3. The future growth of China-India relations calls for more positive energy

China and India, two ancient civilizations and emerging market countries, have the same historical mission to develop and rejuvenate. With the same or similar views on the world trends and international affairs, the two countries should be natural partners for cooperation.

In fact, China and India have similar historical experiences and national conditions. They need to identify what can bring the two countries together. Aamir Khan, the renowned Indian actor, visited China in May 2017 and was warmly welcomed by his Chinese fans as much as Jackie Chan is immensely popular in India. The Indian movie Dangal was such a hit in China that its box office taking is far higher than in India. It is almost impossible for the movie to be as popular in the European and American markets because of different national conditions and historical experiences.

The imperative for China and India is to genuinely foster mutual trust. With trust, specific issues can be resolved on the basis of mutual understanding and accommodation. Without trust, some issues may simmer and produce spillover effects that erode bilateral relations. As such, Foreign Minister Wang Yi suggested that the two sides improve strategic communication at all levels, resume already established dialogue mechanisms, and deepen practical cooperation in all areas while managing existing
differences and maintaining peace and tranquility in border areas. Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj responded by saying that as two major developing countries, India-China relations go beyond the bilateral scope and have regional and even global implications. The commonalities between India and China far outweigh their differences. The two countries should enhance strategic communication, increase strategic trust, and must never allow differences to turn into disputes and disputes into conflicts. India is willing to resume all bilateral mechanisms and promote cooperation with China in all sectors. At the same time, the two countries should properly manage their differences and jointly maintain peace and tranquility in border areas. Only when India and China join hands can an Asian century really come.

With the restart of their relations, China and India must never forget why they started. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Indian Prime Minister, put forth the vision for the revival of Asia and held the conviction that a truly Asian century will only come when China and India both rise. As the two countries continue to rise, they should all the more keep to this aspiration, because “when China and India speak in one voice, the world will listen”. 😊
Visits & Events

Dominique De Villepin, Former Prime Minister of France, Attended the 4th World Internet Conference Wuzhen Summit

From 2 to 4 December 2017, at the invitation of CPIFA, Mr. Dominique De Villepin, Former Prime Minister of France, attended the 4th World Internet Conference Wuzhen Summit. He participated in the Opening Ceremony and delivered keynote speeches respectively at the Plenary Session and two sub-forums (International Cooperation Along the “Digital Silk Road” and “Minister Dialogue: Internet Inclusiveness and Sharing”). During
the conference, Mr. Wang Huning, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Member of CPC Central Committee Secretariat, met with Mr. De Villepin and his entourage. The two sides exchanged views on strengthening China-France and China-Europe relations as well as cooperation in the field of Internet. Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, was present at the meeting.

Celebrations of the 45th Anniversary of the Re-opening of Sino-American Relations and the NCUSCR 50th Anniversary Held in Beijing

Celebrations of the 45th Anniversary of the Re-opening of Sino-American Relations and the NCUSCR 50th Anniversary, co-sponsored by CPIFA and National Committee on U.S.-China Relations (NCUSCR), was held in Beijing from December 1st to 2nd. The NCUSCR delegation, led by Amb. Carla A. Hills, former U.S. Trade Representative and Chair of Board of Directors,
NCUSCR, visited Beijing and attended the celebrations.

On December 1st, Vice Premier Wang Yang and State Councilor Yang Jiechi met the NCUSCR delegation respectively. A celebration dinner was held in the evening. Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, attended the meetings and the celebration dinner and delivered a speech at the dinner.

On December 2nd, more than 20 experts and scholars participated in the discussion on China-U.S. relations. The two sides had an in-depth exchange of views on respective domestic political environment and its implications for foreign policies, economics and trade and so on. Vice Foreign Minister Zheng Zeguang delivered a speech on China-U.S. relations at the working lunch of the discussion.

President Wu Hailong Meets with H.E. Mr. Romano Prodi, Former President of EU Commission and Former Prime Minister of Italy

On 27 November, Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with H.E.Mr. Romano Prodi, former President of EU Commission and former Prime Minister of Italy. The two sides
exchanged views on China-EU relations, the European situation and other issues of common interest.

Vice President Liang Jianquan Meets Former Heads of States from Serbia, Bulgaria and Bosnia and Herzegovina

On 4 December, Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA, met with H.E. Mr. Boris Tadic, former President of Serbia, H.E. Mr. Rosen Plevneliev, former President of Bulgaria and H.E. Mr. Zlatko Lagumdzija, former Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The two sides exchanged views on cooperation between China and the Central and Eastern European Countries, China’s One Belt One Road Initiative, current world and regional situations as well as issues of common interests.

Vice President Liang also briefed on the 19th National Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party at their request.
The three former heads of states were invited to the Schwarzman College of Tsinghua University to be guest lecturers.

The 4th Meeting of China-Australia High Level Dialogue Held in Melbourne, Australia

The 4th meeting of China-Australia High Level Dialogue, co-sponsored by the CPIFA and Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia, was held in Melbourne, Australia on November 24th. More than 50 delegates from China and Australia were present at the meeting. Delegates of the two sides, headed respectively by Amb. Li Zhaoxing, Former Foreign Minister and the Honorable John Howard, Former Prime Minister of Australia, represented a wide range of areas, covering political, economic, educational and media fields. Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, attended the meeting and presided over the session on the people-to-people exchanges. The two sides conducted in-depth
discussions on bilateral relations, economic cooperation and trade, people-to-people exchanges, and global and regional cooperation. Delegates of both sides spoke positively of bilateral relations and proposed suggestions on the future development of bilateral ties.

President Wu Hailong Meets with Former Philippine President Gloria Macapaga Arroyo

On November 8, Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with the delegation of the Association for Philippine-China Understanding (APCU), headed by Chair Gloria Macapaga Arroyo, former Philippine President and now a member of the Philippine House of Representatives. The two sides exchanged views on the 19th CPC National Congress, Sino-Philippine relations, people-to-people exchanges and other issues of mutual interests. Amb. Ou Boqian, Vice President of CPIFA, was present at the meeting.
From 22 to 28 November, at the invitation of CPIFA, H.E. Mr. Demetris Syllouris, President of the Cyprus House of Representatives, visited Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. During the visit, Mr. Zhang Dejiang, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, Mr. Wang Yajun, Assistant Minister of International Department of the CPC Central Committee, Ms. Yin Yicui, Chairwoman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress and Ms. Li Yumei, Chairwoman of the Standing Committee of the Guangdong Provincial People’s Congress, and Mr. Liang Jianquang, Vice President of CPIFA, met with him respectively and exchanged views on further enhancing bilateral relations as well as cooperation in various fields.
Vice President Ou Boqian Meets With Amb. Najmuddin A. Shaikh, Former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan

On November 6, Vice President Ou Boqian of CPIFA met with Amb. Najmuddin A. Shaikh, former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, who visited China to attend the Beijing Forum. The two sides exchanged views on China-Pakistan relations, the B&R Initiative and bilateral exchanges of think tanks.

The 17th China-ROK Elite Forum Holds in Beijing

On November 3rd, the 17th China-ROK Elite Forum co-sponsored by CPIFA and the 21th Century Korea-China Leaders Society (21C KCLS) was held in Beijing. The Chinese delegation, headed by Li Zhaoxing, Honorary President of the CPIFA and Wu Hailong, President of the CPIFA, and the Korean delegation, headed by Lee Soo Sung, former Prime Minister of Korea and Kim Hankyu, Chairman of the 21C KCLS attended
Delegates of the two sides made candid and in-depth discussions on issues of “maintaining regional peace and stability in Northeast Asia” and “solutions to China-ROK relations for the future”.

Yang Jiechi, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and State Councilor, and Tang Jiaxuan, former State Councilor, met with the Korean delegation on November 2nd.

The China-ROK Elite Forum was initiated by CPIFA and the 21th Century Korea-China Leaders Society in 2001, which is held annually in China and Korea in rotation.
The 20th African Senior Diplomats Delegation Visits Beijing and Zhejiang

From October 16 to 20, at the invitation of CPIFA, the 20th African Senior Diplomats Delegation visited Beijing and Zhejiang. The members of the delegation came from 19 African countries and 4 regional organizations.

In Beijing, Amb. Chen Xiaodong, Assistant Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) met with the delegation; Mr. Dai Bing, Director General of African Department, MFA had a meeting with the delegation. The delegation also visited Star Times Group, China Road and Bridge Corporation and China-Africa Development Fund. In Zhejiang Province, the delegation visited Alibaba Group, and met with Mr. Jin Yonghui, Director General of the Foreign Affairs Office of Zhejiang Province. The two sides had in-depth exchanges on China-Africa relations, business and pragmatic cooperation.
The 2017 China-France Young Leaders Program Holds Successfully

From October 13th to 16th, the 2017 China-France Young Leaders Program, co-organized by CPIFA and the France China Foundation, was successfully held in Rhône-Alpes and Bourgogne. Over 50 young leaders from two sides had various forms of exchange on the theme of “Health and Innovation”, and visited the Nouvel Institut Franco-Chinois, the BioMérieux Company, the Station F and the George Pompidou Hospital. The President of France, Emmanuel Macron, met with the young leaders at l’Élysée on October 16th.
以习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想
引领中国外交开辟新境界

王毅 中国外交部部长

党的十九大报告提出的新时代中国特色社会主义思想，是我们党的重大理论创新，是马克思主义中国化的最新成果和重要飞跃，为推进新时代中国特色社会主义事业提供了强大理论武器和行动指南。这一思想将引领中国人民阔步迈向社会主义现代化强国，开拓行得稳、走得远的中国发展道路。将向世界展示中国特色社会主义光明前景，使中国发展的世界意义更加彰显，中国道路的全球影响更加深远。

外交工作是中国特色社会主义事业的重要组成部分。习近平总书记的报告对进入新时代的中国外交作出顶层设计，既深刻总结五年来外交工作取得的重大进展，又全面规划部署今后一个时期的外交任务与方向。报告将实践与理论创新紧密结合，创造性地提出有关我国对外关系、国际秩序、全球治理等一系列重大政策主张，全面丰富发展了中国特色大国外交理论体系，有着鲜明的时代性、创新性和先进性，为我们做好新时代的外交工作提供了行动指南。

推动构建新型国际关系、推动构建人类命运共同体，是党的十九大报告外交部分最核心、最突出、最重要的理念。它作为一个整体，科学回答了建设什么样的世界、中国需要什么样的外交，以及如何开展国与国交往、如何探索人类发展未来等重大问题，为进入新时代的中国外交亮明了新旗帜，催生了新作为，开辟了新境界。

构建新型国际关系、构建人类命运共同体的提出，有着深厚的历史、文化、政策和实践渊源。

它源自中国共产党的历史使命。习近平总书记在报告中明确指
出，“中国共产党是为中国人民谋幸福的政党，也是为人类进步事业而奋斗的政党。中国共产党始终把为人类作出新的更大的贡献作为自己的使命”。这段话凸显了中国共产党人的历史自觉、国际视野和世界关怀，说明我们党从建党的初心开始，就把中国人民的幸福与世界人民的幸福紧紧连接在一起，就意识到要高扬国际主义的精神。这是我们党同其他国家政党的重要区别，也是我们开展对外交往时必须铭记的重要准则。

它源自传统文化的深厚积淀。中华民族有着五千多年悠久历史，创造了灿烂辉煌的中华文明，形成了兼爱非攻、亲仁善邻的和平志向，以和为贵、和而不同的和谐理念，大道之行、天下为公的博大情怀。这些独具特色的文化价值观，滋养着中国外交理念的根脉，孕育着处理当代国际关系的中国智慧。

它源自中国外交的优良传统。新中国成立以来，我们党在实践中形成一系列重大外交政策主张和战略思想。我们积极倡导和平共处五项原则，致力于同各国开展友好合作，始终将自身发展寓于世界各国共同发展之中，赢得国际社会的广泛理解和支持，使和平发展的道路越走越宽广。

它源自大国外交的创新实践。党的十八大以来，习近平总书记站立时代潮头，把握世界大势，亲自擘划运筹，提出了一整套外交新理念新举措新战略，指导中国外交呈现鲜明的中国风格、中国特色和中国气派，取得全方位、开创性的历史成就。我们从容应对国际局势深刻演变、全面参与全球事务和重大国际行动，发出中国声音，提出中国方案；我们积极建设全球伙伴关系网络、落实“一带一路”等重大倡议，向国际社会贡献越来越多的广受欢迎的公共产品；我们主动应对全球性挑战、推出完善全球治理体系的重大举措，承担更大国际责任和应尽义务，树立起负责任大国形象。五年来的外交实践和行动，诠释了中国外交是爱好和平、主持正义的外交，是不断为人类发展进步作出贡献的外交，也是理论和实践始终走在时代前列的外交。

构建人类命运共同体顺应世界发展潮流，契合各国人民共同期盼，树立起新时代中国外交的一面旗帜。

当今世界，和平与发展的大趋势没有改变，但动荡、冲突、失衡的一面十分突出，人类面临许多共同挑战。“没有哪个国家能够独自应对人类面临的各种挑战，也没有哪个国家能够退回到自我封闭的孤岛”。各国人民期待提出符合时代需求、促进国家间和谐相处的新愿景。构建人类命运共同体，呼应了国际社会求和平、谋发展、促合作、要进步的迫切愿望和不懈追求，为破解当下安全与发展难题、推动国际关系健康发展提供了正确思路，使中国外交准确把握了时代发展脉搏，牢牢占据了人类道义制高点。
构建人类命运共同体是中国特色大国外交理论创新的集大成。它融会贯通中外优秀思想文化，将中国自身发展同世界共同发展融为一体。习近平总书记在报告中呼吁各国人民同心协力，建设持久和平、普遍安全、共同繁荣、开放包容、清洁美丽的世界，并为此规划了实践路径。“持久和平”就是要跳出冷战思维，摆脱强权政治的阴影，坚持相互尊重、平等协商、和而不同，寻求持久和平与安宁。“普遍安全”就是要倡导树立共同、综合、合作、可持续安全的新观念，推动以对话解决争端，以协商化解分歧，合力消除安全威胁，谋求共同安全。“共同繁荣”就是要各国优势互补、同舟共济、相互促进，推动经济全球化再平衡，促进共同发展、共同进步。“开放包容”就是要坚持开放发展，反对保守封闭，坚持文明多元，反对孤立隔绝，倡导不同国家和文化间的交流互鉴。“清洁美丽”就是要重视生态环境保护和建设，合作应对气候变化，保护好我们共同的地球家园。构建人类命运共同体这一重大理念和目标的提出，表明中国共产党人愿意也能够为解决人类问题、促进人类发展进步作出更大的贡献。

构建新型国际关系的实质是要走出一条国与国交往的新路，并将为构建人类命运共同体开辟道路，创造条件。为此，我们需要牢牢把握相互尊重、公平正义、合作共赢三个关键词。

相互尊重是前提。要秉承国家不分大小、强弱、贫富一律平等，不同制度、宗教、文明一视同仁。要尊重各国不同历史文化和发展阶段性特点，尊重彼此的核心利益和重大关切，尊重各国人民的自主选择。各国政治制度和发展道路各不相同，既不能定于一尊，也不能生搬硬套，各国各地区应当加强交往，推动世界各国消弥隔阂，凝聚共识，既实现自身繁荣发展，又共促人类文明进步。

公平正义是准则。要顺应历史潮流，摒弃丛林法则，反对干涉别国内政，反对把自己的意志强加于人。支持联合国在国际事务中发挥核心作用，遵循联合国宪章宗旨和原则，恪守国际法和公认的国际关系准则。支持扩大发展中国家在国际事务中的代表性和发言权，积极推动国家讨伐为合理公正的制度性变革。

合作共赢是目标。面对恐怖主义、网络安全、气候变化等全球性挑战持续蔓延，任何国家都无法独善其身。各国命运紧密相连，利益休戚与共，唯有共担风险，共同应对，才能互利共惠，共赢发展。要冲破主从之分、阵营之别的思想藩篱，超越零和博弈、赢者通吃的理论窠臼，倡导各国扩大利益交集，合力应对挑战，共护和平，共促发展。

推动构建新型国际关系，推动构建人类命运共同体，既是中国和平发展的传承与创新，也承载着中国对建设美好世界的理想和追求，是中国梦同世界梦相
互连接的自然交汇点。它超越了国别、党派和制度的异同，汇聚起各国都认同的最大公约数，蕴含着人类都接受的共同价值，已经获得越来越多国家的响应和支持。它将不断增进各国之间的交流沟通，有利于创造求同存异、和而不同、互利合作、共赢发展的良好局面。

二

贯彻落实习近平总书记外交思想，既要精准把握推动构建新型国际关系、推动构建人类命运共同体的核心要义，又要循着这一目标方向，系统掌握各领域各方面对外政策的新思想新战略，形成重点突出、协调并进、全面深入的生动局面，坚定不移地走出一条与传统大国不同的强国之路。这不仅是中国作为社会主义大国为人类社会发展应当承担的历史职责，也是中国共产党人为人类政治文明进步应当推进的历史使命。

伙伴关系是构建新型国际关系的重要路径。志同道合是伙伴，求同存异也是伙伴。遵循对话而不对抗、结伴而不结盟的理念，我们已经同100个左右的国家、地区和地区组织建立了不同形式的伙伴关系，实现了对世界各个地区、不同类型的国家的全覆盖，形成了全方位、多层次和立体化的外交布局。中国将继续聚焦各国利益汇合点，努力构建总体稳定、均衡发展的大国关系框架。按照亲诚惠容和与邻为善、以邻为伴方针，深化同周边国家的睦邻友好。讲信义、重情义、扬正义、树道义是新外交的优秀基因，是中国外交核心价值观的重要内涵，我们要继续秉持正确义利观和真实亲诚理念，加强同广大发展中国家团结合作，努力维护和扩大彼此的共同利益。

“一带一路”建设是中国致力于构建人类命运共同体的生动实践。我们要继续秉持共商、共建、共享原则，认真落实“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛重大成果，深化各国发展战略对接，实现各国发展优势互补，抓实抓好重点项目、重大工程，使“一带一路”成为各国共同参与的宏大“交响乐”。

对外开放是我们的基本国策，需要长期坚持。中国作为自由贸易的坚定支持者，将继续扩大对外开放，推动建设开放型世界经济，维护和加强多边贸易体制，促进自由贸易区建设，推动区域经济一体化，促进贸易和投资自由化便利化。支持发展中国家增强自主发展能力，缩小南北差距，促进经济全球化朝着更加开放、包容、普惠、平衡、共赢方向发展，实现世界经济强劲可持续增长。

作为负责任大国，中国将全面深入参与全球治理进程，推动各国利益共享、责任共担。我们要按照习近平总书记提出的发展观、安全观、文明观、治理观，
主动参与和引领全球治理体系变革方向，支持联合国、二十国集团、亚太经合组织、上海合作组织、金砖国家机制等发挥更大作用，推进联合国2030年可持续发展议程、气候变化《巴黎协定》生效落实，积极参与制定海洋、极地、网络等新兴领域治理规则，不断增强我国议程设置权、国际话语权和规则制定权。

需要指出的是，构建新型国际关系、构建人类命运共同体的努力，蕴含在我们坚持探索自身发展道路的努力之中，建立在维护自身合法权益的基础之上。我们将坚定不移地走独立自主的和平发展道路，坚定不移地维护国家主权安全发展利益，坚定不移地通过对话谈判妥善解决有关争端。旗帜鲜明地坚持一个中国原则，反对和遏制“台独”分裂图谋，反对任何外部势力干涉中国内政。 “外交为民”是我们不变的宗旨，积极维护中国在海外的正当利益，是新时代中国外交的应有之义和应尽职责。

五年来的外交实践和成就证明，中国共产党人不仅有信心、有能力建设好自己的国家，而且有信心、有能力同世界各国一道，实现共同发展；不仅能够为人类社会探索更好社会制度提供中国智慧，也能够为发展中国家走向现代化提供新的路径。我们要以学习贯彻党的十九大精神为契机，牢固树立“四个自信”，在国际上积极开展治国理政经验交流，讲好迈进新时代的中国故事，弘扬中国的优秀传统文化，增进国际社会对我国发展道路、对外政策的理解和认同，不断提升我国道义感召力和国际影响力。

时代潮涌，中国向前。我们正在以前所未有的自信、勇气和坚韧，乘风破浪，砥砺前行。我们一定要更加紧密地团结在以习近平同志为核心的党中央周围，用党的十九大精神和习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想武装头脑、凝聚力量。以与时俱进、开拓进取的精神，开启新时代中国外交的新征程。以踏石留印、抓铁有痕的作风，为实现中华民族伟大复兴、促进人类和平与发展作出新的贡献。
中东的热点问题与中国的中东外交

宫小生  中国中东问题特使

中东位于欧、亚、非三大洲交汇战略要冲，地理位置重要，同时拥有丰富的油气资源，已探明石油储量7420亿桶，占世界总储量的61.5%，已探明的天然气储量88万亿立方米，占世界总储量的42%，历来是大国角逐之地。2011年以来，地区局势持续动荡，地区格局深刻变化，许多专家认为，中东正在发生自一战以来最深刻的变化，将重塑地区政治版图，并严重影响全球安全和稳定。在中东地区形势的发展中，最引人注目的就是地区的热点问题的走向和恐怖主义的发展，成为全球关注的中心。

长期以来，中东的多个热点问题与民族、宗教、教派、地缘及域外大国等因素交织在一起相互影响，成为影响地区安全与稳定最突出的问题。一些热点虽然出现新的变化，但政治解决之路并不容易。巴勒斯坦内部和解取得突破，美国特朗普政府宣布将大力推动重启巴以和谈，并将提出新的“中东和平计划”，中东和平进程如何发展引起国际社会的广泛关注和强烈期待。叙利亚问题日内瓦和谈和阿斯塔纳对话会双轨并进，各方对政治解决紧迫性的认识进一步上升。也门、利比亚局势虽然依旧僵持，但各方普遍认同政治解决是唯一出路。伊拉克反恐战事持续取得进展，但库尔德地区独立公投又引发人们担心地区更广泛新动荡的风险上升。海湾国家与卡塔尔断交危机深刻冲击海合会的内部团结，打破僵局到解决分歧可能需要更长时间。中东的这些热点问题不解决，中东不安稳，世界难太平。当前，中东形势发展的不稳定不确定因素依然突出，中东动荡不仅影响地区国家，也殃及周边地区，对世界和平、稳定与发展构成冲击。

恐怖和难民等非传统安全威胁依然严峻，是影响地区形势发展并引起国际广泛忧虑的另一个突出因素。在国际社会密集、强力打
击下，“伊斯兰国”由盛而衰，作为“建政”实体走到了穷途末路，大势已去。但其残余仍在负隅顽抗，并谋求向北非、中亚、南亚和欧美其他国家和地区扩散转移，更多瞄准软目标下手，以期最大限度制造恐怖威慑效应，成为威胁国际安全的流动祸水。各种宗教激进极端势力扩散威胁依然存在，国际反恐旷日持久，难以速决。长期的动乱使中东日益成为全球难民的主要输出地，据估计，目前中东地区逃离失所者接近1200万人，是2005年的5倍。地区总人口只占世界总人口的8%，但来自本地区的难民人数却占世界难民总数的50%以上，大量难民涌向周边国家和欧洲，影响了相关国家的稳定。

在动荡的形势下，中东地区许多国家经济和社会的发展面临极其严峻的挑战，发展失衡引起社会动荡甚至内乱，而内乱和社会动荡又使发展更加困难，探索新路步履艰难，一些国家推进改革的过程并不平坦，“由乱而治”将需要很长时间。但求稳求治已成为地区各国人民的普遍愿望，地区经济正在向恢复的方向发展，地区平均经济增长率由2015年的0.94%增加到2016年的2.58%，2017年达到了4.17%，高于全球平均增长水平（3.5%）。但同时，地区平均失业率高达12.73%，平均外债占GDP比重达49.57%，平均通货膨胀率达9.3%，发展过程仍然任重道远。如何处理好改革、发展、稳定的关系，探索适合本国国情的发展道路和模式，是地区大多数国家面临的共同而紧迫的任务。

中国政府一贯认为，中国的安全和发展与世界的安全和发展息息相关，中国与中东地区所有的国家都建立了外交关系，并保持友好合作。2016年中国同地区国家双边贸易额2283.9亿美元，自中东进口原油1.9亿吨，约占中国石油进口总量的50%。因此，中国高度关注中东特别是热点形势的发展，高度关注地区许多国家面临的严峻的安全风险，真诚地希望维护中东地区的和平与稳定。中国坚决支持通过谈判和对话政治解决中东的热点问题。为推动中东热点问题的政治解决，2002年，中国专门设立中东问题特使，2016年又设立了叙利亚问题特使，就有关热点问题在有关各方间斡旋调解，受到了地区国家的广泛欢迎。

中国的中东外交超越中东纷繁乱局，坚持公道和正义，主张通过谈判和政治对话解决冲突和争端，积极推动与中东地区国家共建“一带一路”，以发展促和平，彰显了负责任的大国作用。2016年1月，习近平主席在阿盟总部发表的重要讲话中首次明确提出了“不找代理人、不搞势力范围、不谋求填补真空”的“三不原则”，为中国的中东外交确立了中东治理的合作者这样一种的全新大国形象，进一步开创了中国中东外交的新局面，展现出鲜明的中国特色。

中国的中东外交坚定不移地坚持联合国宪章和国际法的基本准则，秉持公道正义，坚持不干涉内政原则。但坚持不干涉内政原则不等于无所作为，相反，
中国积极主张对话不对抗，结伴不结盟，通过政治手段解决地区争端，对推动有关各方寻求谈判政治解决发挥了重要的建设性作用。在巴勒斯坦问题上，中国与国际社会站在一起，支持中东和平进程，支持建立以1967年边界为基础、以东耶路撒冷为首都、享有完全主权的独立的巴勒斯坦国。今年7月，习近平主席再次接待巴勒斯坦国总统阿巴斯访华，提出中方推动解决巴勒斯坦问题的四点主张：第一，坚定推进以“两国方案”为基础的政治解决；第二，坚持共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观；第三，进一步协调国际社会的努力，壮大促和合力；第四，综合施策，以发展促进和平。在叙利亚问题上，中方强调政治对话是根本之道，坚持维护国际公理法治，先后提出“六点主张”、“四点倡议”、“五个坚持”和“四步走”等思路和举措，积极劝和促谈，推动叙危机重回政治解决轨道。在伊朗核问题上，中国作为联合国安理会常任理事国和六国机制成员，一贯采取客观、公正和负责任的立场，呼吁各方从维护国际核不扩散体系、维护中东地区和平与稳定的大局出发，推动伊核问题政治外交解决进程，为全面协议的达成和顺利执行作出了积极贡献。卡塔尔断交危机爆发以来，中国先后接待阿联酋国务大臣、卡塔尔外交大臣访华，深入了解当事方立场，并提出三点主张。中国还向涉巴勒斯坦、叙利亚、也门等热点问题有关国家提供人道援助，帮助地区国家缓解人道危机。

中国在中东热点问题的解决中坚定支持发挥联合国作用，积极参与中东维和机制，积极参与联合国在中东地区的维和行动。中方加入了联合国维和待命机制，建立了8000人的维和待命部队。中国在中东地区参与的联合国维和行动包括耶路撒冷的“联合国停战监督组织”、黎巴嫩的“联合国驻黎巴嫩临时部队”、苏丹的“联合国苏丹特派团”、“联合国—非盟达尔富尔混合特派团”，以及西撒哈拉的“联合国西撒哈拉全民投票特派团”等。

中国的中东外交有原则，有主张，有思路，有行动。近年来，中国进一步提出了“发展促和平”理念，与中东、阿拉伯国家共建“一带一路”，为中东发展和治理提出了中国思路和方案。2004年，中阿双方成立中阿合作论坛，成为新时期双方加强集体对话与合作的重要平台，双方并于2010年确立了全面合作，共同发展的战略合作关系。习主席2014年出席论坛第六届部长会开幕式并发表主旨讲话，提出以共建“一带一路”引领中阿关系发展和论坛建设，开辟“1+2+3”合作新格局的倡议，从战略、机制层面为中阿集体合作标定方向。2016年1月，习主席在阿盟总部发表重要演讲，向中东提出共建“一带一路”的行动理念，强调中国要做“地区和平建设者、发展推动者、工业化助推者、稳定支持者和民心交融合作伙伴”，宣布“促进稳定、创新合作、产能对接、增进友好”四大行动计划，强调破解难题，
关键要加快发展。中东动荡，根源出在发展，出路最终也要靠发展。

中国倡导的“发展优先”理念，将“一带一路”倡议作为双方深化合作的总框架，符合中东国家意愿和关注点，有助于构建和谐与稳定的新中东，得到越来越多地区国家的认可。5年来，中国同8个国家签署共建“一带一路”谅解备忘录，同5个国家签署产能合作文件或协议，10个国家成为亚投行创始成员国。中国同地区合作双多边齐头并进，从油气、贸易、工程承包传统合作向全方位复合型合作迈进。中方还正在积极推进沙特吉赞中国产业集聚区、阿曼杜库姆中国产业园、中阿（联酋）产能合作示范园、中埃（及）苏伊士经贸合作区建设。我们希望通过参与阿拉伯工业园区和经济特区建设，更好地支持阿拉伯经济多元化战略。

中国积极主张并大力推动加强与中东国家的文明对话，倡导民心相通。习近平主席指出：“国之交在于民相亲，民相亲在于心相通”。推动民心相通，既可以为各国务实合作夯实社会根基，也可以为改革和完善全球治理体系注入动力，并进而为构建人类命运共同体创造条件。实施增进友好“百千万”工程，即开展100部中阿典籍互译；邀请100名专家学者互访；提供1000个阿拉伯青年领袖培训名额，邀请1500名阿拉伯政党领导人来华考察；提供1万个奖学金名额和1万个培训名额，落实1万名中阿艺术家互访。今年4月，由外交部、教育部、上海市政府共同主办的中阿改革发展研究中心在上海成立，将进一步加强中阿双方的治国理政经验交流和相互借鉴。今年8月，中阿合作论坛“中阿文明对话暨去极端化圆桌会议”在成都召开，中阿双方达成多项共识，并一致强调在尊重不同文明的平等和多样性基础上开展文明对话，倡导求同存异、兼容并蓄、和平共处、和而不同。中国外交部和教育部还联合设立了“中阿翻译联合培养计划”，旨在为阿拉伯国家培养高层次中阿翻译人才，其他有关互访、培训等均在有序开展。

当前，中东仍未摆脱战争和动乱之苦，化解分歧，破解难题，加快发展是地区人民的普遍向往，地区国家也更加期待中国为地区稳定和发展贡献更多力量。中东日益紧密地融入中国外交和发展战略之中，成为不可或缺的重要一环。刚刚胜利闭幕的中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会明确了中国特色大国外交要推动建设新型国际关系，推动构建人类命运共同体，这高度凝练了新时代中国外交的总目标，也向包括中东地区国家在内的世界各国亮明了中国希望与各国共同努力的大方向。习近平主席指出，新时代是中国日益走近世界舞台中央，不断为人类作出更大贡献的时代。新时代的中国中东外交将为地区问题早日解决贡献中国方案，为地区国家探索发展路径提供中国思路，为共建“一带一路”，实现互利共赢创造发展机遇，为文明交流互鉴贡献东方智慧。中国的中东外交能够也必将在中东和平进程推进的过程中发挥应有的作用。
欧洲面临的内外难题

丁原洪  中国前驻欧盟使团团长

英国全民公投决定脱离欧盟，尤其是力挺英国脱欧、唱衰欧盟的特朗普入主白宫，给欧洲以极大的震撼。欧盟委员会主席容克公开表示欧盟面临“生存危机”。积极推动一体化进程的欧洲精英阶层担忧欧盟其他成员国步英国后尘，在今年相继进行的荷兰、法国等国议会选举中，以反对外来移民、反对欧洲一体化为主要政见的所谓“民粹主义者”获胜，出现“黑天鹅事件”。形势的复杂变化使欧洲今年甚至无心热烈庆祝一体化进程60周年纪念。

所幸的是，人们担心的“黑天鹅事件”并未发生。继奥地利、荷兰极右翼候选人在选举中失利之后，在欧洲人最为关注的法国大选中，虽然是“反建制派”人物，但积极支持欧盟一体化的马克龙大获全胜。欧洲人松了一口气，并且对重绘一体化蓝图再度萌生希望。与此同时，坚持“硬脱欧”观点的英国首相特蕾莎·梅在她提前举行的英国大选中，意外受挫，使保守党失去了在下议院议席占据绝大多数的优势地位，从而加剧保守党乃至英国全国本就存在的在英国脱欧问题上的分裂；而欧盟领导人反感的美国总统特朗普又因国内愈演愈烈的内斗而身陷被动。这一切加之欧盟经济复苏明显，使欧盟倍感“兴奋”，认为重塑欧盟的时机到了。在法国总统马克龙联手德国总理默克尔主导下，法、德、意、西四国领导人近日将举行峰会，为根据今年3月纪念《罗马条约》60周年举行的欧盟领导人峰会确定的“以不同的速度和强度”继续推进欧洲一体化进行具体筹划。

眼下欧洲形势给人的印象似乎是海面风暴过后的暂时平静。其实，由于欧洲一体化内外都面临棘手难题，暗流涌动，随时可能再起波澜。
对内而言，欧盟面对民族主义思潮兴起、国际竞争力下降、今后去向不明三大难题。对外而言，它急需应对的有英国脱欧谈判、大西洋两岸关系恶化、对俄罗斯政策分歧三件大事。内外困难交织，相互影响，哪个问题解决起来都不容易。

对内：一、民族主义思潮兴起。国外不少学者认为，无论英国脱欧还是美国特朗普总统奉行“美国优先”政策，先后退出“跨太平洋贸易伙伴关系协议”、有关气候变化的“巴黎协定”等多边机制，标志着民族主义思潮在全球化推进多年后重新兴起。目前民族主义和全球主义在全球范围进行较量。这一现象在欧洲表现得尤为突出。

民族主义思潮重新兴起的主因在于西方资本主义国家大力推动并主导的“全球化”遇到了挫折，或者说西方国家民众从全球化中收益不均，贫富差距进一步扩大，导致社会的分裂和基层民众对精英阶层的不满。英国公投脱欧和特朗普以“反建制派”角色当选总统，恰恰是民族主义思潮重新崛起的集中反应。知名美国国际问题学者扬·布雷默日前撰文指出，民族主义之所以再度显现，原因在于促使它存在的问题并未消失，亦即“世界上最富有的国度越来越多的民众仍然忧虑全球化只有利于精英阶层，而这些人对于民族国家及其边界并不关心。”正因为如此，当前民族主义的支持者主要是以反对外来移民和反全球化为标志。近日特朗普公开表示，即使由于经费不足令联邦政府停摆，也要修筑美墨边境隔离墙，就是突出例证。

马克龙当选法国总统后，欧洲议会议长安东尼欧·塔加尼认为“民粹主义（实应称为民族主义）的兴起已告结束。”布雷默的文章反驳说“马克龙面对的是既有来自极右又有来自极左方面的强力反对。匈牙利和波兰在欧盟中变得越来越叛逆失矩。英国脱欧谈判陷入僵局。在欧洲各处，对欧盟的反感和愤怒在继续增长。选举从来不是事情的终结，而是开始。”欧洲的现实表明这一看法不无道理。说到底，无论英国脱欧还是匈、波等中东欧国家集体抵制欧盟分摊难民的决定，从不同角度说明，从一体化向民族主权国家回归的趋势，将会是法、德等国家试图进一步推进欧洲一体化的一大阻力。

二、国际竞争力下降。在2008年全球金融危机冲击下，欧盟陷入严重的经济危机，复苏乏力，一度成为拖累全球经济的主要因素。统计数字显示，多年来欧元区国家的经济增长率低于非欧元区的欧盟国家，而欧盟国家的经济增长率又低于美、加、澳等非欧盟国家，更低于新兴经济体和一些发展中国家。这一怪现象折射出欧盟国际竞争力下降这一致命痼疾。

一体化在初始阶段确实有助于成员国的经济增长，但随着国际竞争越来越
激烈的弊端逐渐显现出来。由于成员国增多，利益多元化，欧盟实施的“主权共享、协商一致”的机制，越来越难以适应瞬息万变的国际形势；反促成其逐渐变成墨守陈规，不思改革，甚至官僚主义化。欧委会主席容克年初答记者问时，坦承所谓“民粹主义”在欧洲不少国家得势，“在很大程度上是欧盟自己的错误造成的”。“欧盟和欧委会给人的印象是，我们统领一切。最好应由国家、地方和地区权力机构去办的许多事情，我们都试图施加影响。”换言之，把以“主权共享”原则为基础的欧盟机构异化成与一体化思想格格不入的“中央集权”。

比利时首相查尔斯·米歇尔说：“最近10年、15年以来，当我们谈论欧洲时，我们只谈危机：难民危机、预算危机、金融危机。现在我们必须实现新的欧洲梦想。”新的欧洲梦想是什么？恐怕欧洲人自己也说不清。旧的欧洲梦想，或者说欧洲一体化倡导者们的最高理想——联邦欧洲，实践已经表明是行不通的。正如欧盟理事会主席图斯克所指出的，“乌托邦式地企图建立联邦欧洲，加速着欧盟的解体。”

欧盟目前面临的最大悖论在于，继续沿着目前的道路走下去，前景是暗淡的；不进行改革就无法生存，但它自身又没有能力进行必要的改革。不仅成员国困于“谁改革谁丢选票”的“魔咒”（马克龙刚上台支持率急剧下降是新的例证），而且27个成员国就改革达成共识，更是难上加难。

三、今后向何处去不明。欧洲一体化进程从启动之初，成员国对此就没有共识。即使法、德两个起着一体化“火车头”作用的国家也怀着不同的心思。法国启动一体化的一个重要目的就是制约曾一度为害欧洲的德国再度崛起；而德国为洗刷自己在二战中的劣迹不得不接受一体化，但始终没有放弃把“欧洲的德国转变为德国的欧洲”这一战略目标。英国的加入以及大批中东欧国家在上个世界90年代初苏联解体后纷纷涌入欧盟，使得利益多元化愈加明显，在事关欧盟今后向何处去的意见分歧也更加复杂。

近10年国际形势的变化以及欧盟固有弊端的作用，使得欧盟内部分崩离析，既有折射经济差距的“南北问题”，也有凸显价值观分歧的“东西问题”，深化一体化的新道路依旧未能找到。今年3月欧盟签署新的《罗马宣言》时，容克曾说，“我们目前面对的挑战绝对无法与欧盟创始人当年所面临的挑战相提并论”。形势变了，但欧盟领导人的思路没有变，还是按照“更紧密欧洲”的思路搞下去。

在欧盟委员会事先公布的欧盟未来的五大方案中，法、德联合意、西四国选定了“多速欧洲”，亦即让核心国家和除此以外的欧盟成员国在一体化速度上实
现多样化。中东欧国家担心自己被核心国家当成二流国家，对“多速欧洲”想法有保留。最终，3月欧盟峰会将新《罗马宣言》有关表述“部分国家可以更加紧密行动，以更快速度深化一体化”，改为“根据需要，以不同的速度和程度共同行动”。即使如此，波兰总理依然对宣言公开表示不满。据此，可以判定，欧盟即使实施“多速欧洲”方案也不会顺利。今后向何处去的问题依然没有消失。

值得注意的是，最近欧盟委员会以波兰国内进行的司法改革有违欧盟确定的“法治国家”规定，准备根据欧盟条约第7条对波兰实行制裁。欧盟委员会还对波兰、匈牙利、捷克拒绝接受难民，向欧洲法院起诉。法国总统为准备召开法、德、意、西四国峰会筹划欧洲一体化未来，访问中东欧的奥地利、罗马尼亚、保加利亚，但拒不去波、匈、捷三国。制裁成员国、向法院起诉成员国这种事，在欧盟历史上是少见的。迹象表明，东西欧之间的矛盾已发展到无法掩饰的地步，这对欧盟进一步推进一体化绝非好兆头。

对外：一、英国脱欧谈判。谈判已于6月下旬开始，已进行了两轮磋商（每月一次），迄今尚未就谈判程序达成协议。一则是英国脱欧史无前例，对双方都会造成不小的损害。双方都想将损失降到最小，最大限度地维护自身利益，寻求妥协实属不易。二则是欧盟方面想借谈判之机“杀一儆百”，杜绝效尤，并藉以促进欧盟内部由于危机四伏而急需的团结局面。它故意提高谈判要价，拖延谈及欧英未来双边关系。对此，英国方面也不示弱，先亮出“硬脱欧”方案，并表明自己已经做好谈成和谈不成两手准备，同时，凭借它在反恐情报工作、安全领域以及金融合作方面的优势地位，对欧方进行反制。预期按规定，在英国正式提出脱欧申请两年内，亦即2019年3月29日前完全结束谈判难度很大。在这期间，英国脱欧谈判将是影响欧洲全局形势的一大变量。

二、大西洋两岸关系恶化。美欧双方从盟友转变成竞争对手，再到今天双方公开争执，经历了一个过程。促成今日的局面，主要是苏联解体导致美国成为世界上唯一超级大国，它谋求独霸世界；而随着两德统一和欧洲一体化的深入和扩大，欧盟与美国力量对比的差距缩小，欧盟不甘心于“美主欧从”的格局，力求与美“平起平坐”。这一战略目标造成的分歧越来越大。

欧盟各国力挺的希拉里·克林顿在美国大选中失利，而他们公开表示不悦的特朗普却意外获胜。加之，特朗普一上台就力挺英国脱欧，斥责德国，唱衰欧盟，使德国如今主导下的欧盟更加恼火。以致欧盟理事会主席图斯克公开表示，特朗普当选美国总统是欧盟外部的一大威胁；德国总理默克尔说，“我们可以完全依赖别人的日月在某种程度上已经结束”，“我们欧洲人必须真的把我们的命运掌握在自己手中。”
说归说, 但真要走欧洲“独立之路” 还远谈不上。始建于二战后的美欧同盟对双方来讲, 都是各自外交的基石, 也是双方几十年来实力大发展的有力支撑。已经形成了“你中有我, 我中有你”的密不可分的局面。尽管双方矛盾日趋尖锐, 争吵摩擦不断, 但双方从根本利益出发都还要极力维系大西洋两岸关系。只不过双方都把各自利益放在首位而已。即使这样, 这一变化对欧洲和世界形势的影响还是不容小觑。

三、对俄罗斯政策分歧。这一问题导源于不同国家的不同处境和战略利益差异。简而言之，美国成为唯一超级大国后极不愿意看到俄罗斯重新崛起，所以一直利用北约东扩这一主要手段，不断挤压俄战略空间，试图在瓦解苏联之后继续瓦解俄罗斯。美国历届总统在美苏冷战结束后从未放弃这一战略构想。特朗普上台后一再示好俄罗斯，招致国内反对势力指责其“通俄”，并就此大做文章，绝非偶然。这折射出美国国内根深蒂固的“反俄”、“仇俄”情绪。欧盟国家尤其是德法等西欧国家虽也利用欧盟东扩扩大自己势力范围，但出于自身地缘政治和经济利益的考虑，在挤压俄罗斯方面主张适可而止，开展与俄的互利合作。这与美国的做法有很大不同。今年5月在美俄关系日趋紧张的形势下，曾一度扬言乌克兰东部局势不降级则不访俄的德国总理默克尔径赴俄索契会晤俄总统普京。法国总统马克龙就职不久就在巴黎盛情接待普京。这两者都显示西欧大国不愿在对俄政策上亦步亦趋地追随美国。

还需要看到的是, 中东欧国家与西欧大国在对俄政策上也有分歧。前者更担忧俄罗斯的安全威胁，宁可牺牲经济利益也要坚持对俄制裁措施。对于法、德为重塑欧洲一体化蓝图而极力强调建立欧洲独立防卫力量，波兰等国担心这会影响到美国主导的北约对其安全的保护而极力反对。美国无论奥巴马还是特朗普都试图利用东西欧之间的分歧分化欧盟。美国国防部长马蒂斯访问乌克兰，允诺向乌提供军援；与此同时美派特使赴俄商谈美参与有关乌克兰明斯克协议进程。美国对乌克兰这一并非北约成员的国家突然“上心”，实则意在利用乌克兰问题作为与俄讨价还价的筹码，同时也是为了打入德、法等欧盟国家主导的明斯克协议进程，借以施加美国的影响。

有关各方在对俄政策上的分歧，使得欧洲今日的形势极其错综复杂。

当前，世界秩序正经历巨大变动。美欧等西方主导的世界秩序难以为继，而新的世界秩序尚未形成。世界局势中，由于内外因素的作用，欧洲形势变动最大，对世界形势发展的影响也最为明显。值得密切观察与认真研究。
“一带一路”：正面回应西方质疑

王义桅  中国人民大学教授，国际事务研究所所长

习近平总书记在十九大报告中指出，经过长期努力，中国特色社会主义进入了新时代。中国特色社会主义进入新时代，意味着近代以来久经磨难的中华民族迎来了从站起来、富起来到强起来的伟大飞跃，迎来了实现中华民族伟大复兴的光明前景；意味着科学社会主义在二十一世纪的中国焕发出强大生机活力，在世界上高高举起了中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜；意味着中国特色社会主义道路、理论、制度、文化不断发展，拓展了发展中国家走向现代化的途径，给世界上那些既希望加快发展又希望保持自身独立性的国家和民族提供了全新选择，为解决人类问题贡献了中国智慧和中国方案。

“一带一路让我们的合作有了抓手和平台，人类命运共同体建设让我们的合作有了方向和理念”。这是笔者在中国共产党与世界政党高层对话会上听到最多的表态。的确，“一带一路”就是中国给国际社会提供的最重要公共产品，彰显中国引领全球化、全球治理的中国智慧和中国方案。

“一带一路”，全称叫“丝绸之路经济带”和“21世纪海上丝绸之路”。有三个关键词，第一个是“21世纪”。“一带一路”首先是由铁路、公路、航空、航海、油气管道、输电线路、通信网络组成的综合性立体互联互通的交通网络，其核心词是互联互通——万物互联、人机交互、天地一体，鲜明体现21世纪特色。第二个讲“带”，是经济带经济走廊与经济发展带，是中国改革开放模式经验的体现。共建“丝绸之路经济带”，以点带面，从线到片，逐步形成区域大合作。第三个讲“路”。中国人有句话：“要致富，先修路；要快富，修高速；要闪富，通网路”，在中国，“路”还不
是一般的路，是道路，“路”只是实现“道”的一种方式。“道”怎么说的呢？《道德经》第42章说，道生一，一生二，二生三，三生万物。今天的道就是命运共同体。因此，“一带一路”不是一条，而是很多很多条，大家都有份，因为它要的是开放的、包容的。

通过说文解字，就不难明白，“一带一路”四个字可谓浓缩了中国三十多年改革开放的经验和五千年文明智慧，具有鲜明的中国特色，但这个中国特色越来越对别的国家产生吸引力，具有世界意义。

当今世界，各种国际论坛越来越时髦地列入“一带一路”分论坛，自觉不自觉谈及“一带一路”，谈论中国必谈“一带一路”。然而，“一带一路”毕竟是新生事物，中国毕竟是国际舞台的新手，西方对“一带一路”存在不少质疑。“中国模式能适用于国外吗？“一带一路”能遵守开放、透明的国际规则吗？“一带一路”如何处理债务问题、环境问题、劳工问题……”笔者先后赴40多个国家宣讲“一带一路”或参加“一带一路”相关论坛，经常遇到这样或那样的问题。

● 质疑什么？

概括而言，笔者感到西方的质疑主要集中在以下方面：

（一）对世界的质疑：

1. 未来几十年处于不确定性，质疑是对自身不确定性的转移：“一带一路”会带来什么？缺乏自信的西方国家，将世界的担忧、自身未来的担忧，转嫁到了中国，转嫁到了“一带一路”身上。
2. 借“一带一路”来说事儿，一些有识之士客观、积极评价中国，评价“一带一路”，但政党斗争挂帅背景下，反屋及乌，把他们客观看待的“一带一路”也连带反对。中国、“一带一路”躺着中枪！
3. 世界真的变了？中国能比西方做得更好？美国学者加尔布雷思所言：“人类永恒的愚蠢是将莫名其妙的担忧等同于智力超群。”国内外舆论质疑“一带一路”，反映面对世界变化，知识、思想不够用，常感慨西方的平庸，无法有此壮举，因而生妒、生气。国内公共知识分子也是如此。

（二）对中国的质疑：

1. 意图质疑：过剩产能倾销？中国改写国际规则？将“一带一路”简单当做中国解决国内问题的外交战略，担心中国不尊重外在世界感受的。
2. 套路质疑：怎么建设“一带一路”？中国国内就不遵守规则，如何在国际社会遵守规则？共商共建共享原则是不是有些too good to be true（说得太好了，不可能吧）？

3. 能力质疑：中国模式本身能否持续，国外能否推广？国有企业，不公平竞争；中国国内经济降速，能否带得动？人民币国际化降速？能否支撑“一带一路”建设？习近平主席在今年“一带一路”高峰论坛增资国开行、口行能否支撑？如何协调不同融资渠道？能否打造国际融资机制？

4. 结果质疑：中国主导？中国中心秩序？就算“一带一路”是好的，结果让中国做大，担心中国恢复朝贡体系。

（三）对“一带一路”本身的质疑：

1. 性质质疑：“一带一路”是公共产品还是中国战略？如果是公共产品，希望有利于改善国际体系。

2. 路径质疑：开放透明？规则导向还是发展导向？能否坚持公平竞争？是否只是有利于中国的政府采购？其他国家如何参与？

3. 方式质疑：融资：“一带一路”如何融资？能否坚持高标准，如环境标准、劳工标准？与现有机制什么关系？

4. 效应质疑：“一带一路”是中国的地缘政治战略？如何处理地区领土争端？会否导致歧视性安排？

5. 有效性质疑：“一带一路”面临那么多风险，尤其是如何应对伊斯兰恐怖主义威胁？能否做到可持续发展？

6. 后果质疑：“一带一路”是否制造债务危机？如何事先评估？韩国《朝鲜日报》认为，“一带一路”连连受挫，是因为建设费用对于南亚、中亚、东非等地区的国家而言过于昂贵，且工程全部由中方负责，参与国无法从中分享技术、经验而累积的不满与反驳，导致了“一带一路”如今的尴尬局面。

● 为何质疑？

总体上看，其原因无外乎以下三个方面：

其一，无知与偏见：对“一带一路”不了解，缺乏历史参照系，用西方参照系诸如马歇尔计划无法理解，拿欧洲人的话来说就是“欧洲要睁眼看世界了。历史上从未见过如此宏大合作倡议，超过我们欧洲人想象力。”于是产生傲慢与偏见，摆出一副法官姿态质问“一带一路”，拷问中国。
其二，利益驱使，趋势担忧：对中国动其奶酪的抱怨，导致西方的世界影响力下降的担忧，滋生出各种各样的疑问。

其三，立场决定态度：凡是信任中国、喜欢中国的，就信任“一带一路”，喜欢“一带一路”；反之，凡是对中国有担心的就担心“一带一路”，不信任中国的就不信任“一带一路”。质疑中反映西方不习惯、不甘心中国领导世界，挑头搞“一带一路”。

总体印象：发展中国家关心给我们带来什么好处，发达国家关心给我们可能带来什么坏处？日本不习惯中国领导，指望美国回心转意，继续领导世界。欧洲也有类似心思，但日本更甚，尤其最近领导新版TPP，印太战略倡议由日本提出而被美国采纳，鼓励了日本的信心。

心理分析：
从心理上看，有关质疑反映出质疑者难以摆脱的一切从自身利益出发的旧的思维方式：

（一）守旧的思维方式：
1. 见微知著：担心长远效应。见风就是雨。
2. 以小见大：巴基斯坦电站停了。怎么回事？
3. 以古观今：是否再现中国石油换贷款的委内瑞拉债务危机？

（二）矛盾心态：既想了解，又不愿理解。既想合作，又担心只是配角。

（三）恨铁不成钢心理：美国做不到，西方不行，中国能做到吗？

上述质疑，甚至在许多发展中国家也存在，因其二元性——经济基础是发展中国家水平，意识形态却是西方那套。这些质疑甚至与国内言论一唱一和。对此我们需要认真对待。

对相对客观的意见建议可认真听取并视情采纳，以利于改进我们的工作：

（一）注意名与实：欢迎参与“一带一路”建设的“参与”有“中国主导”的意思，建议改为“欢迎合作建设‘一带一路’”，不光是与中国合作，鼓励相互合作，多边合作。

（二）知行合一：共商共建共享不是口号，不能停留在原则层面，而是各环节始终坚持。

（三）统筹各种关系：论“一带一路”要处理好的十大关系。

（四）与联合国对接，高举气候变化、和平合作大旗，践行五大发展理念。

（五）堂堂正正讲好“一带一路”故事：不要人夸颜色好，只留清气满乾坤。
对不实言论要进行有力批驳。同时保持心态坦然，因为事实胜于雄辩。

下面是本人在一些国际论坛上对某些质疑的回答：

对具体项目质疑：不能只从自己主观出发，不了解就妄加评判。应让当地人评价。事实是，“一带一路”人物、工程已进入毛里求斯、斯里兰卡货币！

对债务问题质疑：不要老盯着鸡何时可以卖掉还债，要看到鸡会生蛋！改革初，中国举世行、亚行债，西方担心债务危机，经济起飞后根本没发生。不要狭隘地看债务，经济有正外部性，“一带一路”是搞产业链，不是简单地搞基建。中国的高铁发展每公里2亿元投入，2万公里共计4万亿元投入，债务为何未到天花板，反而助推中国经济实现快速发展和国内经济一体化？

对标准问题质疑：亚投行用的是美元，坚持lean, green, clean高标准！另外，要实事求是，有些国家、有些项目无法实现西方的高标准很正常！西方的高标准给当地带来了什么？中国通过开发性金融、工业园区建设在创造、培育市场，最终帮助发展中国家能在国际市场融资，能按照国际规则行事。中国投资解决了西方解决不了或不愿意解决的“鸡生蛋还是蛋生鸡”的问题，给了“一带一路”国家发展的第一桶金，接下来还要与西方发达国家合作呢。

所谓新殖民主义：我们帮助非洲造血，搞工业化，西方在非洲殖民几百年，还不如中国近十几年！除了“三网一化”分享中国“要致富先修路”的现代化经验，中国还在非洲搞民生工程，切实提升非洲人权。

所谓忽视人权：巴基斯坦卡拉奇每年缺电，现在中巴经济走廊要在2020年让巴能源实现独立，多么了不起！

所谓过剩产能输出：中国通过和平合作的方式解决产能走出去问题，哪像日本、德国为此发动二战！中国的成功学习了日本ODA、新加坡工业园做法，甚至“丝绸之路”是德国人的提法。

以斗争求合作。斗争不是斗嘴、斗气，是为了团结。“一带一路”加快引导全球资本向基础设施、实体经济的方向流动，把热钱变成冷钱，把虚钱变成实钱，把盲目流动的投资变成有目标、有结果的投资，使全球化中流动的资金服务于各国经济发展和民生改善。中国的强大应用能力如果和西方国家的资金、技术合作，可以深挖开发第三方市场。西方应改变思维模式，与时俱进。

总的看，传统上在全球治理中长期处于主导地位的西方社会，出于各种不同原因，对“一带一路”有各种不适应，并提出各种质疑。这不足为奇。“一带一
路”作为一项世纪工程，必然要面对国际社会的各种不同声音。对此，我们要积极正面应对，释疑解惑，对不实之辞要正面驳斥，以分清是非。不容否认的是，中方的一系列新思想、新理念、新措施，特别是提出的“一带一路”倡议，是中国为国际社会提供的重要的国际公共产品，是充满中国智慧、中国思想的中国方案。当前形势下，“一带一路”倡议对推动全球化进一步发展、培育新的市场有巨大的正面作用。通过“一带一路”平台，各方有很多可以互利合作共赢的空间。西方应改变思维模式与时俱进。中西方要不断加强沟通交流，相互理解，增进互信，携手建设人类命运共同体。

“一带一路”倡议标志着中国彻底告别了近代以来中西体用、赶超西方的思维逻辑，成为世界领导型国家，不再纠缠于哪个外国月亮比中国圆——其实我们共一个月亮，这就是人类命运共同体；倡议提出后，国际社会不只是抽象谈论中国崛起，而是“一带一路”。这就一下子把国际话语体系从近代几百年拉长到两千多年，解构了西方中心论，尤其是命运共同体超越普世价值，倡导人类共同价值。

从人类历史上看，大国崛起一定会提出引领世界未来的合作倡议和价值理念。“一带一路”就承带着这一使命。
11月27日，第六次中国—中东欧国家领导人会晤在匈牙利布达佩斯召开。布达佩斯会议时值中国和中东欧国家合作开启五周年，更值中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会顺利结束之际。会议充分阐释了十九大报告所形成的中国内政外交新举措，也系统总结了“16+1合作”框架过去五年所取得的成就，并规划了未来一段时期的发展蓝图。

一、“16+1合作”是中国特色大国外交的成功实践

首先，“16+1合作”以区域合作为先导积极践行中国外交新理念和新思想，开创了中国外交的新局面。

“16+1合作”框架中的“中东欧”是一个全新的地缘概念，和该地区的既有定义有所不同。有中东欧国家学者认为，中国通过自己的逻辑和蓝图符号化地重构了一个特定的区域，并越来越为人所接受。中东欧国家之所以认同中国提出的“中东欧”概念，原因在于“16+1合作”平台对该地区的重构，并不是要为这些国家创造一个新的排他性的认同，而只是为他们在国际事务中增加一层身份，增加一个不带任何附加条件的选项。“16+1合作”对区域合作的创新和突破，展现了鲜明的中国特色、中国风格、中国气派。

第二，“16+1合作”展现了中国打造人类命运共同体的诚挚意愿。

“16+1合作”框架是在世界陷入金融危机、经济复苏存在较大不确定性的背景下建立起来的，无论是中国还是中东欧国家都有开辟新的市场、发展新的经贸合作伙伴的迫切需求。习近平强调，在
经济全球化时代，中欧是利益高度交融的命运共同体。“16+1合作”无疑是构建中欧命运共同体的重要支点和抓手。无论在双边关系上还是在经贸合作上，中国和中东欧国家的合作一度是中欧合作大框架中的短板。“16+1合作”不仅补齐了这块短板，更通过全方位、多层次、宽领域的互利合作将中国与中东欧国家凝聚成了一个携手克服经济危机走向共同繁荣的命运共同体，成为中欧合作的新增长极。

第三，“16+1合作”恪守了合作共赢的核心原则。

“16+1合作”一直秉持相互尊重、平等互利、合作共赢的原则，中东欧16国之所以认同并积极参与到“16+1合作”中来，也正是因为如此。五年来，“16+1合作”取得了不俗的成就，中东欧国家的互联互通和基础设施建设取得了长足进步，与中国的经贸合作相比较于西欧国家也呈现出逆势增长的态势。即便如此，由于中国和中东欧国家经济体量的不对称，不时出现对中方提出的“合作共赢”的质疑之声，认为中国算的不是经济账而是政治账，在中东欧谋求地缘政治影响。需要强调的是，互利共赢既不是你少我多、你输我赢，也不是五五分账、吃大锅饭。由于中国和中东欧国家经济体量、市场规模的不对称以及中东欧国家之间的差异性，每个国家或每个项目都能实现利益平分的共赢本来就不现实。只要合作双方不存在输家，不对第三方造成利益上的损失，那就是共赢。中国特色大国外交坚持正确的义利观，义利并举，以义为先。为了推动“16+1合作”，实现构建人类命运共同体的大义，中国让渡部分经济利益是可能的，这既体现了中国外交的优良传统，也履行了大国责任和大国担当。“一带一路”倡议提出后，合作共赢原则进一步向共商、共建、共享的全球治理理念发展。不仅要共同建设，共享成果，更要共商规则，真正实现了合作各方的平等互利。中方欢迎中东欧16国遵循共商共建共享的原则共同参与“一带一路”建设，实现共同发展和共同繁荣，这也让“16+1合作”的合作共赢有了更坚实的基础和更广阔的平台。

第四，“16+1合作”拓展了构建全球伙伴关系的网络。

“16+1合作”开辟了中国同传统友好国家关系发展的新途径。五年来，中国与波兰、塞尔维亚两国的关系提升至全面战略合作关系，与捷克、匈牙利的战略伙伴关系实现了从无到有。更重要的是，通过“16+1合作”框架下的多边和双边会晤，中国和其他中东欧国家的双边关系和互信水平都得到了极大提升。中国倡导的伙伴关系，具有平等性、和平性、包容性，没有主从之分、阵营之别，不设假想敌，不针对第三方。对于中国通过“16+1合作”对欧盟“分而治之”，攫取在中东欧的地缘政治诉求的担忧，既没必要也无必要。中国虽然是“16+1合作”的倡议国，但坚持各方平等，共商共建共享，并不谋求高于伙伴国家的领导地
位。与此同时，“16+1合作”和“一带一路”倡议具有极大的开放性和包容性，对第三方开放从而广交朋友，走的是一条“对话而不对抗，结伴而不结盟”的和平发展新路。

二、“16+1合作”平台建设意义重大

首先，“16+1合作”推动中国与16国双边合作提质增效。

在“16+1合作”框架中，双边合作是基础、“16+1合作”是平台，两者互相依赖、互相补充。在这一平台上，17国平等协商，互联互通，加强对接，在多边上互相寻找机遇点。过去五年，中国的战略合作伙伴关系网在扩大，从中东欧的各个次区域合作均取得重要进展。地方合作成为“16+1合作”的新抓手和亮点，以中欧班列为牵引，以地方领导人会晤为平台，中国和中东欧国家合作在地方合作领域闯出了新路，干出了新成就。不仅如此，在“16+1合作”这个平台上，不同的中东欧国家纷纷展示自身的特色和潜质，积极发挥在各个领域合作的牵引作用，包括匈牙利、塞尔维亚在内的中东欧国家在与中国合作中先行先试，大胆探索，取得了不俗成就，创造了多个“第一”。此外，在双边合作领域，双方还深挖合作潜力，推动建立一系列专业性合作平台，取得积极效果。未来的“16+1合作”框架下的双边合作，还有大量潜力可挖，蕴含着诸多机遇，是中国和中东欧国家合作的主要增长点。

其次，“16+1合作”是推动区域合作的新探索。

“16+1合作”作为次区域合作的独特性，既不乏挑战也充满机遇，为创新区域合作外交实践提供了很大的空间。首先，共商共建共享的全球治理观和国际关系民主化的主张，在“16+1合作”中得到了落实，中东欧成为构建中欧命运共同体的重要支点，这些具有中国智慧的先进合作理念增强了“16+1合作”的向心力，创新区域合作的中国方案为中东欧国家提供了全新选择。其次，高级别、高频度、多层次的会晤磋商机制的建立和完善，在一定程度上弥补了中东欧缺乏内部协调机制的不足，不仅大大提升了中国与中东欧国家的双边关系，更保障了“16+1合作”的持续稳定发展。最后，蓬勃发展的地方合作极大促进了合作形式的多样化，是“16+1合作”得以形成全方位、宽领域、多层次合作格局的关键之一。

再次，“16+1合作”推动了中欧关系发展。

中国将“16+1合作”定位为中欧关系的重要内容和有益补充，在历次重要场合以及发布有关“16+1合作”的重要文件中都反复提及“16+1合作”对中欧关系的重要作用和积极意义。五年多以来，“16+1合作”在促进中东欧国家发展与中
国经贸投资关系上产生了实效；“16+1合作”机制下各国充分把握“一带一路”建设带来的重要契机，不断拓展合作空间，同时为中欧在“一带一路”建设下合作做出了贡献；从发展前景来看，“16+1合作”还会给欧盟区域均衡发展带来更大的益处。总之，“16+1合作”一直秉持发展和补充中欧关系这一重要理念，致力于在中欧合作的框架下发展与中东欧国家的关系，这对于中国、欧盟以及中东欧国家来说都是符合各方利益，并且具有持久活力。

最后，“16+1合作”是推进“一带一路”倡议的重要平台。

“16+1合作”成为“一带一路”建设重要的政策沟通平台，通过该平台，上至最高领导层、中至具体决策机构、下至具体合作领域的协调人和负责任均实现了政策沟通的无缝对接，达成了一些重要战略共识，推进了一系列重要的合作项目和举措。“16+1合作”为推进中欧的互联互通打下良好基础，通过该框架，中国完成了在欧洲海上和陆上丝绸之路的基本布局，海上丝绸之路以中欧陆海快线为纽带，陆上丝绸之路以新欧亚大陆桥建设和推进中欧班列有效运营为纽带；一系列硬联通项目纷纷在中东欧地区落地，与之配套的软联通项目也持续推进，形成了层次丰富、效果显著的基建合作。在“一带一路”框架下，中国和中东欧贸易合作中求稳，妥善解决双边存在的贸易逆差问题，投资合作增长迅猛、成果突出。第“16+1合作”框架坚持灵活、市场化、务实合作为主攻方向，积极为“一带一路”保驾护航，出台多项金融工具，提供多项资金保障，形成了一系列金融安排，成为“一带一路”倡议下金融合作的新亮点。“16+1合作”还积极推进“一带一路”倡议下的民心相通，形成了一系列民间交流和交往的新举措，丰富了中国和中东欧民间交流的渠道，提升了合作的水平和规模。

三、五年来“16+1合作”取得丰硕成果

第一，投资促进，多点开花

“16+1合作”推进五年来，在投资领域取得瞩目成就，重点项目合作取得积极进展，在基建、能源、生态环保、高技术等领域的投资取得明显成效和进展。投资数据连年攀升，带动了中东欧一方的经济发展。尤其是中国在西巴尔干地区的投资，取得明显进展和效果，引发了国际社会广泛关注。投资促进仍将是未来中国和中东欧国家合作的主要抓手之一，将有效提升中国和中东欧国家的贸易额，缓解贸易逆差。

第二，地方合作，如火如荼

地方合作是中国和中东欧国家合作的一个特色，也是一个突出的亮点。它有
效弥补了中国和中东欧国家的市场规模并不对等问题，实现了基层行为体的无缝对接，提升了中国和中东欧国家合作的深度，并激发了各行为体合作的积极性。包括浙江、江苏、河北、北京等省份，加大同中东欧国家地方合作力度，取得突出效果。

第三，精准合作，专业细分
目前，中国和中东欧的区域合作进入更加精细化的领域，“16+1合作”框架充分释放各合作主体的合作潜力和合作信心，让各参与主体参与到各种专业领域的精准合作，做好指导性安排，并遵循市场规律和合作意愿。以此为基础，中东欧国家和中方分别提出了各种合作平台，累计近20个，涉及各种行业和领域，丰富了中国和中东欧国家合作的内涵，也积极助推“16+1合作”在中东欧走向深入，实现了全方位、多层次、宽领域的政策沟通和务实合作。

第四，人文相通，丰富多彩
中国和中东欧国家的人文相通这五年也前所未有的得到发展，人文交流的层次、规模、水平和效果都得到前所未有的提升，中国和中东欧国家的相互了解进一步加深，推动了各个领域更多的扎实合作。在政党、教育、卫生、青年、媒体、智库等多个领域的合作成效显著。比如在智库合作领域，“16+1合作”成为国际问题研究领域的一个热点话题，极大推动了中东欧作为一个研究领域在中国和中东欧国家的发展。

第五，融入带路，地位凸显
中东欧全区域纳入“一带一路”倡议框架下，是“一带一路”进入欧洲的接入点，地位非常重要。“16+1合作”启动一年后，开始积极参与到“一带一路”倡议中，积极推动“一带一路”倡议在中东欧乃至欧洲的落地和发展。推动了“一带一路”海上丝路（中欧陆海快线）和陆上丝路（新欧亚大陆桥和中欧班列）在欧洲的落地，推出了一系列互联互通项目，出台了一系列金融支持工具，积极推进民心相通，使得“一带一路”建设取得显著成效，成为“一带一路”建设的示范区之一。

第六，先行先试，大胆探索
“16+1合作”作为推动中欧合作的次区域合作重要倡议，早于中国和北欧以及中国和南欧国家的次区域合作，因此具有先行先试的特点。尽管在推进过程中遇到了各种各样的问题和挑战，但总体来看，成就大于问题，成果凸显，也为中欧其他的次区域合作提供了宝贵的经验，迈出了中欧次区域合作的第一步，打造了中欧合作的新亮点。
四、“16+1合作”的经验

第一，主动有为，积极塑造

“16+1合作”框架的出台是中国决策者主动、有为、进取的突出体现。“16+1合作”框架中的“中东欧”与该区域所有定义的地缘概念均有所不同。中国通过自己的逻辑科学重构了一个特定区域，并越来越为所接受。它并不是要为这些国家创造一个新的排他性的认同，而只是为他们在国际事务中增加一层身份，增加一个不带任何附加条件的选项。“16+1合作”对区域合作的创新和突破，展现了鲜明的中国特色，为中国的外交宝库又增添了新的探索案例。

第二，合作共赢，互利互惠

“16+1合作”恪守了合作共赢的核心原则。“16+1合作”一直秉持相互尊重、平等互利、合作共赢的原则，中东欧16国之所以认同并积极参与到“16+1合作”中来，也正是因为如此。五年来，“16+1合作”取得了不俗的成就，中东欧国家的互联互通和基础设施建设取得了长足进步，与中国的经贸合作相较于西欧国家也呈现出逆势增长的态势，也与中国推进合作共赢、互利互惠有着最直接的关系。

第三，开放包容，兼收并蓄

“16+1合作”从启动之日起就不是一个排他性安排，而是秉承开放办平台，兼容各种有利的积极的要素。欧盟自始至终受邀作为观察员与会，奥地利、欧洲复兴开发银行、希腊、瑞士和白俄罗斯作为观察员国分别在不同阶段受邀与会，壮大了合作队伍和合作规模。观察员的引入，极大提高了“16+1合作”的开放性，为各利益攸关方表达自己的关切、凝聚各方推进“16+1合作”发展提供了制度性的保障。

第四，灵活务实、经贸主导

“16+1合作”还积极采取务实灵活的合作策略，凡是有合作共赢点的内容，都可纳入合作框架，无论大小、国别、规模、方式。与此同时，“16+1合作”不盲目扩大合作范围，不深度介入意识形态问题，不参与地缘纷争，不把军事等高政治领域的话题纳入合作范围，一心一意谋求经贸合作，以经贸合作为主导，推进金融、基建和民心等的相通工作。

第五，多方沟通、集思广益

“16+1合作”充分发挥多边平台作用，创造各种机会为参与者之间开展沟通，各种高层、专业沟通渠道的建立，各种层次、规模的专业性会议、平台的设立，各种交流渠道的畅通，有助于多方沟通，集思广益，形成更多共识。
高领导层的沟通，中至中国和中东欧国家协调机制的保障，下至各领域的协调机制，例如中国—中东欧国家投资促进机构联系机制、16+1交通基础设施合作联合会、16+1联合商会执行机构、16+1农业合作促进联合会、16+1物流合作联合会等。以这些平台为基础所形成的农业部长会议、交通部长会议、卫生部长会议、文化部长论坛、首都市长论坛等，均成为中国推动“一带一路”建设的重要政策沟通平台，发挥了集思广益的作用。

五、“16+1合作”面临的一些挑战

“16+1合作”自启动之日起就不是一帆风顺的，面临不少挑战，对此中国和中东欧双方应有一定的认识。

第一，旗舰项目推进不如预料。
以匈塞铁路为代表的旗舰项目，凝聚了广泛的关注，但到目前为止，仍然进展缓慢。匈塞铁路是一个跨多边的项目，既受欧盟规则审查的影响，又受到当事国如匈牙利、塞尔维亚具体国情、融资方式等具体影响，也受到第三方的影响，项目进展缓慢。中国在中东欧地区落地的项目会越来越多，但也会面临各方越来越多的限制，需要时间、耐心和智慧去逐渐加以解决。

第二，欧盟及一些成员国尚存疑虑。
“16+1合作”是中欧合作不可分割的一部分，是中欧关系的有益补充。中方一贯坚持将“16+1合作”打造成“一带一路”倡议融入欧洲经济圈的重要“接口”、中欧四大伙伴关系落地的优先区域和中欧合作新增长极。尽管我们的态度是真诚的，中东欧国家也有此合作诉求与意愿，但来自欧盟及部分成员国的疑虑未消，担心中国“分而治之”欧盟的声音时而响起，这在某种程度上影响了“16+1合作”的大环境，中欧双方增信释疑工作仍需持续做下去。

第三，投融资瓶颈短期内难以解决。
为推进“一带一路”倡议和“16+1合作”，中国在中东欧地区投入丰富的金融工具，也推进了多个项目在中东欧地区瓜熟蒂落。但总体而言，一些大项目，尤其是大型基建项目更多的是落地到尚未加入欧盟的西巴尔干国家，而在中东欧的欧盟成员国落地较少。为了规避风险，我方提出的融资主权担保条件，令中方的很多资金在欧盟成员国无法使用，影响到了中东欧国家的合作热情。由于投融资环境的不同，中国的商业融资由于利率较高，在中东欧地区市场上缺乏竞争力。上述情况需要双方能想出办法，创造性地解决问题，克服障碍。

第四，中东欧区域国家差别大，存在“一区一策”、“一国一策”的情况。
中东欧地区是一个非同质化的区域，区情、国情千差万别。中欧区域、波罗的海区域和西巴尔干区域区情差别较大，中欧区域相对发达，融入欧洲产业链较深，波罗的海区域国家小，融入欧洲一体化较深，西巴尔干区域大多是未入盟的候选国。就每个具体国家来说，也面临国情的明显差异。中国对中东欧的政策无法“一刀切”，面临协调困难，需要精准拿捏，妥善出台政策，做好对不同区域和不同国家的合作安排。

结 论

“16+1合作”能走到今天，与中方一贯坚持的“共商、共建、共享”密切相关。“共商”是指任何国际关系、国际合作、国际交往、国际项目，从一开始起，就坚持国家不分大小、强弱、贫富一律平等，大家的事大家一起商量，共同制定规则。“共建”是指我们在整个国际关系、国际合作、国际交往、国际项目中，都用参与式、包容式的伙伴关系来处理、来实施，而不是某一方面强加于人。“共享”是无论这些国际关系、国际合作、国际交往、国际项目取得多少成就、获得多少成果，不是一家独享，更不是仅某一方受益，而其他方受损。“16+1合作”很好地贯彻了上述理念，不以16国的大小划线，坚持共同商量，共同制定政策，并最终共享合作成果。

“16+1合作”推进五年，成效显著，成果令人瞩目，虽面临的问题也是存在的。但只要我们同中东欧国家一道，维持信心、保持耐心、携手合作、求真务实、积极有为，“16+1合作”就一定会行稳致远，在未来五年做稳做实，更上一层楼。
中印关系：不忘初心，负重前行

林民旺　复旦大学国际问题研究院研究员、
复旦大学南亚研究中心副主任

2017年的中印关系发展，可以说出乎大多数人的预料。中印边防部队在洞朗地区形成了长达71天的对峙，使得两国关系降到了冷战结束后的历史低点。无疑也给近年来的中印关系发展造成了一定的冲击。

两国领导人都在积极扭转这一事件可能造成的消极影响。9月5日，在厦门金砖峰会期间，国家主席习近平同印度总理莫迪举行了双边会晤。在会晤中，习近平主席特别指出，中印两国要坚持双方互为发展机遇、互不构成威胁的基本判断。希望印方能够正确、理性看待中国发展。要向世界表明，和平相处、合作共赢是中印两国唯一正确的选择。2017年12月11日，外交部长王毅在新德里出席中俄印外长会时表示，中印双方都要切实将两国领导人的这些重要判断落到实处，形成更广泛的共识，变成更具体的举措，不断扩大双边关系的积极面，不断积累两国交往的正能量。对此，印度外长给予了积极的回应。

两国关系正朝着“再出发”的方向发展。然而，已经形成的一些旧分歧仍可能影响未来的发展。而要消除或解决这些分歧，正如习近平主席在会晤莫迪总理时常常指出的，要坚持尊重和照顾彼此关切，深化政治互信，只有站在历史的高度，把握正确的战略方向，才能使合作始终成为两国关系的主旋律。

一、“一带一路”不应该成为中印关系的障碍

自中国提出“一带一路”倡议以来，印度一直在这一问题上多有疑虑。特别是反对“一带一路”下的中巴经济走廊的发展。2017
年4月25-26日印度重启了孟中印缅经济走廊的建设，走廊的联合研究组第三次会议在印度加尔各答召开，这是时隔两年半之后这一走廊的“重启”。尽管如此，印度在“一带一路”上的态度仍然没有变化。

事实上，中国一直努力释放善意，欢迎并推动印度加入“一带一路”。中国驻印度使馆公使刘劲松在4月21日观察家基金会（孟买）“一带一路”研讨会上的演讲中，明确地解释了中国的立场，“中巴经济走廊是民生项目，中国无意介入印巴克什米尔争端，中国对克什米尔的政策没有变化，可以考虑中巴经济走廊向印度延伸，与孟中印缅经济走廊以及印度的北南经济走廊连接起来，印度的“季风工程”和“香料之路”可以与‘一带一路’对接”。

然而，中国的努力不仅没有得到积极响应，相反印度却朝着另一个方向理解。印度认为，这些建议并没有从根本上解决印度的核心关切。同时，却认为中国对于印度不参加“一带一路”高峰合作论坛而感到焦虑不安。反而认为印度是否参加“一带一路”高峰合作论坛，对中国而言是非常重要的，为此印度还特意在“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛开幕前发表外交部发言人的声明，将自己的立场进一步固化。

5月初的“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛，凸显出印度在这一问题上的“特立独行”。日本和美国突然参加“一带一路”高峰合作论坛的做法，让印度感到意外。特别是5月12日美国政府确认派高级别代表团参加峰会，被印度形容为U形转变。美日对“一带一路”的支持也凸显出印度在其中的不和谐。事实上，随着南亚其他国家加入“一带一路”，国际社会已经普遍接受“一带一路”的情况下，印度的反对只是凸显出其为反对而反对的境地。

部分基于抵消“一带一路”的影响，印日开始着力共建“亚非增长走廊”。印度也在推动同周边的互联互通，积极推动伊朗查巴哈尔港的建设，重启印缅泰三方公路等。中国欢迎印能在地区国家的经济发展做出更大的贡献，只是更希望印度推动的互联互通能够与“一带一路”的项目形成良性竞争的趋势。正如习近平主席指出的，中国的周边外交秉持着“亲望亲好，邻望邻好”的理念，大国之间应该“相互补台、好戏连台”，而是不使国际政治成为“相互角力的竞技场”。

当然，印度也显示了一定的灵活性。2017年12月中俄印三国外长会上，达成了三方推动欧亚大陆互联互通的共识，要“本着共商共建共享原则，致力于政策沟通、设施联通、贸易畅通、资金融通和民心相通，各自互联互通倡议对接而不对冲，互补而不互怼，形成规模效益，促进区域一体化”。这一发展客观上为中印消除在“一带一路”上的对立提供了方向。
二、印度要成为美国“印太战略”的支柱？

2017年1月，美国总统特朗普上台，同样给美印关系造成了一定的冲击。但是随着2017年6月莫迪与特朗普的会晤，可以说实现了美印战略伙伴关系的延续。

美印关系的发展如果以中国作为共同的“假想敌”，注定将损害印度自身的战略利益。莫迪与特朗普会晤后发表的声明中，承诺在印太地区遵循的四个原则，明显具有针对中国的含义。如（1）重申尊重自由航行、飞越自由以及商业利益的重要性；（2）呼吁所有国家要依据国际法，和平地解决领土和海上冲突；（3）支持通过透明的基础设施发展以及负责任的债务融资的做法来促进地区经济的互联互通，同时要确保尊重主权和领土完整、法治及环境保护；（4）呼吁这一地区的其他国家遵守这些原则。这些话的指向性明显地针对了中国的南海政策和“一带一路”，事实上也体现出印度外交“独立性”的缺失，实质上是给美国外交“背书”。

美国借以提升印度的地位，来推行自己的地区政策。8月21日，特朗普在弗吉尼亚就阿富汗及南亚局势发表讲话，美国南亚战略也随着浮出水面。特朗普称，“印度在和美国的贸易中赚到了数十亿美元，我们希望他们在阿富汗问题上提供更多帮助，尤其是在经济援助和发展领域”。由此看来，特朗普南亚政策的做法很明显，似乎是要印度帮忙美国解决阿富汗问题，这是美国愿意继续让印度挣钱的前提。

在美国的“印太战略”中，印度同样被提到核心的角色定位。印美在战略与防务方面加强合作，美国加强印度独立的防务能力建设，除了两国共享情报之外，美国逐步消除阻碍向印度出售各类先进武器的法律障碍，向印度出售的武器达到美国盟友的程度，例如包括P-8海上侦查机、无人机、航母等技术，最终将使印美防务合作由买卖关系转变为共同生产的关系。

双方还对彼此的印太战略进行协调。印度的向东行动政策（Act East policy）与美国、日本的印太战略进行深度对接，逐步形成以印度、日本、澳大利亚为主轴的同盟体系。美日澳在努力推进四方领导人对话机制的形成，构建四方海上安全对话机制。目前，美、日、澳、印四方内部也在分别建立深度的对话机制，例如印澳的外长+防长的2+2对话机制、美印外长+防长的2+2对话机制。

中国并不反对印度同任何大国建立正常的国家间关系。只是印度的外交东向关涉到中国切身的安全利益，自然中国会对印度外交的“战略自主性”进行再评估。目前印度对特朗普的外交政策仍然充满着不确定感。正如《印度快报》评论
家D.S. Hooda的文章认为，美国的外交是为美国利益服务，印度需要谨防被美国利用。美国批评中国对“以规则为基础的秩序”的破坏并没有道理，因为现在美国的特朗普总统才是最不遵守国际规则的。所以，他提醒到，印度的外交要以印度的国家利益为考虑标准，在中美可能战略竞争上升的过程中，印度不能一味以亲美为自己外交的要求。

因此，在面对美国诸多不确定性的情况下，印度仍然不会“毫不犹豫”地投入美国怀抱。在2017年美日印澳四国的司局级对话中，印度发表的声明明显不同于美日澳三方。印度没有提及“以规则为基础的秩序（rule-based order）”、自由航行（freedom of navigation）、海上安全（maritime security）、国际法（international law），也没有承诺继续深化四国对话机制，而且印度要建设的印太是自由、开放（open）、繁荣和包容性的架构，与美日澳所谓“价值观同盟”的诉求截然不同。

中国能够理解印度外交的“独立性”，但是也需要印度对中国安全关切显示足够的尊重。印度前总理辛格曾明确表示，印度当然需要同中国与美国同时建立良好的关系，但是这并不是零和的游戏，“印度无意也不会参与任何遏制中国战略”，而“像中国那样庞大和有活力的国家是无法被遏制的”。

三、未来中印关系的发展要寻求更多的“正能量”

作为两大文明古国和新兴市场国家，中印都肩负发展和振兴的历史使命，对世界大势和国际事务有着相同或相近看法，理应成为天然的合作伙伴。

事实上，中印共同的历史境遇与国情，存在大量心声相通的元素，需要双方努力进一步挖掘。印度国宝级明星阿米尔汗在2017年5月在华，受到中国粉丝的热情欢迎，其程度丝毫不亚于成龙在印度的热度。而印度电影《摔跤吧，爸爸》在中国更是获得了广泛的赞许和欢迎，票房远高于其在印度本土。要让《摔跤吧，爸爸》在欧美市场上获得认可，那基本上是不可能的。原因就在于国情和历史境遇。

当下之急，中印需要真正培育起相互信任。有了互信，具体问题就有望在互谅互让基础上予以解决，缺乏互信，个别问题就会不断发酵溢出，侵蚀双边关系大局。为此，王毅外长建议，双方要加强各层级战略沟通，恢复已建立的对话机制，深化各领域务实合作，同时管控好存在的分歧，维护好边界地区的和平安宁。印度外长斯瓦拉吉也表示，作为两大发展中国家，印中关系的意义超越双边范畴，对地区乃至世界均具有重要影响。印方始终认为，印中之间的共同点远远大于分歧，两国应加强战略沟通，增进战略互信，绝不能让分歧演变成争端，争端演变成冲突。印方愿与中方恢复各项双边机制性安排，推进各领域合作。同时管控好分歧，共同维护边界地区的和平安宁。只有印中携起手来，亚洲世纪才会真正到来。

中印关系的“再出发”，要坚持“不忘初心”。印度首任总理尼赫鲁提出的“亚洲复兴”，明确称“只有中印共同崛起，才是真正亚洲世纪的到来”。而随着中印目前正在进一步崛起的发展，两国更要坚持这份初心，因为“中印用一个声音说话，世界都会聆听”。
