There is no doubt that the buzzword for China-Russia relations in 2019 is “seventy”. This year marks 70th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and Russia. A recent report on indicators of connectivity with China shows that Russia ranks among the highest in the 90-plus Belt and Road partners surveyed, scoring way above average in all five key areas, namely policy, infrastructure, trade, financing and people-to-people connectivity. The report encapsulates the high standard of China-Russia relations. Thanks to 70 years of tireless efforts, the relationship between the two countries is at its best. We are now at an important juncture and it is time for us to review the past seven decades from a historical perspective and look into the future. This helps us to gain a deeper understanding of the significance, vitality and potential of the relationship, and gives us every confidence to look forward to an

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even brighter future.

I. Historic Transformations

The Soviet Union was the first country to establish diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China. And Russia is the only country that has forged a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination with China. In the past 70 years, along with China’s development, China-Russia relations have experienced a series of historic transformations and gained greater maturity and strength in the process.

*From political alliance to a new type of major-country relationship.* When the PRC was just founded, faced with the special historical and international circumstances defined by the acute confrontation between the two camps, China adopted the lean-to-one-side foreign policy and gave priority to developing relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The signing of the *Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance* between China and the Soviet Union marked the beginning of the “honeymoon” in the bilateral relationship. In the late 1950s, the relationship shifted from alliance to confrontation. In the post-Soviet Union era, the two sides have grasped the general trend of the time and developed, through persistent exploration, a new type of major-country relationship featuring non-alliance, non-confrontation and not targeting any third party. The bilateral relationship has come a long way, marked by four milestones: In 1992, the two countries recognized each other as friendly nations. Two years later, a constructive partnership was established. In 1996, it was upgraded to a strategic partnership of coordination. And in 2011, it was further elevated to a comprehensive strategic
partnership of coordination. In recent years, under the strategic guidance of President Xi Jinping and President Vladimir Putin, the China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination has entered a new era of high quality and significant progress.

**From ideological disputes to alignment of development strategies.** In the 1960s, due to domestic and international factors, differences loomed large between the two countries on how to develop socialism, which evolved into a fierce debate. Ideological disputes led to the final breakdown of the relationship. After normalizing the relationship, the two sides learn from the history, respect each other’s choice of development approach and philosophy, firmly support each other in following the development path suited to one’s national conditions and seek complementarity of development strategies and visions. In 2015, President Xi and President Putin reached strategic consensus on forging synergy between the Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union. This marked a comprehensive alignment of development strategies of the two countries. Currently, bilateral cooperation is proceeding smoothly. Major early harvest includes the agreement between the Chinese side and the Eurasian Economic Union on economic and trade cooperation and the list of cooperation projects, and the joint feasibility study on an agreement on Eurasian economic partnership. Highly complementary development strategies provide strong underpinning for further convergence of interests.

**From single-direction assistance to mutually beneficial cooperation.** Since the 1950s, the Soviet Union has provided generous assistance to China by offering loans, undertaking key projects and sending experts to China. Its assistance laid a solid
foundation for the establishment of a preliminary industrial system in China. In the post-Soviet Union era, China and Russia have conducted practical cooperation in many areas on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and win-win cooperation. In 1996, the mechanism of regular meetings between the Chinese Premier and the Russian Prime Minister was established. Under the mechanism, deputy prime ministerial level committees, sub-committees and working groups for energy, investment, culture, economy and trade, and subnational cooperation were established to coordinate practical cooperation in different areas. Major strategic projects including the crude oil pipeline, the east section of the natural gas pipeline, long-haul wide-body passenger jet and nuclear cooperation have seen breakthroughs. Fruitful cooperation in areas such as agriculture, science and technology, finance and connectivity has delivered tangible benefits to the two countries and peoples.

II. Principles Tested by Experience

A review of the major changes in China-Russia relations in the past 70 years, especially the past 30 years, reveals that the transformations of the relations can be attributed to the two countries’ adherence to the set of basic principles that are fully tested by experience, and confirmed by important bilateral documents. Acting on these principles, the two sides have overcome enormous challenges and difficulties and taken the bilateral relations to a new level.

The principle of “putting aside the past and shaping the future”. This was an important common understanding between Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the then leader of the Soviet Union
Mikhail Gorbachev in their historic meeting in 1989. The two sides agreed to let bygones be bygones, be forward-looking and take more concrete steps to develop bilateral relations. The meeting demonstrated the extraordinary political wisdom and vision of the two leaders. It ended the tension and standoff between the two countries that had lasted for more than 20 years, normalized the bilateral relationship and laid an important foundation for its smooth development. It is precisely by drawing on the lessons of history that we can grasp the essence of our relationship, see the bigger picture, understand the position and role of the two countries in the changing international landscape, and be realistic and keep abreast of the time as we explore and pursue the pathways to developing the bilateral relationship. It is exactly because of our keen understanding of history that we can thoroughly solve the border issue left over from history, delimiting a boundary of more than 4,300 km in a clear-cut and dispute-free manner, thus turning the border areas into a bridge of friendship and cooperation. The principle is still of high relevance when it comes to how the two sides should approach historical issues.

The principle of good-neighborliness and friendship. In December 1992, the two sides signed the Joint Declaration on the Basis of Mutual Relations, putting forward the principle of good-neighborliness and friendship for the first time. In 2001, the two sides signed the landmark Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation. The treaty established in legal terms the idea and principle that “China and Russia are friends forever and will never be enemies” and the firm determination to be good neighbors, good friends and good partners forever, and charts the course for the long-term development of the bilateral relations in the 21st century.
The principle of non-alliance, non-confrontation and not targeting any third party. The two sides confirmed in the Joint Declaration by the People’s Republic of China and the Russian Federation in September 1994 that the two countries seek to develop a relationship of non-alliance, non-confrontation and not targeting any third party. This important guideline is based on the experience and lessons we have gained in the course of the bilateral relations. The two sides are keenly aware that, for neighbors and major countries with global influence, like China and Russia, neither alliance nor confrontation serves our fundamental and long-term interests. In addition, alliance and confrontation are against the trend of the time and unsustainable. Experience shows that the new type of relations between China and Russia characterized by non-alliance, non-confrontation and not targeting any third party is vibrant and full of potential. It sets a good example for the international community and is a meaningful experiment for building a new type of international relations featuring mutual respect, fairness, justice and win-win cooperation.

The principle of equality, mutual benefit and win-win cooperation. The Joint Declaration on the Basis of Mutual Relations and the Joint Declaration signed in December 1992 and September 1994 respectively established the principle of equality, mutual benefit and complementary strength. In the 21st century, the practical cooperation between the two countries has been guided by the principle of win-win cooperation, under which the two sides encourage and enhance cooperation in various areas, and consider and accommodate each other’s concerns. Such cooperation has expanded the shared interests of the two sides, delivering tangible benefits to the two countries and peoples. It has also brought huge dividend to the world at large.
The principle of strategic coordination. In April 1996, the two sides released the Joint Declaration which established the principle of strategic coordination. This is what sets China-Russia relations apart from other state-to-state relations. “Strategic” means that the relationship is long-term, stable and comprehensive. “Coordination” shows that the cooperation is multi-faceted, coordinated and complementary, and reflects the two countries’ joint aspiration for good faith, friendship and justice as genuine friends and good partners. The principle also serves as the guidance for the close and effective strategic coordination between China and Russia in international affairs, which has become a bedrock for regional and world peace and stability.

III. New Breakthroughs in the New Normal

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core has attached great importance to developing China-Russia relations. After President Putin’s re-election in 2012, Russia has continued to prioritize relations with China in its foreign policy. Under the strategic guidance and planning of the two leaders, the comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination between the two countries has made unprecedented progress. It has already become a new normal for China-Russia relationship to move forward at a high standard. A host of tangible results show that the bilateral relationship has broken new ground.

Top-level engagement charts the strategic course for the relationship. Russia was the first stop of President Xi’s first foreign visit after he took office in March 2013. President Xi visited Russia again in February 2014 for his first trip abroad
that year. This shows clearly that China puts Russia high on its diplomatic agenda. President Xi and President Putin have had 27 meetings since 2013 and established close working relations and deep personal friendship. During President Putin’s visit to China in June last year, President Xi presented him with the first Friendship Medal, the country’s highest state honor to foreigners. During President Xi’s visit to Russia in July 2017, President Putin awarded him the Order of St. Andrew, the Apostle of the First-Called, which is the highest order of Russia. Mutual presentation of medals showcases the special bilateral relations and the deep friendship between the two leaders. There were many “firsts” in the top-level exchanges, remembered as stories and highlights like celebrating birthday together at Bali, talking about friendship and cooperation on a high-speed train, watching an ice hockey friendship match between Chinese and Russian youth teams and making and tasting traditional food of the two countries together. These in-depth interactions covered many aspects of bilateral relations and international affairs, and achieved fruitful outcomes and remarkable consensus. Steered by the two leaders, the giant ship of China-Russia relations will sail toward an even brighter future.

**Mutually beneficial cooperation across the board lays the material foundation for the relationship.** In 2018, the bilateral trade made the historic breakthrough of exceeding US$100 billion, registering the fastest growth among China’s 10 largest trading partners. China sits comfortably as Russia’s largest trading partner, source of imports and destination of exports. Likewise, Russia remains China’s largest supplier of crude oil and electricity. The China-Russia crude oil pipeline is so far the biggest and most secure channel of strategic energy supply for China. The Yamal
LNG project heralds energy cooperation between the two countries in the Arctic region. The package of nuclear cooperation documents signed between the two sides covered the largest number of nuclear energy cooperation programs. Apart from state-owned enterprises and major projects, the private sector and small and medium-sized companies are also active players in bilateral cooperation. For Russians, many Chinese brands, including Huawei and Alibaba, have brought convenience and benefits to them. It is fair to say that after decades of growth and hard work, the practical cooperation between China and Russia has been significantly enriched and expanded. Operating at a high standard and bringing benefits to the ordinary people, such cooperation has laid a solid foundation for the development of the bilateral relations.

**People-to-people cooperation is aimed to forge a stronger bond between the two peoples.** The China-Russia Committee on Humanities Cooperation, established in 2000, is the first mechanism of people-to-people cooperation at the deputy prime ministerial level. The China-Russia Committee of Friendship, Peace and Development was set up in 1997 as the main channel for coordinating the exchanges between the two peoples. For every year since 2006, large-scale national cultural exchange events have been held under themes such as the year of China or Russia, the year of Chinese or Russian language, the year of friendly youth exchange, the year of tourism, the year of media exchange and the year of subnational cooperation and exchange. These events greatly facilitated people-to-people exchanges in various areas and promoted mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples. China is now the largest source of tourists to Russia. About 100,000 Chinese football fans and tourists went to Russia during the 2018 FIFA World Cup alone. The Shenzhen MSU-
BIT University, the first university jointly established by China and Russia, was opened and started enrollment in 2017 and is expected to have more than 5,000 students. In Russia, China is one of “the friendliest states” according to surveys and Mandarin is gaining popularity and has become a subject of college entrance examinations. In China, people’s knowledge about Russia no longer stops at nesting dolls, Vodka and Katyusha, as Russian food, TV series, songs and trips to Russia have become a new fashion and Russian elements can be found in many Chinese entertainment programs. For the two peoples, the young generation in particular, both China and Russia are charming countries with a mixture of tradition and modernity and longstanding neighbors infused with new vigor and vitality.

**Upholding fairness and justice is the responsibility of China-Russia international collaboration.** China and Russia are both permanent members of the UN Security Council, major emerging economies, staunch supporters for world peace and stability, and important forces for fairness and justice in the world. The two countries have close collaboration under multilateral frameworks including the UN, APEC and G20, and have jointly founded the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS, the China-Russia-India cooperation mechanism and the China-Russia-Mongolia cooperation mechanism. The two sides have worked together for the political settlement of the Iranian nuclear issue, the Korean Peninsula issue, the issues of Syria and Afghanistan and other regional hotspots, and championed multilateralism and a more just and equitable international order. Since the 1990s, the two heads of state have issued five joint declarations on the world situation or major international issues and joint declarations on such key international concerns as protection of the victorious outcome of
the Second World War, anti-missile issue, maintenance of strategic stability, and development of cyberspace. These endeavors demonstrate that as two responsible major countries, China and Russia have the vision and commitment to maintain world peace and stability, and uphold international fairness and justice.

IV. A New Journey in the New Era

In 2019, multipolarity, economic globalization, IT application and cultural diversity have advanced in tandem; transformations of the global governance system and the international order are speeding up; countries are more interconnected and interdependent and the trend of peace and development remains irreversible. That said, however, the international community is faced with more and more common problems and challenges, such as the lack of drivers for global growth, rising bullyism, protectionism and unilateralism, and intertwining and spreading traditional and non-traditional security threats.

Amid the profound changes unseen in a century and the complex developments in the world, how will the China-Russia relationship continue to evolve? Together, the two sides have given a clear and firm answer. As agreed by the heads of state, the two sides will continue to firmly support each other in safeguarding core interests, in pursuing the development path suited to national conditions, in achieving development and revitalization, and in managing their own affairs well. The two sides will ensure that the guiding principle of consolidating and deepening the China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination, the commitment to common development and revitalization, and the determination to uphold fairness, justice, peace and stability in the
world will remain unchanged. We hope and believe that the China-Russia relationship will shoulder new historic missions, take on a new look, gain new vitality and score new achievements in the new era. The relationship can grow stronger in the following ways.

**Strengthening communication to consolidate mutual trust.** The high standard of China-Russia relations today is built on solid mutual trust. In the context of complicated external environment, it is all the more important for us, as the partners of comprehensive strategic coordination, to strengthen communication, and preserve and solidify mutual trust. This year, the two heads of state will keep in close contact. President Putin will attend the second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation. President Xi will pay a state visit to Russia. The two presidents will also meet on important multilateral occasions as they did in the past. The regular meetings between the Chinese Premier and the Russian Prime Minister, the committee on parliamentary cooperation and the mechanisms of high-level exchanges across the board will be in smooth operation. We believe that, under the exchange mechanism between leaders and a whole set of cooperation platforms, the strategic guidance of the heads of state in particular, the two sides will have candid and in-depth exchange of views on governance, development strategies and other major issues, enhance understanding and endorsement of each other’s development paths and ideas, and increase mutual support on issues of core interests. These efforts will consolidate the foundation of the bilateral relations, reduce misgivings and bring our mutual trust to a higher level.

**Expanding cooperation for greater convergence of interests.** Guided by the consensus reached by the two heads of state on aligning the Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic
Union, the two sides will better allocate and synergize the resources, capital, technology, and work force through major-project cooperation, and drive cooperation in other areas. On the one hand, the existing major projects with strategic significance on energy, resources, aviation, space and connectivity will be fully preserved and advanced as scheduled. On the other, the cooperation potentials in finance, technology, agriculture, digital economy and other emerging areas will be fully tapped. Participation of small and medium-sized companies and private capital in bilateral cooperation should be encouraged to form a comprehensive and multidimensional cooperation structure. The two sides will also facilitate more integrated cooperation among different stages of production and engage in joint manufacturing, production and sales to expand common interests. At the same time, the two sides will pay attention to the independence of bilateral cooperation and exploit internal driving forces to make sure that the cooperation will not be affected by any third party.

**Carrying on friendship with constant efforts.** As neighbors, the two countries enjoy the advantages of geographical proximity and a long history of exchanges. This year marks 20th anniversary of the China-Russia Committee on Humanities Cooperation and the conclusion of the years of China-Russia subnational cooperation and exchange. The two sides will take this opportunity to fully leverage the role of the China-Russia Committee of Friendship, Peace and Development as the main channel of deepened humanities cooperation and people-to-people exchanges to deliver benefits to the people and gain their support. The two countries will also redouble efforts to strengthen youth interactions by increasing the number of exchange and bringing Mandarin and Russian classes to more people, so as to pass on the tradition of
friendship to future generations. In addition, traditional and new media organizations from the two countries will be encouraged to have closer exchanges to better present the bilateral relations and cooperation outcomes in various fields, and help more people in our two countries and the world at large know more about China-Russia friendship. Competent authorities of the two countries will also introduce more policies and measures to create more opportunities for and facilitate people-to-people exchanges.

**Forging closer collaboration to fulfill missions.** The world is presented with unprecedented opportunities and challenges in development. As two major countries and permanent members of the UN Security Council, China and Russia undertake more important responsibilities and missions. No global issue cannot be addressed without our joint efforts. We both will continue to firmly uphold international law and the basic norms of international relations, safeguard multilateralism, and resolutely oppose unilateralism, bullyism and trade protectionism. We will work with the vast number of emerging economies and developing countries and strive for greater voice and representation in international affairs. We will play a bigger and more active part in the UN and other multilateral frameworks by strengthening collaboration on international and regional hotspots, and calling on all parties to minimize differences and build consensus. We will work tirelessly to build a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind, and contribute more Chinese-Russian perspectives and wisdom to peace and tranquility in the region and the world at large.

President Xi Jinping pointed out, “The relationship between China and Russia is one of the most important bilateral
relationships in the world. It is also the best relationship between major countries.” The 70th anniversary of our diplomatic relations is an important juncture for us to review the past and embrace a new era. I am confident that the two countries will continue to work together, usher in a better era for the bilateral relations, and inject more positive energy into world peace, stability and development.
The 2018 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) successfully held on 3 and 4 September was a truly memorable moment for China-Africa relations. The summit, which brought together the China-Africa big family, surpassed any other diplomatic event China hosted in terms of the number of participating heads of state and government. Fifty-two leaders of FOCAC African members attended the summit, including 40 heads of state, 10 heads of government, one deputy head of state and the Chairperson of the African Union (AU) Commission. In his keynote speech at the opening ceremony, President Xi Jinping called upon China and Africa to jointly build a community with a shared future that features joint responsibility, win-win cooperation, happiness for all, common cultural prosperity, common security, and harmonious co-existence. President Xi also announced eight major

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**Building an Even Stronger Community with a Shared Future is a Common Decision of China and Africa**

Historically, China and Africa have stood together as a close community sharing weal and woe. At the FOCAC Beijing Summit, President Idriss Deby of Chad said that China-Africa community with a shared future could be traced back to the period of common struggle for political independence and to the strategic alliance forged in the fight against colonization, injustice and oppression. His words well captured the essence of the long-standing friendship between China and Africa. Since 2000, with the establishment and growth of FOCAC, China-Africa cooperation has progressed on a “fast track” of all-round development. China and Africa worked together in tiding over the global financial crisis. In the face of earthquakes in Wenchuan and Yushu and the Ebola epidemic in Africa, the two sides reached out to each other with a helping hand. In a fast-changing world, they stand closely together. In 2013, President Xi visited Africa on his very first overseas trip as Chinese president. In Tanzania, he solemnly stated that China and Africa had always been a community with a shared future. At the FOCAC Beijing Summit, both sides agreed to build the complementarity between the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the Agenda 2063 of the AU and national development strategies of
African countries, jointly implement the “eight major initiatives” agreed at the summit, and better connect the Chinese dream and the African dream. This has laid a solid foundation for a closer China-Africa community with a shared future.

**Building an even stronger community with a shared future will take China-Africa unity and cooperation to a new height.** African countries have an important place among China’s friends. They form the very foundation of China’s foreign relations. Since 2013, over 30 leaders of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese government have visited Africa. African state leaders have made 120 plus trips to China for visits and international conferences. Such frequent interactions between Chinese and African leaders, like those between relatives and friends, provide political guidance for China-Africa relations. With joint efforts, the two sides have developed an all-dimensional and multi-tiered framework of cooperation. People-to-people and cultural exchanges are thriving, enabling the China-Africa friendship to take deep root in the heart of the people. China and Africa also enjoy stronger strategic mutual trust, broader convergence of interests, and enhanced unity and coordination. Building an even stronger community with a shared future taps into the momentum of and brings new dimensions and impetus to the China-Africa relations.

**Partnering for common development is the pathway toward and the goal of building a China-Africa community with a shared future.** Africa and China, both emerged from dark days of poverty and backwardness, know better than others the importance of development. Today’s Africa, drawing on the latecomer advantages in terms of energy and resources, demographic dividends and
market potential, is taking big strides toward a brighter future. China, now the world’s second largest economy, has accumulated strengths in capital, technology, equipment and human resources. Inspired by China’s reform and opening up, African countries hope China’s experience could be used for their own development. China, on its part, stands ready to share its experience and do its modest best to help African countries prosper. As a Chinese saying goes, “A single flower does not make spring, while one hundred flowers in full blossom bring spring to the garden.” In building an even stronger community with a shared future, China and Africa are working together for revitalization and common development.

Building a China-Africa community with a shared future transcends the bilateral scope and has significance for the whole world. Our world is facing many global challenges. Economic globalization has encountered headwind, and protectionism and unilateralism are rising. China and Africa, as the largest developing country and the continent home to most of the developing countries, must stand in unity at critical moments for the world and coordinate on important issues to safeguard the collective interests of developing countries. At the FOCAC Beijing Summit, Chinese and African leaders sent a strong message against unilateralism and protectionism, reiterated their support for multilateralism and the free trade regime, and advocated consultation and cooperation for shared benefits as the approach to the reform of global governance system. The summit represented a strong positive force in a world with uncertainty and instability. Together, China and Africa could set an example for the building of a community with a shared future for mankind and contribute to world peace and development.
Building an Even Stronger China-Africa Community with a Shared Future Answers the Call of Our Times

A China-Africa community with a shared future is characterized by joint responsibility, win-win cooperation, happiness for all, common cultural prosperity, common security, and harmonious co-existence. These features are mutually reinforcing and inter-connected. They point the way forward for China-Africa cooperation.

(1) China-Africa cooperation is a collective undertaking. At the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum and the UN Office at Geneva in early 2017, President Xi elaborated on the vision of building a community with a shared future for mankind and stated that countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are all equal members of the international community. As such, they are entitled to participate in decision-making, enjoy rights and fulfill obligations. In pursuing cooperation with Africa, China follows the principles of sincerity, real results, amity and good faith, and pursues the greater good and shared interests. China values sincerity, friendship and equality, and puts common interests and friendship first. China wants its cooperation to enable better development in Africa and benefit the African people, and will see to it that China-Africa cooperation remains open and inclusive. China will keep to these principles, play its part as a big responsible country, speak up for the legitimate rights and interests of African countries in international affairs, contribute more to Africa’s development. Facing the uncertainties in the world, African countries have joined China in calling for a fairer and more equitable international order, standing for multilateralism and against unilateralism and protectionism, and advocating political
settlement of regional hotspot issues. Together, China and Africa are working for the greater good of mankind.

(2) China-Africa cooperation pursues win-win outcomes. An African proverb goes, “If you want to go fast, go alone; if you want to go far, go together.” In the same vein, a Chinese saying runs that “People of one mind can move a mountain.” Ambitious goals can only be achieved through win-win cooperation. This can be best proved by the fruitful outcomes of China-Africa cooperation. Statistics show that China has helped Africa in constructing more than 10,000 kilometers of roads, over 6,000 kilometers of railways, 20 plus airports and terminals, more than 30 bridges and ports, over 80 power projects, around 150 stadiums, conference centers and parliament buildings. China’s investment in Africa has surpassed US$100 billion and over 3,700 Chinese businesses have invested in Africa. In 2018, China-Africa trade once again exceeded US$200 billion. For 10 consecutive years, China has been Africa’s largest trading partner. China’s investment in Africa and Africa’s investment in China now take a bigger share in their respective outbound investment. Thirty-seven African countries and the AU Commission have signed Belt and Road cooperation agreements with China. Indeed, Africa is an important partner in Belt and Road cooperation. When announcing the “eight major initiatives” on China-Africa cooperation at the FOCAC Beijing Summit, President Xi emphasized that China and Africa will work to enhance cooperation in such areas as industrial capacity, infrastructure and trade, and increase cooperation potentials in green development and capacity building. These initiatives serve both China’s need for high-quality growth and high-standard opening-up and Africa’s urgent need for industrialization. They have become the new engines of the win-win cooperation between
China and Africa.

(3) **China-Africa cooperation is aimed at achieving happiness for all.** One of the primary goals of advancing China-Africa relations is to deliver more benefits to the people. From infrastructure projects like the Tazara Railway in the 1950s and 60s, which the Chinese tightened their belts to help build, to the wide range of initiatives announced at FOCAC summits designed to improve living standards, there is no lack of illustrations of China’s commitment to making lives better for the Chinese and Africans through its cooperation with Africa. China and Africa are not just friends standing together in times of adversity, but also partners for mutual success. The community with a shared future for mankind envisioned by President Xi is all about making lives better for not only the Chinese but also people of other countries, especially developing ones. The policy measures unveiled at the FOCAC Beijing Summit cover many areas related to the wellbeing of Africans such as food security, poverty reduction, development, employment, income, quality of life and health care, all aimed at delivering real and tangible benefits to more people.

(4) **China-Africa cooperation thrives on cultural prosperity.** Both China and Africa boast splendid civilizations. With more exchanges and mutual learning to boost cultural prosperity, China and Africa will have an important pillar in building a community with a shared future. At present, people-to-people and cultural exchanges between the two sides are flourishing like never before. The “Chinese and African Cultures in Focus” and the “Program of China-Africa Mutual Visits Between Cultural Personnel” have now become leading events in China-Africa cultural exchange. The China-Africa People-to-People Friendship
Action and the China-Africa Press Exchange Center program have been a success. Cultural events such as the “Happy Spring Festival” and “Festival of Spring” have aroused great interest among Africans in Chinese culture. Some 59 Confucius Institutes and 41 Confucius Classrooms have been set up across 44 African countries. Enthusiasm for learning Chinese is growing strong. Popular Chinese TV series such as “A Beautiful Daughter-in-Law Era”, “Nirvana in Fire” and “Ode to Joy” have become big hits in Africa, and the dating show “Hello Mr. Right” produced by a Chinese entertainment company has scored high ratings in several countries including Zambia and Nigeria. With such extensive cultural exchanges, China and Africa have been able to draw on each other’s strengths and learn from each other, thus bringing their people closer and making their friendship stronger.

(5) China-Africa cooperation is built on common security. Without a peaceful and secure environment, cooperation and development can hardly be achieved. Africa has expressed hope for China to do more for Africa’s peace and security, and China firmly supports African countries in solving African issues in the African way to uphold peace and stability on their continent. China has actively assumed its responsibilities as a permanent member of the UN Security Council. During its rotating presidency in recent years, China proposed and chaired open debates on “Piracy and Armed Robbery at Sea in the Gulf of Guinea”, “Enhancing African Capacities in the Areas of Peace and Security” and “Strengthening Peacekeeping Operations in Africa” to rally international support for Africa over its security concerns. China remains the largest peacekeeping troop contributor to Africa among the P5 countries, with close to 2,100 Chinese peacekeepers on the ground right now in five operations in Africa. Since 2009, Chinese navy fleets have
conducted 1,191 escort missions in the Gulf of Aden and waters off the Somali, ensuring safe passage for 6,595 Chinese and foreign ships. At the FOCAC Beijing Summit, President Xi announced that on the peace and security front, China decided to set up a China-Africa peace and security fund and step up support for the building of the African Standby Force, the African Capacity for the Immediate Response to Crisis, etc. Not long ago, China and the African co-chairs of FOCAC, Senegal and the AU, held a Dialogue on the Implementation of China-Africa Peace and Security Initiative in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa. Through this dialogue, the parties aligned their actions on implementing the outcomes produced at the FOCAC Beijing Summit, laying a solid foundation for promoting China-Africa peace and security cooperation.

(6) China-Africa cooperation seeks to foster harmony between human and nature. Climate change and environmental degradation have become global challenges that call for urgent action. As President Xi put it, “lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets.” China is firmly committed to this principle in both domestic development and international cooperation. For years, China has engaged in resource-conserving and environment-friendly cooperation with African countries, and environmental protection has been an integral part in its overall cooperation with Africa. Unlawful actions that are damaging to the environment, including emission of pollutants and smuggling of wildlife products, are strictly prohibited. Cooperation between the two sides is never allowed to be pursued at the expense of Africa’s ecosystem and long-term interests. The green development initiative unveiled at the FOCAC Beijing Summit includes 50 projects for green development and ecological and environmental protection.
in Africa, the establishment of a China-Africa environmental cooperation center, and other important measures. This initiative well testifies to the great significance the two sides attach to cooperation in environmental protection. China will work with Africa to promote green, low-carbon, circular and sustainable development in a joint effort to preserve Africa’s natural environment.

**Implement the Outcomes of the FOCAC Beijing Summit and Work toward an Even Stronger China-Africa Community with a Shared Future**

The international situation is undergoing profound and complex changes. The lack of momentum in global economic growth, spreading unilateralism and protectionism, the serious strain the UN-centered international system is facing, and intensifying competition between major countries all pose new challenges to developing countries in their pursuit of growth and prosperity. Against such backdrop, to build a community with a shared future has become an increasingly shared aspiration of China and Africa.

Going forward, full implementation of the outcomes of the FOCAC Beijing Summit will be a primary task for the two sides, which paves a solid path toward an even stronger China-Africa community with a shared future. If all goes well, the implementation actions will not only lead to greater convergence of interests of the two sides and bring China-Africa cooperation to a higher level, but also lay a strong foundation for the long-term development of a China-Africa community with a shared future.
Implementation of the outcomes of the summit requires a multi-pronged approach, careful arrangement and thoughtful planning. It falls on the two sides to build greater consensus and work in synergy. The clear instructions of Party and state leaders on implementation after the summit is a testament to the great significance China attaches to follow-up actions. Early this year, Yang Jiechi, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Director of the Office of the Central Commission for Foreign Affairs, and Wang Yi, State Councilor and Foreign Minister, made separate visits to African countries and the AU headquarters, where they held in-depth discussions with African leaders on joint efforts to implement the summit outcomes in Africa. African leaders spoke highly of China’s sincerity in advancing outcome implementation.

In the same month the summit was concluded, the Chinese Follow-up Committee of FOCAC held an expanded meeting during which participants discussed and agreed on the assignment of implementation work, especially on the “eight major initiatives”. They are working intensively on a timetable and roadmap for implementation. Country-specific implementation plans are being formulated through ongoing communication among government departments such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Commerce and China International Development Cooperation Agency, and financial institutions such as the Export-Import Bank of China and the China Development Bank to deliver progress on the ground as quickly as possible. They are also having close consultation with African countries to identify potential issues that may come up in the course of implementation and find solutions in advance. Chinese embassies in Africa have maintained close contact with their host countries and reviewed the priorities and
key projects in bilateral cooperation to ensure that cooperation is more targeted and deliver benefits for all.

As President Xi pointed out, “The world today faces profound changes of a kind unseen in a century.” Amid such transformation, joining hands to build an even stronger community with a shared future is a solemn commitment of China and Africa and serves the fundamental interests of the two sides. China and Africa are prepared to carry forward their traditional friendship, implement the outcomes of the FOCAC Beijing Summit and continue their BRI cooperation. China and Africa are fully ready to build an enduring partnership and make new contribution to a stronger community with a shared future for China and Africa and for all mankind.
Discussions on WTO reform are heating up, with wrestling among different parties. Since last year, WTO members including the European Union and Canada have formulated preliminary documents on WTO reform. The United States has changed course and put forward its proposals and plans on some topics. China has also, on several occasions, stated its principled position and proposition on WTO reform. The reform of the WTO will be a much-anticipated topic at the G20 summit to be held in Osaka, Japan in June. At a time when world political and economic landscape is undergoing tremendous changes, unilateralism and protectionism runs rampant, the multilateral trading system is being marginalized, and anti-globalization sentiments are running high, it is imperative to reform the WTO-centered multilateral trading system, which has obviously become a hot topic in global economic governance. As a major

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player in global trade and an active participant in global economic governance, the Chinese government attaches great importance to WTO reform and has expressed its intention to take an active part in the reform.

**Background on WTO Reform**

As an authoritative organization in the multilateral trading system and its legal basis, the World Trade Organization has made enormous contribution to economic globalization and the healthy development of world economy and trade. WTO rules are the essence of the mechanism that regulates world economic development, providing legal and organizational safeguards for economic globalization. Hence no other global and regional economic and trade organizations can replace them.

Since the WTO’s establishment in 1995, there have been continued discussions on how to make the WTO mechanism more equitable and efficient. The inherent problems in the WTO mechanism have become more pronounced especially given the standstill in Doha Round negotiations launched in 2001, subjecting the mechanism to more doubts and suspicions. The coordination-based approach makes the WTO decision-making mechanism inefficient, sending the multilateral negotiation function to a standstill. Since 1995, WTO members have only reached consensus on a few issues, including trade facilitation and elimination of agricultural subsidies. Apart from long-standing unresolved issues, WTO members have yet to make new rules on new topics in spite of the expansion of world trade and emerging new models of trade. To uphold its authority and better leverage its role in promoting world economy and trade, the WTO has an internal drive to pursue
Currently, the renewed debate on WTO reform is largely due to the pressure from the United States. The Trump administration, soon after taking office, openly expressed its dissatisfaction toward the WTO, questioning the effectiveness of the WTO Appellate Body and blaming it for the unfair rulings against the US. Particularly, the US boycott of the Appellate Body’s new appointments risked halting the WTO dispute settlement mechanism. If this problem is not resolved before the end of this year, there will be only one member remaining in the Appellate Body, making the mechanism only an “existence in name”. If the dispute settlement mechanism, “the jewel in the crown” for the WTO, falls apart, it will have an immeasurable impact on and deal a tremendous blow to international economic and trade governance and the authority of the WTO. The United States also lays accusations on China and other emerging economies for gaining unfair advantages by using the special and differential treatment granted by the WTO to its developing members, and pushed China and other members to “graduate” from the developing membership. In the face of the unilateral actions taken by the United States, some developed WTO members, out of the fear that the US might exit from the trade bloc, are compelled to accommodate the US and tend to accept the US proposal to reform the WTO. Major members including the EU, Canada and Japan, on one hand, cannot fully accept US positions and actions, and, on the other hand, have qualms about the possibility that the US might abandon the WTO. They also have the intention to use the US to hold back China’s development. Whatever intentions the members may harbor, reforming the WTO, as agreed by many members, is an imperative task that must be completed as widely expected.
Challenges and Prospects of WTO Reform

WTO reform is high on the agenda. There have been quite a number of proposals and suggestions on reforming the WTO, including the report on revitalizing the WTO by the Bertelsmann Stiftung of Germany, the European Commission’s concept paper on modernizing the WTO, the paper *Strengthening and Modernizing the WTO* jointly issued by 13 countries including Canada, the EU and Japan (the US and China excluded), as well as the position paper on WTO reform released by China. In addition, some proposals have been submitted to the WTO, for example, the joint proposal by the US, Europe and Japan on strengthening transparency and notification obligation, the proposal tabled by China and the EU together with other members on starting the selection of members of the Appellate Body at an early date, and the draft made by the US recently on strengthening the procedures of WTO negotiation functions.

These proposals, suggestions, and drafts speak volumes about major members’ determination to pursue WTO reform. That said, WTO members have shared interests as well as notable differences on the reform, which means that WTO reform will be a complicated process and that it is difficult to reach agreement within a short period of time. The reform will be a process of long-term wrestling between the members.

First, the most urgent issue is the selection of members of the Appellate Body. As things stand now, the US is still bent on canceling the function of the existing Appellate Body. Most WTO
members, be it a developed or developing country, want to retain the dispute settlement mechanism with binding force. China and the EU have submitted a joint proposal in this regard. Yet the prospects of a solution remain unclear. All in all, it is never easy to put the US under institutional checks through reform. WTO members may have to get prepared for the scenario of no appellate body in the short run.

Second, the above mentioned WTO reform proposals are mostly made by developed countries. Important emerging economies like India and South Africa have yet to articulate a clear position on the reform. Brazil made an official announcement that it gives up its developing country status in the WTO, adding both uncertainty and difficulty to the reform going forward. The WTO currently has 164 members, among which, OCED members excluded, 85% are developing members. It is beyond doubt that in the absence of developing countries, WTO reform will get nowhere. Though there have been lively discussions on WTO reform, it remains in the stage of communication and exploration, and yet to move into formal negotiations.

Third, even though developed countries have shared interests on expanding and deepening WTO rules, they are still divided on specific issues, such as digital trade, investment facilitation and other new topics. WTO members haven’t arrived at a coordinated position on new topics and a settlement of long-standing, unresolved issues left from the Doha Round. Without a settlement of long-standing issues, the WTO is unlikely to reach an agreement on new topics.

Fourth, the United States has already circulated a paper
and submitted a proposal on the special and differential treatment enjoyed by developing countries, setting standards for the graduation of 34 developing members. The Doha Round negotiation was launched to address development-related issues of concern to developing countries. The new round of reform should not focus on eliminating the differential treatment enjoyed by developing countries, but take into active consideration their concerns and interests. It goes without saying that the US proposal runs in the opposite direction of WTO reform. This will be a sticking point that rivets people’s attention in the debate on WTO reform.

Finally, the particular focus on so-called market distorting state-owned enterprises, industrial policies, intellectual property and technology transfer in the above mentioned WTO reform proposals is undoubtedly targeted against China. Some of the pursuits are clearly discriminatory and partial, which China won’t accept in their entirety. In particular, the formulation of some new rules and their debates will be a highly complicated technical issue and, without any doubt, a difficult process of wrestling.

**China’s Position on Participating in WTO Reform**

The contribution of the rules-based multilateral trade system to the stable development of world economy and trade is recognized by all. As a beneficiary of and contributor to the WTO-centered multilateral trade system, China will continue to support and safeguard the system, uphold fundamental WTO principles, oppose unilateralism, and never allow a member to put its domestic law above multilateral rules. As such, China should take an active part in the discussions on WTO reform, show appropriate
flexibility as required by realities, bring into play China’s wisdom and influence, and demonstrate China’s attitude as a responsible member.

On November 23rd, 2018, the Ministry of Commerce released *China’s Position Paper on WTO Reform*, which expounds China’s basic principles and proposals on WTO reform. The three principles are as follows. WTO reform shall preserve the core values of the multilateral trading system; WTO reform shall safeguard the development interests of developing members; and WTO reform shall follow the practice of decision-making by consensus. The five proposals include upholding the primacy of the multilateral trading system; addressing the existential crisis/problems faced by the WTO on a priority basis; addressing the imbalance of trade rules and respond to the latest developments of our time; safeguarding the special and differential treatment for developing members; respecting members’ development models.

**Suggestions on China’s Participation in WTO Reform**

First, WTO reform should be approached from the perspective of deepening China’s economic reform and opening China wider to the world. President Xi Jinping and other Chinese leaders reiterated on many occasions China’s commitment to supporting globalization and safeguarding WTO multilateral trade system, and consistently stated China’s resolve to deepen reform and opening-up and the policy measures China plans to take. WTO reform bears on the stability of China’s external environment and the process of opening up at a higher level. The past 40 years of reform and opening-up testify that China can only develop through reform and opening-up. We must deepen reform and opening-up in light of
China’s development and reform timetable. Discussions on WTO reform should be aligned with China’s reform and opening-up agenda. It is important for us to identify areas where we can pursue reform on our own initiative and take into active consideration topics that are consistent with international rules and norms and China’s long-term interests, even though such topics are brought up by the US, EU and other advanced economies. While promoting WTO reform, we need to closely study TPP, CPTPP and USMCA and work through rules that accord with China’s conditions and development goals, which can be piloted in China on a certain scale to encourage further reform and opening-up in the country.

WTO reform faces extremely complicated situation and challenges. The topics of the reform involve many areas and numerous competent departments in China. As such, it is imperative to strengthen the coordination mechanism in China to create synergy for participating in WTO reform.

Second, there is both internal drive and external pressure for WTO reform. The most urgent task is to defuse external pressure. For example, it is imperative to appoint members of the Appellate Body. On this issue, China and most WTO members have shared interests. As China and the EU have submitted a joint proposal, they should bring other WTO members on board to build up influence and momentum. Japan, the host of the G20 Osaka Summit in June 2019, intends to achieve some result on WTO reform. In this regard, China needs to strengthen communication and cooperation with Japan.

As a developing country, China has a lot of shared interests with other developing economies and should therefore unite with
them to realize development-related topics. China needs to enhance communication with developing members to understand their concerns and areas of interest in WTO reform.

Third, WTO reform must accommodate both traditional and new issues. The US and other developed countries are most concerned about new issues such as discipline, competitive neutrality and digital trade. Though these issues need to be addressed as the world economy and trade develops, it is not realistic to start negotiations on new topics when long-standing issues remain unresolved. Nor will it be acceptable to most developing members. Only when both of them are taken into consideration will smooth progress be made on the discussion of new issues.

As WTO reform is still under discussion, it is unlikely to move to the stage of negotiation on specific rules in the immediate term. China should put areas of interest and propositions formed over the years before WTO members for discussion. These include issues like some members putting their domestic laws above international laws, not faithfully enforcing WTO rulings, abusing trade remedies, arbitrarily imposing high tariffs on other members or restricting the legitimate investment by other members’ businesses on the ground of national security, limiting high-tech exports or introducing other government intervention measures, giving massive subsidies that distort trade in agricultural products, and ignoring developing countries’ legitimate demand for sustainable development. We must give top priority to resolving long-standing issues that impede the normal function of the WTO.

Fourth, we need to increase public awareness of WTO rules.
WTO reform is a long-term, complicated, and gradual process. In China, we must continue to increase public awareness and education about WTO rules so as to create favorable conditions for opening-up at a higher level.
The Trend of Today’s World

By Ding Yuanhong*

“Today’s world is undergoing huge changes as unseen in the past century”. That is a far-reaching and well-grounded conclusion reached by President Xi Jinping about the changing global landscape from the perspective of historical materialism and on the basis of long-time and deep-going analysis and research. It is of great significance for gaining a proper understanding of the complex and volatile international situation and forming a correct judgement of the future trend, which will inform policy making.

The major changes in today’s world situation is a result of the multitude of political, economic, military, cultural, national, ethnic and religious factors that have been intensifying and accumulating over the years. There are two prominent aspects: First, China, India and other emerging economies are rising, which has led to the fundamental shifts in the balance of power between developed and developing countries. Second,

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the so-called “Western liberal world order”, which has dominated the post-World War II era, is coming to an end because of the innate disadvantages of capitalism of major Western countries.

I

In the past two to three decades, amidst the growing economic globalization, China, India and other developing countries have chosen development paths suited to their national conditions and responded to the capitalism-dominated globalization in an independent way of fostering favorable conditions and bypassing unfavorable ones. As a result, they have enjoyed rapid economic development, thus known as “emerging economies”. They have enabled the developing countries as a whole to catch up with and surpass the developed ones, making greater and greater contribution to the global economy and considerably narrowing the power gap between the North and the South.

Developing countries, emerging economies included, as a share of the global economy, has jumped from 39.7% in early 1990s to over 50% today. China has overtaken Japan to become the second largest economy in the world. India is also growing with huge momentum, on track to be ranking among Top 5. In terms of purchasing power parity, by some estimates, the GDP of seven developing countries combined, i.e., China, India, Brazil, Russia, Indonesia, Mexico and Turkey, was on a par with the combined GDP of seven big industrial countries, i.e., the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, Japan and Canada in 2017. This changing economic power equation has been the reason why the G20 has replaced the G7 as the main platform for international discussions on major economic issues.
The shifting economic power balance is also reflected in the political field, mainly in the following two ways: First, regional organizations of developing countries, such as ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation), the AU (the African Union), the League of Arab States and MERCOSUR (South American Common Market) and inter-regional organizations of developing countries, such as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization), are playing a more and more active role. There is a growing awareness of unity among developing countries which have displayed great independence on major international issues. Second, the developing countries are calling more firmly for changing the world political and economic order that is dominated by a few Western countries and is unfair, unequal and unreasonable to developing countries. They are committed to building a world order that is based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that follows the rules of international relations, the heart of which is sovereign equality and non-interference in internal affairs.

The contest between the two world orders has not started today. In the wake of World War II, the post-War world order should have been shaped in accordance with the basic norms governing international relations as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. However, the few major Western countries, led by the United States, using their absolute advantage in overall national strength, attempted to establish the so-called “Western liberal world order” based on their own set of values of democracy, freedom, human rights and so on. Under such a framework of world order, all norms or “rules of the game” were developed by themselves and the international institutions such as the World Bank and the
International Monetary Fund have also been controlled generally by a few big developed countries, such as the United States and some in Europe. The United Nations Security Council has been subject to the abuse of “veto power” by the United States, the United Kingdom and France, thus unable to play a normal role in safeguarding world peace and security.

With the shifting balance of power between the developing countries and developed ones, the conflict between them surrounding the world order has also grown more serious. In his book “World Order” in 2014, Dr. Kissinger wrote something to such effect: the existing world order has been challenged completely; most parts of the world have never had a similar perception of world order to the West; there are fundamental differences between them; in the past, the non-Western world just acquiesced in the Western world order; and they have now become more out-spoken about such reservation and clearly demonstrated their intention to work hard to revise it.

II

External pressures aside, another factor causing the major changes in today’s world situation comes from within, which makes the “Western liberal world order” more difficult to sustain, bringing it to an end. There are three reasons behind this trend:

1. The Charter of the United Nations clearly stipulates that sovereign states are equal and there should be no interfering in other countries’ internal affairs. Regardless of such international consensus, however, the United States and some other Western countries, with an attempt to sell their set of values, such as
democracy, freedom and human rights, have practiced power politics, willfully trampled on other countries’ sovereignty and interfered in their internal affairs or even used force to subvert legitimate regimes, causing serious humanitarian disasters and endless wars and conflicts. In recent years, many of the unending conflicts and wars in the Middle East, North Africa and East Europe are actually related to the willful interference by the US and some big Western powers in the internal affairs of the countries concerned. Their interference has therefore aroused resistance from the people of many countries, especially the developing countries.

The US, the sole super power, has gone even further to wage wars and assume hegemony, relying on the advantageous position of the US dollar and its super military power. That has not only brought disasters to the people of those countries but also made the US itself fall into decline. Andrew Bacevich, a famous American historian, once pointed out sharply that the “war for the Greater Middle East” waged by the United States is a process that leads to the destruction of this super power.

2. Over the years, to Western powers, like the US and those in Europe, “globalization” of the monopoly capitalism era they themselves dominated has been a powerful tool to uphold the “Western liberal world order”. Famous historian Andrew Bacevich also said something to the effect that the concept of globalization is the core of the strategy of the Clinton Administration and that globalization has become synonym for US leadership in the world. Globalization in the monopoly capitalism era is good for advancing global economic development but at the same time it has exacerbated polarization, a disadvantage of capitalism that has been made even worse. The US is a main force and a major
beneficiary in today’s globalization and also a country with the largest wealth gap. Capitalism’s “social inequality” has made today’s US society hugely divided. The general public, including some middle-class people whose social status was brought down by the financial crisis, are extremely unhappy about the existing system and social reality of America and are indignant with the elites who are trying hard to maintain the current establishment. As a result of such division, Mr. Trump, a businessman outside Washington, has been elected as US President out of expectation.

In order to satisfy the strong desire of the electorate for changes, President Trump has been holding the banners of “America first” and “making America great again” but actually he has practiced an extreme selfish nationalistic policy. That only deepens the division rather than healing it. In his mind, there are only interests, but no values, and even less, “universal values”. Susan Rice, former Obama national security advisor, wrote in her opinion in New York Times on 20 December 2017 that “Trump believes we live in a world where America wins only at others’ expense. There is no common good, no international community, no universal values, only American values”. Trump insists that as long as the US has strong economic power and military power that can enable it to deter other countries, US dominance in the world will not be shaken and that there is no need to shoulder “global responsibilities” so expensively as it did in the past. And he believes that there is no need to “pretend” with talks of democracy, freedom or human rights. Probably that is what Dr. Kissinger meant when he said that “Trump may be one of those figures in history who appears from time to time to mark the end of an era and to force it to give up its old pretenses”.


Since he took office, Trump has “overhauled” US relations with the world in an “unorthodox way”. That has brought chaos to the Western world and accelerated the end of the “Western liberal world order” which has dominated the world for so many years. As some scholars in the US and Europe have pointed out, Trump is actually undermining the “liberal Western world” which has been built by America itself.

3. The US-Europe military alliance built in the aftermath of World War II is a cornerstone for the US attempt to vie for and uphold its supremacy in the world and also underpins the “Western liberal world order” that is still existing today. Since assuming Presidency, Trump has been prompted by the mentality of “no more allowing allies to take advantage of the US” and gradually shifted from strengthening the US-Europe alliance to undermining allies for the benefit of the US. His first target is Germany, which is second to the US among Western economies. He has publicly supported Brexit, encouraged France to leave the EU and criticized the EU of being “an instrument of Germany”. He has accused German Chancellor Merkel of making a “disastrous mistake” on the immigration issue. He has blamed Germany for manipulating currency to get huge trade surplus with the US and asked for compensation. He has urged Germany and other countries to raise defense expenditure and pay full protection money to NATO. He has criticized Germany of financing for construction of Nord Stream 2, a natural gas pipeline project from Russia to Germany, citing concerns about impacts on US energy exports to Europe and he has even arrogantly threatened “sanctions” against Germany for that. He has provoked the trade war with Europe, imposing higher tariffs on exports to the US, including steel and aluminum products and cars and car parts, which actually are mainly targeted
at Germany.

As the Munich Security Conference in 2017 suggested, the world might be walking into the post-West era, or in other words, the liberal world order dominated by the West is coming apart. According to the conference, there are two factors leading to the situation. One is Trump taking office as President of the US. The other is the weak cohesiveness of the EU. As a matter of fact, these two aspects are related, for Trump’s adjustment of US policy on the EU is also an external factor weakening the cohesiveness of the EU. If the “Western liberal world order” is drawing to a close, the West only has itself to blame for it.

III

The start and end of a world order is always a long process. The huge changes in the global landscape today has brought about turmoil which will not just be limited to the West and rather will go well beyond it and reach the non-West world. At the juncture where the old and new world orders are meeting, international relations will remain complicated, tense and volatile. That may constitute the normal state for some time to come.

The “Western liberal world order” is coming apart, further prompting all kinds of efforts of the non-West world to build a new order that is fair, just and equitable. China’s Belt and Road Initiative has made much progress. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation which is committed to building a China-Africa community of shared interests has yielded fruitful results. And South-South cooperation of various forms in many parts of the world are growing and thriving. All gives strong testimony to the
efforts in that direction.

As part of the trend of today’s world, what is unveiling ahead of us is a new and completely different international order replacing an old one.
Of the books I read lately, *Has the West Lost It? A Provocation* by Professor Kishore Mahbubani is most striking.

Contrary to the doom and gloom picture of the present and future world painted by some Western media, Professor Kishore Mahbubani has presented an optimistic new order of things. He passionately argues that history has turned a corner in the early 21st century: a cycle of Western domination of the world is coming to a natural end; a new world order, with China and India as the strongest economies and the Emerging 7 – China, India, Brazil, Mexico, Russia, Indonesia and Turkey and the developing world becoming active agents of change, dawns. This is perhaps the most significant corner humanity has ever turned, the Professor acclaims.

Given that lifting sights from specific events and focusing on the longer-term trends and taking things in moderation has been one of our strengths and values,

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there are a few points I’ve drawn from this book which I believe are important and relevant.

**First, appreciating socioeconomic progress of the emerging and developing countries and its underlying significance for common good.**

By presenting ample facts and figures, Professor Kishore Mahbubani eloquently articulated the enormous improvement in the human condition, particularly as a result of the development of the emerging and developing world.

On the economic front, being home to 85% of the world’s population—6 billion people, the emerging and developing countries have become key drivers for global growth and prosperity.

According to the IMF, the emerging and developing economies contributed more than 80% of global growth since the 2008 financial crisis. In the *Development of Emerging Economies Annual Report 2017* released by Boao Forum for Asia (BFA), the 11 emerging-market economies (E11) which includes Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, South Korea, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa and Turkey, contributed 60% of world economic growth in 2016 and their share in the world economic aggregate has been on a continuous rise. The McKinsey Global Institute’s recent review showed that other high performers including Cambodia, Ethiopia, Kazakhstan, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam all achieved per capita GDP growth of at least 5% for 20 years, from 1996 to 2016. And according to the new report from BMI Research, ten emerging markets, namely Bangladesh, Egypt, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Myanmar, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines and Vietnam are set to
become new drivers of economic growth over the next ten years.

Consequently, the global economic pie has been growing. Poverty reduction, though remains an unfinished agenda, has made major progress, with some one billion people being lifted out of poverty over the past 25 years. Modern education is spreading and literacy rates are exploding. And the size of the middle-class is growing. According to the Brookings Institute thinktank, global middle-class reached the ‘tipping point’ of half of the world’s population—3.6 billion in 2018; and nine in ten of the next billion new middle-class consumers will be spread across China, India and south and east Asia.

Economic growth of the emerging and developing countries coupled with their close interaction and cooperation with the developed countries has brought about enormous benefits. Among others, economic complementarity between China and the United States have increased economic growth, boosted industrial upgrading and structural optimization in both countries, reduced production costs, enhanced the efficiency and effectiveness of global value chains, and generated greater product variety and enormous benefit for businesses and consumers.

Growth of the economy and the improvement of people’s living standards of the emerging and developing economies have unlocked new growth opportunities in many other areas. For instance, there has been an obvious rise in demand for services and rapid growth in China-US bilateral services trade. Two-way trade in services between the two countries rose from US$24.94 billion in 2007 to US$75.05 billion in 2017. The US was China’s second biggest services trade partner; and China the third biggest market for US
service exports.

To say that the emerging economies and developing countries have made remarkable progress is not to suggest that they are problem-free. Obviously, existing and emerging challenges, among others, unfavorable external factors like Zero-sum thinking, narrow-nationalism, unilateralism, and protectionism continue to frustrate their efforts to achieve greater socio-economic progress. Much more still needs to be done to achieve prosperity for all. However, 88% of the world’s population can and are forging ahead is an unstoppable trend which the world should rejoice at.

Second, believing in the fundamentals—confidence and determination to chart path of development that best suits one’s national conditions.

Professor Kishore Mahbubani laid out three silent revolutions political, psychological and in the field of governance in the non-Western world, which went unnoticed by the Western intellectual circles and which underpins the success stories of the emerging economies and the developing countries.

Indeed, aspiration and struggle for independence and freedom from foreign domination has been in the blood and bones of the developing world. In many of their renowned works, late statesmen of many developing countries delved deep into history and concluded that wiping out generations of shameful subservience and timid submission to arrogant alien authorities and becoming masters of their own destiny was one of the great strengths of their respective countries.
From my personal experience of working on the African and Asian desks in the foreign service over the years, including numerous visits to Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as close interactions with G77 at the United Nations, I could feel strongly the growing confidence and fortitude of the developing countries to proactively shape their future.

For one thing, there is increasing recognition that no single model works for all countries. Instead of ceding the responsibility for their future to others, more and more countries in the developing world are charting their own paths of development and paying their own way in the world. At the national and the regional level, attention and efforts are focusing on the urgent need to get the house in order. For another, in more and more parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there is growing commitment to staying true to one’s own core values, embracing clean, functional and accountable governance, a level-playing field and enabling environment and system for business, and rule of law. This spiritual and psychological emancipation and approach of seeking truth from facts have given full play to ingenuity, creativity, innovation and energy of their societies and have achieved desirable outcomes.

Third, unwavering in the resolve to upholding multilateralism to achieving comprehensive and equitable solutions to global problems and challenges.

With a critical eye, Professor Kishore Mahbubani examined the hubris and follies of the West in recent times. By quoting strategist Machiavelli ‘……he will be successful who directs his actions according to the spirit of the times, and that he whose actions do not accord with the times will not be successful’, the Professor urged the
West to develop a good understanding of the new era and formulate thoughtful and pragmatic policy responses and adopt a better option.

So, what is the better option or options? One can draw a great deal from Professor’s book as well as from the messages transpired from, for instance, the general debate of the United Nation General Assembly.

_Self-reflection and structural adjustment_. It is common knowledge that while there are both internal and external factors that cause a problem, the internal one always plays the key role. The best way out and forward is to take a targeted approach to address the internal factor and do one’s own homework well, as the conventional wisdom tells us ‘to be turned into iron, the metal itself must be strong’; and to point accusing fingers on others and put blames on other’s doorsteps will not solve the problems.

We need not go to the past to find testimony to this wisdom, the present is full of it. Guided by the mantra of ‘Reform, Perform, Transform and further Perform’, India has taken a number of drastic steps to deepen structural reforms which have added strength to the country’s economy. To address the principal issue of unbalanced and inadequate development, China is pressing ahead with reform across the board, focusing on removing the barriers which prevents it from achieving full potential and promoting coordinated economic, political, cultural, social and ecological advancement. Many other emerging and developing countries are also devoting their energy and resources on reform and innovation to propel their socio-economic development into a high and sustainable growth path. A major financial and institutional reform initiated by the African Union some years ago to fundamentally change the way of doing
business is another telling case in point. All these efforts stand in strong contrast to the lack of deep and honest self-reflection and sufficient resolve to address one’s fundamental structural problems in certain parts of the world.

*Safeguard the international order.* The unprecedented general peace the world enjoyed over the past more than seven decades was not a natural phenomenon. It was achieved by adherence to the purposes and principles the UN Charter by the majority of the members of the UN. That there are pockets of conflicts and that the two regions—North Africa and the Middle East are exceptions to the broad trend of peace and stability is by and large due to external meddling. As pointed out by Professor Kishore Mahbubani the West export of democracy and intervention has increased not decreased human suffering in many countries and that it is inevitable that the world will face a troubled future if the West can’t shake its interventionist impulses.

Though unfortunately Cold-war mentality dies hard and there are still thoughtless impulse and tough-minded attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and to make the world in the image of the West, the overriding stance of the members of the UN is to uphold norms governing international relations and replace confrontation with cooperation and coercion with consultation. This is certainly the right cause for celebration. It is our firm belief that the purposes and principles enshrined in the UN Charter will continue to guide us to navigate global challenges, advance sound and stable relations between countries transcending difference in social systems, and build a world safe for diversity and harmony.

*Strengthen multilateralism.* Obviously and very unfortunately,
the past year witnessed a resurgence in isolationist, protectionist and xenophobic sentiments in the political arena especially in the West. There emerged as some people referred to as ‘Trust Deficit Disorder’— trust deficit in the political establishments as well as in the concept of multilateralism and its institutions.

Yet, we shall not lose sight of the fact that the overall trend of the times remains upholding the open and rules-based multilateral system. This resolve was amply reflected at the general debate of the 73rd UN General Assembly. It was powerfully articulated by most of the members of the UN that the transboundary nature of the challenges as well as the compelling opportunities for shared prosperity demand more cohesion and cooperation. Living in an increasingly multi-polar and interconnected and interdependent world, the challenges to be tackled—sustainable global development, climate change, digital technology, cyber security etc. are beyond the ability and capability of any one country and demand more than ever a multilateral approach. Rather than retreating from multilateralism, the international community should double down on it.

Stay committed to economic integration. It is a proven fact that opening-up of economies and free trade allows countries to grow collectively and enjoy co-prosperity. Against the headwind of certain forces to decouple economies, disintegrate the global market and disrupt the global supply chain in defiance of all the economic imperatives, most of the countries are redoubling efforts to forge closer economic and trade ties and regional integration.

On the detailed picture, ASEAN is intensifying integration efforts and coming up with concrete new deliverables, such as the ASEAN Agreement on E-Commerce, the ASEAN-wide Self
Certification scheme, the ASEAN Smart Cities Network to make its vision of a “resilient and innovative ASEAN” possible. And through various ASEAN-centric platforms such as ASEAN+1, ASEAN+3 and the East Asia Summit, countries in the region are strengthening coordination and cooperation to enable their peoples to benefit further from economic globalization and regional integration. Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) has entered final stage of negotiations. Once concluded, it is estimated that, as the world’s largest economic and trade arrangement, the RCEP’s share of the global economy could account for half of the estimated $0.5 quadrillion global GDP (PPP) by 2050.

The trend on the African continent is also toward closer and more productive cooperation. As the culmination of decades of effort, the historic African Continental Free Trade Area was signed in 2018. Once in force, this free trade area will be the largest in the world in terms of participating countries and the scale and higher levels of intra-African trade will redefine Africa’s place in the global economic and trade architecture. As proudly declared by many African leaders the momentous developments and regional integration on the African continent are the most remarkable and in no other region is the sense of trans-national solidarity and unity so deeply felt as in Africa.

All in all, we should be highly conscious of global uncertainties and not have any illusion that the path to long-lasting peace and shared prosperity will be a straight forward and level one. Despite ourselves, there are bound to be twists and turns, ups and downs, successes and failures along the way. We should not underestimate the disastrous consequences of the intransigent mindset and practices of zero-sum game and power politics. Yet, as we often say in China,
we should stand high and not be distracted by fleeting clouds. We should remain confident of the broader structural forces. Whatever comes in the way, forces for pursuing peaceful coexistence and win-win outcome will prevail.
The rapid advances in AI technology are transforming our world. As the performance of computer hardware improves in all respects and a massive amount of data builds up in the Internet age, AI technology has entered into a period of high-speed development in the second decade of the 21st century. Thanks to the unprecedented progress in algorithm and computing power, AI technology, for the first time, has crossed the threshold of industrialization and is regarded by countries as a key driver of a new round of scientific and technological revolution.

As an epoch-making scientific and technological achievement, AI is fundamentally different from previous scientific and technological revolutions in human history. Past technological changes were invariably about the tools and methods that mankind employed to transform the world. AI, however, is able to understand people’s inherent needs via analysis and learning of big data and become a creative partner

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that is directly involved in man’s activities to transform the world. As human society embraces the age of AI, the relations between man and technology will go through adjustments at the deep level. Accordingly, key factors in the international system will change significantly, including the actors, structure, logic and operational rules. Traditional theories of international relations face severe tests.

I. Paths and Ways through Which AI Technology Shapes International Relations

Theoretically, AI technology develops in three stages:

First, the stage of Artificial Narrow Intelligence (ANI) or Narrow AI. Some researchers characterize AI technology at this stage as Applied AI. ANI is not a single technology path, but refers to a variety of solutions enabled by the application of AI in a full range of vertical areas. At this stage, AI functions have narrow expertise in particular domains. They can learn through practice to improve their performance. Products have to be developed for different domains. Therefore, it has a prominent utility property.

Second, the stage of Artificial General Intelligence (AGI), General AI or Full AI. It means that AI systems that will emerge in the foreseeable future will have a level of intelligence comparable to that of human beings and be able to solve problems encountered by mankind in all dimensions and across domains. AI technology at this stage will be able to pass the Turing test and replace human beings in performing most of the routine jobs.

Third, the stage of Superintelligence. Superintelligence is a
hypothetical agent that may appear in the future as predicted by philosophers. It is defined as “an intelligence that far surpasses the smartest human brain in every aspect such as creativity in science, wisdom and social skills.” Yet due to technological limitations, the basic state of AI at this stage is mostly imaginary and hypothetical and can only be approached from a philosophical perspective.

The ongoing development of AI technology led by deep learning will eventually take human society to the stage of ANI. The current high-speed development of AI technology started around 2010, a period that is marked by multi-layer neural networks and deep learning. Deep learning algorithm is based on neural networks composed of embedded, multi-layered pattern recognition systems and transforms lower dimensional features into more abstract higher dimensional properties, classifications or features to identify the patterns of data distribution. Such algorithm empowers AI to extract, identify and build systems from massive, complicated sources of information. In areas where there are tasks with clear goals and rich data, deep learning algorithm enables machines to learn new skills, develop effective strategies and produce in a short period of time solutions that surpass human learning capacity.

AI technology is able to solve problems in a specific area through “training” and “learning”. The model designer, however, has no idea whatsoever what special patterns are discovered when a problem is resolved by the model. The system is nothing but a “black box” for mankind. In this sense, General AI, which is capable of solving problems across different sectors, is almost unlikely to emerge in the existing theoretical framework. The US National Science and Technology Council (NSTC) projected that
it will take several decades for General AI to become a reality. Therefore, human society will, for a long time, stay in the age of ANI. We still need to analyze the impact on the existing international system brought by the way technologies diffuse their influence in the age of ANI.

As Figure 1 shows, based on the current momentum of development, the continuous advances of AI technology in different sectors made possible by deep learning in the age of ANI have an impact on the international system at three levels.

First, at the sectoral level, some AI technologies can be directly applied in specific domains of international relations issues, thereby changing the balance of power among existing actors in these domains and adding new uncertainties to international
relations. As AI technology progresses, prominent, direct changes in international relations issues have taken place in the assistance system for strategic decision making and the intelligent military system.

Second, at the institutional level, the sectoral proliferation of AI technology will reshape the relationship between capital and labor in the world economic system. Structural adjustment will be underway in the global economic system, driving the evolution of the way power is distributed inside a country, the rapid expansion of capital and the spread of influence of technology communities. As a result, the national governance system will experience important structural adjustments in the context of technological changes.

Third, at the system level, the influence of AI technology advances will have spillover effects at the system level. Changes in domestic governance structure trigger changes in international governance structure. Changes in socioeconomic conditions and governance thinking will gradually play out across the world. Consequently, subtle changes will take place in international economic and political governance models. Adjustments will also occur in the nature and rules of international relations to adapt to the changing economic foundation. At the same time, the profound changes in the international system also reflect the general direction of changes in social thoughts globally.

Based on the above analytical framework, we can have informed discussions about the complicated impact on all the elements of international relations brought by technology advances in the age of AI, and try to draw a picture of future international relations.
II. How AI Technology Gets Involved in Strategic and Military Fields

Currently, the involvement of AI technology in activities of international relations is mainly in the strategic decision making system and the military system. As strategic decision making and military security bear on a country’s fundamental interests, all countries have a positive attitude toward new technology R&D in this field. At the same time, as the two fields have relatively clear targets and rich data, they have all the conditions necessary for deep learning algorithm to play its role.

1. AI Technology Drives Changes in the Model of Strategic Game

In a mathematical sense, strategic interactions between international actors are typical behaviors of “incomplete information game”. The participants make and enforce the most favorable game tactics by evaluating their competitors’ capability, intention, interests and determination and analyzing the specific external environment. In a traditional sense, states participate in a strategic game mostly based on the acumen and judgement of statesmen. As deep learning algorithm advances, AI-assisted decision making systems have demonstrated their potential in this area.

Firstly, AI systems can provide more accurate risk assessment and early warning, making strategic decision making a process of precise selection and putting it on a scientific basis.

A strategic game is premised and built on accurate prediction and judgement of prospects and risks. Decision making by
human beings, however, is a fairly subjective, speculative attempt based on extremely limited intelligence. When deep learning technologies are involved in a strategic game, the severity of risks in strategic behaviors and the effectiveness of responding tactics can be accurately expressed through technologies and in ways of probability. Decision making can be transformed from mere guessing to choosing a tactic from prospects of different probabilities. This will minimize uncertainties in a strategic game.

Secondly, deep learning algorithm can provide, at a faster pace, strategic options that are different from conventional patterns of human thinking, and continuously raise the effectiveness of strategy delivery in a game.

As the features of deep learning algorithm dictate, machine intelligence does not imitate the process of human decision making, but proactively establishes new tactics based on a full understanding of targets. These tactics are quite different from man’s patterns of thinking, but they are often more effective in achieving goals in a game. At the same time, another important advantage of deep learning algorithm is that it can learn from mistakes and more accurately grasp the tactical characteristics of the opponents through repeated interactions. As data continues to accumulate, the characteristics and tactical tendencies of the opponents in a game will become clearer and expand the advantages of interactions.

Finally, in the strategic game process, the AI system can eliminate the interference of other factors to the greatest extent and improve the reliability of strategic decision-making.
AI is an objective and neutral decision-making system that represents a purely rational attitude. The AI decision-making system will only be affected by the parameters, and there will be no impulsive decision-making. Human beings cannot escape the adverse impact of fatigue and emotions on their bodies. But AI does not make any change just because of the extension of time. Comparatively speaking, AI systems are more reliable decision makers and offer ways that are the closest to rational choice.

In general, decision-making assistance systems based on AI technology will further widen the gap in strategic game capabilities between international actors. Actors, without the assistance of AI technology, will be in absolute disadvantage in many ways, including risk assessment, strategy selection, decision making and execution efficiency, and decision reliability. The traditional strategic game structure will be completely out of balance.

2. Changes Induced by AI Technology in the Military Field

The military field is an important platform that leads to breakthroughs in AI technology. The advancement of AI technology will profoundly change weapon systems, military strategies, military organizations and even the meaning of war. As such, human beings will find themselves in a completely different military and security environment after the dawn of the era of ANI.

Firstly, at the level of military technology, AI technology will promote the wide application of intelligent weapons.

Deep learning algorithm can enable intelligent weapons to acquire the basic ability to control weapons in a virtual
environment, and use AI systems to coordinate the action of intelligent weapons to maximize the advantage on battlefields. Intelligent weapon systems can not only achieve a substantial separation between humans and weapons, thus bringing the actual casualty close to zero, but also maximize the efficiency of the use of weapons and cooperation between different weapons. When AI weapon systems meet traditional models of military power on the battlefield, laws and ethics that are applicable to war will be under tremendous shocks.

Secondly, at the level of military strategy, AI technology will bring military strategy and tactics to an unprecedented level.

War itself is a relatively simple and closed field compared with complex human society. Deep learning algorithm has been able to recover almost all battlefield information, and simulate the battlefield in relatively accurate terms on a sand table. On a real-life battlefield, AI has the ability to collect battlefield information more comprehensively and efficiently. Commanders therefore have a more full and accurate picture of the battlefield and get more precise tactical advice.

At the level of military strategy delivery, AI has two advantages that humans can’t match. First, AI systems can quickly process battlefield information and have rapid response capabilities that humans do not have. Second, AI systems have multi-tasking capabilities to pursue multiple actions simultaneously, and propose complex strategies that human thinking patterns cannot understand. With new technologies, the imbalance between conventional military forces will be magnified like never before. Traditional armed forces will find it increasingly difficult to compensate for
their disadvantages on the battlefield through tactics and strategies.

Lastly, at the level of military implementation, AI technology advances may lower the threshold of war.

In the contemporary international system, war is widely regarded as an extreme means in international political behavior. The huge economic costs and domestic political pressure caused by casualties have actually set a high threshold for war. However, with the involvement of AI technology, there is a trend of significant decline in the cost and risk of war.

On the one hand, the involvement of AI technology will be able to effectively reduce the cost of military operations. The use of intelligent weapons can significantly save time and cut labor costs in the training process. The training of unmanned combat weapons relies on relatively mature deep learning algorithms. After the initial training, it can be quickly replicated to all unmanned combat weapons of the same type so as to fast track the training process of combat weapons. From the perspective of long-term effects, it is a more economical and effective combat training method. Due to the replicability of algorithm and data, the wear and tear of some weapons will have less impact on overall operational effectiveness.

On the other hand, the cruelest aspect of the traditional war model is casualty, which is also the most serious political risk of warfare in contemporary society. The widespread use of intelligent weapons actually reduces man’s direct participation in combat. The separation of people from weapons changes a war into a task of using unmanned weapon systems. With the widespread use of intelligent weapons, casualties can be greatly reduced. So are
political risks. This situation essentially encourages big countries to exercise less self-restraint and take more aggressive actions to achieve their goals. It also creates new factors of instability on the international security landscape, providing additional impetus for the technology arms race between big powers.

III. The Impact of AI Technology on the International System

AI technology has the most direct impact on the economic system. Most notably, technological progress brings shocks to the stable economic structure of contemporary society. The change of economic structure will in turn lead to the change of the power distribution model within international actors, and ultimately transform the system from inside.

1. Change of Socioeconomic Structure in the Age of ANI

It is the core logic of the AI industry to replace human beings in production by machines with similar human intelligence. The increasingly mature AI technology will disrupt the original industrial structure and production model, and change the status of different elements in the economic system. With the full application of AI technology in social production activities, two unacceptable negative phenomena in current human society will be widely seen during the period of transition and become the normal state of economic and social structure in the era of ANI:

First, persistent unemployment.

The core logic of AI technology is to replace human labor with
machine automation to improve social productivity. Therefore, the persistent and widespread unemployment will become a constant of the ANI era. Unlike the cyclical unemployment traditionally caused by the decline in production scale, the joblessness caused by AI is essentially structural. Capital eliminates the need for labor in new ways and through new means. The structurally unemployed will not come back to work because of changes in the economic cycle. On the contrary, the application of AI technology in various vertical fields will only enlarge the scale of unemployment and lengthen the duration of unemployment.

Second, yawning gaps in social wealth.

Yawning gaps in social wealth represent another important social phenomenon accompanied by persistent unemployment in the era of ANI, and will tear asunder the traditional social structure.

Firstly, gaps in individual wealth. In the important process whereby capital squeezes labor, productivity gains brought by AI will not translate into universal wage income growth. The newly created social wealth will be tilted to the capital side in a disproportionate way, with low-income groups and people with less education seriously disadvantaged in the new round of social resource allocation.

Secondly, the distribution of wealth across industries will notably diverge. The use of AI technology will bring enormous capital to industries related to the Internet and big data. In the next five to ten years, there will emerge a huge gap between AI-related industries and traditional industries.
Finally, the wealth gap between countries will be wider. There is an uneven development of AI technology among different countries. In the early days of ANI, some countries will be in a monopolistic position over AI technology for some time, and make enormous benefits. This will only aggravates the already yawning gap in global wealth.

The development of AI technology plays a role as a “creative disrupter” in the global socio-economic structure. Under the influence of AI technology, the status of capital and technology in economic activities has been comprehensively improved, while the value of labor has been seriously weakened. Globally, capital and talent will be pulled to developed countries with technological advantages, while developing countries have a limited window of opportunity to embark on the path of modernization. The power of capital will rapidly expand in the political system.

2. The Adjustment of National Power Distribution Model in the Age of ANI

The distribution of national power is fundamentally determined by the characteristics of social and economic production modes. When the social and economic structural changes driven by AI technology unfold, new social power emerge with technological change, and lead to adjustments in the national governance structure and power distribution model.

First, the power of capital will continue to expand thanks to technological monopoly. The development of the AI industry relies on huge and long-term capital investment. Therefore, major data resources and advanced AI technologies in today’s world are
basically monopolized by large multinationals. Command of data and algorithm in itself means power. They can use the black box of algorithm to provide the public with what they want to see, subtly and quietly changing the way public products are offered. The combination of capital and technological monopoly will gradually lead to the sharing of important powers such as finance and information, which have been traditionally controlled by nation-states.

Second, technological power expands in a short period of time by virtue of the asymmetric advantage of knowledge. During the transition to the ANI age, a small group of elite scientists who are responsible for the core tasks of developing AI technology will gain influence that goes beyond conventions. With their own voice and influence, they form a special class of technological power, a scientist community. As the community of top scientists is small during this period and is irreplaceable, such a group is relatively stable. The industrial revolution and the large-scale adjustment of the social structure triggered by AI technology will appear at the same time, making the scientist community itself an intermediate link in the change of technology and social structure. And they have an important say in shaping technological development going forward.

In the early years of the ANI age, traditional political power, capital power and technological power will form a pyramid structure. Traditional political power will continue to control the core elements of state power such as security, taxation, and social management, and continue to monopolize the legitimate right to use force and endorse the use of other forms of power. As representatives of capital power, large multinationals will
accept power transfer in certain areas to provide public goods for the whole society, including data and economic information. The scientist community constitutes a key link between the development of AI technology and social production, providing basic standards and moral influence for the future society, and shouldering the responsibility of promoting further development of AI technology. The three forces support yet check each other, adapt to each other in a state of constant interaction, and try to explore the most reasonable model of state governance in the new stage of social development.

3. The Transformation of the International System from the Inside

The transformation of the international system in the age of ANI is actually a natural extension of the distribution of domestic power in a wider space. As shown in Figure 3, the capital and technological powers on the receiving end of the transfer of
traditional political power will gain the legal status as international actors in the new stage of the international system. Such a model of interaction between actors of this type will be introduced into the international system, making the whole system more complicated, with diverse actors, rules and relationship.

First, diverse actors. Sovereign states, multinationals and the scientist community across borders will become important participants in the international system of the new era.

In the age of ANI, the status of sovereign states as the most important actors in the international system will remain unchanged. Super multinationals will gradually develop into international actors with commercial interests as the core and certain independence and discourse power. They provide smaller countries with public goods in specific areas and participate
in political transactions on other topics. The emergence of the scientist community as an independent force in the international system will play an important role in building global consensus in the age of ANI.

Second, diverse rules. There are significant differences in the rules of conduct followed by different actors in the international system in the new era.

Sovereign states will continue to follow the existing basic rules of the international community and engage in competition over traditional themes such as power and interests. Multinationals take economic interests as their core goal. Because they cannot obtain the legal right to use force, peaceful competition will be the main mode of their activities. The scientist community is distinctly global. The existence of different rules means that many elements in the new system need to go through a long period of adaptation to establish boundaries for stable power.

Third, diverse relationships. Sovereign states and multinationals will carry out complex games around the boundaries of power transfer. Restricting and dissolving the monopoly of the scientist community on technology will become the common political operation of sovereign states and multinationals.

Sovereign states need to take advantage of the technological and commercial success of multinationals to drive their economic development and technological progress, but they should also be alert to the erosion of the core power of sovereign states caused by their development. However, sovereign states and multinationals have full consensus on the political means to limit and break the
monopoly of the scientist community on the technology discourse power. Due to the lack of experience in dealing with the monopoly of high-level technological power in the history of mankind, how to use the new mechanism to bring into full play of the positive role of the scientist community in AI and limit the possible abuse of technology power will become the core political operation in the early days of the ANI age.

IV. China’s Strategic Choice

The rapid development of AI technology will change the traditional path of industrialization and eventually lead to a new round of industrial revolution. The advancement of AI technology will not only promote the substantial increase of social productivity, but also have a far-reaching impact on the economic production pattern, power distribution model and structure of the international system of human society. Under the impact of the technology, the differences in power between international actors will be further expanded, and human beings will enter an era of growing inequalities.

In order to effectively cope with the technological revolution and institutional changes of the time, the world’s major powers are making active efforts, making AI development plans as suited to their national conditions, coordinating their resources in the field of AI, striving to take the lead in this technology and industry, and seeking a more favorable strategic position in the new international system.

The industrial revolution led by AI is an invaluable opportunity for China’s development. This will be the first time that China
embraces the industrial revolution as a country on the cutting edge of science and technology. As one of the world’s most important cyber powers, China has a natural advantage in advancing AI technology. For one thing, domestic capital favors AI for its future business potential. When the technology is in the ascendant, a lot has been invested in R&D, with a large talent pool formed. After more than 20 years of development, China’s top Internet companies, represented by Alibaba, Tencent and Baidu, have grown into international giants. They have sufficient research funds and are able to draw talents in the field of artificial intelligence from across the world. Technological strengths have been built in different sectors. For another thing, as the world's largest Internet market, China's Internet population has exceeded 750 million in 2017. Thanks to the easy availability of mobile Internet, a massive amount of data has accumulated in relevant vertical fields, providing sufficient feedstock for the development of AI technology. China's Internet market is large enough to facilitate the commercialization of research results. More importantly, China’s systematic industrial planning and policy guidance can provide strong support for AI development.

General Secretary Xi Jinping clearly stated in the report to the 19th CPC National Congress that “to promote the deep integration of the Internet, big data, artificial intelligence and the real economy”, taking artificial intelligence as an important part of the supply-side structural reform and the growth of the real economy. From 2016 to 2017, the State Council promulgated the Three-Year Action Plan on “Internet Plus” Artificial Intelligence and the Plan on Developing New-Generation Artificial Intelligence. These documents outline detailed plans on the strategic positioning, development goals, major tasks and guarantee measures for China
in AI technology and industry. Through the implementation of the above-mentioned plans, promoting the development of AI technology has become an important national strategy in China, which will effectively promote China's progress in artificial intelligence technology and industrialization. It will also have a positive impact on the development of global AI technology. With the implementation of national plans and through the effective integration of resources, China is fully capable of leveraging its comparative advantages in future competition over artificial intelligence, strengthen weak links in development, and take an important position in the new international system as it endeavors to building a great, modern socialist country.

That said, we must also realize that the AI revolution will bring to the international system profound changes that are unprecedented in human history. The process of change itself means unpredictable risks. How to make precautions when the potential risks are in the making, so that human beings won’t be overwhelmed by the impact of the technological revolution, is also an important responsibility of academics in social sciences. 🎓
Visits & Events

The Reception Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between China and the United States Held in Beijing

The Reception Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the People’s Republic of China and the United States of America, co-hosted by the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs and the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, was held on January 10, 2019 at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. Chinese Vice President Wang Qishan attended the reception and delivered a speech. Mr. Xu Kuangdi, former Vice Chairman
of the CPPCC and President of China-US People’s Friendship Association, and US Ambassador to China Terry Branstad, as well as over 300 representatives from all walks of life of the two countries who have been consistently supporting the development of China-US relations for a long time attended the reception.

President Wu Hailong Met with UN Resident Coordinator in China Nicholas Rosellini and UNDP Resident Representative in China Agi Veres

On January 17, Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA and President of UNA-China, met with Mr. Nicholas Rosellini, the UN Resident Coordinator in China and Ms. Agi Veres, the UNDP Resident Representative in China. The two sides exchanged views on such issues as China-UN relations, the UN Reform, and the cooperation between UNA-China and the UN System in China. Madam Zhang Dan, Vice-President and Director-General of UNA-China was also present.
On February 20, at the invitation of the Ambassador of Iran, Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA attended the working breakfast in honor of H.E. Ali Larijani, Speaker of Parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran. At the working breakfast, President Wu made remarks about China-Iran relations and the Iranian nuclear issue.
On February 22, H.E. Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA met with H.E. Amb. Martin Mpana, Cameroonian Ambassador to China. The two sides exchanged views on China-Cameroon relations, the Belt and Road Initiative and other issues of common interest. Amb. Ou Boqian, Vice President of CPIFA was present.

President Wu Hailong Meets with Cameroonian Ambassador to China

On February 22, H.E. Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA met with H.E. Amb. Martin Mpana, Cameroonian Ambassador to China. The two sides exchanged views on China-Cameroon relations, the Belt and Road Initiative and other issues of common interest. Amb. Ou Boqian, Vice President of CPIFA was present.

President Wu Hailong Attends the 7th Baku Global Forum

From 13th to 17th March, President Wu Hailong heading the CPIFA delegation attended the 7th Baku Global Forum held in Azerbaijan. The theme of the forum is “A New Foreign Policy”. President Wu Hailong delivered a speech in the panel of “Big
Powers’ Role in Shifting Global Policy” and chaired the panel of “China’s Development and Opportunities for the World” and had in-depth discussions with other attendees on the topics of Globalization, Sustainable Development, Middle East and Balkan issues, etc.

During the stay in Baku, Mr. Ilham Aliyev, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Mr. Akhmedov, Vice Prime Minister of the Republic of Azerbaijan, and Mr. Samadzade, Chairman of
the Economic Policy Committee of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan, met with the delegation respectively. The delegation also communicated with the Institute of International Studies of Azerbaijan and the World Leadership Alliance. Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA and Mr. Wei Jinghua, Chinese Ambassador to Azerbaijan were also present.

Baku Global Forum is hosted annually in the first half of the year by Nizami Ganjavi International Center.

The 19th China-ROK Elite Forum Holds in Beijing

On March 19, the 19th China-ROK Elite Forum co-sponsored by the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and 21st Century Korea-China Leaders Society (21C KCLS) was held in Beijing. The Chinese and Korean delegations were respectively headed by H.E. Amb. Wu Hailong, President of the CPIFA and Mr. Kim Hankyu, Chairman of the 21C KCLS. About 40 delegates attended the forum.
Delegates of the two sides had candid and in-depth discussions on issues of “Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and Peace in Southeast Asia” and “China-ROK Cooperation under New World Economic Situation”. At the opening ceremony, H.E. Li Zhaoxing, Honorary President of CPIFA and H.E. Lee Ju Young, Deputy Speaker of ROK National Assembly delivered congratulatory remarks; H.E. Amb. Wu Hailong and Mr. Kim Hankyu made opening remarks.

Wang Dongming, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, and Tang Jiaxuan, former State Councilor, met with the Korean delegation respectively on March 18th.

The China-ROK Elite Forum was initiated by CPIFA and 21C KCLS in 2001, which is held annually in China and Korea in rotation.

On January 24, Ambassador Wei Wei, Vice President of CPIFA, met with H.E.Vikram Misri, Indian Ambassador to China.
China. The two sides exchanged views on China-India relations, China-US relations and other international and regional issues of common concern.

Vice President Zhao Weiping Meets with US Congressional Staff Delegation

On March 18, Ambassador Zhao Weiping, Vice President of CPIFA, met with the US Congressional Staff Delegation organized by the US-Asia Institute, and exchanged views with them on China-US relations and other issues.

Vice President Liang Jianquan Meets with the Head of External Relations of Volkswagen Dr. Thomas Steg

On February 26, Vice President of CPIFA Liang Jianquan met with Dr. Thomas Steg, the Head of External Relations of
Volkswagen. The two sides exchanged views on China-Germany practical cooperation, China-Europe relations, China-US trade friction, China’s opening-up policy, Belt and Road Initiative and other issues.
2019年的中俄关系，最引人瞩目的关键词非“70”莫属。今年是新中国70岁华诞，也是中俄建交70周年。在不久前发布的“一带一路”五通指数有关报告中，俄罗斯成为测评的90多个“一带一路”沿线国家中与中国联通指数最高的国家，政策沟通、设施联通、贸易畅通、资金融通、民心相通5个领域的综合指数远超各国平均值。“窥一斑而知全豹”。这组数据是当前中俄关系高水平的生动体现，也是70年风雨兼程、达到历史最好水平的两国关系应有之义。站在今天这样一个重要时间节点，透过历史的多棱镜，回顾中俄关系70年来的发展历程，展望未来，我们更加深刻地体会到两国关系的重要意义，更加真切地感受到其展现出的无限活力和巨大潜力，从而对中俄关系的美好明天充满信心和期许。

一、历史的转变

苏联是第一个同新中国建交的国家。俄罗斯是中国唯一的全面战略协作伙伴。伴随着新中国的成长，中俄关系也走过70年风雨历程，日臻成熟，历久弥新，实现了一系列历史性转变。

从集团政治走向新型大国关系。新中国成立伊始，在两大阵营尖锐对立的特殊历史背景和国际环境下，中国确立“一边倒”的对外政策，将发展同苏联及广大社会主义国家关系作为外交优先方向。中苏签署《友好同盟互助条约》，两国关系进入“蜜月期”。上世纪50年代后期，中苏关系逐渐由结盟转为对抗。苏联解体后，双方准确把握时代发展大势，经过不懈摸索和实践，逐步建立起不结盟、不对抗、不针对第三方的新型大国关系。中俄1992年“相互视为友好国家”，1994年建立“建设性伙伴关系”，1996年宣布发
展战略协作伙伴关系，2011年升级为全面战略协作伙伴关系，实现两国关系“四连跳”。近年来，在习近平主席和普京总统的战略引领下，中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系进入高水平、大发展的新时代。

从意识形态之争走向发展战略对接。上世纪60年代，受两国国内和国际环境多重因素影响，中苏就如何发展社会主义产生分歧，展开激烈论战。意识形态之争成为中苏关系最终破裂的导火索。中苏关系正常化至中俄关系此后发展历程中，双方充分汲取历史经验教训，充分尊重彼此发展模式、理念，坚定支持对方走符合本国国情的发展道路，积极寻求发展战略、发展理念对接。2015年，习近平主席和普京总统达成“一带一路”建设与欧亚经济联盟对接的战略共识，标志着双方发展战略全面对接。当前，双方对接合作积极推进，中方与欧亚经济联盟签署经贸合作协议并制定对接合作项目清单、中俄积极开展“欧亚经济伙伴关系协定”联合可研都成为重要早期成果。两国发展战略高度契合，为实现更加紧密的利益融合提供了有力保障。

从单向援助走向互利合作。上世纪50年代起，苏联通过提供贷款、援建重点项目、选派专家等举措，为新中国经济建设提供了无私援助，也为新中国初步建立工业化体系奠定了坚实基础。苏联解体后，中俄在平等互利、合作共赢的基础上开展全方位务实合作。双方1996年建立总理定期会晤机制，下设能源、投资、人文、经贸、地方等副总理级合作委员会及各领域合作分委会、工作组，统筹协调双方务实合作。中俄原油管道、东线天然气管道、远程宽体客机、核领域合作等战略性大项目相继取得突破性进展。农业、科技、金融、互联互通等领域合作多点开花、广结硕果，为两国和两国人民带来了实实在在的福祉。

二、实践的检验

纵观70年历史巨变，特别是回顾近30年来中俄关系的发展历程，两国关系之所以能够不断实现蜕变和飞跃，得益于双方共同秉持一系列经过实践充分检验的基本原则，并通过签署的多项重要双边文件确定下来，一以贯之，推动两国关系乘风破浪、披荆斩棘，不断迈向新的高度，实现新的提升。

“结束过去，开辟未来”原则。1989年，邓小平同志和时任苏联领导人戈尔巴乔夫举行历史性会晤，达成“结束过去、开辟未来”的重要共识。双方一致表示，过去的事过去了，重点在于向前看，要为发展两国关系多做实事。这次会晤展现了两国领导人非凡的政治智慧和远见，正式结束了中苏长达20余年的紧张对峙，实现两国关系正常化，为日后中俄关系顺利发展奠定了重要基础。正是由于
双方认真总结历史经验教训，才能准确把握两国关系的本质和全局，客观分析两国在国际格局演变中所处的地位和作用，实事求是、与时俱进地探索和实践中俄关系的发展道路。正是由于树立了对待历史的正确态度，双方才能彻底解决历史遗留的边界问题，明晰、毫无争议地划分了4300多公里共同边界，使之成为两国友好合作的纽带。“结束过去，开辟未来”的原则对于今天双方正确看待和处理历史问题仍具有重要指导意义。

睦邻友好原则。1992年12月，双方签署《关于中俄相互关系基础的联合声明》，首次提出睦邻友好原则。2001年，双方签署具有里程碑意义的《中俄睦邻友好合作条约》，将两国“世代友好、永不为敌”的思想和原则，以及双方永远做好邻居、好朋友、好伙伴的坚定意愿以法律的形式确定下来，为指导新世纪中俄关系长远发展指明了方向。

不结盟、不对抗、不针对第三方原则。双方在1994年9月的《中俄联合声明》中确认，两国关系不结盟、不对抗、不针对第三方。这是在总结中苏关系发展经验教训基础上确定的重要方针。双方都深刻意识到，对于中俄这样具有全球影响的大国和邻国，无论结盟还是对抗，都不符合两国根本和长远利益，不符合时代发展潮流，不具有可持续性。实践证明，中俄建立的不结盟、不对抗、不针对第三方的新型国家关系模式具有长久生命力和巨大发展潜力，为国际社会树立了典范，也为推动建设相互尊重、公平正义、合作共赢的新型国际关系提供了有益实践。

平等互利、合作共赢原则。双方在1992年12月《关于中俄相互关系基础的联合声明》和1994年9月《中俄联合声明》中确定了平等互利、优势互补原则;进入21世纪后，合作共赢原则成为指导两国开展各领域务实合作的基本遵循。双方本着以上原则积极鼓励和推动各领域合作，相互照顾和考虑对方关切，不断深化全方位合作，做大共同利益蛋糕，给两国和两国人民带来实实在在的好处，也让世界分享中俄合作带来的巨大红利。

战略协作原则。双方1996年4月发表《中俄联合声明》，确定了两国关系中的战略协作原则。这是中俄关系不同于其他国家关系的最主要特征。“战略”体现了两国关系的长期性、稳定性、全局性，“协作”体现了双方合作的系统性、协同性、互补性，体现了真朋友、好伙伴之间讲信义、重情义、扬正义、树道义的共同追求。这一原则也指导中俄在国际事务中开展密切有效协作，中俄国际战略协作成为维护地区及世界和平稳定的压舱石。
三、新常态下的新突破

党的十八大以来，以习近平同志为核心的党中央高度重视发展对俄关系；2012年普京总统复任总统后，一如既往将发展对华关系置于俄罗斯外交优先方向。在两国元首的战略引领和统筹擘画下，中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系取得前所未有的大发展，高水平运行成为中俄关系的新常态，一系列实实在在的成果推动两国关系取得新突破。

——元首战略引领为中俄关系掌舵定向。习近平主席2013年3月就任国家主席后，选择俄罗斯作为首次出访的首站，2014年2月连续第二年将俄罗斯作为年度首访国，凸显了中俄关系作为中国外交优先方向的明确定位。习近平主席和普京总统自2013年以来27次会晤，建立了密切的工作关系和深厚的个人友谊。去年6月普京总统访华期间，习近平主席向他授予中国首枚对外最高等级国家荣誉勋章——“友谊勋章”；2017年7月习近平访俄期间，普京总统向习主席授予俄罗斯国家最高荣誉勋章“圣安德烈勋章”，充分体现了两国关系的特殊性和两国元首的深厚友谊。此外，温馨的巴厘岛生日会，乘高铁话友谊促合作，共同观看青少年冰球友谊赛，一道制作品尝两国传统美食……6年来，两国元首交往创下许许多多个第一次，留下段段佳话帧帧亮点，会晤议题涵盖双边关系和国际形势方方面面，涉及的深度广度和取得的丰硕成果共识都令人由衷感叹和钦佩。在两位大国领袖的亲自掌舵领航下，中俄关系的巨轮扬帆向前，不断驶向更加辉煌的未来。

——全面互利合作是两国关系的物质基础。2018年，中俄双边经贸额取得历史性突破，首次超过1000亿美元，双边贸易额增速在中国十大贸易伙伴中位列榜首。中国作为俄罗斯第一大贸易伙伴国、进口来源国和出口目的地国地位稳固，俄罗斯稳居中国最大的原油、电力进口来源国。中俄原油管道复线成为迄今对中供应能源规模最大、安全最具保障的能源战略通道。亚马尔液化气项目开创了双方北极地区能源合作的先河。核领域一揽子合作文件是两国合作规模最大的一揽子核能合作项目。除国企和大项目外，双方民营和中小企业合作愈加活跃，华为阿里巴巴等大量“中国品牌”走进寻常俄罗斯人的生活，为老百姓带来方便和实惠。可以说，经过几十年发展和经营，中俄务实合作的内涵和外延都得到极大丰富和扩展，“高大上”和“接地气”交相融合，为两国关系发展奠定了坚实物质基础。

——促进民心相通是中俄人文合作的不变初心。成立于2000年的中俄人文合作委员会是中国首个副总理级对外人文合作机制，双方1997年即成立了中俄友
好、和平与发展委员会，作为统筹两国民间交往的主渠道。两国自2006年起开创性举办大型国家级人文交流主题年活动，国家年、语言年、青年友好交流年、旅游年、媒体交流年、地方合作交流年等极大推动了两国各领域人文交流合作，促进了两国民众相互了解与友谊。目前，中国已成为俄罗斯入境旅游第一大客源国，仅2018年世界杯足球赛期间就有约10万名中国球迷和游客赴俄观赛旅游。中俄首所合办大学——深圳北理莫斯科大学2017年正式开学并面向社会招生，未来办学规模将达到5000人以上。中国在俄国内民调中稳居“最友好国家”行列，“汉语热”在俄持续升温，汉语成为俄高考科目。中国人对俄罗斯的印象不再止于套娃、伏特加和《喀秋莎》，吃俄餐、追俄剧、听俄语歌曲、去俄罗斯旅游成为新的潮流和时尚，综艺节目中俄罗斯元素比比皆是。在两国民众特别是年轻一代心中，彼此国家都成为传统与现代交相辉映的魅力国度，中俄这一对儿老邻居的邻里情不断焕发出新的生机和活力。

——捍卫公平正义是中俄国际协作的责任担当。中俄同为安理会常任理事国和主要新兴市场国家，是维护世界和平稳定的中流砥柱和促进国际公平正义的重要建设性力量。中俄在联合国、亚太经合组织、二十国集团等多边框架内密切合作，共同创建上海合作组织、金砖国家、中俄印、中俄蒙等新兴合作机制。两国合力推动伊朗核、朝鲜半岛、叙利亚、阿富汗等地区热点问题政治解决进程，主张维护多边主义、推动国际秩序朝更加公正合理的方向发展。自90年代以来，两国元首共发表5份专门阐述对国际形势或重大国际问题看法的联合声明，就维护二战胜利成果、反导问题、维护战略稳定、信息网络空间发展等当前国际社会最关注的重要问题专门发表联合声明，体现了两个负责任大国对维护地区及世界和平稳定、捍卫国际公平正义的责任坚守和胸怀担当。

四、新时代的新征程

步入2019年，世界多极化、经济全球化、社会信息化、文化多样化进程齐头并进，全球治理体系和国际秩序变革加速前行，各国相互联系和依存日益加深，和平与发展的大势不可逆转。与此同时，全球经济增长动能不足，霸凌主义、保护主义和单边行径抬头，传统与非传统安全威胁交织蔓延，国际社会面临越来越多的共同问题和挑战。

在世界迎来“百年未有大变局”之际，面对纷繁复杂的国际形势，已历经七十年风雨的中俄关系将如何发展？双方共同给出了明确坚定的答案。根据两国元首达成的共识，双方将继续恪守“四个相互坚定支持”的共识，坚定支持对方
维护本国核心利益的努力，坚定支持对方走符合本国国情的发展道路，坚定支持对方发展振兴，坚定支持对方把自己的事办好。继续秉持“三个不变”的原则，坚持巩固和深化中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系，致力实现两国共同发展振兴，携手捍卫国际公平正义和世界和平稳定。我们期待并相信，迈入新时代的中俄关系，将从以下几个方面持续发力，肩负起新的历史使命，展现新气象，释放新活力，实现新作为。

——加强沟通，巩固互信。中俄关系发展到今天的高水平，牢固的互信是基石。作为全面战略协作伙伴，面临复杂的外部环境，关系越好越是要加强沟通，越是要精心呵护、持续巩固彼此信任。今年，两国元首将继续保持密切交往。普京总统将来华出席第二届“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛，习近平主席将对俄罗斯进行国事访问，两国元首还将一如既往在重要多边场合交往。两国总理定期会晤、议会合作委员会，以及各领域高级别交往机制都将保持顺畅运转。相信双方将继续利用领导人交往机制和完备的合作平台，特别是以元首交往为战略引领，就治国理政、发展战略等重大议题坦诚深入交换意见，加深对彼此国家发展道路和理念的了解和认同，加大在涉及彼此核心利益问题上的相互支持力度，强基固本、增信释疑，推动两国互信持续迈上更高水平。

——拓展合作，深化交融。双方将继续根据两国元首达成的“一带一路”建设与欧亚经济联盟对接共识，以大项目合作为龙头，推动资源、资金、技术、人力优势在现有基础上实现更加优化的配置和对接，带动各领域合作齐头并进。一方面要全力保障两国能源资源、航空航天、互联互通等领域现有战略性大项目按计划推进；另一方面要充分挖掘金融、科技、农业、数字经济等新兴领域的合作潜力，鼓励中小企业和民间资本更多参与两国合作，建立全方位、立体化的合作体系。双方还将推动合作向上中下游一体化、联制联产联销一条龙方向发展，实现更紧密的利益融合，同时更加注重合作的独立性，发掘内生动力，确保两国合作不受第三方影响。

——传承友好，久久为功。两国人民毗邻而居，有着天然的地缘优势和悠久的交往历史，这是双方共同的财富。今年中俄人文合作委员会步入第20个年头，中俄地方合作交流年进入收官之年。双方将以此为契机，同时充分发挥中俄友好、和平与发展委员会民间交往主渠道作用，推动两国人文合作和民间交往走深走实，真正做到下基层、接地气、入民心。双方还将下大力气加强两国青少年交往，增加互派留学生名额，扩大汉语和俄语教学辐射范围，传递两国世代友好的接力棒。此外，双方将鼓励两国传统媒体和新媒体加强交流，大力宣介中俄关系和各领域合作成果，在两国国内和国际社会讲好中俄故事。两国有关部门也将从
政策层面拿出更多实际举措，为民众往来创造更多机会，提供更大便利。

——密切协作，不辱使命。人类发展面临的机遇前所未有，挑战也前所未有。中俄作为世界大国和安理会常任理事国，肩负更加重要的责任和使命，解决所有世界性的问题都离不开中俄的共同努力。双方将继续致力于捍卫国际法和国际关系基本准则，维护多边主义，旗帜鲜明地反对单边行径、霸凌主义和贸易保护主义。团结广大新兴市场国家和发展中国家，努力提升在国际事务中的代表性和发言权。在联合国等多边框架内发挥更大积极作用，就国际和地区热点问题加强协作，推动各方消弭分歧、凝聚共识。坚持不懈推动建设新型国际关系、构建人类命运共同体，为促进地区及世界的和平与安宁提出更多“中俄方案”，贡献更多中俄智慧。

习近平主席指出：“中俄关系是世界上最重要的一组双边关系，更是最好的一组大国关系。”建交70年，既是双方回望过去的总结提升之年，也是迈入新时代的开篇起步之载。相信未来中俄将继续携手努力，并肩前行，开创两国关系更加美好的新时代，为世界和平、稳定与发展注入更多正能量。
2018年9月3日至4日，这是中非关系史上难忘的日子，中非合作论坛北京峰会成功举行。此次峰会是中非友好大家庭的一次大团圆，52个论坛非方成员领导人，包括40位国家元首、10位政府首脑、1位副国家元首和非盟委员会主席齐聚北京，与会规模和规格均创下了我国主场外交之最。习近平主席在峰会开幕式上发表主旨讲话，提出构建“责任共担、合作共赢、幸福共享、文化共兴、安全共筑、和谐共生”的中非命运共同体，宣布了下阶段中非务实合作的“八大行动”，将中非关系全面推向历史新高。峰会通过了《关于构建更加紧密的中非命运共同体的北京宣言》和《中非合作论坛—北京行动计划(2019-2021年)》两个重要成果文件，取得巨大成功，开启了中非双方构建更加紧密的命运共同体的新时代。

构建更加紧密的中非命运共同体是中非双方的共同选择

历史注定中非双方从来都是命运共同体。乍得总统代比在论坛北京峰会上表示，“中非命运共同体可以追溯到共同争取政治独立的时期，在反殖民和抗击不公正和压迫的斗争中结下的战略同盟”。这为中非双方休戚与共的历史联系作出了精准诠释。进入新世纪以来，中非合作论坛的成立和发展，推动中非合作进入全面发展的“快车道”。面对国际金融危机的冲击，中非携手并进、共克时艰；面对汶川、玉树地震灾害、埃博拉疫情，中非相互驰援、守望相助。在纷繁复杂的国际事务中，中非始终是天然同盟军。2013年，习近平主席就任国家主席后首次出访就来到非洲，并在坦桑尼亚向全世界庄严宣告，“中非从来都是命运共同体”。在论坛北京峰会上，中非双方一致同意将共建“一带一路”同非盟《2063年议
程》和非洲各国发展战略紧密对接，共同实施“八大行动”、“中国梦”与“非洲梦”更加紧密相连，铸就了新时代构建中非命运共同体的牢固根基。

构建更加紧密的中非命运共同体是中非团结合作的更高追求。在中国广大的“朋友圈”中，非洲国家占据了十分重要的地位，是中国外交基础中的基础。2013年以来，中国30余位党和国家领导人访非，非洲国家领导人120多人次赴华访问或出席会议。中非领导人“走亲访友”式的高频互访为中非关系发展提供了政治引领。在中非双方共同努力下，中非合作日益呈现多层次、宽领域、全覆盖的格局，中非人文交流愈加活跃，中非友好更加深入人心。当前，中非战略互信之强、利益融合之深、团结协作之密前所未有。构建更加紧密的中非命运共同体顺应了中非关系的发展潮流，赋予了中非合作更加丰富的时代内涵，为中非关系发展注入了新的强劲动力。

构建更加紧密的中非命运共同体具有深刻的时代内涵

责任共担、合作共赢、幸福共享、文化共兴、安全共筑、和谐共生，体现了
“六位一体”中非命运共同体的鲜明特色。这是一个相辅相成、辩证统一的有机整体，指明了中非双方携手前进的方向。

（一）责任共担是基本要求。2017年初，习近平主席分别在世界经济论坛年会和联合国日内瓦总部发表重要演讲，深入阐述了构建人类命运共同体理念，提出“国家不分大小、强弱、贫富，都是国际社会平等成员，理应参与决策、享受权利、履行义务”。中国在对非合作中始终坚持真实亲诚理念和正确义利观，坚持真诚友好、平等相待；坚持义利相兼、以义为先；坚持发展为民、务实高效；坚持开放包容、兼收并蓄。中国将秉持这“五个坚持”，履行负责任大国作用，在国际事务中为非洲国家仗义执言，为非洲的发展和进步不断贡献智慧和力量。非洲国家积极呼应中方倡议与主张，在国际形势充满不确定性的大背景下，同中方一道呼吁国际秩序朝更加公正、合理的方向变革，一道呼吁坚持多边主义、反对单边主义和保护主义，一道推动政治解决地区热点问题，体现了共同的责任与担当。

（二）合作共赢是核心要义。非洲有句谚语是“独行快，众行远”，中国人常说“人心齐，泰山移”。只有合作共赢才能办大事、办好事、办长久之事。中非合作成果对此作出了生动诠释。据不完全统计，中国迄今已帮助非洲建设了1万多公里公路，6000多公里铁路以及机场、航站楼等20余座，桥梁、港口30余个，电力项目80余个，体育场馆、会议中心、议会大楼等约150座。目前，中国在非各类投资总额逾1100亿美元，在非企业超过3700家。2018年，中非贸易额再次超过2000亿美元，连续10年保持非洲第一大贸易伙伴地位，中非在各自对外贸易中的比重不断攀升。中国已同37个非洲国家和非盟委员会签署共建“一带一路”合作协议，非洲已成为“一带一路”国际合作的重要方向。习近平主席在论坛北京峰会上提出的“八大行动”，强调中非将致力于加强在产业产能、基础设施、贸易等领域合作，拓展双方在绿色发展、能力建设等领域合作潜能，这既符合中国推动高质量经济发展、推动高水平开放的客观需要，又契合非洲国家渴望实现工业化发展的迫切诉求，成为拉动中非合作共赢发展的新引擎。

（三）幸福共享是根本目标。中非关系发展的重要目的之一就是造福双方人民。从上世纪50、60年代，中国人民“勒紧裤腰带”援助非洲、帮助修建坦赞铁路等基础设施，到中非合作论坛历届会议推出的民生领域政策举措，增进中非人民的福祉始终是中国对非合作的出发点和落脚点。中非患难与共，更要福同享。习近平主席倡导的人类命运共同体，不仅要让中国人民过上好日子，也希望世界各国特别是发展中国家都能过上美好生活。此次论坛北京峰会出台的政策举措涵盖非洲粮食安全、减贫发展、就业创收、安居乐业、健康卫生等非洲民生的
各个方面，旨在让更多普通民众获得看得见、摸得着的实惠。

（四）文化共兴是情感纽带。中非都拥有悠久灿烂的文明，加强中非两大文明的交流合作，促进文化共兴，是中非共同构建命运共同体的重要支柱。当前，中非人文交流空前活跃，“中非文化聚焦”、“中非文化人士互访计划”等成为中非文化交流重要品牌，“中非民间友好行动”、“中非新闻交流中心”顺利实施，“欢乐春节”、“四海同春”等文化团组访非掀起中国文化热潮。中国在非洲44国设立59所孔子学院和41个孔子课堂，非洲国家汉语学习的热情不断高涨。《媳妇的美好时代》、《琅琊榜》、《欢乐颂》等中国优秀国产影视剧在非洲热播，由中方团队打造的非洲相亲节目“Hello Mr. Right”在赞比亚、尼日利亚等多国收视火爆。中非通过密切的文化交流，取长补短，互学互鉴，拉近了彼此的距离，加深了友好情谊。

（五）安全共筑是长远保障。没有和平与安全的环境，合作与发展就无法谈起。非方期待中方为非洲的和平安全事业发挥更大作用，中国也坚定支持非洲国家以非洲方式解决非洲问题，维护非洲和平与稳定。中国积极履行联合国安理会常任理事国责任，近年来在担任安理会轮值主席国期间分别倡议举行几内亚湾海盗问题、“加强非洲和平与安全能力建设”和“加强非洲维和行动”公开辩论会，推动国际社会支持非洲安全诉求。中国是安理会“五常”中向非洲派遣维和人员数量最多的国家，现有近2100名维和人员在5个非洲任务区执行联合国维和任务。中国护航军舰自2009年起在亚丁湾、索马里海域开展行动，累计完成1191批次6595艘中外船舶护航任务。论坛北京峰会上，习近平主席宣布实施和平安全行动，决定设立中非和平安全合作基金，加大力度支持非洲常备军、危机应对快速反应部队和其他方面建设。不久前，中国同中非合作论坛非方共同主席塞内加尔、非盟委员会在埃塞俄比亚首都亚的斯亚贝巴举行中非实施和平安全行动对话会，就落实论坛北京峰会在和平安全领域成果加强对接，为推动中非和平安全合作打下了坚实基础。

（六）和谐共生是时代担当。近年来，气候变化、环境保护等全球性挑战日益突出。习近平主席说过，绿水青山就是金山银山。中国无论在国内发展还是对外合作中，均坚决践行这一理念。近年来，中国致力于同非洲国家开展资源节约型和环境友好型合作，将保护非洲环境贯穿中非合作全过程，绝不姑息污染排放、走私野生动植物制品等破坏自然环境的不法行为，绝不允许中非合作牺牲非洲的生态环境和长远利益。论坛北京峰会出台“绿色发展方向”，包括为非洲实施50个绿色发展和生态环保援助项目、推进中非环境合作中心建设等重要举措，体现了中非双方对环保合作的高度重视。中国将同非洲国家一道，倡导绿色、低
碳、循环、可持续的发展方式，共同保护好非洲的绿水青山。

推动落实论坛北京峰会成果，着力构建更加紧密的中非命运共同体

当前，国际形势继续发生深刻复杂变化，全球经济增长动能不足，单边主义和保护主义仍在蔓延，以联合国为核心的国际体系受到严重冲击，大国之间的竞争博弈日趋激烈，发展中国家发展振兴的外部环境面临新的挑战。中非双方携手构建命运共同体的愿望更趋迫切。

今后一段时期，全面落实中非合作论坛北京峰会成果将是中非双方的主要任务，这给中非双方携手构建更加紧密的命运共同体铺就了实实在在的路径。峰会成果落实得好，不仅可以加深中非双方利益融合，推动中非合作更上一层楼，更将为中非命运共同体的长远建设奠定坚实基础。

峰会成果落实工作是一项系统工程，需要精心部署、周密筹划，需要中非双方凝聚共识，形成合力。峰会结束后，中国党和国家领导人就成果落实工作作出明确指示，彰显了中方对峰会后续工作的高度重视。今年初，中共中央政治局委员、中央外事工作委员会办公室主任杨洁篪，国务委员兼外交部长王毅分别访问了非洲国家和非盟总部，同非方领导人深入对接，推动峰会成果尽快在非洲落地。非方领导人对中方致力于加快落实峰会成果的真诚态度给予高度评价。

峰会结束当月，论坛中方后续行动委员会即召开扩大会议，研究部署峰会成果落实工作，与会单位就成果落实工作特别是实施“八大行动”的任务分工达成一致，正加紧制定相关时间表和路线图。外交部、商务部、国家国际发展合作署等部门以及中国进出口银行、国家开发银行等金融机构保持密切沟通，科学规划国别方案，力争早见成效，并就落实工作中可能出现的问题同非洲国家未雨绸缪、友好协商。中国驻非使馆同非洲国家紧密对接，积极梳理中非双边合作的优先领域和重点项目，既增强针对性，又确保普惠性。

习近平主席指出，“放眼世界，我们面对的是百年未有之大变局”。在这个百年变局中，携手构建更加紧密的命运共同体，是中非双方的庄严承诺，符合双方的根本利益。中非双方已经做好准备，将继续弘扬传统友谊，以落实论坛北京峰会成果为引领，以中非共建“一带一路”为动力，推动中非合作行稳致远，为构建更加紧密的中非命运共同体和人类命运共同体作出新的贡献。

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当前，关于WTO改革的讨论正在不断升温，各方博弈已拉开帷幕。自去年以来欧盟、加拿大等WTO成员分别牵头对WTO改革提出了初步的立场文件，美国也一改之前的态度对部分议题提出了自己的建议和方案。我国也在不同场合发布了对WTO改革的原则立场和主张。人们也预测世界贸易组织改革将是今年6月在日本大阪召开的G20会议的热门话题。在当前世界政治、经济格局发生了巨大变化，单边主义、贸易保护主义盛行，多边贸易体制日益被边缘化，反全球化情绪高涨的形势下，推进WTO多边贸易体制的改革正势在必行，也成为全球经济治理的一大热点。作为世界贸易大国和全球经济治理的积极参与者，中国政府高度重视世贸组织改革，已表明了积极参与的态度。

WTO改革面临的矛盾及对策

崇 泉  中国世界贸易组织研究会副会长

作为多边贸易体制的权威组织和法律基础，WTO为经济全球化和世界经济贸易的健康发展曾做出了巨大贡献。WTO规则体制是世界市场经济发展模式的精华，是推动经济全球化的法律和组织保障。这是任何其他全球和区域经济贸易组织无法替代的。但自1995年成立以来，围绕如何改善和提升WTO机制的公平和效率的讨论从未间断。尤其是在2001年发起的多哈回合谈判久拖不决的情况下，WTO体制内在问题更加凸显，使得对WTO体制本身的质疑不断上升。如WTO的协调一致为主的决策机制导致其效率低下，多边谈判功能几乎停滞。1995年至今，WTO成员仅仅在贸易便利化、取消农业出口补贴等少数议题上达成了一致。除了遗留的传
统议题，而23年来，世界贸易的扩张和贸易新模式的不断涌现，WTO成员也没能就有关新议题制定出新的规则。为了维护WTO的权威性，更好地发挥其促进世界经济贸易发展的积极作用，WTO存在着改革的内在动力。

当前对WTO改革的热议主要来自美国这一外部压力。特朗普政府上台后就公开表明了对WTO的不满，质疑WTO上诉机构的有效性以及对美国存在的不公平裁决。尤其是美国对WTO上诉机构成员任命的抗议使得世贸组织争端解决机制面临停摆的危险。今年年底之前，此问题如得不到解决，上诉机构将只剩下一名在任的大法官工作，导致该工作机制实际上已“名存实亡”。作为WTO“皇冠上的明珠”，争端解决机制如果全面瓦解，这对国际经济贸易治理和WTO的权威将会是一个巨大的影响和冲击。同时美国还指责中国等新兴经济体利用WTO给予发展中成员的特殊和差别待遇获取不公平竞争优势，推动中国等成员尽快从发展中成员资格中“毕业”。美国所采取的一系列单边举动，使得担心其退出的美国WTO的发达成员，将不得不迁就并倾向于接受美国意图系统改造WTO的主张。而欧盟、加拿大、日本等主要成员既不能完全接受美国的立场和行为，又担心其抛弃WTO，还意图借美国之力约束限制中国的发展。无论各成员方抱有何种目的，推进WTO改革已形相当的共识，可以说是众望所归，势在必行。

WTO改革的矛盾与前景

WTO改革势在必行。目前也已经出现了多个提案和建议方案，如德国贝塔斯曼基金会发布的重振世贸组织的报告；欧盟委员会关于WTO现代化的概念文件；加拿大联合欧日等13方（无美国、中国）形成的《加强与提升WTO》的文件；以及中国发布的WTO改革立场文件。此外还有正式提交到WTO的相关议案，如美欧日联合提交的关于增强透明度和通报义务的提案，中国和欧盟联合其他成员提交的推动尽快启动上诉机构成员遴选的提案，最近美国提交的有关加强世贸组织谈判功能程序的草案等。

这些方案、建议、草案充分彰显了主要成员针对WTO改革的决心。然而，WTO成员在改革问题上既有共同利益诉求，同时也存在着显著分歧，说明WTO改革注定是一个复杂的过程，谈判很难在短期内达成一致。改革过程有可能会形成WTO成员长期博弈的舞台。

首先，最应迫切需要解决的上诉机构成员遴选问题，目前看美国的立场依然坚决要打掉现有的上诉机构的功能。虽然大多数WTO成员，无论是发达国家还是发展中国家，都希望保留这一有约束性的争端解决机制，中国和欧盟也已经提交
了联合提案，但目前仍看不清解决问题的前景，总之要想通过改革将美国关进制度的笼子绝非易事。WTO成员可能要做好短期内没有上诉机构的思想准备。

其次，上述提到的有关WTO改革的方案大多是发达国家提出的，而印度、南非等重要的新兴经济体对WTO改革至今仍没有做出明确地表态。但巴西正式宣布放弃其在WTO的发展中国家地位，给下一步改革的谈判增加了变数和难度。目前WTO共有164个成员，其中除OECD成员外，85%是发展中成员，我们坚信缺少发展中国家参与的WTO改革是不可能成功的。而且，虽然当前有关WTO改革的讨论非常热烈，但还未进入正式的谈判阶段，依然处于沟通和试探阶段。

再次，即便在扩展和深化WTO规则方面，目前发达国家的诉求相对一致，但涉及到具体的领域，如数字贸易、投资便利化等新议题，依然是有分歧的。而且在如何协调新议题和多哈回合遗留的旧议题方面，WTO成员并没有明确的解决方法。在无法兼顾旧议题的情况下，WTO不可能在新议题上达成一致。

第四，美国已经就发展中国家的特殊和差别待遇问题散发了一个文件，提交了一个提案，为34个发展中成员的“毕业”设置了标准。多哈回合谈判的初衷是要重点解决发展中国家关注的有关发展问题，新一轮改革不仅不应该将重点定位在取消发展中国家的差别优惠待遇方面，而应该更加积极地考虑发展中国家的关注与诉求。显然美国的提案与WTO改革的大方向是相矛盾，这将是WTO改革讨论中的一个热点和难点。

最后，上述有关WTO改革的方案建议中，尤其是对所谓导致市场扭曲的国有企业、产业政策、知识产权和技术转让等问题的关注，明显是针对中国的。有些诉求明显带有歧视性和片面性，中国不可能全盘接受，特别是一些新规则的制定和讨论将是一个十分复杂的技术问题，估计将会是一个艰难的博弈过程。

中国参与WTO改革的立场

以规则为基础的多边贸易体制对于世界经济贸易稳定发展的贡献有目共睹。而中国作为WTO多边贸易体制的受益者和贡献者之一，将一如既往地支持和维护WTO多边贸易体制，维护WTO的基本原则，反对单边主义，不允许任何一个成员的国内法凌驾于多边规则之上。因此，中国应该积极主动地参与WTO改革问题的讨论，并应根据实际情况体现一定的灵活性，发挥中国的智慧和影响力，展现中国负责任成员的态度。

2018年11月23日，商务部发布了《中国关于世贸组织改革的立场文件》，充分阐明了对WTO改革的基本原则和主张。其中，三个原则是WTO改革应维护多边
贸易体制的核心价值；WTO改革应保障发展中成员的发展利益；WTO改革应遵循协商一致的决策机制。五点主张是维护多边贸易体制的主渠道地位；主张应该优先处理危及世贸组织生存的关键问题；解决规则的公平问题，并且回应时代的需要；保证发展中成员的特殊与差别待遇；世贸组织改革应该尊重成员各自的发展模式。

中国参与WTO改革的策略建议

第一，将WTO改革与深化国内经济体制和扩大开放结合起来。习近平主席和中国政府领导人在多种场合一直表示中国政府支持全球化、维护WTO多边贸易体制的鲜明立场，同时也一再宣示我们进一步深化改革开放的决心和将采取的政策措施。WTO改革事关我国外部环境的稳定与进一步推进国内高水平开放进程。中国改革开放40年的历程证明了唯有坚持改革开放中国才能发展。我们需要按照中国发展的历程和自主改革的时间表，进一步扩大改革开放。参与WTO改革的讨论也要与中国的改革开放结合起来。要认真研究哪些领域我们可以更加主动改革，对于那些既符合国际规则惯例、又符合我国长远利益的议题，即便是美欧等发达经济体提出的，也可予以积极考虑。在推动WTO改革的同时，需要高度重视对TPP、CPTPP、USMCA的研究，梳理那些符合中国现状和发展目标的规则，大胆在一定范围内试行，以推动国内的改革开放。

当前WTO改革面临的形势和矛盾极其复杂，具体议题涉及众多领域，同时涉及国内许多主管部门，中国需要强化国内的协调机制，形成参与WTO改革的合力。

第二，WTO改革既有内在动力也有外在压力。目前最为紧迫的是化解外部压力，如优先解决上诉机构成员的任命问题，在此议题上中国与绝大多数WTO成员的利益相一致。目前中欧已经提交了联合提案，要继续联合更多WTO成员，形成一定的影响力和推进力度。日本是2019年6月大阪G20峰会主席国，日本有意在WTO改革上形成一定成果，中国要加强与日本在这一问题上的沟通合作。

作为发展中国家，中国与发展中经济体的利益共同点很多，中国要团结发展中成员确保发展议题的实现。中国要加强与发展中成员的沟通，了解他们在WTO改革中的诉求和关注。

第三，WTO改革要兼顾传统议题与新议题。美国等发达国家最为关切的是新议题，如国企纪律、竞争中立、数字贸易等，这些虽是世界经济贸易发展所需要的。但是，在原有的传统议题尚未解决的情况下，马上转入新议题的谈判不太现
实，大多数发展中成员也不会接受。只有将二者有机结合起来，对新议题的讨论才可能会更加顺利。

鉴于WTO改革正在讨论中，不太可能马上进入到具体规则的谈判，中国应将长期以来的关注和主张放到台面，供WTO成员讨论。这包括对个别成员把其国内法置于国际法之上，不认真遵守世贸组织的裁决，滥用贸易救济，滥用所谓“国家安全”对其它成员国随意征收高额关税和限制其它成员国企业的正当投资行为，限制高技术产品出口等政府行政干预措施，对扭曲农产品贸易的巨额补贴，长期忽视发展中国家对可持续发展的合理要求等，我们应坚持优先解决长期以来存在的困扰WTO正常运转的有关问题。

第四，普及WTO规则。WTO改革是长期复杂的、渐进的过程。在国内要继续进行WTO规则的普及和再教育，以便为推进我国更高水平的开放创造有利条件。
“当今世界正经历百年未有之大变局”。这是习近平主席从历史唯物主义的视角，针对世界形势的变化，经过长期深入分析研究而得出的、具有深远影响的科学论断。它对正确认识当前复杂多变的世界形势、准确判断未来发展趋势、并据以制定相应的政策，都有重大意义。

当今世界形势的重大变化，是多年来世界范围内政治、经济、军事、文化、民族、种族、宗教等多重矛盾激化累加作用的结果。它主要表现在两个方面：一是中国、印度等一批新兴经济体的崛起带动发展中国家与发达国家之间力量对比发生了根本性变化；二是二战后在世界上占主导地位的所谓“西方自由世界秩序”由于美欧等西方大国的资本主义制度固有弊端正走向终结。

近20－30年来，中国、印度等发展中国家，在经济全球化大发展的环境下，由于选择了符合本国国情的发展道路，对现阶段资本主义主导下的全球化，坚持独立自主、扬长避短、趋利避害的对策，经济发展比较迅速，被誉为新兴经济体。它们使发展中国家作为一个整体经济发展速度赶上并超过发达国家，并且对全球经济的贡献也越来越大，根本改变了南北力量差距悬殊的局面。

包括新兴经济体在内的发展中国家在全球经济总量中所占比重，从上个世纪90年代初期的39.7%上升到目前超过50%。中国已超过日本，成为世界第二大经济体；印度跻身世界前五名的增长势头也很猛。据评估，按购买力均价计算，2017年中国、印度、巴西、
俄罗斯、印尼、墨西哥、土耳其7个发展中国家的国内生产总值的总和，赶上美国、英国、德国、法国、意大利、日本、加拿大7大工业国国内生产总值的总和。正是由于经济实力对比的改变，20国集团取代7国集团成为国际社会讨论重大经济问题的主要平台。

经济实力对比的改变也反映在政治层面。主要有二：一是发展中国家之间的地区性组织，如东盟、南盟、非盟、阿盟、南共市等，以及发展中国家之间的跨区域性组织，如金砖国家组织、上海合作组织等，都越来越积极地活动，发展中国家联合自强的意识更加强烈，在一些重大国际问题上表现出明显的独立自主性。二是发展中国家更加坚决地要求改变由少数西方发达国家主导的、对广大发展中国家不公正、不合理、不平等的世界政治经济秩序，致力于推动建立基于联合国宪章宗旨和原则，遵守主权国家平等、不干涉别国内政为核心的国际关系基本准则的世界秩序。

两种世界秩序之争非始自今日。二战结束后，本应根据联合国宪章所确定的各项国际关系基本准则确立战后世界秩序。然而，以美国为首的西方少数大国，凭借它们在综合国力上占据优势，力图建立以它们那一套所谓民主、自由、人权等基本价值观为基础的所谓“西方自由世界秩序”。在这一世界秩序框架内，各项法规或称“游戏规则”由它们一手制定，建立的国际机构（如世界银行、国际货币基金组织等）基本上也由美欧少数几个发达国家把持。联合国安理会又由于美、英、法三大国滥用“否决权”，使这一机构无法发挥维护世界和平与安全的正常作用。

随着发展中国家与发达国家之间力量对比的改变，双方之间围绕世界秩序的矛盾越来越尖锐。基辛格在其2014年著作《世界秩序》一书中明确写到：“现行的世界秩序受到了全面的质疑。世界大部分地区从来没有与西方相同的秩序观。两者之间有基本区别。过去非西方世界只是默认西方秩序观。这种保留现在正变得直言不讳，并且明显表示他们将努力进行修改”。

二

当今世界的大势发生重大变化的另一因素是，除外部压力外，“西方自由世界秩序”更由于自身的原因而导致其越来越难以为继，正走向终结。促成这一趋势的原因有三：

（一）联合国宪章明文规定主权国家一律平等，不得干涉其他国家内政。可是，美国与一些西方大国却无视这些国际社会达成的共识，为推销它们那一套所
谓民主、自由、人权等价值观，推行强权政治，肆意践踏别国主权，干涉别国内政，甚至用武力颠覆合法政权，制造严重的人道主义灾难和无休止的战乱。这些年来，无论在中东、北非地区还是东欧地区，战乱不已，很多与美国和一些西方大国肆意干涉有关国家的内部事务有关，因而招致很多国家人民，尤其是一些发展中国家的反抗。

美国这个唯一超级大国，依仗美元的优势地位和超强的军事实力，更是到处征战讨伐，称王称霸，不仅给一些国家的人民造成灾难，而且促使它自己走向衰落。美国知名历史学家安德鲁·巴切维奇曾尖锐地指出，美国发动的“大中东战争”是这个超级大国“走向毁灭”的过程。

（二）多年来美欧等西方大国将它们主导的垄断资本主义阶段的“全球化”，作为维系“西方自由世界秩序”的有力工具。上述美国知名历史学家曾指出：“克林顿政府战略的核心是全球化概念”，“全球化已成为美国在世界上领导作用的‘同义词’”。垄断资本主义阶段的全球化，虽有助于推动世界经济的发展，但也激化了资本主义固有的两极分化的弊端。美国是推进当今全球化的主力量、最大获益者，也是世界上贫富差距最大的国家。资本主义制度固有的“社会不平等”导致今日美国社会的严重分裂。广大普通民众包括一部分社会地位因金融危机的冲击而下降的中产阶级，对美国现行体制与社会现实极为不满，对极力维护现行体制的精英阶层充满愤懑。这种对立导致特朗普这位华盛顿圈外的商人出人意料地当选美国总统。

特朗普总统为讨好选民求变的强烈愿望，打着“美国优先”、“让美国再伟大”的旗号，实际上奉行极端的民族利己政策，不仅没有弥合反而加深了美国社会的分裂。在他的心中只有利益，没什么价值观，更不用说什么“普世价值观”。2017年12月20日，曾任奥巴马总统国家安全事务助理的苏珊·赖斯在《纽约时报》撰文说：“特朗普认为，在我们生活的世界里，没有共同利益，美国国际社会，也没有什么普世价值观，只有美国价值观。”特朗普认定，只要美国拥有强大的经济实力和可以用来震慑其它国家的军事实力，美国在世界上的霸主地位就不会动摇，用不着像过去那样花费巨资去承担“全球责任”，也无需用民主、自由、人权那一套说法来“伪装”自己。这或许就是基辛格所说的“特朗普可能会成为标志着一个时代结束并迫使一个时代抛弃旧有伪装的人之一”的寓意。

特朗普上台后以“非正统方式”来“彻底大修”美国与世界的关系，导致西方世界乱成一片，正加速着在世界上占主导地位多年的所谓“西方自由世界秩序”走向终结。正如一些美欧学者指出的，特朗普是在拆美国一手建立起来的“西方自由世界”的台。
（三）二战后建立起的美欧军事同盟，既是美国争夺并维系其在世界上霸主地位的基石，也是“西方自由世界秩序”维持至今的主要依托。特朗普上台后，在“不能让盟国再占美国便宜”思维的促使下，从过去的强化美欧同盟逐渐转换为打击盟友，攫取实利。打击矛头首先对准当今西方世界里经济实力仅次于美国的德国。他公开支持英国脱欧，鼓动法国退出欧盟，批评欧盟成了“德国的工具”；指责德国总理默克尔在移民问题上“犯了灾难性错误”；诬指德国操纵汇率，获得对美贸易巨额顺差，应予补偿；逼迫德国等提高国防开支，交足北约“保护费”；斥责德国出资修建连接德俄两国的“北溪2号”天然气管道，影响美国向欧洲出口能源，甚至狂妄地扬言准备对德国进行“制裁”。他挑起对欧贸易战，对出口美国的无论是钢、铝产品还是汽车及其零部件都加征关税，也主要是针对德国。

2017年慕尼黑安全会议提出，“世界有可能正在迈向后西方时代，也就是西方主导的自由世界秩序正走向终结”，而且认为导致这一局面的两大因素，一是特朗普出任美国总统，二是欧盟脆弱的凝聚力。其实，这两者因素是有关联的，因为特朗普调整美国对欧政策也是进一步削弱欧盟凝聚力的外因。“西方自由世界秩序”走向终结，完全是咎由自取。

三

一种世界秩序的建立与终结都是一个相当漫长的过程。当今世界的大变局引发的动荡不会仅限于西方世界，也会外溢到非西方世界。新旧两种世界秩序交替期间，国际关系错综复杂，紧张动荡，恐将是今后一个时期的常态。

“西方自由世界秩序”走向终结，进一步推动着非西方世界构建公正、合理、平等的新秩序的各种努力。中国有关“一带一路”倡议取得重大进展，致力于构建中非命运共同体的中非合作论坛硕果累累，各个地区多种形式的南南合作不断发展、加强，都是这种努力的有力证明。

在当今世界之大势下，新旧两种截然不同的世界秩序交替过程，正显现在世人面前。
人工智能技术的快速进步正在改变着我们生活的世界。随着计算机硬件性能的全方位提升和互联网时代海量数据的积累，人工智能技术在21世纪的第二个十年迎来了新的高速发展周期。依托于算法和算力的空前提升，人工智能技术的发展首次跨越了产业化的门槛，被世界各国视为推动新一轮科技革命的关键力量。

作为一项划时代的科技成就，人工智能与人类历史上的历次科技革命都存在着特质上的差异。旧有的技术革新的性质是人类改造世界的工具和手段，而人工智能则能够通过对大数据的分析和学习，理解人类的内在需求，作为创造性的伙伴直接参与到人类改造世界的活动中。随着人类社会逐渐步入人工智能时代，人类与技术之间的深层次联系将不断调整，国际体系的主体、结构、逻辑、运行规则等诸多关键要素都将随之发生巨大的改变，传统的国际关系理论将面临严峻的考验。

一、人工智能技术影响国际体系的路径与方式

从理论上说，人工智能技术的发展可以被划分为三个阶段：

第一，弱人工智能（Artificial Narrow Intelligence，ANI）阶段，又称限制领域人工智能（Narrow AI）阶段，部分研究者也根据这一时期的人工智能技术的主要特点将其称为应用型人工智能（Applied AI）阶段。弱人工智能并不指代某一种单一的技术路径，而是通过人工智能的手段在一系列垂直领域提供问题解决方案的各种算法的统称。在这一阶段，人工智能在功能表现方面会呈现出领域性的局限，针对不同领域问题需要单独进行产品开发，工具属性的特征较为明晰。
第二，强人工智能（Artificial General Intelligence, AGI）阶段，又称通用人工智能（General AI）阶段，或称为完全人工智能（Full AI）。指的是在未来将出现的人工智能系统，它能够明显表现出与人类相似的智能水平，能够全方位、跨领域地解决人类所遇到的问题。到达该阶段的人工智能技术应该能够通过图灵测试（Turing test），并且替代人类完成大部分的日常工作。

第三，超人工智能（Superintelligence）阶段。超人工智能是哲学家通过推理描述出的一种未来状态，它被定义为“在科学创造力、智慧和社交能力等每一方面都比最强的人类大脑聪明很多的智能”。但由于技术水平的限制，对这一阶段人工智能的基本形态更多停留在想象和推理层面，只能从哲学角度加以思考。

目前，以深度学习引领的本轮人工智能技术的发展将使人类社会逐渐步入“弱人工智能”（Artificial Narrow Intelligence, ANI）的发展阶段。本轮人工智能技术的高速发展周期始于2010年前后，“多层神经网络”和“深度学习”是这一周期的主要标签。深度学习算法以建立嵌套式的多层次模式识别系统组成的“神经”架构为基础，通过组合低层特征形成更加抽象的高层属性、类别或特征，借以发现数据的分布特点。该算法的出现使人工智能拥有了从巨大且复杂的信息源中提取、识别和构建体系的能力。在那些任务目标明确，且相关数据丰富的领域，深度学习算法能够让机器学习新的技能，制定有效策略，从而在短时间内提出超过人类学习能力的问题解决方案。

图1  弱人工智能时代技术影响力的扩散模式
人工智能技术可以通过“训练”与“学习”来解决特定领域的问题，但模型设计者本身并不能准确地知道该模型在解决问题时发现了哪些特殊规律，系统对于人类而言是一个完全的“黑箱”。因此，能够跨领域解决的通用人工智能（General AI）几乎不可能在现有的理论框架中出现。据美国国家科学技术委员会（National Science and Technology Council，NSTC）预测，通用人工智能的出现还需要几十年的时间。因此，人类社会将在未来相当长的一段时间内处于弱人工智能时代。我们也需要根据弱人工智能时代的技术影响力扩散方式来分析其对于国际体系的影响。

如图1所示，从当前的发展态势来看，在弱人工智能时代深度学习所带动的领域性人工智能技术的持续进步会在三个层次上对国际体系产生影响：

其一，从领域层面上看，部分人工智能技术可以直接应用于特定国际关系议题领域，从而改变现有各行为体在该领域的力量对比结构，为国际体系增加新的不稳定因素。目前在人工智能技术的推进过程中，国际关系领域较为突出的直接改变出现在战略决策辅助系统和智能军事系统两个方面。

其二，从制度层面上看，人工智能技术的领域性扩散将重塑世界经济体系中资本与劳动力之间的关系，全球经济体系将出现结构性的调整，进而推动国家内部权力分配方式的演变、资本力量的快速扩张和技术群体的影响力膨胀，并将使国家治理体系在技术变革的背景下发生重要的结构性调整。

其三，从体系层面上看，人工智能技术进步的影响最终将逐渐外溢到体系层面，由国内治理结构的变革触发国际体系建构的变革。社会经济条件和治理思路的改变会在全球范围内逐步发挥作用，国际经济和政治治理模式将随之出现微妙的变化，国际体系将会出现性质与规则的调整，以此适应变化了的经济基础。同时，国际体系层面的深刻变化也会体现全球社会思潮变化的总体方向。

依托于上述分析框架，我们可以更加清晰地讨论弱人工智能时代技术进步对于国际关系各要素所产生的复杂影响，并尝试勾勒出未来国际关系的宏观图景。

二、人工智能技术如何参与战略与军事领域

当前，人工智能技术对于国际关系领域活动的直接介入，主要出现在战略决策系统和军事系统这两个领域。一方面，是由于战略决策与军事安全关系到国家的根本利益，所有国家都对该领域的新技术研发保持着积极的态度。另一方面，也是这两个领域议题具有目标相对明确、数据积累较为丰富等特点，能够满足深度学习算法发挥作用的所有客观条件。
（一）人工智能技术推动战略博弈模式的变革

从数学意义上讲，国际行为体间的战略互动过程是一种非常典型的“不完全信息博弈”行为。参与者通过判断博弈对手的能力、意图、利益和决心，结合特定的外部环境分析，制定出最为有利的博弈策略并加以实施。传统意义上国家参与战略博弈的过程更多依赖政治家的直觉与判断。但随着深度学习算法的进步，人工智能决策辅助系统已经逐步显示出其在该领域的发展潜力。

首先，人工智能系统能够提供更加精确的风险评估和预警，使战略决策过程成为精确化的拣选过程，提升战略决策的科学性。

战略博弈的前提和基础是对于前景和风险的准确预测与判断，但任何人类的决策行为本身都是根据极为有限的情报信息进行的具有较强主观色彩的猜测性尝试。但当深度学习技术介入战略博弈过程之后，战略行为中所面对的风险的严重程度与应对策略的有效性可以通过技术手段以概率的方式进行精确表达。决策过程可以从主观预测变为从不同概率的前景中拣选策略，最大限度减少了战略博弈过程中的不确定性。

其次，深度学习算法能够以更快的速度提供更多不同于人类常规思维方式的战略选项，并且在博弈过程中持续提升执行战略的有效性。

深度学习算法的特点决定了机器智能并不是在模仿人类的决策过程，而是在充分理解目标的基础上主动构建新的策略。这些策略通常与人类的思维方式差异较大，但在实现博弈目标方面往往更加有效。同时，深度学习算法的另一个重要优势是可以从错误中学习，并且在反复互动过程中更加准确地掌握博弈对手的策略特征。随着数据的不断积累，博弈对手的特征和策略倾向会变得更加清晰，不断扩大互动的优势。

最后，在战略博弈进程中，人工智能系统能够最大限度排除其他因素的干扰，提高战略决策的可靠性。

人工智能是一个客观和中立的决策体系，代表着纯粹理性的态度。人工智能决策体系只会受到参数的影响，不会出现激情驱动决策的现象。人类无法摆脱疲劳和情绪对于身体的干扰，但人工智能不会因为时间的延长做出任何改变。相对而言，人工智能系统是更为可靠的决策者，是最接近理性选择的方式。

总的来说，以人工智能技术为基础的决策辅助系统将使得国际行为体之间的战略博弈能力的差距进一步扩大。缺少人工智能技术辅助的行为体将在风险判断、策略选择、决策确定与执行效率，以及决策可靠性等多个方面处于绝对劣势，传统战略博弈结构将会完全失衡。
（二）人工智能技术对于军事领域的改变

军事领域是引领人工智能技术得以突破的重要平台，人工智能技术的进步将使得武器系统、军事策略、军事组织甚至战争的意义发生深刻改变，人类社会也将在进入弱人工智能时代之后迎来一个完全不同的军事安全环境。

首先，在军事技术层面，人工智能技术的介入将推动智能化武器的广泛应用。深度学习算法可以使智能化武器在虚拟环境中建立武器操控的基本能力，并且借助人工智能系统进行智能化武器的协调行动，最大限度地获得战场优势。智能化武器系统不仅能够使人与武器实现实质性分离，使实际伤亡率无限趋近于零，而且能够最大限度地提升武器的使用效率和不同武器之间的协作。当人工智能武器系统与传统模式的军事力量在战场上相遇，战争的法律与伦理观念将受到极大冲击。

其次，在军事战略层面，人工智能技术的介入将使军事战略与策略水平达到前所未有的高度。相较于复杂的人类社会，战争本身是相对简单且封闭的领域。深度学习算法已经能够较为完整地还原全部战场信息，完成相对精确的战场沙盘推演。在实际的战场环境中，人工智能具有更加全面高效搜集战场信息的能力。战斗指挥员能够掌握更加全面和准确的战场信息，并获得更加精确的战术建议。

在军事战略执行方面，人工智能拥有两个人类无法比拟的优势，其一，人工智能系统可以快速处理战场信息，具有人类所不具备的快速反应能力。其二，人工智能系统具有多线程处理能力，可以处理同时发生的多项行动，并提出人类思维模式所无法理解的复杂策略。在新技术介入之后，常规军事力量对抗的不平衡状态将被空前放大。传统的武装力量将越来越难以通过战术与策略弥补战场上的劣势。

最后，在军事执行层面，人工智能技术的发展可能会大大降低战争的门槛。在现代国际体系中，战争被普遍视为国际政治行为中的极端手段。巨大的经济成本与伤亡所造成的国内政治压力实际上给战争设置了较高的门槛。然而，随着人工智能技术的介入，战争行动的成本与风险都有明显下降的趋势。一方面，人工智能技术的介入将能够有效节约军事行动的成本。智能化武器的使用可以有效节约训练过程的时间和人力成本。无人作战武器的训练多依赖于相对成熟的深度学习算法，在初始训练结束后，可以快速复制到所有同类型无人作战武器上，完成作战武器的快速培训过程。从长时段效果来看，更是一种更加经济、更加有效的作战训练方式。由于算法与数据的可复制性，部分武器的战损对于整体作战效能的影响会被大大降低。
另一方面，传统战争模式中最为残酷的一面是战争导致的人员伤亡，这也是现代社会战争行为最为严重的政治风险。而智能化武器的广泛应用实际上减少人类直接参与战斗的过程，人与武器实现实质性分离，将战争活动在很大程度上转变为利用无人武器系统的任务。随着智能化武器的广泛使用，人员伤亡能够大大减少，政治风险极大降低。这种情况事实上鼓励大国减少自我约束，更多采取进攻性的行动来达到相应的目的，也会对国际安全形成新的不稳定因素，客观上为大国之间的技术军备竞赛提供了额外的动力。

三、人工智能技术对于国际体系的影响

人工智能的技术对于经济体系的影响最为直接，其主要表现在于技术进步直接冲击现代社会稳定的经济结构，经济结构的改变将导致国际行为体内部权力分配方式的改变，最终由内而外推动体系的变革。

（一）弱人工智能时代的社会经济结构变迁

由具有与人类智慧相似的机器来代替人类从事生产工作，这本就是人工智能产业的核心逻辑。人工智能技术的不断成熟，将颠覆原有产业结构和生产方式，改变不同要素在经济体系中的地位。随着人工智能技术在社会生产活动中的全面推进，两种在当前人类社会中的难以容忍的负面现象将在过渡阶段广泛出现，并成为弱人工智能时代经济社会结构的常态：

第一，持续性的失业潮。

人工智能技术的核心逻辑是以机器自动化生产取代人类劳动，以提高社会生产率。因此，持续而普遍的失业现象将成为弱人工智能时代的基本特征。与传统上基于生产规模下行所导致的周期性失业不同，由人工智能所导致的失业现象从本质上说是一种结构性失业，资本以全新的方式和手段替代了对劳动力的需要。结构性的失业人口将不会因为经济周期的变化重新获得工作。随着人工智能技术在各个垂直领域的不断推进，实际的失业规模将越来越大，失业的持续时间也将越来越长。

第二，社会财富的严重两极分化。

社会财富的两极分化是在弱人工智能时代与持续失业潮相伴而生的另一项重要社会现象，并对传统的社会结构造成严重的撕裂。

首先，个体的财富分配会趋向两极分化。作为资本挤压力劳动力的重要进程，人工智能所带来的劳动生产率的提升并不会转化为工资收入的普遍增长，新创造
的社会财富将会以不成比例的方式向资本一方倾斜，低收入与受教育程度较低的人群将在新一轮的社会资源分配中处于严重的不利地位。

其次，行业的财富分配也将呈现明显的分化状态，人工智能技术的使用将使拥有互联网与大数据条件的相关行业获得大量的资本注入，在未来5-10年，人工智能相关产业与传统产业之间将形成巨大的发展鸿沟。

最后，国家间的财富分化将进一步加剧。不同国家在人工智能技术方面的发展是严重不平衡的。在弱人工智能时代早期，部分国家会在一定时期内在人工智能领域形成实际上的技术垄断，从而获得大量超额收益，使得本已十分严重的全球财富的两极分化情况进一步加剧。

人工智能技术的发展对于全球的社会经济结构而言，发挥的是“创造性破坏”的作用。在人工智能技术的影响下，资本与技术在经济活动中的地位获得全面提升，而劳动力要素的价值则受到严重削弱。全球范围内的资本和人才将进一步流向拥有技术优势的发达国家市场，留给发展中国家走上现代化道路的机遇期实际上已经变得极为有限。而资本的权力将在政治体系中呈现快速扩张的态势。

（二）弱人工智能时代的国家权力分配模式调整

国家权力的分配方式从根本上说是由社会经济生产方式的特点所决定的，当人工智能技术所推动的社会经济结构变革逐步发生时，新的社会权力会伴随着技术变革而兴起，推动国家治理结构与权力分配模式做出相应的调整：

其一，资本权力将依托技术垄断的地位得以持续扩张。人工智能产业的发展依赖于巨额且长期的资本投入，因此，目前世界范围内的主要数据资源以及人工智能的先进技术基本都被大型跨国企业所垄断。掌握数据和算法本身就意味着权力，他们能够利用算法的黑箱为大众提供他们希望看到的内容，潜移默化的改变公共产品的提供方式。资本和技术力量的垄断地位结合在一起，将逐渐分享传统上由民族国家所掌控的金融、信息等重要的权力。

其二，技术权力凭借知识方面的不对称优势在短时间内膨胀。在弱人工智能时代过渡的时间段内，作为承担人工智能科技开发核心任务的少数精英科学家群体将获得超越常规的影响力，凭借自己的话语权与影响力构成一个特殊的技术权力阶层——科学家共同体。由于这一时期顶级科学家共同体规模很小，可替换性不强，群体相对比较稳定。而人工智能技术所引发的产业革命与社会结构的大规模调整将同时出现，使得科学家共同体本身成为了技术与社会结构变迁的中间环节，对于未来技术发展的形态具有重要话语权。
在弱人工智能时代最初的阶段，传统政治权力、资本权力与技术权力将会形成某种金字塔式结构。传统政治权力将继续掌控安全、税收、社会管理等国家权力的核心要素，并继续垄断武力的合法使用权，为其他形式的权力的使用背书。作为资本权力的代表，大型跨国企业将接受一定领域的权力让渡，为全社会提供数据和经济信息等方面的公共产品。而科学家共同体构成了人工智能技术发展与社会生产的关键纽带，对未来社会提供基本标准和道德影响力，并承担着推动人工智能技术的进一步发展的责任。三种力量相互支持又相互限制，在不断互动的状态下进行相互适应，尝试摸索新的社会发展阶段最为合理的国家治理模式。

（三）由内而外的国际体系变革

弱人工智能时代的国际体系变革实际上是国内权力分配方式在更广泛空间的自然延展。如图3所示，获得传统政治权力让渡的资本权力和技术权力将在新阶段的国际体系中获得国际行为体的合法地位，并且将该类型的主体间互动方式引入国际体系中，使得整个体系呈现出主体多元、规则多元和关系多元的复杂状态。

第一，主体多元特征：主权国家、跨国企业与跨国界的科学家共同体都将成为新时代国际体系的重要参与者。

在弱人工智能时代，主权国家作为国际体系最重要行为体的地位仍难以改变，超大型跨国企业将逐渐发展成以商业利益为核心的，具有一定独立性和话语权的国际行为体，为中小国家提供特定领域的公共产品，并参与其他议题的政治
交易。而科学家共同体在国际体系中作为一种独立力量出现，对于弱人工智能时代全球共识的形成将发挥重要的引导作用。

第二，规则多元特征：新时代国际体系中不同行为主体奉行的行为规则存在明显差异。

主权国家仍将继续奉行当前国际社会的基本运行规则，围绕着权力、利益等传统主题展开竞争与博弈。而跨国企业以经济利益为核心目标，由于无法获得武力的合法使用权，和平竞争将构成其活动的主要模式。科学家共同体则具有明显的全球化特征。不同运行规则的存在意味着新体系内的诸多要素需经过较长时间的磨合才能形成稳定的权力边界。

第三，关系多元特征：主权国家与跨国企业将围绕着权力让渡的边界展开复杂博弈，限制和消解科学家共同体对于技术的垄断又将成为主权国家与跨国企业共同的政治运作。

主权国家需要利用跨国企业在技术和商业上的成功带动本国的经济发展和技术进步，但也随时警惕其发展侵蚀到主权国家的核心权力。然而，在以政治手段限制消解科学家共同体对于技术话语权的垄断方面，主权国家与跨国公司具有充分共识。由于在人类历史上缺乏处理少数人垄断高阶技术权力的经验，如何通过新的机制建设，在充分发挥科学家群体在人工智能领域的积极作用的同时，限制
技术权力可能的滥用，将成为弱人工智能时代早期的核心政治运作。

四、中国的战略选择

人工智能技术的飞速发展将会改变传统的工业化路径，最终引领新一轮产业革命蓬勃兴起。人工智能技术的进步不仅将推动社会劳动生产率的大幅提升，也将对人类社会的经济生产形态、权力分配模式与国际体系的结构产生深远的影响。在技术浪潮的冲击下，国际行为体之间的力量差异将进一步扩大，人类将步入一个更加不平等的时代。

为了有效应对具有时代意义的技术革命与制度变迁，世界主要大国都在积极布局，根据本国的国情制定合理的人工智能产业的发展规划，协调本国在人工智能领域的各种资源，努力占据技术与产业的制高点，并争取在新的国际体系中获得更加有利的战略位置。

人工智能所引领的产业革命是中国发展的宝贵机遇，这将是中国历史上首次以科技前沿国家的身份迎来的产业革命。作为世界上最主要的互联网大国之一，中国在推进人工智能技术的发展方面具有天然的优势。一方面，国内资本青睐人工智能未来的商业前景，在技术发展方兴未艾之时便投入了大量的研发资金，积极聚拢了大量人才。经过20多年的发展，以阿里巴巴、腾讯、百度为代表的高度互联网企业已经逐步成长为国际巨头，他们拥有充足的研究经费，能够在全球范围内搜罗人工智能领域的优秀人才，并且在不同领域已经具备了较为充分的技术积累。另一方面，作为世界最大的互联网市场，中国的互联网人口在2017年已经超过7.5亿人，加之移动互联的普及，使得相关垂直领域积累了海量的数据，为人工智能技术的发展提供了充足的养料。中国的互联网市场空间足够广大，能够使研究的商业化进程顺利推进。更重要的是，中国系统的产业规划与政策引导能力能够为人工智能领域的全面发展提供强有力的支持。

习近平总书记在党的十九大报告中明确提出，要“推动互联网、大数据、人工智能和实体经济深度融合”，将人工智能视为供给侧结构性改革和推动实体经济发展的重大一环。2016-2017年，国务院先后颁布了《“互联网+”人工智能三年行动实施方案》和《新一代人工智能发展规划》，对中国在人工智能技术和产业方面的战略定位、发展目标、主要任务、保障措施等方面都提出了详细规划。通过上述规划的实施，推动人工智能科技的发展已经成为我国重要的国家战略，这将有力地推动我国在人工智能技术和产业化的进步，也将对全球人工智能技术的发展产生积极影响。在国家规划的推动和协调下，通过对资源的有效
整合，我国完全有能力在未来人工智能领域的竞争中充分发挥比较优势，补齐发展短板，在新的国际体系中占据重要位置，实现社会主义现代化强国的建设目标。

当然，我们也必须认识到，人工智能革命带给国际体系的将是人类历史上前所未有的深层次变革，变革的过程本身就意味着无法预估的风险。如何在潜在的动荡风险尚未形成时做到未雨绸缪，使技术革命的影响不至于反噬人类本身，这也是社会科学研究所肩负的重要责任。