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In his report to the 19th CPC National Congress, General Secretary Xi Jinping made a comprehensive plan for the tasks and direction of China’s diplomacy in the new era. On the one hand, diplomacy should serve domestic development by providing strong external support for the attainment of two centenary goals. He pointed out clearly that the basic dimension of the Chinese context—that our country is still and will long remain in the primary stage of socialism—has not changed and China’s international status as the world’s largest developing country has not changed. Development remains the top priority in China’s revitalization endeavors. Thus, to serve development is and will be an important mission of the major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. As China’s economy has been transitioning from a phase of rapid growth to a stage of high-quality development, in line with the new development vision, diplomacy should serve developing a modernized economy,

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pursuing opening up in an all-round way, facilitating the economic transitioning from high-speed growth to high-quality development and maintaining China’s expanding overseas interests. On the other hand, China should take a more active approach to contribute to the world development and play a better role as a responsible country in international affairs, closely binding the wellbeing of the Chinese people with that of the people around the world. China needs to shoulder its due international obligations in the spirit of internationalism, make its voice better heard in major issues bearing on world peace and development and offer Chinese wisdom and a Chinese approach to global governance.

To achieve the above-mentioned two tasks, it has been proposed in the report of the 19th CPC National Congress that efforts should be made to build a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind, which has been clearly identified as the overarching goal of China’s diplomacy in the new era. The goal of building a new type of international relations is to pursue a new path of country-to-country exchanges, the core of which features mutual respect, fairness, justice and win-win cooperation. Mutual respect means opposing interference in internal affairs of other countries and imposition of one’s own will on others. Fairness and justice refer to opposition to the law of jungle in which the strong bully the weak. Win-win cooperation means opposing zero-sum games and winner-taking-all practice. The departure point of building a community with a shared future for mankind is that since mankind has only one earth and all countries live in the same world, people from around the globe living in different cultures, races, religions and social systems should share the awareness of sticking together through thick and thin. The core of building a community with a
shared future for mankind is to build an open, inclusive, clean, and beautiful world that enjoys lasting peace, universal security, and common prosperity. This is an extension worldwide of the five-sphere integrated plan for China’s domestic development covering economic, political, cultural, social and ecological fields. It goes along with the trend of human progress and common aspirations of most of countries and offers a Chinese approach to solving various global issues.

It must be made clear that building a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind is not to completely overturn the current international order and start something new. Instead, it is designed to fundamentally honor the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. It maintains the consistency and stability of China’s foreign policy and demonstrates that China’s diplomacy keeps abreast with the times with its advanced nature and innovativeness. In terms of consistency, it shows that China is committed to a path of peaceful development, holding high the banner of peace, development and cooperation for win-win outcomes and complying with the purposes of China’s diplomacy for maintaining world peace and promoting common development. It also preserves China’s nature as a country that unswervingly pursues friendship and cooperation with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, seeks no hegemony or expansion and contributes to promoting world peace and development and maintaining the international order. In terms of innovativeness, it demonstrates the latest achievements of innovation in diplomatic theories and practice since the 18th CPC National Congress. For instance, efforts have been made to make integrated planning for diplomacy involving major countries, China’s neighbors and other
developing countries in line with the principle of building global partnerships rather than alliances. On global governance, the Belt and Road Initiative has been proposed to build a major platform of international cooperation. The principle of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness has been followed to guide China’s relations with its neighbors and the principle of upholding justice while pursuing shared interests and the principle of sincerity, real results, affinity, and good faith have been followed to steer China’s ties with other developing countries. New visions on governance, security and development have provided guidance for the work in multilateral areas.

From China’s perspective, the international landscape is undergoing major development, transformation and adjustment. Peace and development remain the theme of the times, but the balance of power is going through profound changes. Global challenges keep cropping up, the international security situation is facing severe challenges and in particular, relations among major countries have become more complex due to increased competitive elements. In relative terms, China and the European Union, as two major forces, two major markets and two major civilizations in the world, have enjoyed stable relations despite some rows and frictions. This is attributable to various factors. First, China and the EU do not have direct geopolitical conflicts or historical issues. China has given firm and consistent support to European integration and wants to see a stable, united and prosperous Europe. On their part, European countries have been committed to the One China principle. Second, China and the EU are highly complementary to each other in their economies with their respective strengths and demands. They enjoy vast potential and space for cooperation and strong impetus for pursuing win-
win outcomes. In particular, rapid economic development of China has not only contributed to 30% of the world economic growth, that of Europe included, but also offered it a vast market with constantly elevated purchasing power and an investment destination with favorable returns. A telling example is that around 30% of German-made cars are sold to China and 37% of profits in the German auto industry have been from China. Third, both China and the EU need a peaceful and stable environment for development and share considerable common grounds on major international issues. For example, they both stand for settling international disputes by peaceful means and oppose willful use of force or threats with force. Both are in favor of multilateralism and against hegemonism and power politics and place importance on the role of international institutions such as the United Nations and World Trade Organization. Both support advancing economic globalization, trade liberalization and investment facilitation and adhere to the Paris Climate Agreement. Fourth, both China and the EU have rich and splendid cultural resources. As their economic cooperation is developing dynamically and political relations are increasingly close, strengthening cultural and people-to-people exchanges have become a natural aspiration and trend for the peoples of China and the EU to promote better mutual understanding and enrich their respective spiritual world. Fifth, global issues that keep emerging need global governance. No country can remain immune from or resolve these issues on its own. Instead, only when the international community works in concert can it effectively tackle all these challenges. China and the EU have reached consensus on this increasingly.

Thanks to the aforementioned favorable factors, the relations between China and the EU have made remarkable progress,
delivering tangible benefits to both sides. To sum up, the achievements are mainly in the following aspects: first, there have been frequent high-level exchange of visits and communications, indicating that both sides attach great importance to their relations, keep injecting new impetus into their cooperation and lead the relations to develop sustainably into greater depth and width. Second, economic cooperation and trade have been fruitful, serving as an important backing and anchor for China-EU relations. The EU has for years remained China’s largest trading partner, the largest import source and second largest export market, while China has been EU’s second largest trading partner, the largest import source and second largest export market. In 2017 China-EU trade volume totaled US$616.92 billion, up by 12.7% year-on-year and accounting for 15% of China’s foreign trade. Two-way investment has been robust. In 2016, the EU’s investment in China grew by 35%. Though it slid by 5.9% in 2017, China’s investment in the EU went up by 3.8%. The EU’s investment in China has reached US$120.2 billion and China’s investment in the EU has grown to US$79.2 billion, visibly narrowing the gap between the two sides. The EU has also been the largest source of technology introduction for China in cumulative terms. Third, China and the EU have established around 70 consultation and dialogue mechanisms. The four most important dialogue mechanisms, i.e., the China-EU Summit, the China-EU High Level Strategic Dialogue, the China-EU High Level Economic and Trade Dialogue and the China-EU High Level People-to-People Dialogue, have made major contribution to communicating each other’s positions and views, promoting mutual understanding and facilitating mutually beneficial exchanges and win-win cooperation. Fourth, the two sides have agreed to synergize the Belt and Road Initiative and the Investment Plan for Europea and build five major cooperation
platforms, namely, the China-EU Mutual Investment Fund, the China-EU Connectivity Platform, the China-EU Legal Affairs Dialogue, the Digital Cooperation Platform and Facilitation of People-to-People Exchanges. Progress has been made in all these areas to varying degrees. Certain agreements have been reached in areas such as the establishment of mutual investment fund and the connectivity platform, mutual waivering of short-term stay visas for diplomatic passport holders and China’s approval of the EU’s opening of visa centers in 15 Chinese cities. In addition, China-EU cooperation in energy conservation and emission reduction, urbanization, finance, scientific innovation and people-to-people exchanges has developed from strength to strength. The number of Confucius Institutes build by China in 28 EU countries has grown to 138 with 257 Confucius Classrooms. A total of 300,000 Chinese students now study in EU member states and over 45,000 students from the EU countries study in China. The year 2016 saw exchange of 6.59 million visits, in which 3.46 million visits were made from China to the EU and 3.13 million visits were the other way around.

Just like every coin has two sides, though the mainstream of China-EU relations is to cooperate for win-win outcomes, it is natural that the two sides have divergent views and even disputes on certain issues due to their differences in ideologies, social and political systems, development stages and interests. What merits special attention is that some Europeans who are used to taking a condescending attitude to developing countries have their minds twisted as the momentum of economic development in China and the EU increasingly differ and in particular, as China has continued to enjoy rapid economic growth with ever-growing technology, product competitiveness and increased attention from
the international community to the advanced nature of China’s political system. They try to prevent China from competing with the EU and as a result, problems and frictions between China and the EU show a certain upward trend. Certainly, it needs to be pointed out that Europe is not a monolithic block. Different EU countries have different bilateral ties with China. Therefore, the abovementioned problems and frictions mainly involve some countries and forces that have important influence on and play a leading role in the EU’s decision-making. In essence, the problems and frictions concern the norms and visions guiding state-to-state relations. Among them, the most prominent ones are as follows:

(I) Whether to follow the principle of mutual respect and seeking common ground while putting aside differences. We Chinese believe that we should face squarely and recognize the diversity of the world. Both China and the EU shall determine their respective development paths and formulate policies in line with their national realities and the will of their peoples. Neither side should attempt to change the other side or interfere in the other’s internal affairs with its own values, still less to undermine the other’s core interests such as sovereignty, security, territorial integrity and the right to development. All these are widely recognized norms governing international relations. However, it is hard to understand that some Europeans from countries boasting themselves as models of rule of law, in blatant violation of these norms, made irresponsible remarks on and even interfered in China’s internal affairs, acting as if they represented universal values. For example, at a football match between China and Germany held in the latter not long ago, some Germans held political banners in support of splitting Tibet from China, a move that runs counter to international rules. When China lodged
solemn representations against it, the organizer defended such an act under the excuse of freedom of expression. When Chinese judicial authorities detained in accordance with the law a Chinese Swedish who broke the law, the Swedish authorities intervened wantonly, acting as if it enjoyed extraterritoriality from China. Some European authorities smeared the legal actions by Chinese judicial organs to punish law violators as undermining human rights, brazenly interfering in China’s internal affairs. Maybe these Europeans believe that by so doing they will change the color of China. However, they are obviously daydreaming. In fact, such actions will not only undermine political mutual trust, but also be counterproductive to the image of Europeans in the minds of the Chinese people. Our European friends should know that both positive and negative historical experience has led the Chinese people to such a conclusion that only an independent path of socialism with Chinese characteristics in line with national realities can ensure sustained success and support from the people; only when the principle of mutual respect and seeking common grounds while putting aside differences is observed, will the relations between countries with different social systems enjoy smooth development. Otherwise, setbacks will be inevitable.

(II) Whether to observe the principle of seeking win-win cooperation or allow the zero-sum mentality to lead us astray. Major European countries have every reason to welcome and support the efforts by a major country that used to be poor and backward to catch up with developed countries in economic and technological fields, because such efforts serve the interests of developed countries and manifest human progress. To try hard to prevent the peaceful emerging of a possible competitor is not only short-sighted but also against the loft ideal for human
advancement. Frankly speaking, to develop China and make it stronger is the firm will of 1.3 billion Chinese people and an unstoppable historical trend. China’s development has provided for the world a vast market, affordable and quality products and an investment destination with favorable returns. It is a contribution, an opportunity and a blessing for the world economic development rather than a threat. On 7 January, Holger Steltzner, a publisher of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, wrote in an article on the newspaper’s website that protectionism in Europe is moving ahead and Brussels’ trade policy with China is just orally different from that of Donald Trump because the European Commission is also setting up obstacles. The article also pointed out that more and more political and business leaders and intellectuals have started to see a zero-sum game in the world trade and believe that what one side wins is exactly what the other side loses. In order to make things better for the “losers” in globalization, some political leaders in Europe put forward such concepts as opposing “social dumping”, asking other countries to commit to the same labor rights, benefits, environmental standards or taxes. Otherwise, they will label a country as one with social dumping and take it as a pretext for applying protectionist measures.

(III) Whether to strictly fulfill agreements or pursue protectionism under well-designed excuses. China is committed to advancing the reform of the global governance regime to build a more equitable and fairer order that benefits all. However, it is not to start something new. China stands for gradually realizing the goal through reforms following the principle of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits. Agreed obligations such as the abolition of Article 15 concerning the surrogate country approach in the protocol on China’s accession
to the WTO should be honored in line with the agreement as it concerns the credibility of signatories. In early June 2017, Germany Chancellor Angela Merkel expressed publicly her support for the EU to implement the provision of this article and stated that the new trade rules that the EU was drafting would comply with WTO rules and not discriminate against China. However, it has been revealed by media reports that before Chancellor Merkel made the statement, Germany, France and Italy had pushed the EU to introduce new rules of a protectionist nature against “non-EU countries”, which are actually mainly against China. This in essence is aimed at continuing the function of the surrogate country article under the disguise of “serious market distortion”. This reveals three points: first, the EU lacks the integrity to honor what it has agreed. Second, Germany has been acting in a double-faced way. Third, certain EU member states and agencies have played the roles of good guys and bad guys respectively in the process. Similarly, under the excuse that foreign companies cannot enjoy the same treatment in China as Chinese companies do in Europe, the EU raised the so-called principle of reciprocity in investment, which is designed to limit Chinese companies’ investments in Europe, especially those in acquiring high-tech companies and key infrastructure. The example used by the EU is that while Chinese companies purchased the operation right of Piraeus Port of Greece and Hahn Airport close to Frankfurt, it was impossible for German companies to do so in China. The so-called principle of reciprocity sounds fair, but actually it is against common sense and hardly feasible. Normal businesses and cooperation between countries in essence are to complement each other for win-win outcomes. It should be consensual rather than impose one party’s will on the other. Chinese companies acquired the two projects through public tendering. The Greek port was in dire need of money with
operation difficulties while the German airport suffered losses for long and was eager for a turnaround. Piraeus Port enjoyed good performances after being bought by the Chinese company, and Greece has benefited a lot from and spoken highly of it. The seller of Hahn Airport was also heartened to find a proper buyer for its asset. All these are indisputable facts. However, there are no ports or airports for sale in China. So does China have to sell a port and an airport to Germany simply to comply with its principle of reciprocity?

(IV) Great efforts should be made to strengthen mutual understanding and trust. Chinese scholars interested in China-EU relations widely believe that mutual understanding between the two sides are far behind the China-EU economic cooperation and trade in both width and depth. Therefore, the two sides need to make more and greater efforts. The leaderships should step up their exchanges of ideas, policies and visions to deepen mutual understanding. Think tanks and the media of China and the EU in particular should make objective and truthful publicities to help the two peoples better understand each other and reduce misunderstandings and prejudice. On the part of China, it should redouble its efforts to improve the publicity work and tell good China stories, which should be one of top priorities in China’s diplomacy. Frankly speaking, the Chinese people generally have stronger aspiration to understand and learn from Europe than the other way around. However, as a Chinese saying goes, it takes two hands to clap. Therefore, we hope that our European friends will show some modesty, drop their prejudice and stereotypical views, including certain residues of the cold war mentalities, earnestly understand China’s history, culture, national conditions, policies and visions and respect the values of the Chinese people based
on a time-honored history of five thousand years. Otherwise, if they keep regarding China as something weird and view what China does with misgivings, it is inevitable that they come to wrong conclusions. A typical example is that the EU believes that China is pursuing a “divide and rule” strategy in seeking 16+1 cooperation with Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries. German Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel even asked China to follow a “One Europe policy” and not divide Europe, putting it on a par with China’s commitment to the One China policy. It is fully justified for China to resolutely refute such unwarranted misgivings and acquisitions. It is known to all that China has consistently supported European integration and Euro. When the EU was hit by both the international financial crisis and European sovereign debt crisis, China not only encouraged Europe to remain confident but also bought bonds of European countries within its capacity. The cooperation between China and CEE countries meets the development needs of those countries and also serves the balanced development and integration of whole Europe. Such cooperation is open and transparent. The EU was invited to send its observers to each summit of 16+1 Cooperation and all projects under the cooperation have strictly followed the laws and regulations of the EU. China respects the independence of CEE countries and has taken into account their special relations with the EU. The One China principle is the political foundation for China to develop official relations with other countries and it has been recognized by the international community, the United Nations included. However, one has to ask what the “One Europe” policy is based on. When is it established and recognized by the international community? Where is the country with single European sovereignty in the sense of international law? We only know that the EU is a union of sovereign countries and all
its members are countries with sovereign independence. They are fully entitled to make independent decisions on engaging in mutually beneficial cooperation with foreign countries. There are 11 EU members in the 16 CEE countries. Is there anything wrong for them to cooperate with China in line with their respective needs and potential? Another salient example is that at the Munich Security Conference on 17 February, this German foreign minister went so far as to call on Western countries to work together to counter China’s rising, claiming that China is pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative to develop a comprehensive systemic alternative to the Western model and accusing China of working together with Russia to undermine the unity of the EU. It must be bluntly pointed out that EU member states should find reasons for any possible differences or divisions among themselves from within the EU. It will be futile to try to divert people’s attention without making any self-reflections.

Based on the above analysis, it is fair to say that China and the EU enjoy favorable conditions but also face severe challenges for building a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind. Many obstacles have to be overcome. The common task now for the two sides is to implement the agreed cooperation blueprint and synergize each other’s development strategy, including synergizing the Belt and Road Initiative with the European development strategy, China’s international industrial capacity cooperation with the investment plan for Europe and China-CEEC cooperation with the whole China-EU cooperation as well as fully implementing the *China-EU 2020 Strategic Agenda for Cooperation*. Through synergizing these strategies and the agenda for cooperation plus various innovative cooperation projects which are unfolding, China and
the EU will jointly build partnership for peace, growth, reform and civilization. What is particularly important is that both sides should stand at a strategic height to view China-EU relations for the purpose of advancing human progress from an objective perspective that keeps abreast with the times. The two sides should in real earnest implement the principle of mutual respect, fairness, justice and win-win cooperation, seize opportunities while well managing differences, surmount various obstacles and gradually overcome differences in perspectives to ensure that the China-EU comprehensive strategic partnership enjoy sustained and steady progress to the benefit of the two peoples and make constant contribution to the lasting peace and common prosperity of the world.
The idea of a community with a shared future for mankind made its debut in 2012 in the report to the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC). In 2015, it was fleshed out by President Xi Jinping at the summits commemorating the 70th anniversary of the United Nations, where he called for global efforts in five areas: building partnerships in which countries treat other as equals, engage in consultation and show mutual understanding; creating a security environment featuring fairness, justice, joint participation, and shared benefits; promoting open, innovative, and inclusive development that benefits all; encouraging civilizations to accept their differences and conduct mutual learning to realize harmonious coexistence; and building an ecosystem that puts Mother Nature and green development first. In January 2017, at the UN Office in Geneva, President Xi used his keynote speech, *Work Together to Build a Community of Shared Future for Mankind*, to lay out China’s plan to develop

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such a community. Then, at the CPC in Dialogue with World Political Parties High-Level Meeting in December 2017, President Xi explained in his keynote speech that a community with a shared future for mankind means that the destiny and future of each and every nation and country are interlocked, and, as such, people around the world should stick together through thick and thin and endeavor to build this planet of ours into a harmonious big family and realize mankind’s longing for a better life.

On several theoretical questions about “the community with a shared future for mankind”, my understanding are as follows.

I. Theoretical Characteristics

From a theoretical point of view, a community with a shared future for mankind is a unity of “what it is” and “what it ought to be”, worldview and methodology, and inheritance and innovation. "What it is" refers to the realities, the objective facts, and the trends. Today, human beings are in the same global village and standing at the same juncture where history meets reality; “the destiny and future of each and every nation and country are interlocked” and international interdependence is growing to such an extent that we are becoming a community with a shared future.

“What it ought to be” is about what should be allowed to happen and how to make it happen. The idea of building a community with a shared future must take root across the world and all parties should “stick together through thick and thin and endeavor to build this planet of ours into a harmonious big family and realize mankind’s longing for a better life”.

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As a worldview, the concept approaches the world from two perspectives: what it is and what it ought to be, and sees it as a community with a shared future of which peoples of different countries are all members and integral parts.

As a methodology, it requires us to fully understand the realities and take actions accordingly towards “what it ought to be”. Countries need to make concerted efforts to protect our common planet and make it an open, inclusive, clean, and beautiful world of lasting peace, common security, and shared prosperity.

For inheritance, the concept inherits the fine legacy of Chinese and foreign philosophies and good practices. It recapitulates China’s five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ideas of developing a new international political and economic order, path of peaceful development, and a harmonious world. In addition, it stays in tune with the developments of our times, changes in the international landscape, and the progress of human civilization.

For innovation, it proposes new ideas and strategies and calls for new actions and measures. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinjing as the core have been actively pushing for innovations in diplomatic theory and practice, proposing new initiatives like the “Belt and Road” and new concepts on global governance, security, development, justice and interests, and globalization. The efforts to conduct major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics also gave birth to Xi Jinping thought on diplomacy. This concept of a community with a shared future is central to Xi Jinping thought on diplomacy and has become the diplomatic guide to developing socialism with Chinese characteristic in the new era. As a significant
innovation in China’s diplomatic thinking, it has and will continue to drive the innovation and progress of Chinese diplomacy.

To go one step further, building a community with a shared future for mankind is also a unity of historical necessity and freewill, wholeness and individuality, universality and diversity, plurality and subjectivity, and progressiveness and convolution.

Its historical necessity lies in the fact that as human society advances, it is sure to merge into a community with a shared future. Freewill plays a crucial role in understanding the “shared future”, going about building such a community, and deciding what the community should look like, and at what pace and to what effect to build it.

“The future of mankind” is a concept denoting wholeness and universality, and yet at the same time, it is multi-factored and multidimensional. It will be represented by the destinies of various entities in multiple areas and at multiple levels, showcasing plurality, diversity, subjectivity, and differentiality.

“The future of mankind” is bright as the wheels of history keep moving forward in an unstoppable way. At the same time, the process, driven by the imbalance of development, is long and tortuous.

The development of a community with a shared future will happen in different stages. Theoretically, it could be divided into the primary, middle and high stages, measured by the closeness of interconnectivity, the convergence of interests, the synchronization of development, the sharing of responsibilities, acceptance of a
common set of values, and the coordination of actions.

II. The Relationship between Me and the Community

The meaning of a community with a shared future for mankind can only be explained well when the relations between Me (China) and the Community are well defined.

The basic logic is that Me is part of and an embodiment of the Community. The destiny of Me and that of mankind is closely intertwined and inseparable, but not identical or fully synchronized. As Me and more and more other parties form an increasingly stronger community, the world will move closer towards a community of mankind, and recognize the contribution and value of Me.

As a subject, Me is an advocate, builder, and participant of the Community. Me contributes to and leads the development of the Community.

The concept of the Community turns “me and you” and “you, me, and him/her” into “us”, just as the concept of “global village” makes peoples of different countries “villagers” and the Internet turns them into “netizens”. The concept of the Community will strengthen the awareness of a “global village”, “homeland of mankind”, and “Greater Community”.

III. What Kind of a Community We Want to Build

While making clear what a community with a shared future for mankind is, it is also necessary to know what this community should
look like.

The answer given by China can be summarized in different ways. They include “five communities”, i.e. communities of equality, peace, prosperity, civilizations, and green development; “five worlds”, i.e. a world of lasting peace, a world of common security, a world of common prosperity, an open and inclusive world, and a clean and beautiful world; “four worlds”, i.e. a world of universal security free from fear, a world of common prosperity free from poverty, an open and inclusive world free from isolation, and a green, clean and beautiful world, which is, in effect, a briefer version of the “five worlds”. There are also the “three worlds”, i.e. a world of peace and development, a world of win-win cooperation, and an open and inclusive world; the goal of “common development, shared prosperity, and lasting peace” for human society; the call “to closely unite peoples of different countries in win-win cooperation and common development and enable them to all share in the fruits of development”; and the idea of “working even more closely together” and “advancing hand in hand” to build a strategic community with a shared future for China and foreign countries. Among all these answers, the “five worlds” is the most authoritative and should be made better known.

IV. Why a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind

It is said in the report to the 19th National Congress of the CPC that “our world is full of both hope and challenges. We should not give up on our dreams because the reality around us is too complicated; we should not stop pursuing our ideals because they seem out of our reach. No country can address alone the many challenges facing mankind; no country can afford to retreat into
self-isolation.” These words point to the fact that such a community is both the dream and pursuit of China and a must for countries to join forces to counter the various challenges confronting mankind. However complex the challenges may be, China will not give up.

As a result of the objective necessity of human development and the subjective activity of mankind, there is a theoretical necessity in building the community. Only by following the trend and working in concert for maximum consensus and combined forces can we work in the most efficient way to build such a community that best meets the shared aspiration of mankind.

From a theoretical point of view, it is also feasible to build the community. This is due to the achievements of human society, the positive trends, and the policy choices and practices of various entities. First, there is the strong and growing desire for peace, development, and progress; second, growing interdependence in an interconnected world makes the world warm, crowded, and flat. People of different countries share the global village—a common homeland for the future of mankind—and have the need to protect it; third, as the world becomes increasingly multi-polar, economic globalization advances, information technology infiltrates more of our life, and cultural diversity asserts itself, countries are more and more interdependent and their common interests are expanding and deepening, all of which makes the expansion of and integration within the community irreversible; fourth, partnerships, as a policy tool and goal of countries, are gaining momentum. They are covering all areas, extending globally, and going online; fifth, regionalization and integration keep moving forward, underpinning and propelling the development of communities with a shared future in different regions and for mankind; sixth, the all-encompassing power of the
Internet makes the development of a community with a shared future online the task of our times and a real need supported by material conditions; seventh, international organizations like the UN and the WTO provide the common rules and intellectual and institutional support for the building of such a community.

**V. How to Build the Community**

In his important speeches at the UN Headquarters and the UN Office in Geneva, President Xi answered the question of how to build the community with a shared future for mankind. The report to the 19th CPC National Congress identified the guidelines, main goals and pathway of doing this.

A systematic project like this requires an ambitious blueprint, clear guidelines, and a well-designed plan. In particular, the community must be built with efforts in five areas, namely political, economic, security, civilization, and the ecological environment. This is the primary guiding principle.

Politically, there should be mutual respect and equal consultation. The Cold War mentality and power politics have no place in today’s world. Dialogue and partnerships must replace confrontation and alliances in order to blaze a new trail in state-to-state relations.

Regarding security, disputes should be resolved through dialogue and differences bridged through consultation. Conventional and non-conventional threats should be handled in the same package. All forms of terrorism must be opposed.
Economically, countries should stick together through thick and thin and promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation and make economic globalization more open, inclusive, and balanced to the benefit of all.

Culturally, the diversity of civilization must be respected. Exchange and mutual learning between civilizations should prevail against estrangement and conflicts. Civilizations must be allowed to coexist in harmony, not dominate one another.

In terms of ecology, an environment-friendly approach must be adopted. The world needs to work together to fight climate change and protect the shared home of human beings.

We need to proactively respond to global challenges and the issues concerning the future of mankind and be clear about the direction our world and mankind should take. The key is to strive for peace, development, cooperation, and win-win results, not war, poverty, confrontation, or unilateral gains.

We need to try out innovative practices that have a demonstrative effect and could change the whole picture and promote the successful experience. The “Belt and Road” initiative is a good example.

With an understanding of its wholeness and the characteristics of its factors, dimensions, areas, process, domain, subjects and plurality, we need to take a holistic approach to promoting the initiative in all fields and accurately target our efforts to achieve breakthroughs. The wholeness and homogeneity of the initiative needs to be enhanced, and freewill must also be encouraged to show
respect for difference and protect diversity.

We need to communicate our theories and practices of building a community with a shared future for mankind, such as the theory and practices of developing regional communities.

We need to advocate the awareness of “greater community”, keep expanding our community, and take it in the direction of openness, inclusiveness, win-win cooperation, and benefits for all.

In building such a community, we must always work through consultation, rely on joint efforts, and share the benefits. Harmonious coexistence, progress for all, and win-win results will always guide our endeavor. These are principles that work in all corners of the world.

Generally speaking, the efforts to build such a community must be based on the development realities in different regions and countries. Anchoring itself in interconnectivity and partnerships, the community will incorporate different areas and dimensions and develop at different paces. Its areas include political, security, economic, cultural, and ecological fronts; its dimensions cover global, regional, sub-regional, bilateral, national, and subnational levels; it involves multiple groups of players, such as major countries, neighboring countries, developing countries, and multilateral institutions. Building such a community requires efforts on land, at sea, in the outer space, in deep sea, in the polar regions, and in cyberspace. It will happen at different paces because the degree of development varies across countries and regions. The smaller and less affluent countries and groups should be helped and given special attention so that they do not fall behind and the
community is truly an inclusive one that delivers benefits for all. This is what China has been pushing for diplomatically to realize the goal of building a community with a shared future for mankind. With a special focus on its neighborhood and its home region, China is fully tapping into the potential of the "Belt and Road" initiative and developing a community with a shared future at different levels, in different areas, and with multiple players.

To conclude, this concept of a community with a shared future is not an attempt to gloss over conflicts. In fact, we must be clear that the process of building such a community will not be free from conflicts. We therefore must have the courage, wisdom, and strength to tackle them. We must be able to manage the differences and competition among countries and fight actions that violate basic principles and major interests. The goal is to safeguard legitimate interests, uphold world peace and international justice, and promote common development. In a sense, China’s efforts to build such a community is also a great international struggle with many new historical characteristics. While fighting what must be fought against, we should also be vigilant against the Thucydides Trap that saw established and emerging powers locked in confrontation and the possibilities of a new Cold War.
“Belt and Road Initiative” — China’s Proposition to Promote Common Modernization

By Yao Peisheng*

I

In his speech at the United Nations Office at Geneva in January 2017, President Xi Jinping stressed that, China’s “Belt and Road Initiative” is to achieve shared and win-win development. On the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation that May, he put forward that, “the Belt and Road Initiative is a great undertaking” and we will make this project of the century benefit people across the world. Those statements once again shed light on China’s objective in introducing the Initiative, and expressed China’s sincere wish to head for modernization jointly with other countries around the world.

Drastic global changes require all countries, large countries in particular, to take up their position and play their due role. In the last decade, with the world plagued by a sluggish economic recovery, and

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the West troubled by widespread populism, isolationism and protectionism, unemployment, refugee crisis, terrorism and wealth gap have been seen as the “evil consequences” of globalization. Some large countries, instead of seeking solutions in a cool-headed manner, have acted in such a self-concerned approach that they have resorted to an isolationist policy in disregard of other countries’ interests. As a result, thoughts have been put into further disturbance, and many have lost confidence in global governance.

Confronted by complexities and uncertainties, China has been calling for exploration of a new approach to global governance, and has been offering its own solutions to the “future direction of international relations”. At the High-level Meeting on Building a Community of Shared Future for Mankind through Wide Consultation and Joint Contribution held in Geneva in January last year, Xi Jinping elaborated on China’s solution to global governance, the core of which being mutual respect and win-win cooperation. As is known, the global financial crisis that started from the United States in 2008 was a 9/11 equivalent for economy. It rippled across every country in the world, thus China was also hurt by the resulting global economic downturn. However, this crisis is quite different from the one in the 1920s and the 1930s in that a global catastrophic blow was avoided thanks to China’s supportive role in the world economic system. Starting from 2016, the world economy began to recover, though in a weak way. And the chances of another crisis are slim, since the worst times are over.

Statistics indicate that, emerging economies were pivotal in tiding over the crisis. China alone has contributed over 30% to global economic growth. The biggest highlight of this century is
that China, once one of the poorest countries, has become a pillar of the world economy. China is still five to ten times less advanced than the ten most developed countries in terms of per capita economic strength, but it has linked up its own development with the world’s development instead of advocating “China First”. Xi Jinping’s “Belt and Road Initiative” presents China’s responsible character as China cares about the world and provides solutions for thorny issues. China has lived up to the name of a solution-provider and enabler in global governance. Such attitude has helped win applause from the international community.

The essence of the Initiative is China joining hands with other countries for common development. I agree with the view held by some Chinese scholars that the “Belt and Road Initiative” equals to common modernization. By a glimpse of the officially-published plans and visions concerning the Initiative and Xi Jinping’s speeches in and out of China, people can tell that, China has been appealing to the international community to abandon outdated philosophies and growth patterns that used to prevail in the conventional sense of modernization and to open up a path for common progress. The rationale behind the proposition is that, in their development, developed countries uphold the supremacy of their national interests, the law of the jungle, and game of power, control the leadership in global governance and enjoy the benefits of development exclusively. On the contrary, China advocates mutual respect, cooperation and win-win outcome among countries in the new era, solutions through consultation, and shared benefits.

Of course, common modernization is not equal to starting at the same scratch line or bridging development gaps in a short term. China’s position is to unite other countries on its way forward,

especially developing countries, respect each other’s choice of political systems, strive for economic balance, exchange needed goods, conduct cultural exchanges and acknowledge cultural diversity. The position meets the needs of the time. In my mind, “common modernization” is an objective, and at the same time could be seen as a basic principle of China’s proposal.

II

As a unique platform for international cooperation, the “Belt and Road Initiative” is China’s great exploration in dealing with peace and development issues. Though risks and challenges abound, there are more opportunities and favorable conditions for success.

1. Recognition by the international community is a critical guarantee. Xi’s Initiative has been included into a United Nations resolution, and many countries have inked cooperation deals with China under the “Belt and Road” framework. This is unprecedented in the modern history of international relations. Last May in Beijing, many distinguished guests from China and abroad attended the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, where all participants expressed their willingness to take an active part in the implementation of the “Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)” and reached new broad consensus with China. At the Forum, Russian President Vladmir Putin pledged his full support to the BRI and voiced his hope to build a great Eurasian partnership by integrating the BRI with the Eurasian Economic Union and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. It is noteworthy that Matt Pottinger, special assistant to the U.S. President, said that, “U.S. firms are ready to participate in Belt and Road projects”, and the
U.S. has set up a Belt and Road Working Group. The positive change in America’s position should be given due attention, as the circumstances are forcing the U.S. to take seriously the practical cooperation with emerging economies represented by China.

The established developed countries, including the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and Canada, generally hold a positive attitude towards “Belt and Road”. Japan used to make carping comments when the BRI was first proposed, but reversed its position last year. Most countries in Central Asia, West Asia, South Asia and Central and Eastern Europe have, on bilateral and multilateral occasions, expressed their intention to actively participate in the BRI. The BRI’s attraction lies not in China’s glowing praises but the fact that everyone stands to gain through this platform.

2. The continuous rise of China’s comprehensive strength is the motive power behind the implementation of the BRI. Forty years of Reform and Opening Up has witnessed a turnaround in China’s strength. China used to rely on imported goods, equipment, technologies and foreign investment. But now, China is capable of providing state-of-the-art equipment, technologies, civil-use goods, and vast amounts of capital. For example, in building infrastructure, China can design and manufacture most of the necessary heavy equipment and has in many ways overtaken developed countries including the United States. Speaking of the speed and quality of infrastructure construction, China has topped the world. For instance, China’s engineering teams can build high-speed railways, expressways, and transport facilities of all sorts in the most extreme natural environments and with the most complicated geological conditions. According to Chinese experts
on high-speed railway, China is even able to link Beijing and New York with a high-speed railway, not to mention building Beijing-Moscow, Beijing-West Europe, and Beijing-South Asia railways. Infrastructure building, a pillar of “Belt and Road” projects, is exactly China’s area of strength.

3. A solid foundation has been laid for the success of the BRI. The “Belt and Road Initiative” was not proposed on a whim, but as a result of historical development. In fact, in the early 1990s, shortly after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, China began its discussions on reviving the ancient Silk Road with newly independent countries in Central Asia. Negotiations then mainly focused on concrete issues such as improving the capacity of bilateral rail, road and air transport, and expanding trade, but systemic topics including policy coordination, facilities connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration and people-to-people bonds were also touched upon in practice.

From the 1980s, China has gradually set up bilateral or multilateral trade cooperation mechanisms with other countries on the Eurasia Continent, Southeast Asian countries in particular. And the BRI intends to integrate those existing mechanisms into a larger platform. In the last four years, the BRI has had some early harvests. From 2014 to 2016, the trade volume between China and countries along the route of the Belt and Road registered over three trillion USD, and China invested over 50 billion USD in those countries. Chinese companies have established 56 trade and economic cooperation zones in more than 20 countries, creating 1.1 billion USD in tax income and 180,000 job opportunities for countries involved. It is thus fair to say that, the Belt and Road platform is a public good offered by China, which also facilitates
cooperation between other countries on this platform.

4. China’s dual role as the largest product consumer and the largest product exporter will do good to cementing the foundation for cooperation under the framework of the BRI. In January 2017, Xi Jinping announced at the United Nations Office in Geneva that, “In the coming five years, China will import eight trillion US dollars of goods, attract 600 billion US dollars of foreign investment, make 750 billion US dollars of outbound investment, and Chinese tourists will make 700 million outbound visits.” Xi’s remarks once again demonstrated China’s willingness to exchange needed goods with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. By contrast, some countries are a bit “selfish”, in that they desire only selling and no purchase. In fact, the future for asymmetric trade is increasingly gloomy in a globalized era. China has repeatedly declared that, any cooperation approach, especially trade, should be reciprocal. China indeed has a huge export volume, but it is at the same time a huge market. China is willing to exchange needed goods in accordance with international rules. It is known that, in the past five years, the Westernization trend of Chinese consumers’ lifestyle has led to a growth spurt in the consumption of high-end consumer goods from overseas. China’s per capita GDP stands at nearly 9,000 USD, and will reach somewhere between 15,000 and 20,000 USD in ten years. By then, China will have become a larger market and a paradise for the world’s consumers and investors. Therefore, China’s growth as an exporter and market will for sure spur the in-depth development of “Belt and Road” cooperation.

5. Incorporation of pursuing the BRI into the Constitution of the Communist Party of China (CPC) is the political guarantee for
the success of the BRI. The 19th CPC National Congress convened last year laid out a clear blueprint for the future three decades of China’s development: domestically, China will eradicate poverty and become a great modern country till the mid-21st century; internationally, China will champion the development of a community with shared future for mankind, and build a harmonious world with lasting peace and shared prosperity. China’s development achievements since 1949, particularly since 1978, have fully demonstrated the appeal, cohesiveness and maturity of the Communist Party of China. Writing the BRI into the Party Constitution proves the extreme importance that the CPC attaches to the BRI. It is expected that the BRI will be pushed forward across-the-board since the CPC regards the development of the BRI as its key objective.

6. Chinese companies are more resilient in front of challenges and risks. In the development of the BRI, companies are the major players and the new forces in linking up Chinese and foreign stakeholders. Some have succeeded, while some have failed. Some Chinese experts lay emphasis on the risks and challenges when they talk about the BRI, and they call on decision-makers to give more consideration to the risks and challenges and weigh the pros and cons. They are well-intentioned in doing so because some regions along the route of the Belt and Road face political turbulence, terrorist activities, currency depreciation and regime changes. Any company should be well-prepared because no one wants to run into any trouble overseas. However, I think risks and challenges will not prevail although they are inevitable.

In a word, the BRI is building up its attraction and offering positive energy to settle problems. Having demonstrated China’s
sense of responsibility and its invaluable philosophy of cooperation and win-win outcome in the New Era, this unprecedented cooperation platform deserves the name of an effective platform for building a community of shared future for mankind. We are fully confident about the prospects of the BRI.
Belt and Road Initiative: Why, What and How
By Hu Biliang*

I. Why was the Belt and Road Initiative put forward?

From an overall point of view, the Belt and Road Initiative was put forward after taking into consideration both international and domestic situations with an aim to solving a series of important issues facing China and the world in their development for a fairly long period of time to come, and is therefore an initiative of strategic significance. If well-implemented, the Belt and Road Initiative will have a direct positive impact on the resolution of many global issues and contribute to economic and social development of China and participating countries.

From an international point of view, the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative was directly linked with the following factors.

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1. **In terms of the world economy.** The 2008 financial and economic crisis affected the whole world and countries were negatively impacted to varying degrees, with the EU countries being the ones that were most severely hit and undergoing a longer duration of impact (graph 1). In 2010, thanks to the concerted efforts of different countries and the international community as a whole, the world economy realized quite strong recovery, but it quickly turned downward and began to shrink again (graph 1).

![Graph 1](https://www.imf.org/en/data)

**Graph 1, world economic growth 2000-2016**


In order to provide strong momentum for world economic recovery, President Xi Jinping put forward the Belt and Road Initiative in the fall of 2013 on behalf of China, calling on all countries to join the Belt and Road Initiative in an effort to
generate stronger momentum for world economic recovery and push the world economy toward an upward trajectory.

First, the joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative directly involves a large amount of infrastructure projects, such as roads, railways, airports, ports, oil and gas pipelines, power stations (hydropower and nuclear power stations), all of which will spur rapid growth of investments in fixed assets in a short period of time. At the same time, they will fairly quickly create new job opportunities and increase people’s income, which, to some extent, will raise consumption.

Second, the joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative is conducive to promoting the rebalance of world economic recovery. In a quite long period of time in the past, the world economy was mainly driven by developed countries. The situation later changed, and especially after the 2008 financial crisis, emerging market economies and developing countries saw their share in world economic growth rise rapidly, and they became another important engine for the world economy. The Belt and Road Initiative will further strengthen the contribution of emerging market economies and developing countries to the world economy and help balance growth in the world.

Third, the joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative and better connectivity in the world in terms of infrastructure, trade and investment as well as finance will be helpful for the formation of a new mechanism for global growth, as better global connectivity means that with their different economic factors including natural resources, capital and labor force operating under the market mechanism, the comparative advantages of different
countries can be better leveraged, and the world will witness more mutually reinforcing growth.

2. **In term of globalization.** Undoubtedly, globalization has brought positive effects to all countries. However, the studies of some scholars also show that globalization has enlarged, instead of narrowing, the imbalance. Compounded with the industrial hollowing-out phenomenon in some countries and regions caused by the global distribution of factors of production, especially the hollowing-out phenomenon in the manufacturing sector, unemployment has been rising instead of falling in some countries and regions. Hence we have witnessed certain phenomena of de-globalization and even anti-globalization.

However, the problem is that globalization cannot be stopped at whim. Globalization is an objective historical trend, and President Xi Jinping has pointed out that any attempt to cut off the flow of capital, technologies, products, industries and people between economies, and channel the waters in the ocean back into isolated lakes and creeks is simply not possible and runs counter to the historical trend. The correct method is to transform and upgrade the current globalization to work for an economic globalization that is more open, tolerant, inclusive, balanced and mutually beneficial.

How to enable globalization to transform and upgrade toward a better direction? The joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative can be an effective way, because the long-term goals, basic principles, main methods and results of the Belt and Road Initiative are highly aligned with the objectives and necessary work of the transformation and upgrading of globalization.
3. In terms of global governance. Currently, global issues have been increasing, not decreasing, and issues in some areas have exacerbated. Of course, this is closely linked with the unsuitable globalization model and also directly due to the insufficiency and inadequacy in the current global governance system. This is what President Xi Jinping means by the worldwide issue of “governance deficit”. Therefore, we need to improve the efficiency of the existing global governance system through reforms on the one hand, and provide more and better public goods for the world through the additional provision of global governance on the other.

The joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative hopes to help reform the current global governance system to build a new one that can be balanced and inclusive, and also tries to enlarge and strengthen the accumulation of global governance, for example the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) provides new financing resources for infrastructure development in the world.

4. In terms of international cooperation. For a long time, the models for international cooperation have been heavily influenced by traditional geopolitics. An important purpose of the joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative is to spread the Silk Road spirit characterized by peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning, mutual benefit and win-win results as well as the BRICS spirit of openness, inclusiveness, cooperation and win-win results, and build a new cooperation system that is completely open not only on the regional level, but also on the global level, with which countries big or small, rich or poor, will have equal participation, development and benefit under equal rules. The development of the Belt and Road Initiative does not exclude any country, nor does any country have any prerogatives.
Therefore, the Belt and Road Initiative has in fact created a new and innovative platform for international cooperation on regional and global connectivity, which will accelerate regional integration and globalization.

5. **In terms of a community of shared future for mankind.** President Xi Jinping talked about the idea of a community of shared future for mankind on many occasions, and the essence is that the future and destiny of mankind need the joint efforts of all countries and peoples. Therefore, countries around the world should unite and jointly create a bright future for mankind and people in all countries. How do we build the shared future for mankind? The basic principle is we must adhere to peaceful coexistence and common development, the basic content is all countries must jointly build a world of lasting peace, common security, shared prosperity, openness and inclusiveness as well as cleanness and pleasantness, and the main methods include dialogue and consultation, joint development and sharing, cooperation and mutual benefit, exchanges and mutual learning as well as green and low-carbon development. How do we implement that? The Belt and Road Initiative is a platform for such implementation. All countries, by jointly consulting, building and sharing the Belt and Road Initiative, can make our planet and world a better place.

From a domestic point of view, the development of the Belt and Road Initiative is also of great strategic significance.

1. **Opening-up.** China’s proposal of the Belt and Road Initiative is a new measure for advancing opening-up under the new historical conditions. As proven by our implementation, since the adoption of reform and opening-up 40 years ago, opening-up
has played a very important role in China’s economic and social development and is an extremely important driving force (graph 2).

![Graph 2: China’s opening-up and economic growth (1979-2016)](image)

Source: relevant years in *China Statistics Yearbook* by National Statistics Bureau, China Statistics Publishing House. Note: GDP increases in the graph are all calculated based on the real GDP of 1978 as the base. Unit is 100 million RMB. Statistics on foreign direct investment is collected from the volume of utilized foreign investment published by the National Statistics Bureau, unit is 100 million USD.

Opening-up has not only greatly increased the size of the economy, but also structurally facilitated China’s development. One example is that as companies engaged in custom manufacturing with materials, designs or samples supplied by foreign partners or
subsidized trade fluxed into Dongguan, Guangdong Province, not only has the urban economy developed, but the rural areas have all become important manufacturing bases for the world, which led to the rapid transformation of rural population to urban population and rural areas to urban areas, basically realizing industrialization and urbanization.

As China’s development enters the new era, how do we create a new landscape for comprehensive opening-up? Currently speaking, it can be advanced and deepened by working together with other countries to build the Belt and Road Initiative.

2. Better implementation of other development strategies. Thanks to the development of the Belt and Road Initiative, infrastructure between China’s remote areas in the west and neighboring countries has been improved and the economic ties have been strengthened, which is conducive to further poverty alleviation. Under the Belt and Road Initiative framework, we can use bilateral or multilateral financial cooperation to promote the process of RMB’s internationalization. This will help China’s opening-up and development advance, and also gradually improve the international monetary system, especially contributing to the financial markets of countries along the Belt and Road Initiative, which have been volatile for a long time. Additionally, international cooperation on the Belt and Road Initiative will be of direct benefit to the more effective implementation of China’s strategy of peaceful development and the further flourishing of the Chinese culture amidst the exchanges and mutual learning between the cultures of China and other countries.
II. What does the Belt and Road Initiative do?

President Xi Jinping has put forward five areas of connectivity to develop the Belt and Road Initiatives, namely, connectivity in terms of policy, infrastructure, trade, finance and people-to-people exchanges. These five areas of connectivity are the fundamental aspects of the development of the Belt and Road Initiative. The basic content and thinking is to build stronger and better global connectivity and make the world a more connected place. So far, the following six areas have been the main embodiments.

1. **Policy coordination and communication.** This is the beginning of the Belt and Road Initiative and also its basic safeguard. Responsible government departments of all relevant countries will, under the basic consensus and framework of the joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative, conduct in-depth studies and evaluation of their respective development strategies and work to find points of convergence and draft cooperation plans. Policies will be formulated based on how development strategies link up and policy coordination between different countries should be achieved.

2. **Development of economic corridors.** This is the main part and essence of the development of the Belt and Road Initiative. So far, there are the following six economic corridors being planned and built by relevant countries under the Belt and Road Initiative framework.

   (1) New Eurasian Land Bridge Economic Corridor. This economic corridor is formed along the Trans-Eurasian International Railway from Lianyungang, Jiangsu Province of China, to
Rotterdam, the Netherlands, and its surrounding regions. The early function of this economic corridor used to be mainly about delivery of commodities between China and European countries. Changes have been taking place after the Belt and Road Initiative was put forward: first, there has been rapid and significance increase in the number of China-Europe Block Trains, and more cities have been connected to such trains. Latest figures show that in 2017 alone, there have been 3,600 China-Europe Block Trains, which was more than the total number of trains from 2011 to the end of 2016. At the same time, cities served by such trains have increased from less than 10 in 2010 to 35, and there are 34 destinations in 12 European countries.

Second, based on the major cities along this railway artery, some unique industrial parks have already been or are being developed, including logistics parks, trade cooperation zones, etc. The China-Kazakhstan (Lianyungang) Logistics Cooperation Base is the first such zone for the Belt and Road Initiative, and the China-Kazakhstan Khorgos International Border Cooperation Center is also under development and will be completed by 2019.

(2) China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor. This economic corridor stretches from China’s Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region and Northeast region toward the north, passing through Mongolia and reaching Russia’s Mideast regions. The main purpose of this economic corridor is to connect China’s Silk Road Economic Belt with Russia’s construction plan of Transcontinental Rail Plan and Mongolia’s Prairie Road program.

In terms of specific projects, there are three: first, the Moscow-Kazan high speed railway project, which has basically completed
its study and designing stage; second, the railway project between China’s Arshan City in Inner Mongolia to Mongolia’s Choibalsan City in Dornod Province, which will take about three years; third, the Ceke Cross-border Railway project, which connects China and Mongolia and promotes their trade development. This project is currently being built.

(3) China-Central Asia-West Asia Economic Corridor. This economic corridor runs from Xinjiang, China to Central Asia and then the Persian Gulf, Mediterranean and Arabian Peninsula. Key cooperation areas for countries along this economic corridor are energy and infrastructure. The A/B/C lines of the gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to China have been completed and started operation while the D line is still under construction. The Angren Power Plant built by China in Uzbekistan has been completed and started power generation, first phase of the No.2 Power Plant in Dushanbe, Tajikistan built by China has been integrated into power grid and started power and heat supply, The Vahdat-Yovon railway project built by China in Tajikistan has been successfully completed, the high speed rail in Turkey from Ankara to Istanbul built by China has been finished, and the Angren-Pap railway channel built by China in Uzbekistan has also been successfully put into operation.

(4) China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. This economic corridor runs from Kashgar in China’s Xinjiang to Gwadar in Pakistan and includes the surrounding areas. The development of this economic corridor involves transport infrastructure, energy infrastructure, ports, industrial zones and maritime resources.

In terms of transport infrastructure, first, the second expansion project of the Karakoram Road will extend further from the current
road into Pakistan’s central areas; second, the highway project linking Pakistan’s Sukkur and Multan; third, the upgrading of Pakistan’s No. 1 Railway Line to further connect with China.

In terms of energy infrastructure, first, the Sahiwal Power Plant project in Punjab, Pakistan, has been put into operation on June 8, 2017, and is expected to meet 25% of Pakistan’s power needs; second, the Port Qasim Coal Power Plant is expected to be completed in June, 2018 and can solve the electricity problem for more than 10 million people (China Thermal Power Net, 2017); third, the Karot Hydropower Plant project is expected to finish in 2021 with an annual capacity of 3.2 billion kilowatt-hour.

Additionally, the Gwadar Port project is also a very important one, which includes coastal highway, dykes, international airport and infrastructure for free trade zones.

(5) Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor. This economic corridor runs from China’s southwest through Myanmar and Bangladesh toward India, and is also called the Southwestern Asian Land Bridge Economic Corridor. An important project of it, the China-Myanmar Oil and Gas Pipeline project, has been completed. The gas pipeline has been put into operation in October 2013 and the oil pipeline in April, 2017.

(6) China-Indochina Peninsula Economic Corridor. This economic corridor runs from China’s southwest in Yunnan and Guangxi through Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand and Malaysia toward Singapore. Important projects include Jakarta-Bandung High Speed Railway project in Indonesia, China-Thailand railway project, China-Laos railway project and the Joint
China-Laos Mohan-Boten Economic Cooperation Zone project.

3. Multi-country and multi-port construction. Strengthening key port construction is an important part of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. Key ports in China include Shanghai, Tianjin, Ningbo-Zhoushan, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Zhanjiang, Shantou, Qingdao, Yantai, Dalian, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Quanzhou, Haikou and Sanya, while unique roles of Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions will be fully utilized. Key ports under joint development with relevant countries include Gwadar Port in Pakistan, Hambantota Port and Container Dock of Colombo in Sri Lanka, Piraeus Port in Greece, Kyaukpyu Port in Myanmar, New Haifa Port in Israel, Port Said, Port Ain Sokhna and Port Damietta in Egypt, Port of Singapore, Port Antwerp and Zeebrugge Dock in Belgium, Naples in Italy and Kuantan Port in Malaysia.

4. Chinese enterprises “going global”. The development of the Belt and Road Initiative will mainly rely on joint project development. For projects, the main driving force comes from enterprises. Because the Belt and Road Initiative is at its early stage and mainly involves large-scale projects on infrastructure, significant capital, long time and advanced technology are required, which means that China’s state-owned companies are more suitable; however, as the Belt and Road Initiative develops in depth, more business opportunities will emerge that are more suited to different types of enterprises, particularly private companies. Studies show that after the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative, Chinese companies have accelerated their speed of “going global”, especially in terms of development industrial parks. A case in point is the Thailand-China Rayong Industrial Park.
5. **Financial innovation.** Countries along the Belt and Road Initiative have relevantly less developed economy due to one important reason, which is the severe shortage of capital for development purposes and outside capital is required as an important complement. Currently, it’s hard for the global financial governance system such as the World Bank and Asia Development Bank to provide sufficient fund for these countries, and we must resort to financial innovation to provide new funding. Considering the investment required by the infrastructure development under the Belt and Road Initiative, there is an even greater amount of capital needed, and we must find new ways.

Therefore, President Xi Jinping put forward the proposal in October 2013 on setting up the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank to support infrastructure development and connectivity of developing countries, especially those in Asia. In January 2016, the AIIB was officially opened, and issued 1.73 billion USD in loans that year in support of infrastructure projects in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Tajikistan and Indonesia. The Silk Road Fund was officially stared in December 2014 and by the end of the first quarter of 2017, it has signed 15 projects and pledged 6 billion USD for infrastructure, energy development, industrial cooperation and financial cooperation in Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia and West Asia and North Africa. What’s more, the New Development Bank of BRICS, which started operation in July 2015, also provided loans to countries along the Belt and Road Initiative.

China’s financial institutions have also been conducting financial innovation to provide more loans to the Belt and Road Initiative. China Development Bank has issued more than 160
billion USD in loans to countries along the Belt and Road Initiative by the end of 2016 with a key focus on supporting infrastructure, connectivity, industrial cooperation, energy and resources and people’s wellbeing. The Export-Import Bank of China and Industrial and Commercial Bank of China has also given huge financial support to the Belt and Road Initiative.

6. Comprehensive cooperation. The Belt and Road Initiative, to a large extent, aims at building a new platform for international cooperation so that all countries can use this new platform to carry out cooperation on education, science and technology, medical care, tourism and culture and ultimately make the world we live in a better place.

III. How do we develop the Belt and Road Initiative?

If there is no good way to implement, a good initiative cannot have good results. Therefore, the “how” part of the issue is also very important. Based on the current experience and lessons, it’s crucial to stick to the following four points.

1. Joint consultation, development and sharing. The joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative is a basic concept for an open and inclusive system. Under this concept, all countries are entitled to equal rights of participation, and the key is to take into consideration the common interests of all parties. How do we make sure that interests of all parties can be guaranteed at the very beginning? The practice now is to have close integration of development strategies by different participants and they should jointly formulate specific plans for the joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative and incorporate the interests of all sides.
Later, based on the needs and actual situations of participants in joint development, we can identify their respective responsibilities and obligations. Finally, interests and benefits will be gained in light of the different responsibilities and obligations. At the end of the day, the most important thing about seeking a right balance between different interests is to have consultation and joint participation for win-win outcomes.

2. Government-guided, market-led and enterprises-implemented. The joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative has some unique features, one of which is that it’s very important to have top-level design, including coordination and communication on strategies and policies. Therefore, governments of relevant countries play a special and important role. But the foundation of cooperation is still the basic market principles and the market is still the ultimate driving force and guarantee for the success of international cooperation on the Belt and Road Initiative. Talking about such cooperation with no heed to the force of the market is doomed to fail, and on the contrary, if enterprises conduct their businesses activities according to market principles, even if their businesses encounter temporary effects due to non-market forces such as political reasons, they will always ultimately come back to the proper market operation. For example, the port projects in Sri Lanka undertaken by China Communications Construction Company was started in the previous Sri Lankan administration, and was affected and experienced one-year stop after the change of government. However, once after being carefully verified by the new Sri Lankan government, it came to the conclusion that this project was in complete agreement with market principles and is business in nature, and normal operation was restored.
Be it government-guided or market-led, it will always go to the enterprises, because enterprises are the operators of the market and implementers of projects. Without enterprises, it will be meaningless to talk about government-guided or market-led. Therefore, there must have proper relationship between the government, market and enterprises in the development of the Belt and Road Initiative.

3. Project implementation and practical cooperation. International cooperation on the Belt and Road Initiative concerns many aspects, but ultimately it’s about the implementation of specific projects, which has to be done through enterprises and companies. By the end of May 2017, of the 98 state-owned companies in China, 47 of them have participated in the Belt and Road Initiative in different ways in 1,676 projects (Information Office of the State Council, 2017), mainly focusing on infrastructure, energy development, industrial cooperation and industrial park cooperation.

For example, China Communications Construction Company has built more than 10,000 kilometers of road in countries along the Belt and Road Initiative. When I was doing research in Kyrgyzstan, local government officials told me that 80% of road in Kyrgyzstan were built by that companies. In addition, this company also built many other railways, such as the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway in Kenya and major projects like the Gwadar Port in Pakistan.

4. Mutually reinforcing software and hardware and their close integration. Hardware mainly means capital and technology, while software is shown as culture, concept and thinking. Because
countries along the Belt and Road Initiative have huge differences in languages, cultures, religions, customs and traditions, a lot of problems will happen and cooperation may even fail if we cannot learn and understand from each other.

**IV. What are the prospects for the development of the Belt and Road Initiative?**

After spending a few recent years studying the development projects of the Belt and Road Initiative, I have come to the following four preliminary conclusions: first, the Belt and Road Initiative proactively responds to the current requirements of the international community and is in line with the development trend and expectations of history; second, this initiative has received positive response from some countries; third, the joint development of the Belt and Road Initiative has already brought some new business opportunities for participating countries and yielded early results; fourth, the promotion of the Belt and Road Initiative also helps China to build a brand-new structure for opening-up in the new age. Therefore, I’m optimistic about the development of the Belt and Road Initiative on the whole.

First, this is a positive initiative. There are three reasons why the Belt and Road Initiative can very likely advance history in the correct direction: firstly, promoting the transformation and upgrading of the current globalization and achieve a new type of better globalization that fits the requirements of development in the new age; secondly, providing more and better global public goods, such as the AIIB and New Development Bank of BRICS; thirdly, providing a new platform and model for international cooperation where all countries can participate in open, inclusive, practical and
win-win cooperation through joint consultation, development and sharing.

Second, many countries have started actively participating in the practical implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative and some countries have already started to carry out relevant projects. There is also already a good environment internationally for advancing the Belt and Road Initiative.

Third, so far the development of the Belt and Road Initiative has brought tangible benefit to some countries. For example, the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway in Kenya has created 38,000 jobs directly and much more indirectly. According to the estimation of the Kenyan government, after the completion of this railway, cargo transportation costs in East Africa will drop by 79% and Kenya’s economy will grow by 1.5 percentage points more annually. Another example is the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, which will enable tens of millions of Pakistanis to benefit from it. In a nutshell, Chinese enterprises’ participation in relevant projects will create new jobs for the local communities, improve infrastructure and promote local economic growth.

My feeling from the recent years of field studies about the Belt and Road Initiative is that it has really created new opportunities for relevant countries. Such new development opportunities are mainly about two aspects: first, new opportunities created by better infrastructure and connectivity; second, new opportunities created by industrial cooperation. I have discovered that opportunities tend to be greater in sectors such as mining, agriculture and agricultural products processing, manufacturing (especially iron and steel, cement, textile and machinery), energy (oil, gas and hydropower),
infrastructure, real estate and the service industry (particularly tourism and traditional Chinese medicines).

To summarize, the Belt and Road Initiative has a positive trajectory and optimistic future. With close cooperation from participating countries, we will achieve good results and make the world we share a better place.
The Belt and Road Initiative Should Become a New Platform for Mutually Beneficial Cooperation between China and Japan

By Yan Shenchun*

I. Japan’s attitude towards the Belt and Road Initiative shifted from questioning and criticism to active participation

(I) Japan once thought that both the Belt and Road Initiative and the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) were going to fail.

Ever since China put forward the Belt and Road Initiative and proposed the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in 2013, Japan has been generally holding a negative and skeptical view. The mainstream view is that the Belt and Road Initiative is China’s geopolitical and geoeconomic strategy through outward expansion of its economic strength. It aims at building a China-centric "geoeconomic circle" and establishing a China-led new regional and international order and thus it poses a serious challenge to the "liberal international order"

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dominated by the United States, Japan and other Western countries. Meanwhile, China remains a developing country with tens of millions of people living under poverty line and still receives loans from international agencies such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Against such backdrop, China’s grand strategic vision of building a self-dominated multilateral development bank and investing heavily in countries across Asia, Europe and Africa is too ambitious to succeed.

Japan was especially concerned about the direct impact that the the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) may have on the Japan-led Asian Development Bank. At first, there were many dismissive comments on the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in Japan, portraying it as nothing more than a doomed multilateral platform or international agency repacked and transformed from China’s originally bilateral infrastructure financing scheme for some poor Asian neighbors. Internal assessments by Japan’s Foreign Ministry, Finance Ministry and the ruling Liberal Democratic Party all believed that not only would United States publicly oppose the the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), but also European countries would not participate. Contrary to Japan’s assessment, a group of Western countries such as the UK, Germany announced their accession to the bank before the registration deadline for prospective founding members on March 14, 2015, which greatly shocked the Japanese leadership.

In the same year, Japan lost to China in bidding for the Jakarta-Bandung high speed rail project in Indonesia, which was also a big shock to Japan. Japan initially felt very confident about obtaining this project since it had already made a feasibility
study in 2011, thus seizing the first chance. In fact, Japan has long been Indonesia's largest source of foreign investment, with many Japanese firms investing in Indonesia for several decades, cultivating a large number of connections. Most members of Indonesian President Joko Widodo’s cabinet have some sort of origins with Japan. When cabinet meeting discussed the bidding between China and Japan, only President Joko Widodo and the Minister for State-Owned Enterprises Rini Soemarno supported China, while the Vice President and other ministers unanimously backing Japan. However, China eventually won the project. Jakarta-Bandung high-speed railway project is not only a landmark project of the Belt and Road Initiative, but also the first time for Chinese and Japanese enterprises to directly compete for such high-end overseas infrastructure projects. Japan’s failure greatly impinged on its confidence. Japan has to gradually recognize China's strength and seriously consider proper way of handling its competition or cooperation with China.

(II) Since May 2017, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has made many positive statements on the Belt and Road Initiative, claiming that Japan and China can work together vigorously in this regard.

In May 2017, the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation was held in Beijing. Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party Secretary-General Toshihiro Nikai attended the forum on behalf of the Japanese government. Matsumura Yoshifumi, State Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry, and Takaya Imai, Abe's executive secretary and close confidant were also in the Japanese delegation. Mr. Nikai paid a special visit to Prime Minister Abe before visiting China, and Abe asked him to forward a personal
letter to Chinese President Xi Jinping. Abe’s above-mentioned move signaled that his attitude towards the Belt and Road Initiative has undergone significant changes.

On June 5 of the same year, Prime Minister Abe delivered a speech at an international conference held in Tokyo. For the first time, he publicly praised the Belt and Road as a promising initiative that "holds the potential to connect East and West as well as the diverse regions found in between” and he also added that "Japan is ready to extend cooperation". On November 14, when meeting with Chinese Premier Li Keqiang in Manila at the sidelines of the ASEAN related leaders meetings, Prime Minister Abe expressed his hope that “the Belt and Road Initiative will contribute to world peace and prosperity” and “Japan hopes to cooperate with China from this point of view”. On the night of December 4, delivering a speech at a dialogue between Chinese and Japanese business executives and former senior government officials in Tokyo, Prime Minister Abe said he believed “Japan will be able to cooperate well with China on the Belt and Road Initiative”. Abe also said “the Japanese government envisions the two countries cooperating in the development of infrastructure in Asia”.

II. Reasons behind the shift of the Japanese government's attitude towards the Belt and Road Initiative

The above-mentioned shift in the attitude of the Japanese government towards the Belt and Road Initiative is mainly a tactical policy adjustment made according to the needs to attain real interests and reflects the following strategic considerations by Japan:
(I) The actual economic interest is the most important internal cause for the shift in the attitude of the Japanese side.

The Belt and Road Initiative contains enormous business opportunities and economic benefits. As its population plummets year by year, coupled with small and saturated domestic market, Japan’s economic recovery and sustainable development rely heavily on the huge Chinese market as well as the even broader Eurasian market. The successfully launched Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) has been operating quite well, winning the highest rating from international rating agencies. The Belt and Road Initiative has received positive responses and support from more than 100 countries and international organizations including many developed countries. More than 40 of them have signed cooperation agreements with China in areas such as connectivity, industrial capacity cooperation and financial support. Lured by enormous economic benefits and prospects, the Japanese side began to gradually change its confrontation mentality and seek some degree of cooperation with China.

In fact, the Japanese business community has long been enthusiastic about participating in the Belt and Road Initiative. There are over 23,000 Japanese enterprises investing in China, all of whom are direct beneficiaries of the Belt and Road Initiative and many have already taken concrete actions to participate in the cooperation. Nippon Express, Japan's largest logistics company, actively seizes the business opportunities brought about by the Belt and Road Initiative. The firm has been assisting Japanese enterprises in China to regularly transport their goods to European market in cooperation with China Railway Corporation and Kazakhstan national railway company (known as Kazakhstan Temir
Zholy). From early 2018, the logistics firm started to provide joint land and sea transport services between Japan and Europe via sea lanes between China and Japan and trans-Eurasia trains that run through China, Central Asia and Europe. Nippon Express is just a microcosm of the many Japanese enterprises that have benefited from the Belt and Road Initiative. In June 2017, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry in China, the biggest Japanese business lobby group in China, set up a liaison council on the Belt and Road Initiative, which helps members share information and serves as a platform of liaison with the Chinese government and business community.

(II) Improving the relations with China and stabilizing its neighborhood environment are the real political needs for the change of Japan’s attitude.

Ever since assuming office in late 2012, Prime Minister Abe has been vigorously pursuing a “diplomacy that takes a panoramic perspective of the world map”, which has seen him traveling around the globe. However, he has not yet has a chance to pay a formal visit to China, let alone his failure to improve relations with China, South Korea and Russia, the three most important neighbors. Getting rid of the post-war system, becoming a "normal state" by revising the pacifist Constitution and building a strong military force have been the unswerving pursuit of the Japanese political elite since the end of the Cold War and it is also the life-long political mission of Abe.

To achieve this goal, obtaining certain degree of the understanding from important neighboring countries is an indispensable condition. Ever since the “collision incident” around
Chinese islands of Diaoyu (known as Senkaku Islands in Japan) happened in 2010, the bilateral relations between China and Japan has been deteriorating. Following that, a series of other incidents such as the "Diaoyu Islands nationalization" and the visit by Abe to Yasukuni Shrine, a symbol of militarism which honors war dead, including 14 confirmed WWII Class-A war criminals, all inflicted more damaging effects on the chilling relations, which plunged to their lowest point since the two countries normalized ties in 1972. In November 2014, after many rounds of hard negotiations, the two sides reached a "four-point principled consensus," aiming to bring the derailed bilateral relations back on moral track, but the process of improvement has been unsteady until it gradually stabilized in the first half of 2017.

In May 2017, Abe dispatched Toshihiro Nikai, Secretary-General of the Liberal Democratic Party and known as a leading pro-China figure in LDP to attend the Belt and Road Forum on International Cooperation held in Beijing. In his meeting with Chinese President Xi Jinping, Nikai hand-delivered Abe’s personal letter calling for mutual visits by top leaders of the two countries. Japanese media commented that Abe's cooperative attitude towards the Belt and Road Initiative is sending a strong signal that he is determined to improve the stalled Japan-China relations.

Later, on 28th September, in a very rare move, Prime Minister Abe attended a reception held by the Chinese Embassy in Tokyo marking Chinese National Day and the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Japan. Delivering a speech to the 2000 strong audience, he proposed "three steps" to improve Japan-China relations, i.e. first inviting Premier Li Keqiang to visit Japan, followed by Abe’s visit to China
and finally inviting President Xi Jinping to visit Japan. Abe said that stronger cooperation between Japan and China is not only important to both countries, but also indispensable to peace and prosperity of Asia, given the current situation in the region. He also stressed that he is willing to make efforts to strengthen the bilateral ties based on the idea of strategic and mutually beneficial relations.

Local Japanese media commented that Prime Minister Abe’s unusual move highlights that he pays great attention to bilateral relations and expresses his strong desire to restore high-level exchange of visits as soon as possible and comprehensively move the relations forward. Considering his increasingly consolidated position in Japanese domestic politics, Prime Minister Abe is less constrained to invest more political capital in improving relations with China.

(III) To ease the pressure brought to Japan by Trump Administration's "America First" policy is an important external factor for the Japanese government’s change of positions.

Ever since Donald Trump took U.S. presidency, he has been pursuing an "American First" policy, sparing no efforts in advocating trade protectionism. Shortly after his inauguration, President Trump withdrew the U.S. from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which Japan regards as an critical treaty to forge an economic alliance with the US and to dominate the economic order in the Asia-Pacific. Japan has overcome so many domestic obstacles and spent years of efforts to reach agreement. President Trump has also launched a trade war against countries around the world and even US allies cannot be exceptional. In fact, President Trump even put enormous pressure on Japan, the second largest
source of trade deficit for the US, directly demanding Japan to cut trade surplus. All these US maneuvers had greatly disappointed Japan.

Meanwhile, in the minds of Japanese political elites, the shadow of "over-head diplomacy" pursued by China and the United States during the Cold War has always been lingering. In June 2017, President Trump first expressed his willingness to cooperate with China on the Belt and Road infrastructure project. One month earlier, the United States also sent its official representatives to attend the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation held in Beijing. The shift in U.S. attitude has alarmed and touched Japan very much. Since the Trump Administration is not reliable, it is better for Japan to rely on itself. To improve its relations with China become more necessary than ever amid an increasingly uncertain world and seeking cooperation with China on the Belt and Road Initiative is a must as well as good starting point.

In addition, Western developed countries such as the UK, France, Germany and Australia all have relatively positive attitudes toward the Belt and Road Initiative. The UK, France, and South Korea etc. have also signed memorandums of understanding with the Chinese government on strengthening cooperation in third country’s market under the framework of Belt and Road Initiative, which also brought some peer pressure for Japan.

III. Japan's participation in the Belt and Road Initiative is conducive to a better international environment for relevant cooperation

(1) Japan's participation can help reflect the essence of the
Belt and Road Initiative as an open and inclusive one for international cooperation.

As a spokesperson of the Chinese Foreign Ministry said in response to Japan's change of attitude, the Belt and Road Initiative is an open and inclusive platform for international cooperation and an important international public product. It was proposed by China, but it belongs to the world. The Belt and Road Initiative upholds the principle of "achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration" and any country in the world can participate in it. In this sense, it is of positive significance for Japan, the world’s third largest economy, to participate in the initiative.

(II) Japan's participation will help to expand the sources of funding and ensure the sustainability of financing for related projects.

According to a report estimate by the Asian Development Bank, infrastructure financing needs in Asia alone will reach 8.7 trillion U.S. dollars for the next ten years. The demand for industrial investment in countries along the Belt and Road is even greater. In face of such a huge financing need, China alone can not meet it and a diversified source of financing should be pursued.

(III) Japan's participation will help reduce the vicious competition between China and Japan and achieve complementary cooperation.

Japan has worked hard for decades in Asia and accumulated very deep political, economic and social connections through
official development aid (ODA), investment and personnel training etc. In particular, Japanese firms are investing heavily in Southeast Asia and South Asia, with very rich experience in international operations and local project management. This is exactly what Chinese enterprises as later-comers, must learn to do well on the path of internationalization. Chinese companies can better overcome their shortcomings by working with Japanese counterparts. In the meantime, Chinese enterprises have been "going global" with unprecedented scale and speed and enjoy a upper hand in expanding markets in Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. It is entirely possible for Chinese and Japanese enterprises to work together to complement each other and achieve common development.

In addition, many small and medium-sized Asian countries generally follow a strategy of balance of powers. While actively participating in the Belt and Road Initiative, they are also worried about over-reliance on China economically, in particular considering that many large-scale infrastructure projects are vital to the economic lifelines of the country. If Chinese and Japanese companies can jointly build related projects, it will not only help to avoid vicious competition and share commercial risk between China and Japan, but also help to alleviate the host country's above concerns.

It should also be noted that the Japanese government still has a clear "two-faced" policy on China. On the one hand, Japan intents to check and balance China with respect to political and security issues, and on the other hand, Japan seeks strengthening cooperation with China in economic and social fields. As a matter of fact, the Japanese government has set a precondition
for its participation in the Belt and Road cooperation. In a speech delivered on the evening of December 4, 2017, Prime Minister Abe claimed that Japan must ensure the region from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean a free and open area, with fairness and transparency as indispensable elements. Based on its "Indo-Pacific Strategy", Japan is willing to cooperate with China on the Belt and Road Initiative. According to Japanese media reports, Abe has decided to match the "Indo-Pacific Strategy" with the Belt and Road Initiative, and seek to cooperate with China on an equal footing instead of "joining" China’s initiative. In addition, Japan has joined hands with India, United States and Australia to promote the "Indo-Pacific Strategy," emphasizing their support for a "rule-based order," and building "infrastructure connectivity in line with international standards." These are all cliches and obviously point to the Belt and Road Initiative. Many Japanese commentators see the “Indo-Pacific Strategy” as a Japan-anchored alternative to Belt and Road Initiative.

IV. Promoting the Belt and Road cooperation between China and Japan, either through third-party market cooperation or bilateral cooperation, translating potential into concrete results is the key, which will in turn provide driving force and create more room for further improving Sino-Japanese relations

Obviously, the Japanese government still has certain doubts about the Belt and Road Initiative, including financial sustainability and environmental standards for project and whether some major Chinese-led port projects will be "militarized." However, as long as China and Japan can work together, coupled with accumulated
mutual trust, all these doubts can be gradually dispelled.

According to local media, the Japanese government has formulated policy guidelines for participating in the Belt and Road cooperation and it will financially support the cooperation between firms of the two countries by loans through Japanese government-backed financial institutions. Cooperation will centre on environmental protection, industrial modernization, logistics, and energy conservation etc.

It seems that Japanese government hopes to focus on infrastructure investment, including cooperation in energy projects by Japanese and Chinese firms in Asian countries that connects Asia, Europe and Africa with major trade routes. Japan is also considering joint road, railway development to improve logistics and speed up cargo transport. In addition, the Japanese government is exploring the possibility to invite China to participate in the road rehabilitation projects that the Japanese side had been implementing in certain African countries.

At present, the Japanese government has given a "green light" for the participation of Japanese enterprises in the Belt and Road Initiative and hopes to focus on the cooperation between the Chinese and Japanese companies in the third-party market. This is entirely compatible with the Chinese government's push to promote cooperation with developed countries in third country market along the Belt and Road.

(1) There is already a certain foundation for the cooperation between Chinese and Japanese enterprises in the third-party markets and the two governments should push for the
establishment of a long-term cooperation mechanism.

Third-party market cooperation was first seen in the Joint Statement of China-France Cooperation on Third-Party Market issued in June 2015. In this joint statement, the two countries outlined the major areas for their joint cooperation with third parties, including infrastructure, nuclear energy, aviation, agriculture, health and climate change. Third-party cooperation is a new form of international cooperation first proposed by China, with an aim at effectively connecting China's advantageous production capacity, the advanced technology of the developed countries and the development needs of the vast number of developing countries so as to realize the effect of \(1 + 1 + 1 > 3\).

In recent years, the cooperation model has received a positive response from the international community and shows a good momentum of development. It has become an important part of the Belt and Road Initiative. To date, China has reached third-party market cooperation agreements with more than 10 developed countries, including France, South Korea, Germany, the United Kingdom and Canada. The agreements covered such fields as infrastructure, energy, environmental protection and finance, and has achieved pragmatic results in a series of major projects.

Although China and Japan have not yet reached an formal consensus on this issue at the governmental level by signing a cooperation agreement or joint statement, enterprises of the two countries have already worked out some cooperation experiences. For example, some companies engage in technology transfer and joint research and development cooperation. China's cement maker Conch Cement Company Limited, working with Japan’s
Kawasaki Heavy Industries has forged a technical cooperation since 2006. The two firms jointly developed a technology for power generation by utilizing low temperature waste heat as a by-product from cement kilns, which has been widely promoted in China. They also jointly developed the world's leading technology to dispose of urban solid waste using cement kilns. At present, the two companies have set up a joint venture in Shanghai and actively expanded overseas markets of countries along the Belt and Road.

In another example, some enterprises engage in capital cooperation through mutual holding of shares and joint investment. China’s CITIC Group, Japan’s Itochu Corporation and Thailand’s Chia Tai Group (better known as Charoen Pokphand Group) have been holding shares of each other for many years and jointly tapping markets of three countries as well as overseas markets. Again, some companies engage in joint bidding or mutual subcontracting of infrastructure projects in third country. In 2011, China’s Sinopec Engineering Co., Ltd. and Japan’s Nippon Marubeni Corporation formed a consortium and won the bid for infrastructure construction orders from Atyrau Petroleum Refineries in Kazakhstan. In 2013, a consortium by China’s Qingdao Sifang Co., Ltd and Japan’s Kawasaki Heavy Industries was awarded a Singapore subway carriage contract. In 2017, after Japan's Hitachi won the London subway project, the production of cabin air-conditioners and other related components was handed over to one of its joint ventures in China.

The spontaneous cooperation among Chinese and Japanese enterprises shows that it is not only feasible but also promising for China to engage in third-party market cooperation with the developed countries under the Belt and Road Initiative. In
order to make the cooperation between Chinese and Japanese enterprises in third-party markets stable and sustainable, the two governments should explore long-term working mechanisms.

First of all, the existing mechanisms such as “China-Japan High Level Economic Dialogue” and the consultation for “China-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement” should be fully utilized as governmental platforms to negotiate some joint policy arrangement that could support enterprises in conducting third-party cooperation. If conditions are right, the two governments should also explore the possibility to sign a cooperation agreement or a memorandum of understanding on third-party cooperation.

Secondly, governmental departments or agencies in charge from both sides should establish various working teams to promote the establishment of a joint and unified working platform consisting of governmental departments, chambers of commerce and industrial associations, financial institutions and respective embassies. The joint and unified working platform could provide services to enterprises by sharing information on invest policies, laws of third-party markets, identifying key areas and formulating cooperation road-maps as well as implementation plans.

Thirdly, a data base consisting of information of key projects and key enterprises should be established through the above-mentioned working platform. Regular forums should be held, focusing on third-party market cooperation and other key cooperation areas agreed upon by the two sides. Such forums could serve as a two-way information exchange mechanism to promote collection and follow-up of key projects as well as experiences sharing.
Fourth, explore the establishment of a China-Japan joint investment fund. Modeling on the China-France Co-Investment Fund and China-EU Co-Investment Fund, China and Japan could promote the establishment of a joint fund between China Development Bank Corporation (a policy financial institution) or Silk Road Fund Co. Ltd (a Chinese government-sponsored long-term investment fund) and Japan Overseas Infrastructure Investment Corporation for Transport & Urban Development (known as JOIN, it was established by the Japanese government by injecting 110 billion yen in October 2014 as Japan’s first and only government-private sponsored fund that specializes in overseas infrastructure investment). Through financing instrument such as equity and bonds, the fund could provide financial support for projects jointly undertaken by Chinese and Japanese companies, thus ensuring long-term sustainable cooperation. In addition, the two countries should continue to promote existing co-financing cooperation between the Japanese-led Asia Development Bank (in which China is the 3 largest share holder) and China-led Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) by providing financing for joint bidding for major infrastructure projects in Asian countries.

(II) Making full use of the recent positive trend in the Sino-Japanese relations, the two countries should vigorously intensify their bilateral cooperation in all fields, which will help create favorable conditions for the cooperation in third-party market.

The core of the Belt and Road Initiative is "connectivity", which means to promote cooperation in five key priority areas, also known as “five connectivity” or “five links”. They are policy coordination, facilities connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial
integration and people-to-people bonds. If measured by these “five connectivity” or "five links" standard, the "connectivity" between China and Japan can certainly be described as a very close one.

In economic and trade relations, China is Japan's largest trading partner and Japan is China's second largest trading partner by country. Japan is the third largest source of foreign investment in China and there are over 23,000 Japanese enterprises investing in China. At the same time, a rapid growth trend has be maintained by Chinese enterprises in investment in Japan.

In the financial field, the two countries have already realized a direct settlement between the Chinese currency Renminbi and the Japanese Yen and the two governments are now negotiating to renew a currency swap agreement that expired. Both central banks hold each others’ treasury bonds and the scale is also expanding. Recently, Mizuho Bank of Japan successfully entered the Chinese inter-bank bond market as the first Japanese bank to do so.

In terms of infrastructure connectivity, there are currently more than 1,000 weekly flights flying in between over 60 cities of the two countries. Almost all of the major sea ports of the two countries have regular routes of cargo or passenger transportation.

In terms of people-to people and cultural exchanges, the number of persons traveling between the two sides has exceeded 10 million each year for several consecutive years and there are 345 pairs of friendship cities between the two countries. China and Japan are historically and culturally connected, as evidenced by their common use of Chinese characters. Ancient Chinese culture of the Han and Tang Dynasties are regarded by many Japanese as
their cultural roots. In addition, Japan was an important part of the ancient Silk Road and thus Japanese people's closeness and identity to the Silk Road far exceeds that of people from Western countries in Europe and the United States.

Over the past few years, the relations between China and Japan have seen complicated twists and turns. With the joint efforts of both parties, the relations between China and Japan have continued to improve. Since the leaders of the two countries have reached an important consensus on the cooperation on the Belt and Road Initiative, it will certainly inject new impetus into the continuous development of Sino-Japanese relations. As Chinese President Xi Jinping pointed out during his meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Abe at the sidelines of APEC summit in Hanoi in November 2017, the Belt and Road Initiative is expected to become a new platform for mutually beneficial cooperation and common development between China and Japan.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the signing of the China-Japan Treaty of Peace and Friendship. China will usher in the 40th anniversary of the reform and opening up. A summit meeting on trilateral cooperation among China, Japan and Republic of Korea is expected to be held in the first half of 2018 in Japan. Sino-Japanese relations are facing a golden opportunity for further improvement.

Against this backdrop, both China and Japan should strive to deepen their mutual trust in politics and security and work hard to promote "connectivity" in various fields such as trade, investment, finance, science and technology, education, and cultural and people-to-people exchanges. These efforts will not
only help further consolidate the foundation of the Sino-Japanese relations, but also create favorable conditions for the two countries to join hands in tapping the vast third-party market so that the opportunities brought about by the Belt and Road Initiative will truly benefit both peoples and promote peace, development and prosperity in Asia, Europe, Africa and even the world at large.
China-US Economic and Trade Cooperation in Figures

By Zhou Shijian*

I. The Fast Growth of China-US Trade

After two years of sluggish performance, China-US economic and trade cooperation registered significant growth amid encouraging signs in 2017.

In 2016, the American economy was weak, while China’s growth moderated to the slowest pace since 2010. Both Chinese and American statistics pointed to negative growth in the bilateral trade across four indicators: total volume, export, import and even trade balance. Chinese figures testified to a 6.7% drop in the total trade volume, compared with a 3.6% slump calculated by the United States. As the US dollar strengthened, American exports to China fell for two consecutive years.

Yet things turned for the better in 2017. According to Chinese statistics, China-US trade reached US$583.7 billion, up by 12.3%. Exports to the US

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stood at US$429.8 billion, up by 11.5%. Imports from the US were US$153.9 billion, an increase of 14.5%. China ran a US$275.8 billion surplus against the US, up by 9.9%. American statistics put the bilateral trade at US$650.1 billion, up by 9.9%. Imports from China grew by 9.3% to US$526.2 billion. Exports to China saw a 12.8% increase to US$130.4 billion. The US ran a deficit of US$395.8 billion, up by 8.2%.

In 2017, trade with the US accounted for 14.2% or 1/7 of China’s total foreign trade. Exports to the US accounted for 19% of the total and would take 23.3% or almost 1/4, if the US$526.2 billion transshipments through Hong Kong were included. Since 2012, the US has overtaken the EU as China’s top export market. According to the statistics on the American side, trade with China accounted for 16.43% or 1/6 of America’s total foreign trade. Imports from China represented 21.84% or over 1/5 of the total.

In a stark contrast with trade in goods, China bears a considerable deficit in trade in services over the years. According to Chinese statistics, China-US trade in services was US$120.1 billion in 2017. With US$33 billion exports to the US and US$871 billion imports from the US, China ran a deficit of US$54.1 billion.

Since 2015, China has replaced Canada as America’s largest trading partners for three years. The two countries have long become each other’s major, interdependent trading partners for win-win outcomes.
II. The Rapid Expansion of Two-way Investment between China and the United States

Over the past few years, the non-financial investment made by Chinese companies in the US expanded rapidly. According to Chinese statistics, Chinese investment in the US were US$5.24 billion in 2014, up by 30.7%; US$8.39 billion in 2015, up by 60%; US$20.08 billion in 2016, up by 139.3%, and US$7.81 billion, down by 62%. (Investment via third places is not included. For example, the US$7.1 billion acquisition of Smithfield Foods by Shuanghui International Holdings Limited in September 2013 was not counted as investment by the Chinese mainland, as Shuanghui International was registered in Hong Kong.) By the end of 2017, the investment from the Chinese mainland to the US totaled US$57.27 billion. (The drop in 2017 was due to the intensified security review and restrictions imposed by the American government on Chinese investment. An additional explanation was that China called for rational outbound investment in order to stabilize its foreign exchange reserves.)

According to Rhodium Group’s statistics, China’s non-financial investment in the US (including that via Hong Kong, Macao and FTZs) amounted to US$14 billion in 2013, US$11.9 billion in 2014, US$15.8 billion in 2015, US$45.6 billion in 2016, and US$29 billion in 2017. By the end of 2017, the accumulated Chinese investment in the US had been US$136.4 billion. As Stephen Orlins, President of the National Committee on United States-China Relations, said, Chinese investment had created 140,000 American jobs by the end of 2016.

Since the financial crisis broke out, more and more large and
medium-sized Chinese companies have shown a keen interest in investing in the United States, a country that boasts a sound and transparent legal environment, advanced technologies, skilled workers, cheap energy, low logistics costs, well-developed infrastructure and first-rate R&D capabilities. More importantly, the United States has sophisticated marketing channels and a huge consumer market. Access to the American market would mean a global market opened for any product. Since 2018, the Trump administration will significantly cut corporate taxes, which will further unleash the enthusiasm of Chinese companies to invest in the United States. As the top economy in the world, the United States needs global capital to support recovery and restore prosperity.


According to the Rhodium Group, the paid-in non-financial investment by the United States in China’s mainland (including that through Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan regions) had reached US$228 billion by the end of 2016.

China and the US are also each other’s important partners in two-way investment.

China and the US started BIT negotiations back in 2008. In the 2013 Strategic and Economic Dialogues, the two sides agreed to negotiate on the basis of pre-establishment national treatment
and a negative list. Negotiations on the draft agreement were completed before the end of 2014. Negotiations on the negative list kicked off in early 2015. China has made enormous efforts to cut the items on the list from 190 in 2013 to 95 in July 2017. At the same time, China demanded the United States reduce or remove non-economic restrictions on corporate investment, including the so-called national security review. It is reported that 27 investment projects by Chinese companies were held back by US national security reviews, causing severe disturbances to Chinese investment in the US and bilateral cooperation.

BIT is an important part of China-US economic relations. A high-standard BIT will help to forge closer links between the two countries, improve the quality of economic and trade cooperation, and represent a major step towards a China-US Free Trade Area. It therefore serves the major economic interests of the two countries.

President Trump visited China on November 8 to 10, 2017. During the visit, China and the US signed business deals worth US$253.5 billion, almost half of the GDP of Taiwan Province in 2016. Procurements made by the Chinese side amounted to US$108.8 billion, accounting for 42.9% of the total. These included 370 Boeing aircraft worth US$30 billion, chips, aviation engines and auto parts worth US$26.2 billion, US$11 billion LNG, US$5 billion soy beans as well as beef.

Chinese companies also signed US$131.7 billion investment agreements, accounting for 52% of the total value. These included US$83.7 billion invested by the State Energy and Investment Group in West Virginia to develop oil and natural gas, US$43 billion invested by Sinopec in Alaska to develop natural gas
and oil, and US$5 billion by Chinese companies in Wyoming to develop energy.

Among the business deals, there are five investment projects by American companies, worth US$13 billion and accounting for 5% of the total value.

If all the above-mentioned procurement and bilateral investment projects are to be implemented, they will facilitate faster growth of China-US business ties and help to gradually reduce US trade deficit with China.

The Trump administration wants Chinese companies to develop projects in sparsely populated and less developed states. This fully demonstrates that the United States wants to use China’s capital, technologies and human resources to help realize Trump’s vision to revitalize the American economy.

This also shows that the Chinese government is working actively to gradually reduce US trade deficits with China.

**III. China and the US Should Avoid Trade War**

Over the past years, US trade deficits with China have stayed at a high level. Yet their share in America’s total foreign trade deficits dropped steadily from 50.6% in 2014 to 45.88% in 2017.

Most of the Chinese exports to the US are inexpensive yet high quality daily consumer goods. They help to ease inflation and benefit the middle and low-income population in the US, which is tantamount to reducing taxes for them.
In 2016, 98% of shoes worn by Americans were imported, among which 60% came from China, 19% from Vietnam, and 10% from Indonesia. The US also imported from China 86% of the toys, 61% of the bags and suitcases, 44% of the furniture, 37% of the textiles and garments, and 27% of the electronics and machinery (which included 94% of the laptops and tablets, 40% of the digital cameras, and 27% of the color TVs).

In China-US trade, China has maximized its strengths in low cost and high quality, while the US has its high-tech advantages severely constrained. For example, if the US transfers its high technologies in energy and environmental protection to China, that will create hundreds of billions of dollars of business opportunities. However, the American government has chosen to constrain itself and give away such opportunities to Europe and Japan.

In 2017, the Trump administration abused legal means for trade protectionism. From the invoking of the Section 337 of the 1974 Trade Act at the beginning of the year, to Section 301 investigations initiated on August 14, and to Section 201 investigations launched on January 22, 2018, large-volume washing machines from South Korea, China and Japan as well as solar panels from China and Malaysia were targeted. On February 16, 2018, Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross announced Section 232 investigations. According to the investigation report, a 24% tariff will be slapped on imported steel products, a 7.7% tariff on imported aluminum products, a 23.6% high tariff on aluminum products from Russia, Vietnam, Venezuela and China. Gary Hufbauer, a well-known expert on trade from the Peterson Institute for International Economics, said in an AFP article that trade sanctions would result in a 20% increase in steel prices, but the
The investigations under Section 337, Section 301, Section 201 and Section 232 all stem from the Trade Act promulgated by the US more than 50 years ago. What comes out of the investigations is either steep tariff rises on imports or strict import quotas. This is nothing but trade protectionism. The law was made by the Americans. The judges, lawyers and investigators are, too, Americans. Where is justice and fairness that defines the rule of law? Most revealingly, it is the 6 judges from the US International Trade Commission who make the final judgement. Even if they vote 3 to 3, foreign companies still lose to American companies according to the Trade Act. Isn’t it a typical practice of “America First”? This is completely against WTO rules on multilateral trade.

In 2001, the Bush administration launched Section 201 investigations and finally imposed a strict quota on imported steel products. In defiance of the ruling, China and the EU sued the US at the WTO dispute settlement agency. The American government lost the case and canceled the steel import quotas. The author witnessed the victory as a member of the delegation of the Chinese Ministry of Commerce in the case against the US. I therefore suggest that countries involved in the investigations should work together to sue the US at the WTO dispute settlement agency to safeguard their legitimate rights.
It has been 47 years since the US started to have trade deficits in 1971 and the deficits are still widening. According to statistics of the US Customs, the US ran deficits in trade in goods with 101 countries and regions. The US trade deficits are inevitable in the context of economic globalization, post-WWII industrial adjustment and massive international division of labor. It is structural and is hard to change. As a matter of fact, daily consumer goods imported from China and other developing countries are essential supplements to America’s economic development, structural restructuring and people’s life. As history fully demonstrates, the United States is well positioned to exploit the status of the dollar as an international currency to manage this issue.

Trade frictions are nothing to fear. Dialogue is better than confrontation and consultation is better than fighting. China and the United States are the world’s second and largest economies respectively and each other’s important trading partners. A trade war will only hurt both countries. And no one will benefit from it. Worse still, it will also weigh on the world economy. This is the last thing that the Chinese and American people and people of world would want to see. All in all, cooperation creates mutual benefits and confrontation hurts both. Win-win cooperation is the only right way forward.
I. The Origin of Saudi Incomplete State Building

Saudi Arabia is an Islamic theocratic monarchy and one of the earliest allies of the United States. The House of Saud, Wahhabis and the US are all involved and played key roles in building the superstructure of the Saudi state. The House of Saud is at the center of the system and exercises its rule by distributing power in a traditional, tribal approach. The Wahhabis run the society, regulate regime-society relations and guide personal life using the Sharia Law. And the United States sets the diplomatic compass for Saudi Arabia in the US-led global order. Such a hybrid political system with legacies of the past has been made possible by the incomplete state building when Saudi Arabia was founded.

Allying with the Wahhabis and the US is the

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key for the House of Saud to build the state and the major reason for Saudi Arabia’s incomplete state building. In the 18th century when Western powers stepped up aggression, the Ottoman Empire relaxed its control on the Arabian Peninsula, where power struggles resulted in a new round of tribal wars and religious reforms. The House of Saud, with its humble origins, did not possess a huge amount of land or wealth. They only had under their control an oasis settlement in Najd, with fewer than 70 households. Muhammad ibn‘Abd al-Wahhab, who was sent on exile by his tribe, was received by the House of Saud and in return helped the family rise in Najd. Ideologies such as the obligation of Zakat, communal prayer, dichotomy, and Jihad provided religious legitimacy and social governance tools for the House of Saud to make military conquests. The religious identity-based dichotomy transcends the tribal boundary of blood ties, which define people’s allegiance. As in an empire, region-specific features and diversity still remained in a religious society.

In fact, the House of Saud made their conquests on a limited scale and weak foundation due to geographical barriers and the opposition from the Ottoman Empire. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Ibn Saud completed the conquest of the peninsula through efforts on three fronts.

First, he brought in Western transport and communications technologies to encourage nomads to settle down and thus foster physical connectivity between communities.

Second, he eliminated Polytheism and promoted theocracy to shape a collective identity and consolidate institutional advantage.
Third, he won understanding from the UK on the expansion to the Gulf region. Afterwards, regional order evolved at a faster pace. Saudi Arabia was coveted by its emerging Arab neighbors and Western colonial powers. The United States, a new power with no colonial history, became a natural partner that Saudi Arabia wanted to ally with. The two sides agreed to develop oil together and established diplomatic relations in 1933. Huge oil reserves were discovered in Saudi Arabia in 1941. To prevent Italy from attacking Saudi Arabia’s oil facilities in 1943, the United States opened its embassy in the country to provide military protection. This is how Saudi Arabia and the United States started their special relations based on oil and security interests.

It can therefore be seen that Saudi nation founding and state building were in one parallel process. State building was the tool through which Saudi Arabia exploited the resources of its allies to found the Saudi state. As such, state building lost momentum and stalled after the state was founded. Wahhabism is the state religion and provides legitimacy for the regime. Its conservative ideologies made the Saudi regime less inclined to reform the society. On the other hand, the United States provided for the fiscal and security needs of the regime so that it could operate independent from the society. It goes without saying that as the state building stalled, the inherent weakness of the House of Saud had been kept. Confronted with persistent volatility in the region since the Second World War, Saudi Arabia has been under security threats and increasingly depends on its two allies.
II. Mechanism Conflicts and Oil Economy

Relations with its two allies underpin Saudi Arabia’s superstructure. As the two allies co-exist yet exclude each other, they also limit the space for the political evolution of the Saudi state. The system of oil economy, as it develops, provides a buffer for the conflicting foundation of the regime and makes it less urgent to promote state building in Saudi Arabia.

As the two alliances are the result of political compromise, ideological differences have been preserved. As the supporter of the legitimacy of the House of Saud, the Wahhabis are self-proclaimed fundamentalists, whose legitimacy comes from its dogmatic interpretation and practice of Sunnah. According to Sunnah, the generation of Muhammad and the two generations afterwards are the best example of a Muslim society. However, Saudi Arabia’s political practices, including monarchy and family consensus-based hereditary system whereby throne passes down among brothers, are a deviation far from the way in which leaders were democratically selected in the Age of Prophets.

Alliance with the US forced Saudi Arabia to accept a lot of modern elements, which are contradictory with the conservative teaching of the Sharia Law. As a result, the Wahhabis have become the target of attacks from the Salafists who are more ideologically conservative. Fundamentalists are the minority in Saudi Arabia. Wahhabis and Salafists only account for 23% of the Saudi population and are concentrated in Najd. The loss of the legitimacy of the Wahhabis reveals the fragility of the regime.

Fragility is also inherent in US-Saudi Arabia alliance
from the very beginning. First, the US-Saudi Arabia alliance is maintained at the cost of domestic politics. The US government has shown tacit tolerance toward Saudi Arabia’s social and religious policies, which undermines the integrity of its moral obligation both domestically and internationally. On the part of Saudi Arabia, the government has to introduce minimum social reforms as requested by the US and take a moderate attitude toward the US supporting Israel. As a result, the Saudi government is more isolated at home and in the region. After the 911 attacks, the argument of clash of civilizations gained traction. The United States and Saudi Arabia, as leaders of two clashing civilizations and direct parties to the incident, had their alliance under stress. Second, after many developments, the oil and security foundation of the alliance is not strong any longer. US-Saudi Arabia cooperation started from oil exploration. Saudi Arabia’s oil production during the Second World War was less than 1% of that in the US. What prompted the US to extend protection to Saudi Arabia is the latter’s potential value and high fragility in security. On the security front, due to asymmetry in interests and perceptions, collective defense means that the two sides jointly confront security threats faced by each other and take on defense obligations that are unnecessary and even contradictory with one’s own interests. In the wake of the oil crises in the 1970s, Saudi Aramco was gradually de-Americanized. Afterwards, the two countries started to have diverse trading partners. The arms trade in the agreement on the US as the only means of payment was a manifestation of the alliance in name and no longer a symbol of their security commitment to each other.

The foundation of the regime, which is fraught with
conflicts, undermines the authority of the central authorities. To maintain the delicate balance between allies, the House of Saud has introduced a mixed governance mechanism that combines feudal allegiance and modern sponsorship. To be specific, state power is distributed among the princes in a traditional feudal way. In the meantime, the princes are allowed to compete for policy resources through modern political sponsorship in order to advance the agenda of the interest groups behind them.

Such a governance model creates two negative effects. First, the vertical division of power combined with a hereditary system has led to long-term, de facto divisions in some key sectors and provinces. Prince Saud al-Faisal, son of the late King Faisal, became Foreign Minister in 1975 and stayed on that job for 40 years until he died in 2015. The current King Salman had governed Riyadh Province for 48 years before becoming Minister of Defense. Before he was removed by then Deputy Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman in 2016, Ali al-Naimi had been in charge of the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources and Aramco for 20 years. The succession in the House of Saud follows the principle of younger brother inheriting the throne from the elder brother. When it comes to enfeoffment at the local level, the practice of son inheriting from father was adopted on a priority basis. As time goes by, unsynchronized terms and long-term divisions strengthens different groups of interests and undermines the cohesiveness of the regime.

Second, as the result of the sponsorship competition at the horizontal level, different interest groups in the regime form secondary communities of interest with specific departments of the allies, thus diluting their loyalty to the Saud family. Crown
Prince Muhammad bin Nayef, who was in charge of counter-terrorism affairs for many years, was removed from office in June 2017 and had very close relations with the US security and intelligence authorities. It was feared that his removal might deal a blow to bilateral relations. Crown Prince Muqrin bin Abdulaziz, who was replaced in April 2015, was Governor of Hail Province and Governor of Madinah for a long time. When he was Director General of the Intelligence Agency, he had an important say on critical issues, including Saudi Arabia’s response to al Qaeda, relations with the Pakistani military and the Iranian nuclear issues.

The rapid development of the oil economy provides an economic foundation for the regime, making it more resilient to the conflicts within. Saudi Arabia was a self-sufficient economy mainly composed of oasis agriculture until the 1930s. With its cooperation with the US in oil exploration, Saudi Arabia gradually discovered the best oil endowment in the world. This country sits on a massive oil reserve. The proven reserve in 2016 was about 260 billion barrels or 41 cubic kilometers, accounting for 16% of the world’s total. Most of the oil is found under the surface along the coast and 70% is light or super light oil. The cost of exploration and refinery is far lower than that in other countries. The profit margin is therefore higher. As Saudi Arabia has a small population, domestic oil consumption is moderate and a large share of the oil is exported. The huge oil revenues help to anchor US-Saudi Arabia cooperation and sustain the social traditions advocated by the Wahhabis. The monopoly on oil rights also gives the House of Saud new ways to command loyalty. The tremendous economic and political interests spur the Saudi government to step up investment in the oil industry. At
the same time, other industries have been overlooked because of low returns and cheap import substitutes. While the government made several attempts to diversify the economy, Saudi Arabia inevitably developed a dependence on oil. The oil sector contributes nearly half of Saudi Arabia’s GDP, about 80% of its exports, and over 90% of its fiscal revenues. The private sector, which accounts for 40% of the GDP, mostly provides services, direct or indirect, for the oil sector.

With oil a new source of allegiance, the House of Saud has taken a host of measures to strengthen oil autonomy and expand oil revenues. First, it took back Aramco by exchanging security for oil. In the late years of the Second World War, Saudi Arabia rejected President Roosevelt’s purchase proposal and took back oil concessions by leasing military bases to the US military for broader security cooperation.

In 1950, the two sides revised the agreement. Saudi Arabia and Aramco jointly explored oil and shared profits 50/50. This was followed by rising nationalism in the region. In 1971, the UK withdrew from the Persian Gulf. Saudi Arabia got 20% of Aramco’s stakes from the US in exchange for security cooperation. In 1973, Saudi Arabia led efforts to devastate the American economy using oil as a weapon, showing its key influence on international oil prices. The US allowed Saudi Arabia to acquire all Aramco stakes under the precondition that Saudi Arabia committed to support America’s global hegemony by using the US dollar for settlement and stabilizing oil prices.

Second, the campaign of the Shi’ites in Saudi Arabia for greater rights was crushed. The Shi’ites accounted for 15% of
the total Saudi population and three quarters of the population in the East Gulf and the highland on the coast of the Red Sea in the west. The low-lying land in the East Gulf is home to not only the majority of oil reserves, but also the largest refineries. Every day, about 9 million barrels of crude oil were exported through oil tanks at the Ras Tanura and Ras al-Ju’aymah ports in the Persian Gulf or the pipeline via the Yanbu port on the Red Sea. The three places are all in the Shi’ites-dominated region.

With fast accumulating oil revenues, the Saudi government has invested more in infrastructure in education, healthcare, housing, transport and telecommunications, which meets people’s expectation for social participation. Constrained by the Wahhabi doctrines, the Shi’ites could not gain equal social status. Before the 1970s, Saudi Arabia shaped domestic discourse and curbed activities of the minority by supporting regional nationalist campaigns. After the Islamic revolution, Saudi Arabia linked the call of the Shi’ites for more rights with the threat of Iran’s expansion in order to secure support from the US.

III. Oil Bottleneck and Social Vulnerability

The buyback of Aramco has created expectations for Saudi Arabia to reap substantial benefits and placed on it the responsibility to maintain the security of oil exports. Oil revenues have promoted social development in all dimensions while further widening the gap between the regime and society. Due to the changes in supply and demand on the global markets, oil exporters have diminishing impact on oil prices. As such, Saudi Arabia is stuck in a new crisis on the legitimacy of the regime.
In 1973, Saudi Arabia and other oil producing countries adopted measures to cut oil production. As a result, international oil prices skyrocketed from 3 to 12 dollars a barrel. Saudi Arabia therefore accumulated a large amount of foreign exchange reserves. And the imported consumer goods improved people’s life.

As oil interests expanded, the Saudi government had to increase security spending in three areas. First, Saudi Arabia had to make up for the shortfall of American military assistance. Under the “twin pillar” strategy, the US provided military assistance for Saudi Arabia, which increased from less than US$16 million in 1970 to over US$300 million in 1972. The oil crisis paralyzed the American economy and restricted its ability to provide assistance. In 1975, Saudi Arabia and the US reached an arms deal worth US$2 billion. Prior to that, the US pressured Israel to negotiate with Syria over the Golan Heights, and the Pahlavi Iran to recognize Bahrain. In return, Saudi Arabia lifted oil embargo and increased oil production to bring down oil prices.

Second, it had to maintain the security of the oil routes. In the 1970s, Saudi Arabia and Iran jointly sent troops to help the Oman government quell the rebellions in Dhofar supported by Egypt and Southern Yemen. In addition, Saudi Arabia joined the US in supporting Pakistan and other countries within the Central Treaty Organization to forestall the Soviet Union southward threat to the oil transport routes.

Third, it exported conservatism. In the wake of the oil crises, countries in the region were divided and regrouped. Arab
nationalism was on the decline and overshadowed by Islamism. In the late 1970s, Egypt and Israel entered into peace talks. Following the revolution in Iran, radical groups emerged. The US released the Carter Doctrine and later sent the Fifth Fleet to the Persian Gulf. Losing the levers on its relations with the US, Saudi Arabia became more conservative in its regional diplomacy and established the Gulf Cooperation Council to realign the moderates. On the other hand, Iran exported revolution and sabotaged the haj, which provided justification for Saudi Arabia to tighten its domestic policy, especially the suppression of the Shi’ites within its borders.

Oil revenues have facilitated the diversified development of the Saudi society, but failed to change its dependence on oil. The impact of the influx of oil revenues on the Saudi society was manifested first and foremost in the tremendous changes in the demographic features. Since oil was explored, foreign workers kept pouring in and Saudi urbanization started. Since the 1960s, thanks to imported food and modern healthcare facilities, the life expectancy in Saudi Arabia has increased by a big margin. As the Sharia Law encourages fertility, Saudi Arabia saw its population grew from 3.1 million in 1950 to 28 million in 2011, duplicating itself almost every 20 years. At the same time, Saudi Arabia’s urbanization rate reached 85%. By 2014, foreign workers in Saudi Arabia exceeded 10 million, most of whom came from South Asia and North Africa while some 100,000 from Europe and America. Thanks to a high fertility rate and the influx of foreign workers, Saudi Arabia boasted a young population. In 2012, 50% of the Saudi population was below 25 years old and 70% below 30 years old. Population explosion boosted domestic oil consumption. In 2015, domestic oil consumption accounted
for one quarter of the annual output and continued to increase at an annual pace of 7%. The young population also drives the rapid growth of the real estate and infrastructure sectors, including power and telecommunications. The latter two are the mainstay of the non-oil economy and the major assets that have attracted public and private investment.

Due to the self-imposed restraints of the Sharia Law, for example, the segregation of men and women in public places and the restrictions on some non-Halal industries, local people are prevented from acquiring relevant working skills, thus impeding the consumption market at home. The Saudis have no other choice but to spend a large part of the oil forex abroad for vacation, entertainment and modern education. The lack of local skilled workers becomes the biggest obstacle holding back Saudi Arabia’s efforts at economic diversification. In 2008, foreign workers took two thirds of Saudi jobs. The figure was as high as 90% in the private sector. Statistics show that only 40% of the work-age population are fully employed, most of whom work in the government. Civil servants’ salary and social benefit subsidies constitute a heavy financial burden. Given the limited number of new jobs, Saudi Arabia has pushed for labour localization since 2000.

As the balance of the global market shifted in favor of the demand side, Saudi Arabia’s excessive dependence on oil highlighted the fragility of the regime. When oil was in short supply, the main factors affecting prices were the war and revolution in oil producing countries. During the two oil crises in the 1970s, Iran, a populous OPEC nation, put forward more revolutionary oil price initiatives. Saudi Arabia, however, with
a small population, belonged to the pro-status quo camp within OPEC and promised to increase production to bring down oil prices. It enjoyed substantial profits while filling the production gap left by Iran’s cut. In 1980, Saudi Arabia boasted an output of 10 million barrels per day, making it an undisputable leader in OPEC.

In the early days of the Iran-Iraq war, high oil prices prompted the UK, Mexico and Canada to increase oil export. The industrialized countries in the West saw their consumption needs restrained by the economic crisis and switched to new energy. Consequently, international oil prices took a nosedive very soon. In 1986, Saudi Arabia and other GCC countries expanded exports in an attempt to expedite the end of the Iran-Iraq war, which prompted a crash in oil price. Saudi Arabia was forced to accept OPEC’s production quota. By setting up an oil reserve fund, Saudi Arabia expanded into refinery and chemical sectors to cushion off volatility of oil prices.

In the subsequent 20 years, international oil prices remained around US$20 a barrel. Between 2003 and 2014, the Iraq War and the Iranian nuclear crisis highlighted the fear for oil shortage. At the same time, China and other emerging countries on the demand side have pushed up oil prices, which was not necessarily good for Saudi Arabia. First, the fast growing domestic consumption has eaten away Saudi Arabia’s additional production over this period. Its per capita GDP had never recovered to its height in 1985. Moreover, high oil prices made it unnecessary to localize the labor market. The risks associated with dependence on oil continued to build. The rise of the emerging countries shifted the global balance of power eastward. As a long-time supporter and
beneficiary of the US-led international order, Saudi Arabia has to adapt to the evolving international order.

**IV. The Arab Spring and the Restart of State Building**

The Arab Spring devastated the international establishment the Saudi regime had held on to. With foiled attempts to uphold the existing order, Saudi Arabia has accelerated its efforts to adjust its domestic and external policies and seek a new anchor for its regime. The new King Salman has worked to reform its relations with the two allies and the oil economy, and to push forward the state-building process which was aborted in the early days of the Saudi state, so as to reshape the relations between the regime and society.

Saudi Arabia, which had worked to maintain the existing US-dominated international order, was only frustrated in its efforts to do so. The US-led Iraq War and the subsequent democratization reform tore apart the social foundation of the existing regional order and promoted the rise of the Islamist movement in the region.

Saudi Arabia labeled the conflicts in Iraq and other places as sectarian ones in order to divert anti-America sentiments in the region. This, unfortunately, stimulated the spread of extremism. After the US announced its Strategy Pivoting to the Asia-Pacific, Saudi Arabia was eager to support the US, willing to share the cost of American military presence in the region. In 2010, Saudi Arabia purchased US$60 billion arms from the US. The US, however, gave up Mubarak, which not only undermined the Saudi camp, but also showed that the US had no bottom line at all in its
policy towards the region.

The Obama Administration unleashed Shi’ites to enter Syria by facilitating the conclusion of Iran nuclear deal. This only cornered Saudi Arabia. Feeling abandoned, Saudi Arabia started to flex its muscles in the region. For many years, it has increased military spending in a resolve to confront Iran. In defiance of domestic religious forces, it came close to Israel, made military interventions in Bahrain and Yemen, incited sectarian conflicts in the region, supported the coup led by al Sisi in Egypt, and established the coalition of Arab forces and the Sunni counter-terrorism coalition.

In March 2015, Saudi Arabia led the Arab coalition forces in launching air strikes on Yemen. As a result, its security spending soared and its forex contracted by US$130 billion in one month. At a time when the whole world is geared up to fight terrorism, especially in the wake of the refugee crisis in Europe, both Europe and America accused Saudi Arabia of sponsoring terrorism. By contrast, the Shi’ite counter-terrorism alliance spearheaded by Iran and Russia has taken most of the territory of the IS under the counter-terrorism pretext. More importantly, they have become rule makers of a shaping international order. In other words, Saudi Arabia and Iran, the two rivals in OPEC, are bound to have their positions shifted in a new international establishment. This will never be accepted by Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia also failed in its efforts to increase production to maintain its favorable position on the oil market. Saudi Arabia had remained the largest oil producer until 2005, with an output 1.7 times that of the US and 1.1 times Russia. By swinging its
production, it plays a role as a price stabilizer. In the wake of the financial crisis, Russia and the US tried to tackle fiscal challenges by expanding oil output. In 2009, Russia produced more oil than Saudi Arabia. The US is poised to surpass Russia in 2018 thanks to its shale oil exploration. On top of that, the US and Russia helped South and North Iraq respectively restore oil production and export. In 2014, Iraq exported more oil to the US than Saudi Arabia did. In addition, Iran, after the nuclear deal concluded, soon restored its production to the pre-sanction level. While under sanction, Iran built a reserve of several hundred million barrels of crude oil, which could be sold off at any price. To make matters worse, emerging countries including China experienced a shrinkage of demand for oil as their economies slow down amid industrial upgrading.

In mid-2014, international oil prices started to fall. In the subsequent year, Saudi Arabia scrapped production quotas, expanded production, and enhanced cooperation with consumer countries in oil refinery so as to squeeze out competitors. In the oil sector, Saudi Arabia has two key advantages. First, it boasts a tremendous reserve. The production to reserve ratio still stands over 70. Second, the cost of production is low, less than 3 dollars per barrel. The dumping strategy proved extremely unproductive. Saudi Arabia suffered a loss of over US$200 billion due to selling oil at lower prices. Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia had never crushed America’s shale oil industry. The price competition compelled more shale oil companies to develop lower-cost exploration technologies. At the end of 2016, OPEC and non-OPEC countries reached an agreement to freeze output level at the initiative of Saudi Arabia and Russia. After multiple extensions of the agreement, oil price finally rebounded from less than US$30 to
over US$50 and has since stayed at that level. The US is yet to join the agreement. Rebounding oil prices mean extra profits for US shale oil industry. At least for oil, the US is no longer the defender, but a destroyer of the establishment that Saudi Arabia has depended upon.

As foreign reserves diminishes drastically, the Saudis’ confidence in the regime also dwindles. Low oil prices and production cuts sent the Saudi economy to a standstill. The economy even fell into recession in 2017. The Arab Spring brings about in Saudis paramount fear of uncertainty and disorder. During the reign of late King Abdulla, the Saudi government went all out to maintain both the existing international order and domestic stability. According to the IMF report, Saudi Arabia provided US$22.7 billion assistance to moderate countries including Egypt, Jordan, Bahrain and Oman, from 2011 to early 2015. In addition, it also provided covet support to particular factions in Lebanon, Iraq, Libya and Yemen.

Saudi Arabia spent an enormous amount maintaining stability at home. Shortly after Mubarak stepped down, Saudi Arabia announced a US$130 billion social subsidy program and promised another US$450 billion to improve people’s wellbeing. The government stepped up investment in a number of housing and road projects to tackle the chronic housing shortage that had long haunted young people. To maintain political stability, the government also increased subsidies to civil servants and the royal family. The subsidies granted to the latter were as high as US$13 billion a year. Such indiscriminate subsidies are neither efficient nor sustainable, gobbling up resources that should have been spent on youth-related issues, which are the most acute ones.
Since 2003, the Saudi government has through the KAICIID Dialogue Center, encouraged social participation of women and youth using social media. Every year, about 100,000 young people are sent to study in Europe and America. Virtual participation is hard to meet young people’s demand. Saudi Arabia’s real unemployment rate now stands around 30%. In the coming decade, over 1.9 million local university graduates and returned students from abroad will join those who seek jobs. Jobless, young people could be more sensitive to rising living costs. The crime rate among the young is poised to increase. The government under King Salman has adopted multiple measures such as cutting government subsidies, imposing value-added tax, and issuing Islamic bonds, to raise US$52 billion to develop the private sector in the hope that 1.2 million jobs will be created in the next 5 years. Two years have passed. Yet the private sector has shown no sign of investment growth. On the contrary, the fast dwindling of forex means a massive capital fleeing out of the country. In the royal family, there is also opposition to subsidy cuts.

The state-building reform led by Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman is first and foremost directed against institutional problems that have built up over many years. The late King Abdullah, with a pro-liberal leaning, made institutional and personnel maneuvering to curb the authoritarian tendency of the Sudairi Clan. In 2009, he established the Allegiance Council to institutionalize decision-making through informal family consultations. In 2013, he appointed Muqrin bin Abdulaziz over his elder brothers Second Deputy Prime Minister, a position
usually reserved for the deputy crown prince. Keeping the royal family weak is instrumental for maintaining the two alliances of the regime, but is not conducive to a quick response to the real social crisis as revealed by the Arab Spring, i.e. the youth problem. The Wahhabis and the United States prove to be not only unreliable allies, but also obstacles in addressing the youth problem.

As a response, King Salman together with Nayef as candidate to Crown Prince and Muqrin Deputy Crown Prince won the support from both the Sudairi Clan and the Allegiance Council and succeeded the throne smoothly. After ascending to the throne, King Salman transferred power to Mohammed bin Salman, his favorite son, putting him in charge of the Court and the Ministry of Defense, positions reserved to the King and Crown Prince respectively. In April 2015, Muqrin who opted for engagement with Iran was forced to resign. In the same month, Saud al-Faisal, who held a similar standing, passed away. Nayef, then Crown Prince, didn’t get substantial power while Mohammed, on the contrary, continued to amass political power as he was put to chair the newly established Council for Economic and Development Affairs, which supervises 22 of the 31 government departments and addresses issues like employment, housing and people’s livelihood.

As said earlier, many elites reserved allegiance to the royal family because of the two pillars. It is also why Crown Prince Mohammed must consolidates powers before he is able to pursue radical reforms. In this process, he has made full use of fractional conflicts and shifted between harsh and soft measures so as to avoid becoming the target of attack from all sides. The air strikes
on Yemen starting April 2015 and the severing of diplomatic ties in early 2016 won him support from the conservative line at home in fighting the liberals.

Saudi Arabia signed a major arms deal with the United States at the Arab Islamic American Summit in April 2017 and cut off diplomatic ties with Qatar in June with repercussions felt in the region and beyond. On both occasions, Saudi Arabia used the excuse of international counter-terrorism and thus received tacit consent from the US over the removal of then Crown Prince Nayef who was also the counter-terrorism chief. Afterwards, Crown Prince Mohammed Salman made gestures to reform conservative religious forces to appease and confuse the liberals. In September, Saudi Arabia lifted the driving ban on women and loosened the enforcement of dress code in the street.

In October, religious scholars were gathered to discuss the modification of some Islam doctrines in the name of curbing extremism. The incidents of missile attacks from Yemen and the resignation of Lebanese prime minister in early November served to distract regional and global attention. They also diverted attention from the security and emergency measures adopted by Saudi Arabia. The Anti-corruption Commission was established overnight with a mandate to arrest princes and business executives. This achieved three goals. First, the liberals were cleansed, weakening both potential adversaries within and America’s infiltration without. Second, government coffers were replenished by the confiscations while capital fleeing was curbed. Third, these measure are expected to boost the investment in Saudi Arabia’s private sector and the listing of Aramco overseas. Getting rid of the dependence on the liberals and the United
States, paves the way for the Saudi government to further reform traditional social customs and develop a diversified economy. The Crown Prince is cautious in that he launched the smart city project yet limit the experiment to the coast of the Red Sea to concentrate both resources and risks so as to avoid the blow of a full-scale opening-up would deal to the conservative society.

V. Conclusion

1. The ongoing reform is different from previous ones as the royal family started the reform by consolidating power.

Saudi Arabia made several attempts to promote economic privatization and diversification, but all failed. Deep oil pocket reduced the incentives for sweeping reforms. Oil dependence can be traced back to the fragility of the House of Saud, which is yet to get away from its two allies. The oversupply on the international oil markets and the explosion of its population are now two established trends. Like it or not, the shift away from the oil dependence is taking place as oil revenues are falling. People expect the government to provide basic public security and social services. As the economic support of the regime has undergone fundamental shift and its two allies failed to respond effectively to the Arab Spring, consolidating power of the royal family is left to be the last resort to address the regime crisis and reduce dependence on oil. That said, it would be mission impossible to fulfill the tasks at such immense scale and within such narrow time window. Once power consolidation is completed and new source of regime legitimacy anchored, the most part of the reform is accomplished.
2. The rise of the Crown Prince Mohammed offers a glimpse of the social radicalization in Saudi Arabia.

Over the past few decades, people at the bottom of society have seen their living standards remain stagnant. The public are denied opportunity to participate in social affairs. Government subsidies are difficult to sustain. Prices keep rising. Some civil servants even work as part-time Uber driver to support family. The Crown Prince, King Salman’s favorite son, inherits from his father experiences and resources to govern the country. The energetic 35-year-old man is known to be a workaholic. He is receptive to advice and action-oriented. Naturally, he is the right person to move Saudi Arabia away from oil dependence to self-sustaining social development. The desire of 70% of the population for reform provides endorsement for the Crown Prince to consolidate power. His reform plan also speaks to the young people who are fed up with and dare to challenge the establishment. In fact, his military actions abroad and anti-corruption efforts at home show that he is serious and committed to reform, thus consolidating the confidence and support of the young people for reform. The regime the Crown Prince aspires to establish will interact directly with the society, which fulfill the incompleteness of state building left unfilled since Saudi Arabia was founded.

3. Saudi Arabia will return to moderate regional role with more confidence and autonomy.

While the power consolidation and aggressive actions in the region are risky, he still enjoys support from the United States and many regional countries. The reasons are as follows.
First, Saudi Arabia remains the largest stabilizer in the region, the last resort more vulnerable moderate states can turn to. A failed Saudi regime or a revolution in the country will send the region into turmoil of greater proportions. On the other hand, the Crown Prince is a pragmatist largely free from ideological constraints. He does not reject cooperation with Israel. Looking conservative, as he does not smoke, drink or take vacation overseas, Mohammed is by no means a fundamentalist. When King Salman was governor of Riyadh Province, he turned the capital from a poor town with little oil into a cosmopolis through external cooperation, sound planning and prudent investment. Influenced by his father, the Crown Prince is fond of Japanese culture and interested in high technologies, which he believes provide ultimate solutions to social transition and security challenges in the region. With no apparent affiliations, he could easily rise above fractional conflicts. Extensive public support also puts him at a more favorable position between Wahhabis and the United States. At a time when sectarian conflicts gives way to major power competition in the region, it is very likely that Saudi Arabia will retreat from the current risk-taking stance and return to traditional, moderate policies. This is determined by its national interests. Risk-taking behaviors are necessary for the Crown Prince to win public support for power consolidation when there is a radicalization at home. Despite the recent pick-up in oil prices, Vision 2030 and the ambitious plan of New Smart City remain the main tools for Saudi Arabia to manage social expectations and promote social participation. Saudi Arabia needs stability and security in the region if only for the sake of the oil economy or diversified development.
At the invitation of CPIFA, Hungarian Vice Premier Semjén Zsolt and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly Latorcai János visited Beijing and Shanghai from 3 to 9 February 2018. During their stay in China, Mme. Liu Yandong, Vice Premier of China, Mr. Chen Changzhi, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress of China, Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, Mr. Xu Kunlin, Deputy Mayor
of Shanghai Municipal Government and Mr. Xu Zezhou, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress, met with the delegation respectively. The two sides exchanged in-depth views on further developing China-Hungary Comprehensive Strategic Partnership and promoting practical cooperation and legislative exchanges between the two countries.

Chairwoman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Parliament of Georgia
Mrs. Katsarava Visits China

From 20 to 25 December 2017, at the invitation of CPIFA, Mrs. Sofio Katsarava, Chairwoman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Parliament of Georgia, visited Beijing, Xi’an and Shanghai. During the visit, Mr. Ma Peihua, Vice Chairman of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), Mr. Chen Fengxiang, Vice Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee
of the National People’s Congress (NPC), Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA, Mrs. Liu Xiaoyan, Vice Chairwoman of the Standing Committee of the Shaanxi Provincial People's Congress, and Mr. Xu Wenxiong, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress, met with her respectively and exchanged views on further enhancing bilateral relations as well as cooperation in various fields.

President Wu Hailong Meets with the Indian Ambassador to China

On March 8th, Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA met with Mr. Gautam Bambawale, Indian Ambassador to China. They had an in-depth exchange of views on China-India relations and other issues of common concern. Amb. Wei Wei, Vice President of CPIFA, and Mr. Amit Narang, Deputy Chief of Mission of the Indian Embassy, were present.
President Wu Hailong Meets with Former US National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley

On 26 February, Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with Mr. Stephen Hadley, former U.S. National Security Advisor, Prof. Paul Gewirtz, Director of Yale Law School’s China Center, and Mr. Paul Heanle, Director of Carnegie-Tsinghua Center. The two sides exchanged views on China-US relations, Belt & Road Initiative and Korea Peninsula Nuclear Issue. Vice President of CPIFA Zhao Weiping was present during the meeting.

President Wu Hailong Meets with Irina Bokova

On February 27th, Mr. Wu Hailong, President of the CPIFA, met with Ms Irina Bokova, President of Global Hope Coalition and Former Director-General of UNESCO. The two
sides exchanged views of common interests. Ms. Zhang Dan, Vice-President & Director-General of UNA-China was present.

President Wu Hailong Meets with the New Polish Ambassador to China
On 13 February, Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with the new Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to China Wojciech Zajaczkowski on his assumption of office. The two sides exchanged views on Sino-Polish relations, European situations and other issues of common interest.

President Wu Hailong Meets with the New ROK Ambassador to China

On January 9th, President Wu Hailong met with Ambassador Noh Young-min of Republic of Korea on his assumption of office in China. The two sides exchanged views on issues of China-ROK relations, the situation on Korean Peninsula, and cultural exchanges between the two countries. Ou Boqian, Vice President of CPIFA, was present.
On February 5th, the 10th Symposium on China-Japan Relations, co-sponsored by CPIFA and Japan Institute for International Policy Studies (IIPS), was held in Beijing. Nearly 50 representatives from the two sides attended the symposium. The Chinese side was headed by Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA and the Japanese side was headed by Hirofumi Nakasone, Vice President of IIPS and former Foreign Minister of Japan.

President Wu Hailong and Ken Sato, Director of IIPS made keynote remarks, and Yokoi Yutaka, Japanese Ambassador to China made a congratulatory remark at the opening ceremony. Representatives of the two sides made in-depth discussions on issues of “Promoting the improvement and development of China-Japan relations, Maintaining peace and security in Asia”, “Deepening China-Japan economic cooperation, Advancing
regional and world prosperity” and “Tapping the potential of people-to-people diplomacy, Consolidating public support for China-Japan relations”.

Symposium on China-Japan Relations was initiated in 2007 and held annually in China and Japan in rotation.

**Vice President Liang Jianquan Meets with the Director of the Charles De Gaulle Foundation**

On 23rd January, Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA, met with Mr. Jean-Claude Barrere, the Director of the Charles De Gaulle Foundation. The two sides exchanged views on furthering cooperation between the two institutions and other issues of common concern.
从中欧关系看中国外交“两个构建”目标

梅兆荣  中国前驻德国大使，外交学会前会长

习近平总书记在中共十九大报告中全面规划了中国进入新时代的外交任务与方向：一方面，要为国内发展服务，即为实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标提供有力的外部支撑。他明确指出，中国仍处于社会主义初级阶段的基本国情和中国是世界上最大发展中国家的国际地位都没有变，发展仍是执政兴国的第一要务。因此，为发展服务是当前和今后中国特色大国外交的重要使命。由于我国经济已由高速增长转向高质量发展阶段，根据新的发展理念，外交要为打造现代化的经济体系，构建全方位的开放格局，以及为国内经济转型提质和维护我国不断扩大的海外利益服务。另一方面，中国也要更加积极主动地为世界作贡献，即在国际事务中更好地发挥负责任大国的作用，就是要把中国人民与世界人民的福祉紧密地联系在一起，秉持国际主义精神承担起应尽的国际义务，在事关世界和平与发展的重大问题上更多地发出中国的声音，为全球治理提供中国智慧和中国方案。

为实现上述两大任务，十九大报告提出要推动构建新型国际关系和推动构建人类命运共同体，并把这“两个构建”确定为进入新时代中国外交的总目标。推动建立新型国际关系的目的，就是要走出一条国与国交往的新路，其核心内涵是相互尊重、公平正义和合作共赢。所谓“相互尊重”，就是反对干涉别国内政和强加于人；所谓“公平正义”，就是反对以强凌弱的丛林法则；所谓“合作共赢”，就是反对零和博弈，赢者通吃。构建人类命运共同体的出发点是，人类只有一个地球，各国共处一个世界，生活在不同文化、不同种族、不同宗教和不同社会制度的世界各国人民需要有同舟共济的意识，构建人类命运共同体的核心内涵是建设“五个世界”，
即建立持久和平、普遍安全、共同繁荣、开放包容、清洁美丽的世界，这也是中国国内建设“五位一体”总体布局，即经济、政治、文化、社会、生态建设在全球层面的延伸。它顺应人类发展进步的潮流，符合绝大多数国家的共同愿望，也是解决各种全球性难题的中国方案。

必须指出，提出“两个构建”不是要全盘推翻现有国际秩序另起炉灶，而是从根本上履行联合国宪章的宗旨和原则。提出“两个构建”总目标，既保持了中国外交方针的连续性和稳定性，又显示了中国外交与时俱进的先进性和创新性。从连续性上看，体现了中国坚持走和平发展道路，高举和平、发展、合作、共赢的旗帜，恪守维护世界和平、促进共同发展的外交宗旨，也保持了中国坚定不移地在和平共处五项原则基础上同各国发展友好合作，永不称霸，永远不搞扩张，始终做世界和平的建设者、全球发展的贡献者、国际秩序的维护者的本色。从创新性上看，体现了中共十八大以来中国外交理论和实践创新的最新成果。比如在外交布局上，以结伴而不结盟的全球伙伴关系统筹大国、周边、发展中国家各个方向的外交工作，在全球治理上倡议“一带一路”建设国际合作大平台，以亲诚惠容理念指导同周边国家的关系，以正确义利观和真实亲诚理念引领同发展中国家的关系，以新治理观、新安全观和新发展观指导多边领域的工作，等等。

从中国的视角看国际形势，当今世界正处于大发展、大变革、大调整时期，和平与发展仍是时代主题，但力量对比正在发生深刻变化，全球性挑战层出不穷，国际安全形势面临严峻挑战，特别是大国关系因竞争因素增多而变得更加复杂。相对而言，中欧作为世界上两大力量、两大市场和两大文明的关系，虽不缺乏摩擦和冲突，但比较稳定。这得益于多方面的因素：首先，中欧之间不存在地缘政治上的直接冲突，也没有历史纠葛的困扰。中国一贯坚定支持欧洲一体化，愿意看到一个稳定、团结和繁荣的欧洲。欧洲国家则坚持奉行“一个中国”原则。第二，中欧经济结构上互补性强，各有优势，互有需求，相互补益的潜力和空间很大，存在着推动互利共赢合作的强劲动力。特别是中国经济的快速发展不仅为包括欧洲在内的世界经济增长作出了30%以上的贡献，而且为欧洲提供了购买力不断提升的广阔市场和收益率较好的投资场所。德国生产的汽车30%左右销往中国，37%的德国汽车行业利润来自中国，就是一个鲜明的例证。第三，中欧都需要一个和平、稳定的发展环境，在重大国际问题上有较多的共同点。比如，都主张通过和平手段解决国际争端，反对动辄使用武力或以武力相威胁；都主张推行多边主义，反对霸权主义和强权政治，并重视联合国和世贸组织等国际机构的作用；都支持推动经济全球化、贸易自由化和投资便利化，并坚持巴黎气候协议等等。第四，中欧都有丰富多彩、光辉灿烂的文化资源，在经济合作蓬
勃发展、政治关系日益紧密的情况下，加强人文交流以增进相互了解和丰富各自精神世界也越来越成为中欧人民互学互鉴的自然要求和必然趋势。第五，当今世界层出不穷的全球性问题需要全球治理，任何国家都难以独善其身或单靠一国力量解决，只有国际社会通力协作才能有效应对，对此中欧之间的共识也呈日益上升趋势。

正是在上述有利因素的作用下，近年来中欧关系取得了令人瞩目的进展，给双方带来了实实在在的好处。概括起来，主要表现在以下方面：一是高层互访和相互沟通频繁，反映了双方对推动中欧关系的高度重视，并为中欧合作不断注入新的动力，引领中欧关系向广度和深度持续发展。二是经贸合作硕果累累，已成为中欧关系的重要支撑和“压舱石”。多年来，欧盟保持为中国第一大贸易伙伴、第一大进口来源地和第二大出口市场，而中国是欧盟第二大贸易伙伴、第一大进口来源地和第二大出口市场。2017年中欧贸易额达6169.2亿美元，同比增长12.7%，占中国进出口总值的15%。双向投资旺盛，2016年欧盟对华投资增长35%，2017年虽同比下降5.9%，但中国对欧投资却增长3.8%，欧盟对华投资存量1202亿美元，而中国对欧投资存量已增至792亿美元，差距明显缩小。欧盟还是中国累计引进技术的最大来源地。三是中欧之间已建立起约70个磋商和对话机制。其中最重要的四大对话机制，即中欧领导人年度会晤、中欧高级别战略对话、中欧经贸高层对话、中欧高级别人文交流对话运转正常，为沟通相互立场和观点、增进相互了解、促进和推动互利共赢的交流与合作，作出了重要贡献。四是双方已商定对接“一带一路”建设和欧洲投资计划并建立“五大合作平台”，即中欧共同投资基金、互联互通平台、法律事务对话、数字化合作平台以及促进便利人员往来，并在不同程度上取得了进展，达成了一些协议，如建立共同投资基金、设立互联互通平台、互免持外交护照人员短期停留签证、中方批准欧盟在中国15个城市设立签证中心，等等。此外，在节能减排、城镇化、财政金融、科技创新、人文交流等领域的合作持续深入：中国在欧盟28个国家设立的孔子学院数量已增至138所、孔子课堂257个；中国在欧盟国家的留学人员总数达30万，欧盟国家来华留学人数超过4.5万；2016年中欧往来人员总数约659万人次，其中中方赴欧346万人次，欧方来华313万人次。

正如世界上许多事物有其两面一样，虽然中欧关系的主流是合作共赢，但由于意识形态和社会政治制度不同，加之发展阶段和利益处境不一样，双方对一些问题的认识难免存在差异乃至分歧。当前特别令人关注的是，随着中欧发展态势差异凸显，尤其是中国经济保持快速增长，技术水平不断提升，产品竞争力明显增强，以及政治制度的优越性日益得到国际社会重视，习惯于居高临下俯视发
展中国家的一些欧洲人心态失衡了，他们力图阻遏中国成为其竞争者，致使中欧关系中的矛盾和摩擦出现某种上升趋势。当然，这里需要特别指出，欧洲不是铁板一块，不同国家与中国的双边关系状况不尽相同，这里所讲的矛盾和摩擦主要涉及一些在欧盟决策中具有重要影响并起主导作用的国家和力量。透过现象看本质，这种矛盾和摩擦的实质涉及国与国之间关系的准则和理念。其中，最突出的问题是：

（一）要不要遵循相互尊重，求同存异的原则。我们中国人认为，应当正视和承认世界的多样性。中欧都按照本国国情和人民意愿决定自己的发展道路和制订国家政策，任何一方都不应试图以自己的价值观改变对方或干涉对方的内政，更不得损害对方的主权、安全、领土完整和发展权等核心利益。这些都是公认的国际关系准则。令人不解的是，以法治国家典范自居的有些欧洲人却公然违背这些准则行事，常以普世价值的代表自居，对中国的内部事务说三道四，甚至横加干涉。比如，不久前在德国举行的中德足球比赛场合，德方有人违反国际规则打出支持分裂西藏的政治标语，中方提出严正交涉时主办方竟以“言论自由”为之辩解；又如，中国司法部门依法对一名犯罪的瑞典籍华人实行刑拘，瑞典官方竟横加干涉，俨然要中方给予治外法权；再如，一些欧洲官方机构把中国司法当局依法处置违法分子的法治行动污蔑为“破坏人权”，赤裸裸地干涉中国内政。也许这些欧洲人以为，这样做可以改变中国的颜色，但这是痴心妄想。实际上，这种做法不仅损害政治互信，而且对欧洲人在中国人民心目中的形象只会帮倒忙。

欧洲朋友们应该知道，正反两方面的历史经验已使中国人民得出结论：只有坚持独立自主，走符合国情的中国特色社会主义道路，才能不断地取得成功并得到人民拥护；只有遵循相互尊重、求同存异的原则，不同社会制度国家间的关系才能顺利发展，反之就会遭受挫折。

（二）是否应遵循互利共赢原则，还是被“零和思维”引入歧途。对于一个曾经的贫穷落后大国在经济技术上追赶发达国家的努力，欧洲国家理应持欢迎和支持的态度，因为这符合发达国家的利益，而且是人类进步的表现。为阻止出现可能的竞争对手而想方设法阻遏其和平崛起，不仅是短视的表现，而且与人类进步的崇高理想背道而驰。坦率地说，中国要发展和强大是13亿中国人的坚定意志，是不可阻挡的历史必然。中国发展后为世界提供了巨大市场、价廉物美的商品和回报率丰厚的投资场所，对世界经济发展是贡献、机遇和福音，而不是什么“威胁”。然而，正如德国《法兰克福汇报》1月7日网站发表的该报发行人霍尔格·施特尔茨纳的文章所指出：欧洲“保护主义正在前进”，“布鲁塞尔的对华贸易政策只是在口头与特朗普的政策有所不同，因为欧盟委员会也在设置障
碍。”该文还指出，“越来越多的政治家、商界领袖和知识分子开始在世界贸易中看到了一场零和博弈，认为一方赢得的东西正是另一方失去的东西”。而为了改善全球化“失利者”的境况，一些欧洲政治家提出了诸如反对“社会倾销”这样的概念，要求“其他国家也要承诺保证相同的劳动权利、福利条件、环境标准或同样的税收”，否则就给你扣上一顶“社会倾销”的帽子，作为其推行保护主义措施的借口。

（三）要不要严格遵守契约规定，还是巧立名目推行保护主义。中国致力于推动全球治理体系改革以建立更加公正合理和普惠的秩序，但不是要推倒一切重砌炉灶，而是主张按照共商、共建、共享的原则，通过改革、健全和完善逐步予以实现。不过，像中国人世协议第15条“替代国条款”这样的契约义务理应严格按照条约规定按时予以废除，这关系到履约诚信问题。德国总理默克尔去年6月初曾公开表示“支持”欧盟履行该条款规定，并称欧盟正在拟定的贸易“新规”将符合世贸组织原则，不歧视中国。但人们从媒体报道中得知，德、法、意三国之前早已推动欧盟炮制名为针对“非欧盟国家”，实为主要剑指中国的保护主义“新规”，其实质是通过巧立“市场严重扭曲”这个名目，继续发挥原“替代国条款”的功能。这件事给了我们三点启示：一是欧盟缺乏履约诚信；二是德方当面说一套、背后做一套的两面性；三是欧盟某些成员国和欧盟机构扮演红白脸的分工角色。与此相似，欧方还以“外商在中国不能享有中国企业在欧洲享有的相同待遇”为借口，在投资领域提出了所谓的“对等原则”，借以限制中国企业在欧洲的投资，特别是购买高新技术企业和“关键性基础设施”。欧方为此列举的例子是中国企业购买了希腊比雷埃夫斯港码头的经营权和法兰克福附近的哈恩小机场，而德国企业在中国无此可能。欧方打出的所谓“对等”原则乍听起来似乎很公正，实际上却违背常理，也难以行得通。因为，国与国之间的正常买卖和合作本质上是互通有无、取长补短、合作共赢，是两厢情愿而不是强买强卖。希腊码头和哈恩机场这两个项目，中国企业是通过公开招标竞购的，前者是卖方出于急需资金和经营困难，后者是因长期亏损、难以为继，想甩掉包袱。中国企业买下希腊比港码头后经营效益良好，希腊方面受益很大并给予高度评价，而哈恩机场的卖主也因找到了合适买家而欣慰。这些都是不争的事实。中国没有需要出售的码头和机场，难道也须向德方兜售一个码头和机场以符合德方主张的“对等”原则？

（四）要大力加强相互了解和认知，增进理解和互信。关注中欧关系的中国学者普遍认为，较之于双方经贸合作的广度和深度，中欧之间的相互认知比较滞后。为此，双方都要做出更多、更大的努力。不仅领导层应加强思想政策理
念的交流，深化相互认知和理解，双方智库和媒体尤其要做客观真实的宣介工作，为增进双方公众和民间的相互理解、消除误解和减少偏见做出努力。从中国方面讲，应大力加强和改善外宣工作，讲好中国故事，这应当是中国外交的一项头等要务。实事求是地讲，中国人想了解和学习欧洲的意愿总体上高于欧方。但中国有句成语，叫做“一个巴掌拍不响”。因此，希望欧洲朋友放下架子、虚下心来，抛弃一些偏见、成见，包括一些冷战思维残余，认真了解中国的历史、文化、国情，正确理解中国的政策理念，尊重中国人民五千年的悠久历史的价值观。否则，总是把中国当作“异类”看待，以怀疑的眼光审视中国的所作所为，就不可避免地得出错误的结论。一个典型的例子是质疑中国与中东欧国家的“16+1合作”是推行什么“分而治之战略”。德国副总理兼外长加布里尔甚至要求中国奉行“一欧政策”，不要“分裂”欧洲，并与中国坚持“一中政策”相提并论。对这种毫无根据的怀疑和指责，中方理所当然坚决予以批驳。众所周知，中国一贯支持欧洲一体化，也积极支持欧元。在欧盟遭到国际金融危机和欧洲主权债务危机双重冲击时，中国不仅鼓励欧盟坚定信心，而且力所能及地购买欧洲国家的国债。中国同中东欧国家开展合作，不仅适应了中东欧国家的发展需要，而且有利于整个欧洲的均衡发展和欧洲一体化。中国同中东欧国家的合作是公开、透明的，每“16+1”合作领导人会议都邀请欧盟派观察员参加，并且确定严格按照欧盟法规开展合作项目。中国既尊重中东欧国家的独立自主性，也顾及他们与欧盟的特殊关系。“一中原则”是中国同各国发展官方关系的政治基础，这是包括联合国在内的国际社会公认的原则。但人们不禁要问，“一欧政策”的依据是什么？是什么时候确立并得到国际社会公认的？国际法意义上的欧洲单一主权国家在哪里？我们只知道欧盟是一个主权国家的联合体，其成员国都是主权国家，他们完全有权自主决定同外国进行互利共赢的合作。16个中东欧国家中含11个欧盟成员国，他们也都根据各自需要和可能积极同中国合作，这有什么不对？另一个突出的例子是这位外长2月17日在慕尼黑安全会议上竟呼吁西方携手应对中国崛起，宣称中国正通过“一带一路”建设打造不符合西方自由世界秩序的“另类体系”，并诬指中国与俄罗斯一起“分裂”欧盟。对此，必须坦率地指出，欧盟成员国之间有什么分歧，甚至出现裂痕，其原因应从欧盟自身内部去寻找，不作自我反省，想转移视线是徒劳的。

综上所述，中欧构建新型国际关系并为构建人类命运共同体作出贡献，既有坚实的良好条件，也面临严峻的挑战，需要克服不少障碍。当前中欧双方面临的共同任务是落实已商定的合作蓝图，对接双方的发展战略，包括“一带一路”建设同欧洲发展战略的对接，中国国际产能合作同欧洲投资计划对接，中国—中东
欧合会中欧整体合作的对接，以及全面执行《中欧合作2020战略规划》。通过这些战略对接和合作规划以及正在发展中的各种创新合作，共同打造中欧和平、增长、改革、文明四大伙伴关系。特别重要的是，双方都要站在战略高度，以推动人类进步的胸怀和与时俱进的客观思维审视中欧关系，切实贯彻相互尊重、公平正义、合作共赢的原则，利用好机遇，管控好分歧，超越各种障碍，逐步克服认知上的差异，确保中欧全面战略伙伴关系持续、稳定地向前发展，造福于中欧人民并为世界持久和平和共同繁荣不断作出贡献。
构建人类命运共同体的几个理论问题

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2012年，中共在十八大报告中首次正式提出“人类命运共同体”的意识。2015年，在联合国成立70周年系列峰会上，习近平全面论述了打造人类命运共同体的主要内涵：建立平等相待、互商互谅的伙伴关系，营造公道正义、共建共享的安全格局，谋求开放创新、包容互惠的发展前景，促进和而不同、兼收并蓄的文明交流，构筑尊崇自然、绿色发展的生态体系。2017年1月，习近平在联合国日内瓦总部出席“共商共筑人类命运共同体”高级别会议，发表题为《共同构建人类命运共同体》主旨演讲，阐释了构建人类命运共同体的中国方案。2017年12月，在中国共产党与世界政党高层对话会上，习主席在主旨演讲中指出，人类命运共同体，顾名思义，就是每个民族、每个国家的前途命运都紧紧联系在一起，应该风雨同舟，荣辱与共，努力把我们生于斯、长于斯的这个星球建成一个和睦的大家庭，把世界各国人民对美好生活的向往变成现实。

关于“人类命运共同体”的几个理论问题，我的个人理解如下：

一、人类命运共同体的理论特性

从理论上讲，人类命运共同体应该是“实然”和“应然”的统一，是世界观和方法论的统一，是继承和创新的统一。

“实然”是指实际怎么样，客观事实与趋势是什么。其主要内涵是，人类生活在同一个地球村里，生活在历史和现实交汇的同一个时空里，“每个民族、每个国家的前途都紧紧联系在一起”，国际相互依存日益加深，越来越成为你中有我、我中有你的命运共同体。
“应然”是指应该怎么样，该怎么去做。其主要内涵是，牢固树立人类命运共同体意识并使之在全世界落地生根，各方携手努力，坚持“风雨同舟，荣辱与共，努力把我们生于斯、长于斯的这个星球建成一个和睦的大家庭，把世界各国人民对美好生活的向往变成现实。”

“世界观”是指，从“实然”和“应然”两个视角把整个世界看作一个各国人民休戚与共的人类命运共同体，把自身看作人类命运共同体中的一员和有机组成部分。

“方法论”是指，深刻认识和把握“实然”的规律，并从“实然”出发，强化“应然”的意识与作为，各国同心协力，共同呵护地球家园，把地球村建设成一个和睦的大家庭，建设持久和平、普遍安全、共同繁荣、开放包容、清洁美丽的世界。

“继承”是指，人类命运共同体的构建要继承中外优秀思想文化和光辉实践。对中国而言，就是要继承和平共处五项原则、建立国际政治经济新秩序、和平发展道路、构建和谐世界等先进思想与实践。

“创新”就是要与时俱进，根据国际形势的发展与人类文明的进步，提出新思想新战略，采取新举措新行动。对中国而言，党的十八大以来，以习近平为核心的党中央积极推进外交理论与实践创新，提出了“一带一路”、全球治理观、安全观、发展观、正确义利观、全球化观等一系列新理念新主张，在开创中国特色大国外交新局面的伟大实践中形成了习近平总书记外交思想。构建人类命运共同体思想作为习近平总书记外交思想的核心和精髓，已成为新时代坚持和发展中国特色社会主义的外交方略，实现了中国外交思想的重大创新，已经并将继续指导中国外交实践的创新和发展。

进而言之，构建人类命运共同体还是历史必然性与自主选择性、整体性与个别性、同一性与多样性、多元性与主体性、前进性与曲折性的统一。

人类发展势必逐步走向人类命运共同体，有其历史必然性。但如何认识和把握“人类命运”，如何建设“共同体”，要建设一个什么样的人类命运共同体，以怎样的方式、速度和成效进行构建，则具有很强的自主选择性。

“人类命运”既可以看作一个整体概念，有其整体性、同一性要求，有其固有的核心内涵。又要看到，这一概念是多要素、多向度的，其要由多层次、多领域、多疆域、多方位、多主体的各自命运表现出来，必将显示多元性、多样性、主体性和差异性。

“人类命运”必然随着历史进步的车轮而滚滚向前，前途是光明的，展现其不可阻挡的前进性。同时，其前进的道路必然是漫长而曲折的，也必然会受到发
展不平衡规律的支配，展现其长期性、曲折性与不平衡性。

人类命运共同体发展必然呈现进程特征，理论上可以分为初级阶段、中级阶段和高级阶段。其衡量指标应包括：互联互通的紧密程度、利益共享程度、发展对接程度、责任共担程度、价值观认同程度、共同行动程度等。

二、“我”与“人类命运共同体”是什么关系

在讲清“人类命运共同体”是什么的同时，还应科学界定“我”（中国）与“人类命运共同体”的关系。

一个最基本的逻辑关系是，“我”是“人类命运共同体”的有机组成部分和具体体现。“我”之命运与“人类命运”密切相关、息息相通，不可分割，但并不等同，也未必完全同步。“我”与更多其他各方结成命运共同体，其范围越大、程度越高，就越能反映和推动构建人类命运共同体的发展，越能体现“我”之贡献和价值。

从主体作用看，“我”可以是“人类命运共同体”的倡导者、参与者、建设者、贡献者和引领者。

“人类命运共同体”概念还把“我和你”以及“你、我、他”变成了“我们”。正如“地球村”概念把各国人民都变成了“村民”，遍及全球的互联网把各国人民都变成了“网民”。同时，这一概念必然会强化“地球村”、“人类家园”和“大共同体”（Greater Community）意识。

三、我们究竟要建设一个什么样的人类命运共同体

在全面而深刻认识“人类命运共同体”是什么的前提下，还需要进一步明确我们究竟要建设一个什么样的人类命运共同体。

我们给出的既有解答包括：一是“五共同体说”，即人类命运共同体是平等的共同体、和平的共同体、繁荣的共同体、文明的共同体、绿色的共同体；二是“五个世界”说，即建设一个持久和平的世界、一个普遍安全的世界、一个共同繁荣的世界、一个开放包容的世界、一个清洁美丽的世界；三是“四个世界”说，即建设一个远离恐惧、普遍安全的世界、一个远离贫困、共同繁荣的世界，一个远离封闭、开放包容的世界，一个山清水秀、清洁美丽的世界，实际上是“五个世界”说的简要版；四是“三个世界”说，即建设一个和平发展的世界、一个合作共赢的世界、一个开放包容的世界；五是强调实现人类社会的“共同发
展、持续繁荣、长治久安”；六是强调把“各国人民紧密联系在一起，致力于合作共赢、共同发展，让各国人民共享发展成果”；七是强调“更加紧密”、“携手共进”、“具有战略意义”的中外命运共同体。其中最权威的是“五个世界”说，可广加宣传。

此外，王毅外长在《共同促进和保护人权 构建人类命运共同体》一文中，实际上提出了建设一个“在全球范围内促进和保护人权，让人人得享人权”的人类命运共同体。中国还通过举办世界互联网大会推动构建网络空间命运共同体。这恰可以看作是对“五个世界”说的有益和必要补充。

总之，我们要构建的人类命运共同体，应该是：一个更加互联互通、融合发展的人类命运共同体；一个实现共赢共享的人类命运共同体；一个具有五大属性（平等、和平、繁荣、文明、绿色）、享有“五个世界”的人类命运共同体；一个与联合国国国业高度融通，与联合国和平与安全、发展、人权“三大支柱”紧密对接的人类命运共同体；是一个衡量指标不断走高、全球治理更加有效的人类命运共同体；也是一个中外之间“更加紧密”、“携手共进”的人类命运共同体。

四、为什么要构建人类命运共同体

党的十九大报告指出：“我们生活的世界充满希望，也充满挑战。我们不能因现实复杂而放弃梦想，不能因理想遥远而放弃追求。没有哪个国家能够独自应对人类面临的各种挑战，也没有哪个国家能够退回到自我封闭的孤岛。”这段话说明，构建人类命运共同体是中国的梦想和追求，也是各国联合应对人类面临的各种挑战所亟需，纵使面临复杂挑战，中国也不会放弃。

构建人类命运共同体确有必要。其必要性是由人类发展的客观需要和人类的自主选择性及主体能动性决定的。各行为主体唯有乘势而为，团结协作，才能达成最大共识，形成最大合力，以最优化的方式，建设一个最符合人类共同愿望与美好理想的命运共同体。

构建人类命运共同体也确实可行。其可行性是由人类社会发展的现实基础、未来积极趋势和各行为主体的政策选择与实践决定的。这包括：一是人类和平、发展与进步的共同愿望，这种愿望非常强烈，生生不息；二是日益紧密联系和交汇的共同时空，世界变得又热又挤又平，各国人民拥有并需呵护承载“人类命运”的共同家园——地球村；三是随着世界多极化、经济全球化、社会信息化和文化多样化深入发展，各国之间的相互联系、相互依赖不断加深，共同利益拓展与深化、共同体的扩大与交融势不可挡；四是作为各国对外政策工具与目标的伙伴关系。
系大行其道，呈现全面化、全球化和网络化趋势；五是区域化与一体化不断发展，为构建地区命运共同体和人类命运共同体提供动力和基石；六是将天下“一网打尽”的网络空间，使得构建网络空间命运共同体成为时代命题，并具有了现实需要和基础；七是联合国、世界贸易组织等为构建人类命运共同体提供了通行的原则、精神和机制支撑。

五、该怎样构建人类命运共同体

对于如何构建人类命运共同体，习近平主席在联合国纽约总部和日内瓦总部的两次重要演讲已提供了很好的答案。党的十九报告明确提出了推动构建人类命运共同体的基本方略、总目标和总路径。

构建人类命运共同体是一个系统工程。我们要确立宏伟蓝图、指导原则、基本遵循、总布局总路径等。尤其要牢牢把握构建人类命运共同体思想的“五位一体”内涵，并以此作为基本的行动指南。政治上，要相互尊重、平等协商，坚决摒弃冷战思维和强权政治，走对话而不对抗、结伴而不结盟的国与国交往新路。安全上，要坚持以对话解决争端、以协商化解分歧，统筹应对传统和非传统安全威胁，反对一切形式的恐怖主义。经济上，要同舟共济，促进贸易和投资自由化便利化，推动经济全球化朝着更加开放、包容、普惠、平衡、共赢的方向发展。文化上，要尊重世界文明多样性，以文明交流超越文明隔阂、文明互鉴超越文明冲突、文明共存超越文明优越。生态上，要坚持环境友好，合作应对气候变化，保护好人类赖以生存的地球家园。

我们要对攸关人类前途命运的重视现实问题和全球性挑战作出积极回应，指明世界发展和人类未来的前进方向，其核心是要和平不要战争，要发展不要贫穷，要合作不要对抗，要共赢不要单赢。

我们要进行具有开创性、示范性和全局性影响的伟大实践，并且推广其成功经验，比如不断“一带一路”进展。

我们要把握并运用好其整体特征、要素特征、层面特征、领域特征、疆域特征、进程特征、主体特征和多元特征，综合施策，全面推进，有的放矢，寻求突破。要强化整体性，增大一致性，体现自主性，尊重差异性，保护多样性。

我们要及时对接构建人类命运共同体的具体理论与实践，比如地区共同体建设与发展的理论与实践。

我们要提倡“大共同体”思维，让共同体变得更大，朝着开放、包容、共赢、普惠方向不断迈进。
需要特别指出的是，要把共商共建共享和共生共赢作为携手构建人类命运共同体的“金科玉律”。它应该是放之四海而皆准的。

综合起来看，构建人类命运共同体的实践，要依据不同地区、不同国别、不同国家的发展状况，以互联互通和伙伴关系为抓手，以多领域、多层面、多方位、多空间、多速率进行。多领域包括政治、安全、经济、文化、生态等；多层面包括全球、地区、次区域、双边、国家、国内地方等；多方位包括大国、周边、发展中国家、多边等；多空间包括陆、海、空、外空、深海、极地和网络空间等；多速率是指根据各国各地区不同发展状况，有的快、有的慢，要帮助和关怀弱小国家、弱势群体，确保其不掉队，体现包容、共赢、普惠理念。中国推动构建人类命运共同体的外交努力也正在如此展开，尤其注重着力周边和本地区，充分利用“一带一路”巨大合作平台，并努力使多层面、多领域、多方位、多空间的命运共同体落地生根。

最后，必须指出，构建人类命运共同体并不否认矛盾和斗争。要清醒地看到，在构建人类命运共同体的伟大进程中，免不了矛盾和冲突，要求我们用勇气、智慧和力量去应对。对于国与国之间的矛盾和竞争，要善于化解和管控；对于违背根本原则和重大利益的行为，则要坚决斗争。斗争的根本目的，在于捍卫正当利益、维护世界和平、伸张国际正义、促进共同发展。从某种意义上讲，中国坚持不懈地推动构建人类命运共同体的过程，也是在国际上进行具有许多新的历史特点的伟大斗争的过程。在进行必要斗争的同时，要力避新老大国陷入冲突的“修昔底德陷阱”和“新冷战陷阱”。
“一带一路”：推动实现共同现代化的中国方案

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习近平主席2017年1月在联合国日内瓦总部的演讲中强调，中国提出“一带一路”倡议，就是要实现共赢共享发展。他在当年5月举行的“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛上又指出，“一带一路建设是伟大的事业”，“让这一世纪工程造福各国人民”。此言再次直接点明了中国提出上述倡议的目的，展示了中国准备与世界各国共同走向现代化的真诚愿望。

世界的急剧变化要求各国特别是大国站到应有的位置，发挥应有的作用。近十年来，全球经济复苏乏力，民粹主义、孤立主义和保护主义在西方大行其道，失业、难民潮、恐怖主义、贫富差距竟被视为全球化“恶果”。某些大国不但不冷静思考解决问题的方案，反而独立特行，采取不顾别人的孤立主义政策，使已经混乱的思想变得更加混乱，很多人因此失去了治理世界的信心。面对极为复杂的不确定性局面，中国不断呼吁探索全球治理的新途径，并为“国际关系向何处去”提供中国方案。习近平去年1月在日内瓦“共商共筑人类命运共同体”高级别会议上全面阐述了全球治理的中国方案，其核心是相互尊重、合作共赢。众所周知，2008年美国发生的国际金融危机，堪称经济领域的9·11事件，波及到世界所有国家，形成全球性经济倒退，中国自然也是受害者之一。但这次危机与上世纪二、三十年代的经济危机又有明显的不同。由于中国在世界经济体系中发挥了支撑作用，从而避免了全球整体灾难性打击。从2016年起，全球经济开始复苏，尽管表现乏力，但毕竟渡过了最困难时期，再发生第二次危机的可能性不大。数据证明，新兴经济体对克服危
机发挥了关键作用。仅中国一家，对全球经济增长的贡献率就超过了30%。曾经是世界上最贫穷的中国成为世界经济的鼎足之一，是本世纪国际上的最大亮点。虽然中国的人均经济实力尚在世界中等水平，离最发达的10个国家还有5倍至10多倍的差距，但中国并没有提出“中国优先”口号，而是把自己的发展与世界的发展紧密联系起来。习近平提出的“一带一路”倡议，最充分展示了中国忧天下、供方案、解难题的高度负责形象，真正站到了治理全球问题献策者、推动者的位置。中国的态度在国际社会中引起了良好反响。

“一带一路”倡议的本质就是中国携手它国共同发展。有中国学者提出“一带一路”就是“共同现代化”的新概念。笔者赞同这种观点。只要看一看官方发表的关于“一带一路”的《规划与愿景》文件和习近平在国内外的一系列讲话，不难得到这样的强烈印象：中国一直呼吁国际社会摒弃传统现代化中的过时理念和经济增长方式，开创一条共同发展之路。因为在传统现代化中，发达国家的发展路径基本以本国利益至上，崇尚丛林法则、实力博弈，把持全球治理的领导地位并独享发展成果，而中国主张在新时代国家间相互尊重、合作共赢，共商解决全球问题的出路，同享发展成果。当然，共同现代化不意味着参与国在同一水平上起步，不意味着短期内拉平发展差距。中国的意愿是联合各国特别是发展中国家一起向前，做到政治上相互尊重、经济上力求均衡、互通有无；文化上交流互鉴、承认多样性。中国的主张完全符合时代要求。笔者认为，“共同现代化”既是一个目标，同时也可视为中国主张的基本原则。

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“一带一路”是独特的国际合作大平台，是中国对解决和平与发展问题的伟大创新。虽然面临的风险与挑战很多，但成功的机遇和条件更多。

（一）国际社会的高度认可。这是一个非常重要的保障因素。习近平的倡议已被列入联合国决议，很多国家已与中国签署了“一带一路”框架下的合作协议。这在现代国际关系史上还没有过。在去年5月北京召开的“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛上，海内外高朋满座，建言献策者众多，所有与会代表均表示了积极参与“一带一路”建设的态度，与中方达成了新的广泛共识。俄罗斯总统普京在会上表示完全支持“一带一路”倡议，并希望将“一带一路”建设与欧亚经济联盟、东盟对接形成大欧亚伙伴关系。引人注目的是，美国官方代表总统助理波廷杰也在上述论坛上表示“美国公司已准备好参与到‘一带一路’项目中。”美国内还成立了专门工作组。笔者认为，对美态度出现的积极变化应予重视，因为
客观形势在倒逼美国必须正视与中国为代表的新兴经济体的务实合作。英国、法国、德国、意大利、加拿大等老牌发达国家在“一带一路”问题上总体都持积极态度。日本虽在中国提出倡议之初说三道四，但去年开始态度也出现正面变化。中亚、西亚、南亚地区和中东欧地区中绝大多数国家在双边和多边场合都表示了积极参与的立场。笔者认为，“一带一路”工程产生的磁场引力不在于中国说得好听，而在于在这个平台上合作谁都不会吃亏，谁都会有利可得。

（二）中国综合实力不断提升是推进“一带一路”建设的原动力。经过近四十年的改革开放，中国的综合实力实现了华丽转身，从基本“输入型”转变为“输出型”。中国已能向世界提供高精尖的装备、工艺、各类民用产品以及不小的资本。例如，基础设施建设中最必需的重装备，中国大部分都能自主设计和制造，很多方面已超过了美国等发达国家的水平。基建能力在速度和质量上更是达到了世界的最高水平。例如，中国工程队伍能在最恶劣的自然环境和最复杂的地质条件下建造高速铁路、高速公路和各类交通设施。中国高铁项目的专家说，如果需要建设一条从北京到纽约的高铁，中方完全拥有这方面的能力，建造北京到莫斯科、北京到西欧、南亚各国的高铁更是不在话下。基础设施建设是“一带一路”工程中的主要硬件部分，中国在此领域占有明显优势。

（三）“一带一路”成功的基础已打牢。中国提出的共建“一带一路”倡议绝不是心血来潮的即兴之作，而是有较好的历史基础。实际上，苏联解体后不久，即在上世纪九十年代初，我国与中亚地区新独立国家就开始讨论复兴古丝绸之路问题，但当时主要商谈提升双边铁路、公路、航空运输能力扩大贸易等较具体问题，没有提及政策、资金和民心相通等系统性问题，但实际交往中逐渐触及到了“五通”问题。而中国与其它亚欧大陆国家特别是东南亚国家在上世纪八十年代起逐步建立了双边或多边经贸合作机制。“一带一路”倡议的目的就是希望把这些机制整合成大平台。四多来，“一带一路”已取得了一批早期收获。别的不说，仅仅贸易方面，2014年至2016年，中国与“一带一路”沿线国家的贸易总额就超过了3万亿美元，中国对沿线国家的投资超过了500亿美元，中国企业已在20多个国家建设了56个经贸合作区，为有关国家创造近11亿美元税收和18万个就业岗位。可以说，这个平台既是中国对他国提供的公共产品，也为其它国家在此平台上开展相互合作提供了方便。

（四）中国市场的双重效应利于夯实“一带一路”合作基础。毋庸讳言，中国既是世界最大的产品消费国，同时也是最大的产品输出国。习近平去年1月在联合国日内瓦总部宣布：“未来5年，中国将进口8万亿美元的商品，吸收6000亿美元的投资。同时将向外投资7500亿美元，出境游将超过7亿人次。”
再次表明了中国愿在平等互利基础上与世界各国互通有无。当然，某些国家在这方面有些“自私”，只希望别人买他的东西，不希望别人卖给他东西。实际上，不对称贸易在全球化时代越来越没有前途了。中国方面多次宣示，任何合作方式特别是经贸都应是对等的，不仅要看到中国产品的输出能力，更要看到中国市场的强大吸纳力。中国愿意按国际规则互通有无。据了解，最近5年，境外的高档消费品在中国出现井喷式增长，这与中国消费者生活方式的“西化”趋势密切相关。目前，中国人均国民产值接近9000美元，估计10年后人均产值可能增至1.5万至2万美元。届时中国市场的吸纳力会更加强大，将成为世界消费者、投资者的天堂。因此，中国市场双重效应的增强，定会大大推动“一带一路”合作向纵深发展。

（五）“一带一路”建设问题被写入中共新党章，是此项工程成功的政治保证。去年召开的中共十九大为中国未来三十多年的发展勾画了清晰蓝图：国内方面是彻底消灭贫困，到中华人民共和国成立100周年时成为现代化强国；国际方面是推动构建人类命运共同体，推动建设持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界。新中国的发展成就特别是改革开放40年来的卓越成就，充分显示了中共的号召力、凝聚力和成熟度。“一带一路”建设写入中共新通过的党章总纲，证明了中共对此问题的极端重视。因此，可以预测，中共既已将“一带一路”建设作为自己重大的目标任务，此项工程必将得到全面持续的推动。

（六）中国企业应对挑战和抵抗风险的能力不断增强。“一带一路”建设中企业是主体，是实现内外联动与对接的生力军，成功者不少，失败者当然也有。国内一些学者谈到“一带一路”时较多地涉及到风险和挑战问题，希望决策时多加考虑，全面权衡利弊。他们的出发点是好的，因为“一带一路”沿线某些地区确实存在着政局激变、恐怖活动、货币贬值、政权更替等各类风险和挑战，而任何企业在境外都不希望遇到任何麻烦。因此做足应对功课是必须的。然而笔者认为，风险与挑战虽不可避免，但不大可能成为全局性、普遍性问题。

总之，“一带一路”建设在不断汇聚吸引力，提供解决问题的正能量。这一史无前例的合作平台既展示了中国的责任担当，又展示了新时代中国主张的合作共赢的可贵理念，称得上是构建人类命运共同体的有效平台。对“一带一路”建设前景我们有充分信心。
一、为什么提出“一带一路”倡议？

总体而言，“一带一路”倡议是在综合考虑了国际国内形势后所提出的一个为解决近期以及未来相当长一段时期世界和中国发展所面临的一系列重大问题的具有战略性意义的倡议。如果“一带一路”倡议能够得到很好的实施，将直接有利于许多全球性问题的解决，并有利于促进包括中国在内的各参与国经济社会发展。

从国际角度看，“一带一路”倡议的提出与下面几个因素直接相关。

1、全球经济的视角。2008年的金融和经济危机波及全世界，各国都不同程度地受到了一些负面影响，其中欧盟国家受到的负面影响尤其严重，并且延续的时间也要更长一些（图1）。经过各国以及国际社会的共同努力，世界经济2010年出现较大复苏，但很快就又下滑，重现萎缩局面（见图1）。

为了给世界经济复苏增强动力，习近平主席代表中国于2013年秋提出了“一带一路”倡议，号召世界各国共建“一带一路”，为世界经济复苏提供更加强劲的动力，促进世界经济回升向好。

首先，共建“一带一路”直接涉及到大量的基础设施建设项目，譬如说公路、铁路、机场、港口、石油天然气管道、电站(水电站、核电站等)等基础设施建设项目，都将在比较短的时间内刺激固定资产投资快速增长；同时也可以比较快地创造出一些新的就业机会，增加人们的收入，从一定程度上促进消费增长。

其次，共建“一带一路”有利于促进世界经济增长动力再平衡。在过去相当长的时期，世界经济增长主要是由发达国家驱动
的；后来的情况发生了变化，尤其是2008年金融危机后，新兴市场国家和发展中
国家对世界经济增长的贡献快速上升，成为驱动世界经济增长的另一个重要引
擎。“一带一路”建设将有助于进一步增强新兴市场国家和发展中国家对世界经
济增长的动力，对稳定世界经济增长有利。

第三，共建“一带一路”，实现全球在基础设施、贸易投资、金融等方面更
好的互联互通，将有利于形成一种促进全球经济增长的新机制，即由于更好的全
球性的互联互通，世界各国不同的自然资源、资金、劳动力等经济要素在市场机
制的作用下，各国的比较优势得到更好的发挥，全球实现更好的联动增长。

2、全球化的视角。毫无疑问，全球化给所有国家的发展都带来了积极影响。
但有些学者的研究结果也表明，全球化也存在着程度进一步扩大了而不是缩小
了；加上生产要素的全球化配置造成有些地区和国家出现了产业空心化现象尤其
是造成了制造业空心化现象，进而造成有些地区和国家的失业率不减反升等。于
是就出现了一些逆全球化甚至反全球化的现象。

问题在于，不是说你想不想要全球化的问题，全球化就是一个客观的历史过
程，“想人为切断各国经济的资金流、技术流、产品流、人员流，让世界经济的大
海退回到一个孤立的小湖泊、小河流，是不可能的，也是不符合历史潮流的”
正确的办法是推进目前的全球化转型升级，逐步形成一种具有更加开放、包容、普惠、平衡、共赢特性的经济全球化。

那么如何推进全球化向好的方面转型升级呢？共建“一带一路”可能是一个比较有效的手段和方法，因为“一带一路”建设的长远目标、基本理念、主要做法、实施效果都与全球化转型升级所要达到的目标以及所要推进的工作等高度一致。

3、全球治理的视角。目前许多全球性的问题不仅没有减少，反而有所增加，有些方面的问题目前变得更加严重了。这当然与不合适的全球化模式有密切关系，同时也与目前的全球治理体系不健全不完善有直接联系，这就是习近平主席所说的全球范围的“治理赤字”问题。因此，一方面要通过改革来提高现有全球治理体系的运行效率；另一方面则需要通过新增一些全球治理供给来更多更好地提供全球公共产品。

共建“一带一路”就是希望一方面有助于改革目前的全球治理体系，构建起一个均衡、包容的全球治理新体系；另一方面，也试图通过共建“一带一路”而做大规模全球治理增量，譬如说亚洲基础设施投资银行就是为全球基础设施建设提供了新的融资供给。

4、国际合作的视角。长期以来，国际合作模式受传统地缘政治的影响比较大。共建“一带一路”的重要目的之一，就是试图弘扬“和平合作、开放包容、互学互鉴、互利共赢”的丝路精神以及“开放、包容、合作、共赢”的金砖精神，构建不仅在区域层面上是完全开放的，而且在全球层面上也是完全开放的新合作体系，不论大国还是小国，不论富国还是穷国，都在平等规则下平等参与、平等共建、平等受益。“一带一路”建设不排斥任何国家，任何国家也没有特权。因此，“一带一路”实际上是创新性地构建了一个新时代国际合作的新平台，有利于加速推进构建基于区域乃至全球互联互通的国际合作新模式，进而加快推进区域一体化乃至全球一体化进程。

5、人类命运共同体的视角。习近平主席在许多场合下都讲了关于构建人类命运共同体的思想，其实质在于说明人类的前途和命运需要各国及其人民共同努力把握，因此世界各国应该团结起来，共同创造属于人类、属于各国人民的美好未来。如何把握好人类共同的命运呢？基本原则就是要坚持和平共处，共同发展；主要内容就在于各国共同建设一个持久和平、普遍安全、共同繁荣、开放包容、清洁美丽的世界；主要做法包括坚持对话协商、共建共享、合作共赢、交流互鉴、绿色低碳。那么如何实施呢？“一带一路”倡议就是一个落地的平台，通过各国共商共建共享“一带一路”而使我们共处的地球和共处的世界变得更加美好。
从国内大局来看，“一带一路”建设也具有十分重要的战略意义。

1、对外开放。中国提出“一带一路”倡议，就是在新的历史条件下推进进一步的对外开放的一个新举措。因为实践已经证明，中国实施改革开放政策40年来，开放对于促进中国经济社会发展起到了十分重要的促进作用，是一个十分重要的动力与源泉（见图2）。

对外开放除了促使经济总量大幅增加外，还从结构方面促进了中国的发展，一个典型的例子就是伴随着“三来一补”企业大量进入广东省东莞市，不仅城镇经济得到了发展，广大的农村地区也都变成了全球十分重要的生产基地，快速完成了从农业到非农、从农村到城镇的转型，基本实现了工业化和城镇化。

中国发展进入新时代后，要推进构建全面开放新格局，怎么做？从目前来看，就是通过与世界各国共建“一带一路”而进一步展开并得以深化。

2、促进其他发展战略更好地得以实施。由于“一带一路”建设，中国西部边远地区和周边国家的基础设施状况得以改善和提升，经济联系得以加强，有利于进一步消除贫困；在“一带一路”框架下，通过双边或多边的金融合作推进人民币国际化进程。这不仅有利于更好地促进中国的深度开放发展，也有利于逐步完
善国际货币体系，特别是有利于稳定“一带一路”沿线国家长期处于动荡不定的金融市场。此外，通过推进“一带一路”国际合作，也将直接有利于促进中国坚持走和平发展道路战略得以更好实施；也可以更好促进中国文化在与世界其他文化的交流互鉴和平等对话中得以进一步繁荣和发展。

二、“一带一路”倡议干什么?

习近平主席提出了从五个方面共建“一带一路”，即加强政策沟通、道路（设施）联通、贸易畅通、货币（资金）流通（融通）、民心相通，也就是人们通常所说的“五通”，这样就基本上确定了“一带一路”建设的主要内容。基本内涵和主要思想就是构建起更强的、更好的全球互联互通关系，提升整个世界的互联互通水平。到目前为止，建设的重点内容主要体现在六个方面。

1、政策协调与沟通。这是共建“一带一路”的起步性工作，同时也是基本保障。各相关国家的政府主管部门在共建“一带一路”的基本共识与框架下，将各自的发展战略进行深度研究、评估后，努力寻找对接点，制定出系统的对接方案，然后根据对接的发展战略，制定相应的政策，并实现不同国家之间在政策制定方面的协调。

2、经济走廊建设。这是“一带一路”建设的主体内容和核心。到目前为止，各相关国家在“一带一路”框架下规划和建设的经济走廊主要有以下六个。

（1）新亚欧大陆桥经济走廊。是指沿着从中国江苏省连云港市到荷兰鹿特丹市的跨欧亚国际铁路干线及其周边地区所形成的经济走廊。早期的这个经济走廊的主要功能是承担商品货物在中国和欧洲国家之间的运送业务，“一带一路”倡议提出后，情况就有一些变化：一是中欧班列的数量增加很快，也增加了很多，同时开通中欧班列的城市也增加了不少。最新统计表明，仅2017年一年，中欧班列就开行了3600列，超过了自2011年至2016年底的开行数总和，同时中欧班列开行城市也由2011年不到10个增加到了35个，到达欧洲的城市数量也增加到了12个国家的34个。

另外一个变化，就是以这条铁路大通道沿线的重点城市为基地，已经或正在建设一批特色园区，包括物流园区、贸易合作区等不同类型的园区。其中中哈(连云港)物流合作基地是“一带一路”建设的首个园区；中哈霍尔果斯国际边境合作中心也在建设中，将于2019年建成。

（2）中蒙俄经济走廊。指的是从中国京津冀地区和东北地区向北延伸，经过蒙古到俄罗斯中东部地区的经济走廊。建设这个经济走廊的主要目的是将中国倡
导的“丝绸之路经济带”同俄罗斯的“跨欧亚大铁路”建设规划以及与蒙古国的“草原之路”倡议进行对接。

从具体项目来看，重要的建设项目有三个：一是莫斯科—喀山高铁项目，勘查设计阶段的工作已基本完成；二是中蒙“两山”铁路项目，从我国内蒙古阿尔山市到蒙古国东方省乔巴山市，约需要3年时间完成；三是策克口岸跨境铁路通道项目，联通中国与蒙古国，促进两国贸易发展，项目目前正在建设中。

（3）中国—中亚—西亚经济走廊。指的是从中国新疆经中亚到波斯湾、地中海和阿拉伯半岛的经济走廊。位于这个经济走廊上的国家的合作重点主要是能源和交通基础设施建设。从土库曼斯坦到中国的天然气管道项目A/B/C三线已经完成建设任务并已顺利通气，D线仍在建设中；中国在乌兹别克斯坦建设的安格连火电厂已经建成并发电；中国在塔吉克斯坦承建的杜尚别2号热电厂一期工程已经并网发电供热；中国在塔吉克斯坦承建的瓦亚（瓦赫达特—亚湾）铁路项目已顺利建成通车；中国在土耳其建设的安伊（安卡拉—伊斯坦布尔）高铁也已成功通车；中国在乌兹别克斯坦承建的“安格连—帕普”铁路隧道也成功完成并通车。

（4）中巴经济走廊。指的是沿从中国新疆喀什到巴基斯坦瓜达尔港一线周边地区所形成的经济走廊。这个经济走廊的建设项目涉及到交通基础设施、能源基础设施、港口、园区开发、海洋资源开发等多个领域。

从交通基础设施建设来看，一是喀喇昆仑公路二期扩建工程，将目前的喀喇昆仑公路进一步向巴基斯坦腹地延伸；二是建设连接从巴基斯坦的苏库尔到木尔坦段的高速公路项目；三是将巴基斯坦1号铁路干线进行升级建设，更好地与中国实现交通连接。

从能源建设项目来看，一是位于巴基斯坦旁遮普省的萨希瓦尔电站项目已于2017年6月8日投产，大约可以解决巴基斯坦25%的用电需求；二是卡西姆港燃煤电站项目预计2018年6月完成，届时可以解决1000多万人口的用电问题（中国火力发电网，2017）；三是卡洛特水电站项目预计2021年完工，年供电量约为32亿千瓦时。

此外，瓜达尔港建设项目也是一个十分重要的项目，包括建设沿海高速公路、防波堤、国际机场、自贸区基建等。

（5）孟中印缅经济走廊。是指从中国西南经缅甸和孟加拉国到印度的一条经济走廊，也有人称之为“亚洲西南大陆桥经济走廊”。其中比较重要的中缅油气管道项目建设已经完成了，天然气管道已于2013年10月投产，原油管道工程已于2017年4月正式开始运营。

（6）中国—中南半岛经济走廊。是指从中国西南部的云南和广西向南经越
南、老挝、柬埔寨、缅甸、泰国、马来西亚到新加坡所构成的经济走廊。比较重要的建设项目有印度尼西亚的雅万高铁建设项目、中泰铁路合作项目、中老铁路建设项目及中老联合建设的磨憨—磨丁经济合作区项目。

3、"多国多港"建设。这是21世纪海上丝绸之路建设的重点内容，主要是加强沿线重点港口建设。中国国内重点建设的港口包括上海、天津、宁波—舟山、广州、深圳、湛江、汕头、青岛、烟台、大连、福州、厦门、泉州、海口、三亚等，同时充分发挥香港、澳门特别行政区的作用。与相关国家联合建设的重点港口包括巴基斯坦的瓜达尔港，斯里兰卡的汉班托塔港、科伦坡港口集装箱码头、科伦坡港口城，希腊的比雷埃夫斯港，缅甸的皎漂港，以色列的海法新港，埃及的塞德港、埃因苏赫纳港、达米埃塔港、新加坡港、比利时的安特卫普港、泽布吕赫码头，意大利的那不勒斯港，马来西亚的关丹港等。

4、中国企业"走出去"。"一带一路"建设，主要还是做项目，联合起来做项目。既然是做项目，最重要的力量还是来自企业。由于在"一带一路"建设的初期阶段，主要都是一些与基础设施建设相关的大项目，资金投入需求大，建设时间长，技术要求高，因此一般更适合中国的中央企业和国有企业来做；但随着"一带一路"建设不断向纵深发展，就会出现更多新的商机，也更适合于各种不同类型的企业尤其是民营企业参与其中。通过调研，我发现"一带一路"倡议提出后，中国企业"走出去"步伐加快，尤其是园区建设大大提速，泰中罗勇工业园就是一个比较典型的例子。

5、金融创新。"一带一路"沿线国家的经济发展水平之所以低下，一个很重要的原因就是其用于发展的资金严重不足，需要外来资金作为重要补充。由于目前的全球金融治理体系如世界银行、亚洲开发银行等机构很难为这些国家提供充分的资金，因此必须通过金融创新的方式来提供新的资金供给。考虑到"一带一路"倡议所提出的支持基础设施互联互通的投资需求，资金的需求量就更大了，因此必须开拓新渠道。

因此，习近平主席于2013年10月提出了筹建亚洲基础设施投资银行的倡议，以支持发展中国家特别是支持亚洲发展中国家开展基础设施互联互通建设。2016年1月，亚洲基础设施投资银行正式开业，当年发放贷款17.3亿美元，支持巴基斯坦、孟加拉国、塔吉克斯坦、印度尼西亚等国的基础设施建设。丝路基金于2014年12月正式运行，截至2017年第一季度末，已签约15个项目，承诺投资金额累计60亿美元，投资于中亚、南亚、东南亚、西亚北非的基础设施建设、资源开发、产业合作和金融合作领域。此外，2015年7月开业的金砖国家新开发银行也对"一带一路"沿线国家提供了一些贷款。
中国的金融机构也通过金融创新的方式，增加对“一带一路”建设提供更多贷款。中国国家开发银行截至2016年底，已在“一带一路”沿线国家累计发放贷款超过1600亿美元，重点支持基础设施互联互通、产能合作、能源资源、社会民生等领域。中国进出口银行和中国工商银行也都对“一带一路”建设项目提供了巨大的资金支持。

6. 全面合作。从很大程度上讲，“一带一路”倡议的要义是共建一个新的国际合作平台，所有国家都可以通过这个新平台开展多方面的合作包括教育、科技、环保、医疗、旅游、文化等方面的合作，最终促使人类共处的这个世界、这个地球变得更加美好。

三、“一带一路”怎么干？

即使有了好的倡议，如果没有好的实施方法，也难以取得好的效果。因此“怎么干”的问题也是一个很重要的问题。基于已经积累的经验教训，把握下面四点十分关键。

1. 共商共建共享。共建“一带一路”是一个开放的系统，秉承开放包容的基本理念。在这样一个基本理念下，各国享有平等参与的权利，其中的核心就是要考虑到参与各方的共同利益。如何从一开始就能使各方利益得到保障呢？目前采取的基本做法是实现不同参与方在发展战略上的紧密对接，参与各方共同制定关于共建“一带一路”的相关具体规划，将各方利益融入其中；然后根据共建需要和参与方的实际情况，确定各自应该承担的任务和责任；最后根据任务和责任获得各自应该得到的利益和好处。说到底，要处理好参与各方之间的利益关系，最重要的就是要做到凡事大家商量着干，大家一起干，实现互利共赢。

2. 政府引导，市场主导，企业主体。共建“一带一路”有一定的特殊性，其中重要的一点就是顶层设计包括战略与政策的协调与沟通等工作十分重要，因此各相关国家的政府在其中就起着特殊重要的作用。但合作的基础主要的还是基于基本的市场规则，市场仍然是促进“一带一路”国际合作取得最终成功的主要力量和基本保障。如果违背市场力量来谈“一带一路”国际合作，那一定是要失败的；相反，如果企业按照市场原则来开展商业活动，即使由于政治等非市场原因而暂时影响到企业经营，最终也会恢复到市场化运行的正常轨道的。譬如说，中国交通建设集团在斯里兰卡承建的港口城项目，由于是在斯里兰卡上一届政府开始的，后来政府更替后，受到了影响，停工一年，但经过斯里兰卡新一届政府的认真核实后，认为这个项目完全符合市场原则，属于商业行为，因此后来又恢复
正常运行了。

不论是政府引导，还是市场主导，最终都会落到企业头上，因为企业既是市场运营者，也是项目实施者、建设者。离开了企业，不论是政府引导，还是市场主导，都是没有实际意义的。因此，“一带一路”建设要处理好政府、市场、企业三者之间的关系。

3. 项目落地，务实合作。“一带一路”国际合作尽管涉及到许多不同层面的工作，但最终还是要落实到具体项目上，并通过企业或公司将这些具体的项目做出来。截止到2017年5月，中国的98家中央企业，已有47家通过不同方式参与到“一带一路”建设中，参与项目达1676个（国务院新闻办公室，2017），主要都是集中在基础设施建设、能源建设、产能合作和园区合作等方面。

以中国交通建设集团单为，仅在“一带一路”沿线国家，高公司就累计修建了超过1万公里的公路。我到吉尔吉斯斯坦实地调研时，当地政府官员告诉我，国家80％的公路都是由这个公司修建的。此外，该公司还修建了包括肯尼亚的蒙内铁路（从南部海港城市蒙巴萨到首都内罗毕）在内的许多铁路，包括巴基斯坦的瓜达尔港口在内的许多港口等重大项目。

4. 软件和硬件相互支撑，密切结合。软件主要表现为资金、技术等硬实力；硬件表现为文化、理念、思想等方面的软实力。由于“一带一路”沿线国家在语言、文化、宗教、风俗习惯、传统等方面都存在巨大差距，如果不能相互学习、相互理解、相互借鉴，在整个合作过程中，一定会出很多问题，并很有可能导致合作失败。

四、“一带一路”建设前景如何？

通过近几年实地调研“一带一路”建设项目，我初步形成四个方面的总体判断：一是“一带一路”倡议以积极的姿态回应了当前国际社会的诉求，符合历史发展的方向与期待；二是这个倡议已经得到了一些国家的积极响应；三是共建“一带一路”已经给参与国带来了一些新的发展商机，并且已经开始收获早期成果；四是推进“一带一路”建设也有利于促进中国新时代构建全面开放新格局。也就是说，共建“一带一路”，对世界各国和对中国都有好处。因此我对“一带一路”建设与发展前景总体看好。

首先，这是个积极的倡议。之所以这么讲，是因为“一带一路”很有可能至少在这样三个方面有利于推进历史向着正确的方向前进：一是促进目前的全球化实行转型升级，进而形成一种适应新时代发展要求的新全球化，一种更好的全球
化；二是提供更多、更好的全球公共产品，如亚投行、金砖国家新开发银行等；
三是提供了一个国际合作的新平台和一种国际合作新模式，所有国家都可以通过
“共商共建共享”方式开展开放、包容、务实、共赢的合作。

其次，许多国家已开始积极地参与到共建“一带一路”的实际行动中了，
有的国家已经开始执行有关项目了，国际上也已经形成了一种积极推进“一带一
路”建设的比较良好的氛围。

再次，到目前为止，“一带一路”建设已经为有些国家带来了实际的好处，譬如说肯尼亚的蒙内铁路，直接吸收了3.8万人就业，间接带动的就业机会更
多；根据肯尼亚政府的估算，这条铁路建成后，东非地区的货运成本下降79%，每
年拉动肯尼亚经济增长1.5个百分点。再譬如说，中巴经济走廊建设将使几千万巴
基斯坦人从中受益。总之，通过中国从中国一些相关项目和工程建设，可以为
当地人民创造新的就业机会，改善基础设施条件，促进当地经济增长。

从我这几年来从事“一带一路”实地调研的感受来看，“一带一路”确实
为相关国家带来了一些新的机会。新的发展机会主要表现在两方面：一是由于更
好的基础设施互联互通所带来的新机会；二是由于产业合作所带来的新机会。我
发现在矿业、农业和农产品加工业、制造业（尤其是在钢铁、水泥、纺织、机械
等行业）、能源（石油、天然气、水力发电等）、基础设施、房地产业、服务业
（特别是旅游、中医服务）等方面的机会比较大。

总体看来，“一带一路”建设趋势向好，发展前景乐观。只要参与共建各国
密切合作，是能够取得好的成效的，我们这个世界也会因此而变得更加
美好。
“一带一路”应该成为中日两国互利合作的新平台

严深春 国际问题观察员

一、日本对“一带一路”态度由质疑批评转向积极参与

（一）日本曾认为“一带一路”和亚投行都搞不成。

2013年，中国提出“一带一路”倡议和发起筹建亚洲基础设施投资银行（亚投行）以后，日本各界普遍持消极观望、警惕质疑态度。主流观点认为，“一带一路”倡议是中国通过向外扩张经济实力推行的地缘政治与经济战略，旨在构筑以中国为中心的“地缘经济圈”，建立中国主导的新的地区与国际秩序，是对美日等西方国家主导的“自由主义国际秩序”的严峻挑战。同时，鉴于中国仍是一个发展中国家，尚有数千万贫困人口，且自身还在接受世界银行、亚洲开发银行等国际机构的贷款，构建自己主导的多边发展银行、向亚欧非三大洲进行大手笔海外投资，这样宏大的战略构想说易行难，成功可能性不大。

由于日方认为亚投行可能对日本主导下的亚洲开发银行造成直接冲击，因此对其高度关注。起初，日本充斥着对亚投行冷嘲热讽，认为其不过是中国把原来为一些亚洲穷邻居提供基础设施融资的双边渠道包装成多边平台或国际机构而已，根本不会搞起来。日本外务省、财务省以及执政的自民党内部在评估时，都认为不仅美国会公开反对亚投行，欧洲国家也不会参与。结果2015年3月14日创始成员报名最后截止日期前，英国、德国等一批西方国家宣布加入，日本领导人感到十分震惊。

同年，日本在竞标印尼雅万高铁项目中败给中国，也是对日冲击较大的事件。日本最初对获得这一项目信心满满，2011年即做了可行性研究，抢占了先机。日本一直是印尼最大投资来源国，在印
尼经营多年，培养了大批人脉。印尼佐科政府内阁大多数部长同日本都有不少渊源。印尼内阁会议讨论中日竞标时，只有佐科总统和国企部长莉妮支持中国，副总统和其他部长一致支持日本。结果，中国最终胜出。雅万铁路不仅是“一带一路”标志性项目，也是中日企业首次直接争夺高铁这样的高端海外基建项目，日方自信心受到冲击，逐渐开始正视中国实力，认真思考如何在亚洲处理好同中国的竞争与合作关系。

（二）2017年5月以来，安倍首相多次就“一带一路”作出积极表态，称日中两国可就此大力合作。

2017年5月，“一带一路”国际合作峰会在北京举行。日本自民党干事长二阶俊博率领经济产业省副大臣松村祥史、首相政务秘书官今井尚哉等出席。二阶在访华前专门拜会了安倍首相，安倍请他转交一封致习近平主席的亲笔信。从派遣自民党高层、政府代表访华参会，可以看出安倍政府此时对“一带一路”态度已发生了重要变化。

同年6月5日，安倍首相在一次国际会议上发表讲话，首次公开称赞“一带一路”是“连接东西方和区间不同地区的有潜力的构想”，“日本也愿意进行合作”。11月14日，安倍首相在马尼拉同中国总理李克强举行会谈时再次表示，期待“一带一路”倡议能为世界的和平与繁荣做出贡献，日本希望从这一观点出发同中方进行合作。12月4日晚，安倍在出席“中日前高官和企业家CEO对话会”致辞时，就“一带一路”倡议表态称，日中两国“可以大力合作”。安倍称，日本政府设想两国在亚洲基建开发方面进行协作。

二、日本政府对“一带一路”态度转变背后的原因

日本政府对“一带一路”态度的上述转变，主要是基于现实利益需要而做出的策略性政策调整，体现出了日方以下战略考量：

（一）实际经济利益是日方态度转变的最主要内因。“一带一路”蕴含着巨大的商机和利益。日本人口逐年锐减，国内市场狭小且已饱和，经济复苏和可持续发展离不开巨大的中国市场，离不开更为广阔的欧亚大陆市场。亚投行顺利运作，获得国际评级机构最高评级。“一带一路”倡议获得包括发达国家在内的全球一百多个国家和国际组织的积极响应和支持，其中40多个国家同中国签署了合作协议，涵盖互联互通、国际产能合作、金融合作等领域。面对巨大的经济利益与前景，日方开始逐渐转变对抗心态，寻求同中方进行一定程度的合作。

事实上，日本企业界对参与“一带一路”合作一直热情较高。日本在华有2万
3千多家企业，都是“一带一路”的直接受益者，早就采取行动参与合作。日本通
运（“日通”）是日本最大物流公司，积极抓住“一带一路”带来的商机，通过
同中国铁路总公司、哈萨克斯坦国家铁路公司合作，协助在华日企借助中欧班列
定期向欧洲运输货物，并从2018年初开始提供连接中日港口、中亚和欧洲的陆海
联运服务。

日通只是众多日企的从“一带一路”获利的缩影。2017年6月，在华日企协
会“中国日本商会”设立“一带一路联络协议会”，作为同中国政府和企业界对
接的平台，协调在华日企参与“一带一路”。

（二）改善对华关系，稳定日本的周边环境是日方态度转变的现实政治需
要。安倍首相大搞“俯瞰地球仪外交”，遍访全球，唯独未能正式访华，亦未
能改善同中国、韩国、俄罗斯这三个对日本至关重要的邻国的关系。摆脱战后体
制，成为“正常国家”，实现修宪强军，是冷战后日本政治精英矢志不渝的追
求，更是安倍的政治夙愿。

要实现这一目标，获得重要邻国的理解和谅解是必不可少的条件。中日关系
自2010年发生“钓鱼岛撞船事件”后，接连发生“钓鱼岛国有化”、安倍参拜供
奉14名二战甲级战犯的靖国神社等一系列事件，对双边关系造成伤筋动骨冲击，
一度陷入中日复交以来的最低谷。2014年11月，经过多轮谈判，双方达成“四点
原则共识”，旨在将“出轨”的中日关系拉回“正轨”，但双边关系改善进程一
直不顺，直至2017年上半年才逐步企稳向好。

2017年5月，日本自民党干事长二阶俊博出席“一带一路”高峰论坛期间，
向中国国家主席习近平递交了安倍呼吁日中领导人定期往来的亲笔信。日媒当时
评论称，安倍转而对中国主导的“一带一路”倡议采取合作态度，就是在发出一
个强烈信号，表明他已决心要改善停滞不前的日中关系。

同年9月28日，中国驻日本使馆举行国庆节暨纪念中日建交45周年招待会，
安倍首相罕见地亲自出席。面对现场二千多名来宾致辞时，安倍提出改善日中关
系的“三步走”，即邀请李克强总理访日、安倍本人访华、邀请习近平主席访
日。安倍还表示，日中加强合作不仅对两国自身具有重要意义，对亚洲乃至世界
的和平与繁荣也不可或缺。今后愿基于战略互惠关系的思路，为推动日中关系发
展作出努力。

日本媒体评称，安倍出席这场招待会，凸显自己高度重视中日关系，表达了
日本政府特别是安倍本人希望尽快恢复两国高层互访制度，全面推动两国关系向
前发展强烈愿望。考虑到安倍首相在日本国内政治地位日益巩固，他在推动改善
中日关系方面可以放手一搏，作出更大的政治投资。
（三）缓解特朗普“美国优先”战略给日本带来的压力，是日本政府改变关系的重要外因。美国总统特朗普上台后，奉行“美国优先”，推行贸易保护主义。特朗普上任后不久即宣布退出跨太平洋伙伴关系协定（TPP），而日本视TPP为构筑日美经济同盟、主导亚太地区贸易经济秩序的重要工具，为此克服巨大国内阻力并花费了数年努力才最终达成。特朗普政府向世界各国发动贸易战，即便是美国的盟国也不能幸免。日本作为美国的第二大贸易顺差国，在经贸问题上面临美国强大压力。特朗普曾明确要求日本采取措施减少对美贸易顺差。美国上述行径令日本大失所望。

在日本政治精英心中，中美当年搞“越顶外交”阴影始终挥之不去。特朗普在2017年6月首次表达了愿意就“一带一路”的基础设施项目与中国合作的态度。此前一个月，美国还派官方代表出席“一带一路”高峰论坛。美国态度的转向，对日本刺激很大，触动很深。既然特朗普政府不可靠，求人不如靠己，在充满不确定性的世界环境中，日本需要主动改善对华关系，寻求同中方就“一带一路”开展合作成了必由之路和最佳切入点。

此外，英国、法国、德国、澳大利亚等西方发达国家在“一带一路”问题上态度都相对积极，英、法、韩国等国政府还同中国政府签署了关于加强“一带一路”第三国市场合作的谅解备忘录，客观上促使日本态度转变。

三、日本参与“一带一路”为相关合作创造更好的国际环境

（1）日本参与“一带一路”有助于体现“一带一路”开放、包容的国际合作倡议的本质。正如中国外交部发言人回应日本对“一带一路”倡议态度转变时所言，“一带一路”倡议是开放包容的重要国际合作平台和重要的国际公共产品，由中国提出，但属于世界。“一带一路”秉持“共商、共建、共享”原则，任何国家都可以参与其中。日本作为全球第三大经济体，参与“一带一路”合作有积极意义。

（2）日本参与“一带一路”有助于扩大资金来源，保障相关项目的融资可持续性。据亚洲开发银行相关报告评估，未来十年仅亚洲地区的基础设施融资缺口就达到8.7万亿美元。“一带一路”沿线国家的工业化投资需求更为巨大。面对如此巨大的融资需求，中国一家不可能完全满足，需要推动投融资的多元化。

（3）日本参与“一带一路”有助于中日之间减少恶性竞争，实现互补合作。日本在亚洲地区苦心经营数十年，通过官方发展援助、投资、人才培养等方式拥有较深政治、经济和社会根基。特别是日本企业遍布东南亚、南亚地区，拥
有非常丰富国际化经营和本地项目管理方面的经验。这正是中国企业作为“后起之秀”在国际化道路上必补功课。中国企业可以通过与日本企业的合作尽快补足国际化短板。同时，中方企业“走出去”规模和速度空前，在拓展非洲、中东、中亚、东欧、拉美等地区市场方面能力更胜一筹，完全可以同日本企业联手实现优势互补、共同发展。

此外，很多亚洲中小国家普遍奉行大国平衡战略，他们在积极参与“一带一路”合作的同时，也担忧经济上对中国过度依赖，尤其是考虑到不少大型基建项目攸关国家经济命脉。如果中日两国企业能够联合承建相关项目，不仅可以避免恶性竞争和分担商业风险，也有助于缓解东道国的上述担忧。

也要看到，日本政府对华政策仍然具有明显“两面性”，即一方面在政治上和安全上对华制衡，另一方面，在经济和社会等领域加强对华合作。日本政府已为参与“一带一路”合作设置了前提条件。在2017年12月4日晚的演讲中，安倍声称日本“必须使太平洋到印度洋成为自由开放的地区”，确保公平性和透明度不可或缺。日本在“印太”战略基础之上，愿意同提出“一带一路”倡议的中国开展合作。据日媒报道，安倍决定将其推动的“印太战略”同“一带一路”对接，谋求以平等姿态同中国合作，而不是“加入”中国的倡议。事实上，日本已联合印度、美国和澳大利亚形成一个“四国联盟”一起推动该“印太战略”，强调支持“以规则为基础的秩序”，建设“符合国际标准的互联互通”。这些都是老生常谈，比较明显地指向了“一带一路”倡议。许多日本国际问题专家评论称，“印太战略”是日本主导、旨在抗衡“一带一路”的战略。

四、推动中日两国“一带一路”合作尽快落地是关键，无论是第三方市场合作，还是中日之间双边合作，都可以成为进一步改善中日关系提供助力和空间

日本政府对“一带一路”尚存有一定疑虑，包括担忧项目融资可持续性、环境标准、一些中方主导港口项目是否会被“军事化”等，但只要中日合作起来，逐步积累互信，这些疑虑完全可以在合作中逐步得以化解。

据日媒透露，日本政府已经制定了参与“一带一路”合作的方针，将通过日本政府下属金融机构实施融资等方式，在节能环保、提升产业水平、物流三个领域积极推进中日企业开展合作。日方希望把重点放在基础设施建设的投资上，其中包括中日企业在那些连接亚洲、欧洲与非洲并有主要贸易线路通过的亚洲国家内开展能源项目合作，也在考虑为改善物流和加快货物运输而开展道路、铁路等
方面合作。日本政府还在研究邀请中国参与日方此前在一些非洲国家实施的基于道路整备工程等项目。

目前看，日本政府已为日企参与“一带一路”合作开了“绿灯”，希望把重点放在中日企业携手开展第三方市场合作上。这与中国政府推动同发达国家在“一带一路”沿线国家开展合作的思路完全可以对接上。

（一）中日两国企业开展三方市场合作已有一定基础，两国政府应推动建立长效机制。

第三方市场合作最早见于2015年6月中法两国政府发表的《中法关于第三方市场合作的联合声明》。在这份声明中，中法两国提出了与第三方共同合作的主要领域，包括基础设施、核能、航空、农业、卫生和气候变化。这是中国首创的国际合作新模式，旨在将中国的优势产能、发达国家的先进技术和广大发展中国家的发展需求有效对接，实现1+1+1>3的效果。

近年来，该合作模式在国际上获得了积极响应，呈现良好发展势头，已成为“一带一路”的重要内容。迄今，中国已同法国、韩国、德国、英国、加拿大等10多个发达国家达成第三方市场合作协议，涵盖基础设施、能源、环保、金融等领域，在一系列重大项目上取得了务实成果。

尽管目前中日两国尚未在政府层面就此达成正式共识，也未签署合作协议，但两国在企业层面早已摸索出一些合作经验。例如，一些企业间搞技术转让与联合研发合作。中国水泥企业海螺创业同日本川崎重工从2006年起即开始技术合作，共同开发了利用水泥窑纯低温余热发电技术，在中国广泛推广。双方还共同研发了世界领先的利用水泥窑处置城市生活垃圾技术。目前，双方已在上海成立合资公司，积极拓展以“一带一路”沿线国家为主的海外市场。

又如，一些企业通过相互持股、共同投资等搞资本合作。中国中信集团、日本伊藤忠、泰国正大集团多年来一直相互参股，共同拓展三国和海外市场。再如，一些企业搞联合竞标或相互分包基建类项目合作。2011年，中石化炼化工程公司与日本丸红株式会社联合竞标，获得哈萨克斯坦阿特劳石油精炼厂的基础设施建设订单。2013年，青岛四方公司同日本川崎重合作竞得新加坡地铁车厢项目招标。2017年，日本日立公司竞得伦敦地铁项目后，把车厢空调等部件生产交给在华合资企业生产。

中日企业间自发的合作实践均表明，中国同发达国家在“一带一路”沿线搞第三方市场合作不仅切实可行，而且前景广阔。为使中日两国企业开展第三方市场的合作行稳致远，两国政府应探讨建立第三方市场合作的长效机制。

一是利用业已建立的中日经济高层对话、中日经济伙伴系列磋商等机制，就
政府搭建平台支持企业开展第三方合作进行磋商，争取签署合作协议或者备忘录。

二是政府主管部门建立常态化工作机制，推动建立涵盖政府主管部门、企业商会协会、金融机构、驻外使馆的工作机制平台，分享第三方市场政策、法律、项目等合作信息，制定合作路线图，明确重点领域和实施规划。

三是利用上述工作机制平台建立第三方重点国别项目信息库和企业库。围绕两国政府主管部门和企业商会协会商定的重点合作区域和重点领域，通过定期举办第三方市场合作论坛等方式，搭建机制化双向交流平台，加强重点项目的收集与跟进，进行项目对接，交流信息，分享经验。

四是探讨设立中日共同投资合作基金。可参照中法共同投资基金和中欧共同投资基金的模式，推动设立由中国国家开发银行或丝路基金与日本海外交通与城市开发事业支援机构（系日本政府于2014年10月设立的官民合作性质的支援日企参与海外基础设施项目的机构，日本政府注资1100亿日元）建立中日第三方共同投资基金，通过股权、债权等多样融资方式，为双方企业进行项目合作提供金融支撑，实现长期可持续合作。此外，应该继续推动中日两国分别牵头的亚投行和亚洲开发银行（中国是第三大股东国）之间联合融资合作，为两国企业联合竞标第三国基础设施项目提供融资。

（二）充分利用中日关系改善契机，大力强化中日之间的“五通”合作，为双方第三方市场合作创造良好条件。

“一带一路”的核心是“互联互通”，主要包括“政策沟通、设施联通、贸易畅通、资金融通、民心相通”。按照“五通”标准来衡量，中日之间的“互联互通”可谓十分密切。

经贸关系上，按照国别统计，中国是日本第一大贸易伙伴，日本是中国第二大贸易伙伴。日本是中国第三大外资来源地，在华投资的日企超过2万3千家。同时，中国企业对日投资保持高速增长。

金融领域，两国已实现人民币和日元直接结算，正在商谈续签本币互换协议。双方相互持有对方国债规模也在扩大。近期，日本瑞穗银行作为第一家日资银行进入中国银行间债券市场。

基础设施联通方面，每周有1000多个航班往返两国60多个城市之间。两国的主要港口之间几乎都通有定期货物或者邮轮航线。

人文交流方面，双方人员每年往来连续数年超过1000万人，两国友好城市达到345对。中日两国历史和文化相通，同属汉字文化圈，汉唐文化被很多日本人视为文化之根。日本曾是古代丝绸之路的重要组成部分，日本人民对丝绸之路的亲近感和认同感要远超过欧美等西方国家民众。
过去数年，中日两国关系出现复杂波折。在双方共同努力下，中日关系持续改善。两国领导人围绕“一带一路”合作达成重要共识，为中日关系持续向好发展注入了新的推动力。正如中国国家主席习近平在2017年11月在河内出席APEC领导人会议期间会见日本首相安倍时所言，“一带一路”建设有望成为中日两国实现互利合作、共同发展的新平台。

今年是《中日和平友好条约》缔约40周年，中国将迎来改革开放40周年，中日韩合作领导人会议将在日本举行。中日关系面临进一步改善发展的良好契机。在此背景下，中日双方应深化两国间的政治与安全互信，努力推动贸易、投资、金融、科技、教育、人文等各领域“互联互通”，这不仅可以进一步夯实中日关系根基，更可以为双方联手拓展广阔的第三方市场创造良好条件，让“一带一路”带来的机遇真正惠及两国人民，助力亚欧非地区乃至世界的和平、发展与繁荣。
从数据看中美经贸合作的发展

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一、中美双边贸易迅速发展

2017年一改连续两年的疲软，中美经贸合作实现了较大幅度的增长，出现了可喜的现象。

2016年，美国经济疲软。中国经济增长放缓，出现了2010年以来的低谷。中美经贸统计无论是总额、出口、进口，甚至贸易平衡四个方面，双边的统计都出现了负增长。中方统计当年贸易总额下跌了6.7%；美方统计贸易总额下跌了3.6%。另外，由于美元走强，美对华出口额连续两年下降。

上述情况在2017年得到了扭转。中方统计中美贸易额5837亿美元，增长12.3%，对美出口4298亿美元，增长11.5%，从美进口1539亿美元，增长达14.5%，贸易逆差2758亿美元，增长9.9%。美方统计双边贸易额6501亿美元，增长9.9%，从中国进口5262亿美元，增长9.3%，对华出口1304亿美元，增长12.8%，逆差3958亿美元，增长8.2%。

2017年中美贸易总额占中国外贸总额的14.2%，相当于1/7。对美出口额占出口总额19%，若加上经香港转口的5262亿美元，占中国总出口额的23.3%，将近1/4。从2012年起，美国市场就超过了欧盟市场，位居中国最大的出口市场。依据美方统计，美中贸易额占到美国外贸总额16.43%，将近1/6，从中国进口占到21.84%，超过了1/5。

与货物贸易相反，多年以来，中国在服务贸易领域存在较大逆差。中方统计2017年中美服务贸易总额1201亿美元，对美出口330亿美元，从美国进口871亿美元，中方逆差541亿美元。
从2015年起，中国超过加拿大成为美国最大的贸易伙伴，已历时三年。中美两国早已互为举足轻重的贸易伙伴，相互依存，互惠互利，合作共赢。

二、中美相互投资迅速发展

最近几年，中国企业对美非金融类投资迅速增长。按照中方统计（不包括经第三地赴美投资，例如2013年9月双汇国际控股公司以71亿美元收购美国史密斯菲尔德食品公司，因双汇国际在香港注册而没有被统计在中国大陆对美投资内），2014年对美投资52.4亿美元，增长30.7%，2015年83.9亿美元，增长60%，2016年200.8亿美元，增长139.3%，2017年78.1亿美元，同比下降62%（2017年的下降主要是由于中国政府加大了对中国投资的安全审查和限制，另外中国为了稳定外汇储备而倡导理性投资）。到2017年底中国大陆对美投资累计为572.7亿美元。


金融危机以来，中国越来越多的大中型企业显示了赴美投资的积极性。美国拥有健全和透明的法治环境、先进的技术水平、训练有素的职工、廉价的能源、低廉的物流成本、完善的基础设施和一流的研发能力。最重要的是有健全的销售渠道和庞大的消费市场，任何一种商品打开了美国市场就意味着打开了全世界的市场，从2018年起，特朗普政府大幅度降低企业所得税，这将会进一步吸引中国企业赴美投资的积极性。作为世界头号经济体，美国需要世界的投资来支撑经济复苏和重回繁荣。

美国对华非金融类实际投资继续增长。据中方统计，2014年23.7亿美元，2015年20.9亿美元，2016年23.9亿美元，2017年26.5亿美元，到2017年底美国对华累计投资826.5亿美元。

据荣鼎咨询公司的统计，到2016年底，美对华非金融类实际投资（含经港澳和台湾地区）达2280亿美元。

中美两国在相互投资领域也成为互为十分重要的伙伴。

2008年，中美正式启动投资协定谈判。在2013年中美战略与经济对话中双方确认以准入前国民待遇和负面清单为基础展开谈判。在2014年底完成了投资协定的文本谈判，于2015年初开始负面清单谈判。中方为此做出了极大的努力，负面清单项目从2013年的190项到2017年7月已降到95项。与此同时，中方要求美方减
少或停止非经济因素对企业投资的限制，诸如所谓的国家安全审查。据报道，仅2016和2017两年，受到国家安全审查而被限制的中资企业项目多达27起，严重干扰了中国赴美投资和双边合作。

双边投资协定（BIT）是中美经济关系的重要组成部分。达成一个高标准的双边投资协定将有助于两国建立更加紧密的联系，提供两国经贸合作的质量，将迈出建设中美自由贸易区的极为重要的一步，它符合两国的重大经济利益。

2017年11月8日至10日，特朗普总统访问中国。中美签署了2535亿美元的经贸大单，其规模相当于2016年台湾省GDP总量的一半。其中，中方采购为1088亿美元，占整个经贸大单的42.9%。其中包括300亿美元采购370架波音飞机，262亿美元的芯片、航空发动机和汽车零部件，110亿美元的液化天热气，50亿美元的大豆，此外还有牛肉等项目。

中国企业赴美投资项目1317亿美元，占经贸大单的52%。含国家能源投资集团赴西佛吉尼亚州投资837亿美元，开发石油和天然气；中石化等赴阿拉斯加州投资430亿美元，开发天然气和石油。此外，中企赴俄亥俄州50亿美元开发能源。

此外美国企业来华投资项目5个，金融130亿美元，占经贸大单的5%。

以上采购和双边投资项目若都能落实将会促进中美经贸合作的更快发展，也有利于逐步减少美国对华贸易逆差。

特朗普政府让中国企业到美国地广人稀、经济相对落后的州去开发项目，充分说明美国想利用中的资金、技术和人力资源协助特朗普实现振兴美国经济的愿望。

这也充分显示中国政府正在积极努力地缓解美国对华贸易逆差。

三、中美应避免贸易战

多年以来，美国对华贸易逆差一直居高不下。但对华贸易逆差在中国外贸逆差所占的比例却在逐年下降。2014年，对华逆差占到逆差总额50.6%，2017年对华逆差占到逆差总额45.88%。

中国对美出口的大部分商品是物美价廉的日用消费品，缓解了美国的通货膨胀，有利于广大的中低收入人群，等于给广大的中低收入的人群减少了税收。2016年，美国人穿的鞋98%以上靠进口，其中60%来自中国，19%来自越南，10%来自印尼。从中国进口的玩具占86%，箱包占61%，家具占44%，纺织品和服装占37%，机电产品占27%（其中笔记本电脑和平板电脑占94%，数码相机占40%，家用彩电占27%）。
在中国经贸合作中，中国物美价廉的优势得到了充分的发挥。而美国的高新技术优势受到了严格的限制。举例来说，美国若能把能源和环保的高新技术转让给中国可获得上千亿美元的商机。但美国政府却作茧自缚，把商机留给了欧洲和日本。

2017年，特朗普政府滥用贸易保护主义的法律手段。从年初，动用1974年贸易法的“337条款”，到8月14日动用“301调查”，2018年1月22日决定使用“201调查”，矛头直指韩国、中国和日本的大容洗衣机，和中国、马来西亚的太阳能电池板，2018年2月16日商务部长罗斯又宣布启动“232调查”，报告建议对从全世界进口的钢铁征收24%的高关税，对从韩国、巴西、印度、中国和欧洲的钢铁加征53%的高关税；报告对来自全世界的铝材加征7.7%的关税，对来自俄罗斯、越南、委内瑞拉和中国的铝材加征23.6%的高关税。据2月16日法新社报道，美国皮特森国际经济研究所的知名贸易专家加里·霍夫鲍尔说贸易制裁可能导致钢铁价格上涨20%，但是钢铁报告没有谈及此事将对美国经济造成的损害。他说：“通用电气公司、卡特皮勒公司、埃默森公司，所有造桥企业都要付出更高的成本。商务部提出上述建议之际，白宫正努力推动美国基础设施的大规模重建。”完全可以说弊大于利。

无论是“337调查”、“301调查”、“201调查”和“232调查”均来自五六十年前的美国国内贸易法。调查的结果不是大幅度提高进口关税就是设置严格的进口配额，这完全是赤裸裸的贸易保护主义。法律是美国人制定的，审案的法官、处理案子的律师、调查员均为美国人士。从哪里去体现法律最基本的要素：公平、公正。最说明问题的是最后审结案子的是美国国际贸易委员会（ITC）的六位法官，当他们投票结果为三比三，美国贸易法规定涉案外国企业败诉，美国企业胜诉！这岂不是典型的“美国优先”？！这完全不符合世贸组织多边贸易的规则。

2001年，小布什政府发动了钢铁“201调查”，最后裁定对外国钢铁进口设置严格的配额。中国和欧盟等国不服，在世贸组织争端解决机构联合起诉美国，2003年美国政府败诉，撤销了对钢铁设置的进口配额。笔者当年参加中国商务部代表团在日内瓦与美国对簿公堂，亲身经历了胜利的喜悦。笔者建议涉及这几项调查的国家应当联合起来到世贸组织争端解决机构起诉美国，维护自己的合法利益。

美国从1971年开始出现贸易逆差，至今已有47年了，而且日益严重。按照美国海关统计，2016年美国对101个国家和地区都有货物贸易逆差。美国的贸易逆差是经济全球化和战后产业结构调整的必然结果，是大规模国际分工的必然产物。
是结构性的，很难逆转。其实，从中国等发展中国家进口的日用消费品是对美国经济发展、产业结构调整和人民生活需要的必要补充。美国完全可以充分运用享有国际货币地位的美元钞票来应对，历史早已充分证明了这一点。

发生贸易摩擦并不可怕，对话总比对抗强，协商总比动手强。中美两个大国分别为第二和第一大经济体，而且互为举足轻重的贸易伙伴，一旦发生贸易战必然是两败俱伤，谁也不可能获得好处。不仅如此，必然会拖累世界经济的发展，这是中美两国人民和全世界人民都不愿意看到的。还是那句话，合则两利，斗则俱伤，合作共赢才是正道。
沙特激进的再国家化变革

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一、沙特建国与不完全国家化

沙特是政教合一的君主专制国家，也是美国最早的盟友之一。沙特王室、瓦哈比派和美国体系都参与沙特上层建筑构建，并分别扮演关键角色。沙特王室居于政权中心，以传统部落家族模式分配权力，实现坐庄统治。瓦哈比派以沙里亚法管理社会运行，协调政权与社会关系，指导个人生活。美国定位沙特的外交关系，保证沙特在美国主导的全球秩序中的合适地位。这样跨越时代的混合政治机制之所以成为可能，是沙特建国时国家化不完全的结果。

与瓦哈比派和美国结盟是沙特家族实现建国的关键，也是沙特国家化不完全的主要原因。18世纪，随着西方侵略加剧，奥斯曼帝国放松对阿拉伯半岛控制，半岛内部权力角逐催生新一轮部落战争和宗教改革。沙特家族最初既没有显赫历史背景，也不掌握大量土地和财富，仅仅控制着内志一个不足70户人家的绿洲定居点。瓦哈比遭到本部族放逐，被沙特家族接纳后帮助后者在内志地区崛起。瓦哈比派的宗教课税、集体祷告、社会两分和圣战动员等概念，为沙特家族军事征服提供了宗教合法性和现成的社会治理手段。基于宗教认同的两分法超越了传统部落仅以血缘为忠诚号召的局限，但宗教社会就如传统帝国，势必也会保留大量的地区特色和多元倾向，阻碍国家化深入发展。事实上，由于地理区隔和奥斯曼帝国的反制，沙特家族早期的征服规模有限且不稳固。奥斯曼帝国瓦解后，伊本·沙特通过三方面努力最终完成了对半岛的征服。其一，通过引进西方交通、通讯技术以及鼓励游牧部落定居以促进社区物理联结。其二，通过消除多神崇拜、推进政教合一以促进认同一
致，巩固制度优势。其三，获得英国对沙特向海湾沿岸地区扩张的谅解。此后，地区秩序加速流变，沙特成为新兴阿拉伯邻国和殖民大国觊觎的对象。美国作为新兴的、没有地区殖民历史的域外大国，成为沙特拉拢的对象。双方同意在沙特合作勘探石油，并于1933年实现建交。1941年沙特发现大油田。1943年，为阻止意大利进攻沙特炼油厂，美国向沙特单独设立大使馆，并提供军事保护。这样，沙特与美国基于石油利益和安全保护的特殊关系开始形成。

由此可见，建国与国家化在沙特是一个同构过程，国家化是沙特融合盟友优势资源实现建国的工具。也正因此，沙特的国家化在建国后就失去了动力而遭搁置。一方面，瓦哈比派是法定国教，为政权合法性背书，其保守复古的立场约束政权继续改造社会的倾向。另一方面，美国的介入解决了沙特政权的财政和安全需要，使其能够脱离于当地社会而自足运行。当然，国家化进程暂停，沙特王室先天暗弱的缺陷也就此被保留下来。二战后，地区持续动荡，沙特始终处于安全威胁之下，对两个同盟的依赖继续强化。

### 二、机制冲突和石油经济支撑

两个同盟关系是沙特所有上层建筑的基础支柱，但是它们的互斥性共存也限制了沙特国家政治的进化空间。石油经济体系的适时发展为冲突性的政权基础提供了缓冲，解除了沙特继续推进国家化的紧迫必要性。

两个同盟关系都是彼此政治妥协的产物，意识形态上的分歧也被保留。作为王室合法性的背书者，瓦哈比派以原教旨主义自我标榜，其自身合法性全部来自于对先知圣训的严格解读和实践。根据圣训，穆罕默德时代及其后两代构成最好的伊斯兰社会模版，然而沙特的政治实践，包括君主制以及基于家族共识的兄终弟及世袭制，都与先知时代通过民主推选产生领袖的办法相去甚远。与美国结盟使沙特不得不接受大量现代性元素的输入，这又与沙里亚法的保守复古规定格格不入。以上都让瓦哈比派成为意识形态上更保守的萨拉菲派持续攻击的目标。考虑到原教旨派在沙特只是少数派，瓦哈比派和萨拉菲派一共仅占沙特人口的23%，且主要集中于内志一省，瓦哈比派合法性流失凸显了政权的脆弱性。

美沙同盟也从一开始就内嵌了脆弱性。首先，维持美沙同盟关系将损害本国国内政治为代价。美国政府对沙特的社会宗教政策长期采取宽容缄默态度，这有损美国国内和国际道义的完整性。反过来，沙特政府不得不在国内引入最低限度的社会改革以满足美国要求，并且对美国扶植以色列采取温和态度，结果使自己在国内和地区都更趋孤立。“9·11”事件后，文明冲突论高涨。两国作为冲突文
明的领袖国和事件的直接当事国，盟友关系因此备受考验。其次，美沙同盟合作的石油和安全基础几经流变，并不牢靠。美沙合作始于石油开发，但二战时沙特原油产量尚不及美国本土1%，但促使美国将沙特纳入保护范围的是后者在安全上的潜在价值和高度脆弱性。就安全而言，由于利益和认知不对称，共同防御意味着双方要分享各自的安全威胁，也就要承担一些本不必要的甚至与本国利益直接冲突的防御义务。就石油而言，1970年代的两次石油危机使阿美公司逐渐失去美国化，此后两国经贸伙伴日趋多元化。“不可替代”协议中的军火贸易成为盟友关系名义存在的宣示而不再是双方对彼安全承诺的标志。

冲突性的政权支柱基础客观上削弱了中央权威。为了维持盟友间的脆弱平衡关系，沙特王室向各阶层和领域引进包含封建效忠和现代赞助的混合治理机制。具体的做法是在众王子间按照传统的封建方式分配国家权力，同时又允许他们以现代的政治赞助模式竞争政策资源，以优先推进各自背后利益集团的议程安排。这种治理模式带来两个较为负面的副作用。其一，垂直方向的权力分割与家族世袭相结合，在某些关键部门和省份形成事实上的长期割据局面。前国王费萨尔的儿子，沙特·费萨尔自1975年担任外交大臣凡40年，直到2015年去世。现国王萨勒曼在担任国防大臣前，曾主政利雅得省达48年之久。2016年在被时任副王储穆罕默德·萨勒曼撤换前，阿里·奈米已经掌管石油部和阿美公司超过20年。沙特王位继承奉行兄终弟及原则，在地方分封上则优先执行父子相替办法。随着时间推移，不同步任期和长期割据将巩固不同利益共同体，分化政权内部向心力。其二，水平方向的赞助竞争，导致政权内部不同集团与两个盟友的特定部门组合成次级利益共同体，从而稀释对王室的忠诚。2017年6月被撤换的王储巴耶夫曾长期主导反恐事务，与美国安全和情报部门关系非常密切，以至于外界曾担心沙特撤换王储可能会冲击双边关系。2015年4月被撤的王储穆克林曾长期主政黑尔省和麦地那省，之后负责情报部门期间对沙特在应对基地组织、维护与巴基斯坦军方关系以及处理伊朗核问题等关键事务上具有相当话语权。

石油经济的快速发展为政权安排补充了经济基础，增强了政权包容相互冲突的韧性。沙特在1930年代仍然是几乎完全由绿洲农业构成的自给自足经济。美沙合作勘探石油后，沙特逐渐拥有全球最佳的石油资源禀赋组合。沙特石油储量特别庞大，2016年探明储量约为2600亿桶或41立方公里，占世界16%，且多埋藏于沿海浅表，70%为轻油和超轻油，开采和提炼成本远较其它国家为低，利润率更高，加上沙特人口总量少，国内消费占用少，出口比例高。新增的石油财政收入，不仅为维护美沙合作提供了压舱石，使瓦哈比派所坚持的社会传统可以得以维持，而且王室通过专享石油权益还获得了新的忠诚管理手段。巨大的经济和政
治利益刺激沙特政府不断追加投资石油产业。与此同时，其它产业因为较低的回报率和便利的进口替代而被有意忽略。结果是尽管此后政府曾多次发起经济多元化战略，但沙特仍不可避免地形成了石油依赖。石油部门常年贡献沙特GDP的近半，出口收入的八成，以及财政收入的九成以上，而占另外四成GDP的私营部门也大多直接或间接为石油部门服务。

鉴于石油已经成为新的效忠源泉，沙特王室采取多项措施加强石油自主权并扩大石油收入。其一，以安全换石油，收回阿美公司。二战后期，沙特先抵制了罗斯福总统的购买建议，又以向美军出借军事基地扩大安全合作，换取收回石油租借权。1950年双方修改协议，沙特和阿美共同开发，利润五五分成。此后地区内民族主义运动持续高涨，加上1971年英国撤出波斯湾，沙特以安全合作换取美国出让阿美20%股权。1973年沙特主导以石油为武器打击美国经济，展现出对国际油价的关键影响力。在沙特承诺以美元结算和稳定油价支持美国全球霸权的基础上，美国允许沙特完全回购阿美公司。其二，压制国内什叶派的平权运动。什叶派约占沙特总人口的15%，但是在东部海湾沿岸和西部红海沿岸高地地区都占3/4多数。东部海湾沿岸低地不仅分布着沙特绝大多数原油储量，也是最大的炼油设施所在地。沙特每天有约900万桶原油经波斯湾的拉斯坦努拉港和朱艾玛港的油轮或者通过输油管经红海沿岸的延布港出口，而这三个港口也都位于什叶派多数地区。随着石油收入的迅猛增长，沙特政府也加大了对教育、医疗、住房、交通、通讯等基础设施的投资，后者的发展带来社会参与预期的普遍增长。但是在瓦哈比派的教义要求下，什叶派一直无法获得平等社会地位。在1970年代以前，沙特通过支持地区民族主义运动来引导构建国内话语，抑制少数派活动。伊斯兰革命以后，沙特又将国内什叶派的平权要求与伊朗的扩张威胁挂钩，以争取美国的背书。

三、石油瓶颈与社会脆弱性

收回阿美公司为沙特带来丰厚收入预期的同时也赋予后者维护石油输出安全的责任。石油收入促进了社会综合发展，扩大了政权与社会的背离。随着国际市场供需关系扭转，出口国对油价影响力下降，沙特陷入新的政权合法性危机。

1973年，沙特等产油国采取减产禁运措施，国际油价从不到3美元飙涨至12美元。沙特外汇大增，各种进口消费品提高了民众生活水平。随着石油权益的扩张，沙特政府也不得不增加三方面的安全支出。其一，弥补美国削减军援的空缺。在波斯湾“双支柱”战略下，美国对沙特实施军事援助，数额从1970年的不
足1600万美元涨至1972年的3亿多美元。石油危机打击美国经济，也削弱了后者的援助能力。1975年沙特与美国达成20亿美元军火交易。在此之前，美国施压以色列和叙利亚谈判戈兰高地归属问题，施压巴列维伊朗承认巴林主权，作为交换，沙特解除石油禁运，承诺平抑油价。其二，维护石油路线安全。1970年代，海湾双支柱沙特和伊朗联合出兵，帮助阿曼政府镇压由埃及和南也门支持的佐法尔地方叛乱。此外，沙特还加入美国支持巴基斯坦等北层防线国家，抵御苏联南下直接威胁石油运输路线。其三，输出保守主义。石油危机后，地区国家分化重组，阿拉伯民族主义从此式微，伊斯兰主义起而代之。1970年代末，埃及与以色列和谈，伊朗爆发革命组织激进阵营，美国则发布卡特方针，第五舰队进驻波斯湾。失去调节美沙关系的杠杆，沙特的地区外交更趋保守，组建海湾合作委员会，扶持地区温和派阵营。另一方面，伊朗输出革命和破坏朝觐，为沙特收缩国内政策和打击国内什叶派提供了正当借口。

石油收入培育了沙特社会的多元发展，却未能改变对单一石油的依赖。石油外汇对社会的改造首先体现在人口数量和结构的巨大变化。石油开发后，外国劳工涌入，城镇化进程开始。1960年代开始，进口食品和现代医疗条件输入，沙特人均寿命大幅提高，加上沙里亚法对多子家庭的鼓励，沙特人口从1950年的310万快速增长到2011年的2800万，几乎每20年翻一番。与此同时，沙特城镇化水平也迅速提高至85%。截至2014年，在沙特的外国劳工超过1000万，其中绝大多数来自南亚和北非国家，来自欧美的也在10万人以上。高自然增长率加上国外劳工输入，共同造成沙特人口年轻化的特点。2012年，沙特25岁以下人口占50%，30岁以下人口高达70%。人口爆炸也推高了国内石油消费，2015年国内燃油消耗占其当年产量的1/4，且仍以每年7%速度递增。年轻人口还推动地产及电力、通讯等基础设施快速发展，后者构成非油经济的主干，是政府和私人的主要投资标的。但是沙里亚法的自我设限，如规定公共场所男女隔离以及对一些非清真行业的禁忌，严重阻碍本地人口获得相关劳动技能，抑制国内消费市场进一步发展。沙特人不得不每年消耗大量石油外汇，到国外度假、娱乐和接受现代教育。本地劳动力技能匮乏成为阻碍沙特经济多元化努力的最大障碍。2008年时，外国劳工占据了沙特2/3的就业岗位，在私营部门这个比例更高达90%。据估计，适龄沙特人中只有约40%处于完全就业状态，其中大部分在政府部门。公务员薪资和社会福利补贴构成沉重财政负担，加之社会新增就业有限，沙特从2000年开始尝试推动工作岗位的本地化。

随着国际市场供求关系逆转，沙特对石油收入的过度依赖又放大了政权的脆弱性。当供不应求时，影响价格的主要因素是产油国的战争和革命。1970年代
的两次石油危机，伊朗作为欧佩克中人口大国代表，对油价提出更具革命性的要求。沙特人口较少，是欧佩克中的建制派，承诺扩产平抑油价，不仅借机完全收回国公司，坐享超额利润，而且填补了伊朗限产留下的份额，在1980年达到日产1000万桶水平，成为欧佩克中无可争议的霸主。两伊战争初期，高油价刺激英国、墨西哥、加拿大等国加入石油出口，西方工业国在经济危机后消费需求被抑制，转向新能源，因此国际油价很快掉头下跌。1986年，沙特等海合会国家扩大出口试图加快两伊战争结束，导致油价暴跌。沙特被迫接受欧佩克生产配额，设立石油储备基金，向下游提炼和化工环节扩张，以对冲原油价格波动。此后近20年，国际油价基本保持在20美元下方。2003年至2014年，一方面，伊拉克战争和伊朗核危机突出供应短缺预期，另一方面，中国等新兴国促进了需求端增长，油价进入单边上涨阶段。但是油价上涨对沙特未必是好事。首先，国内消费不断扩大，吞噬了沙特在此期间的产量增幅，沙特人均GDP一直没能恢复到1985年的高点。其次，油价高涨取消了劳务市场本地化的必要性，石油依赖的风险持续积累。此外，随着新兴国家的崛起，全球权力重心发生东移。作为美国国际秩序的长期拥护者和受益者，沙特将不得不适应国际秩序新的调整。

### 四、阿拉伯之春与再国家化变革

阿拉伯之春摧毁沙特政权所依赖的国际建制。尝试维护既有秩序受挫后，沙特加速调整内政外交，探寻政权新的定锚。新王储萨勒曼试图同时改革两个同盟关系和石油经济，推进建国时未竟的国家化进程，以重塑政权与社会关系。

沙特曾尝试维护美国主导的既有国际秩序，但屡屡受挫。美国主导的伊拉克战争及之后的民主化改造摧毁了既定地区秩序的社会基础，导致地区激进伊斯兰运动的崛起。沙特尝试以教派冲突来描述伊拉克等地的冲突，以此部分抵消地区反美情绪，结果促进了极端主义的扩散。美国宣布亚太再平衡战略后，沙特积极向美国输血，有意承担美国驻军成本。2010年，沙特向美国采购600亿美元军火。然而美国放弃穆巴拉克，不仅直接削弱沙特阵营，也暴露了美国地区政策的无底线。奥巴马政府放任什叶派力量进入叙利亚，力推伊核协议达成，进一步将沙特逼入死角。感觉被抛弃的沙特开始地区冒进，连续多年扩张军费开支，展示与伊朗对抗的决心，甘冒国内宗教阻力接近以色列，对巴林、也门实施武装干涉，支持地区逊尼派激进力量对抗什叶派，支持埃及塞西政变，以及组建阿拉伯联军和逊尼派反恐联盟。2015年3月沙特领衔阿拉伯联军开始空袭也门，安全开支快速膨胀，外汇储备一年内下跌超过1300亿美元。在全球反恐形势下，尤其在欧洲难民
危机爆发后，欧美纷纷指责沙特等国资助恐怖组织。相形之下，伊朗与俄罗斯结成的什叶派反恐联盟不仅借反恐占据了伊斯兰国的大片地盘，而且成了新的国际秩序的建构者。也就是说，沙特与伊朗这对欧佩克中的主要竞争对手即将在新的国际建制面前发生地位逆转，而沙特绝不能接受这样的安排。

沙特单边扩产维护本国市场优势地位的努力也告失败。直到2005年，沙特仍是原油第一生产大国，产量分别是美国和俄罗斯的1.7和1.1倍，扮演稳定油价产量浮动国角色。金融危机后，俄美两国都试图通过扩大石油生产来摆脱财政困境。2009年，俄罗斯产量超过沙特，美国凭借页岩油更将在2018年产量超越俄罗斯。不仅如此，俄美两国还分别帮助伊拉克南北方恢复石油生产和出口。2014年，伊拉克向美国出口原油量超过沙特。此外，后伊核时代的伊朗也将很快恢复产能至制裁前水平，而且制裁期间伊朗已经储备了数亿桶原油，可以不计成本抛售。雪上加霜的是，中国等新兴国家进入产业升级阶段，经济增速放缓，原油需求下降。2014年中，国际油价开始单边下跌。次年，沙特放弃配额扩大生产，增强与消费国原油提炼合作，试图以此挤出竞争者。沙特石油具有两项关键优势，一是储量惊人，采储比仍在70以上，二是开采低廉，每桶成本最低还不到3美元。执行低价抛售计划使沙特承担了2000多亿美元损失。尽管如此，沙特并没有彻底挤垮美国页岩油，低价竞争迫使许多页岩油企业开发出成本更低的开采技术。2016年年底，沙特和俄罗斯发起欧佩克和非欧佩克产油国达成限产协议。协议经过多次延期，终于使油价从30美元以下反弹并维持在50美元上方。美国尚未加入限产协议，油价回升更意味着多超额利润。就石油而言，美国不再是沙特所依赖的建制维护者，而是规则的破坏者。

沙特国民对政权的信心随外汇储备快速流失。低油价和限产导致沙特经济陷入停滞，2017年甚至出现负增长。阿拉伯之春爆发，沙特面临失序的巨大不确定性。阿卜杜拉国王时期，沙特政府不惜代价，试图同时维护既有国际秩序和国内稳定。据国际货币基金组织报告，2011年至2015年春，沙特援助埃及、约旦、巴林和阿曼等温和派阵营国家的金额达到227亿美元。此外，沙特还暗中支持黎巴嫩、伊拉克、利比亚和也门等国的某些派系，为其提供定向援助。国内维稳的开支尤其巨大。穆巴拉克下台后不久，沙特宣布1300亿美元的社会补贴计划，并声称还将投入另外4500亿美元改善民生。政府密集投资多个住房和道路建设项目，以缓解饱受诟病的住房难问题。为稳定政局，政府还提高了对公务员和王室家族的补贴。其中，仅王室补贴一年就达130亿美元。然而，这种无差别补贴是低效和不可持续的，浪费了政府应对国内最突出的青年问题的资源。自2003年以来，沙特政府通过阿卜杜拉国王中心下设的“宗教与文化对话委员会”，利用社交网络...
推进青年和妇女有序参与社会，还每年推送约10万青年留学欧美。但是这种虚拟参与方式已经很难满足青年现实要求。沙特目前实际失业率约为30%，未来10年还将有超过190万人本地大学毕业生和留学归国人员加入求职队伍。就业困难，年轻人对生活成本上涨就会更加敏感，导致青少年犯罪率上升。萨勒曼国王时期，政府提出通过削减各项财政补贴、开征增值税、发行伊斯兰债券等方式筹集520亿美元用于发展私营部门，希望在未来5年新增120万就业岗位。但是两年多来，沙特私营部门没有表现出任何投资增长势头。相反，外汇储备加快流失显示正有大量的资金外逃。王室内部对削减补贴也表现出抵制情绪。

王储穆罕默德·萨勒曼主导推动的国家变革首先针对沙特长期积累的体制问题。前国王阿卜杜拉倾向自由派，为阻止苏德里派的集权倾向，曾经进行针对性的机构和人事布局。2009年，他设立效忠委员会，将家族非正式集体磋商决策机制化，2013年又跳过了前面几个兄弟将势单力孤的默克林提拔为第二副首相，而该位置一般是留给副王储的。保持王室虚弱有利于维护政权两个同盟，但不利于政权快速应对阿拉伯之春中真正的社会危机，也就是青年问题，而且瓦哈比派和美国盟友也已被证明不仅不再可靠，还成了沙特应对青年问题的障碍。作为应对，萨勒曼国王以默克林内耶夫的正副王储搭配获得苏德里派系和效忠委员会内过半数支持，顺利继位。上台后，萨勒曼就向最喜欢的儿子穆罕默德·萨勒曼转移权力，由他负责皇家法庭和国防部，而这两个职位本来应该是由国王本人和王储默克林兼任的。2015年4月，支持对伊朗采取缓和政策的默克林辞职，同月，持类似立场的费萨尔外交大臣去世。内耶夫继任王储后，依然没有得到多少实权，相反穆罕默德成为新组建的经济与发展事务委员会的总负责人，统摄政府全部31个部门中的22个，以集中应对就业、住房和民生问题。

如前所述，由于双支柱的存在，很多精英阶层对王室的忠诚是有所保留的。也因此，大肆集权成了王储穆罕默德·萨勒曼推进激进改革的首要保障手段。过程中，他也充分利用了多个派系之间的矛盾，打架结合，避免吸引过多火力。2015年4月空袭也门以及2016年初与伊朗断交，为萨勒曼打击自由派赢得了国内保守势力的背书。2017年4月伊斯兰峰会与美国签署军火大单以及6月的卡塔尔断交风波都高调借用的国际反恐的名义，为7月突然撤换负责反恐事务的时任王储纳耶夫争取到美国的默许。此后，王储穆罕默德·萨勒曼又摆出要改革保守宗教的姿态，以安抚和迷惑自由派。9月，沙特解除了妇女不得驾驶的禁令，同时也降低了街头着装规范的执行要求。10月，沙特以控制极端主义为名，召集宗教学者讨论修改某些伊斯兰教义。11月初的也门导弹袭击和黎巴嫩总理辞职事件充满了突发性，吸引了国际关注，为沙特国内的安全紧急措施打了掩护。连夜成立反腐最高
委员会授权突击抓捕王子和高管起到了一石三鸟的效果。其一，完成了对自由派的关键清洗，打击了潜在政敌，削弱了美国对沙特政权的控制。其二，罚没收入补充了国库，树立了政府权威，遏制了资金外逃。其三，此举料将促进国内私营部门发展和阿美公司海外上市估值。摆脱对自由派和美国的依赖后，也能为沙特改革传统社会风俗，发展多元经济减少些阻力。然而在推进社会改革的同时，王储仍然采取了审慎的态度，为红海沿岸建造智能新城，集中管理资源和风险，先行先试，以避免全面开放对保守社会造成过大冲击。

五、结语

1. 这次变革与以往历次显著不同，王室集权首先成为改革突破点。沙特历史上曾经多次推动经济私有化和多元化，但都失败了。究其原因，石油收入抑制了广泛改革的动力，而石油依赖的根源还在于，王室脆弱，尚未摆脱对两个同盟支柱的依赖。国际石油市场供过于求和国内人口持续膨胀的长期趋势已经确立。不管主观意愿如何，去石油化正以石油收入下降的方式真切发生。民众在等待政府提供基本的公共安全和社会服务。鉴于政权的经济支撑已经发生转移，而两个盟友均未能对阿拉伯之春作出及时有力响应，沙特这次去石油化的努力关键在于实现王室集权。沙特要在短时间内摆脱对石油收入的依赖或者将过于宏大的改革计划全部付诸实施都将非常困难。但是，一旦王室集权巩固，政权完成合法性支撑转移，改革的任务也就完成了大半。

2. 穆罕默德王储的强势崛起反映了沙特国内社会激进化的现实。几十年来，沙特底层生活水平停滞不前，民众被拒绝参与社会，政府补贴越来越难以维系，物价持续上涨，甚至出现了少数公务员兼职开Uber补贴家用的情况。穆罕默德王储作为萨勒曼国王最喜欢的儿子，完整继承了父亲治国理政的经验和资源。作为35岁的年轻人，王储精力充沛，是公认的工作狂，善于听取意见，执行力强，是推进去石油化和社会自支持发展的理想人选。国内70%人口的改革要求为王储集权提供了合法依据，而王储的变革计划也集中反映了年轻人不满现状、挑战建制的强烈诉求。事实上，王储海外用兵和国内反腐都强化了改革是动真格的印象，增进了沙特年轻人对改革的信心和支持。王储建立起政权与社会的直接互动，重启了沙特建国时未竟的国家化进程。

3. 政局稳定后，沙特将以更大的自信和自主回归温和的地区政策。王储的国内集权和地区冒进充满危险性，却依然得到美国和诸多地区国家的支持。究其原因，一方面，沙特依然是地区最大稳定器，是地区温和派阵营中更
脆弱国家的最后倚靠。沙特政权失败或爆发革命，地区将陷入更大规模的动乱。另一方面，王储是实用主义者，较少意识形态束缚，不排斥与以色列合作。尽管作风保守，不抽烟、不喝酒、不去国外休假，王储不是原教旨主义者。萨勒曼国王就任利雅得省长时通过对外合作，合理规划、招商引资，将利雅得从一个缺少石油资源的贫困小镇建设成为国际大都市。在父亲的熏陶下，王储从小喜欢日本文化，关注高科技，认为科技是解决地区社会转型和安全困境问题的终极方案。广谱属性使他能够轻易超越国内派系政治，而民众的广泛支持也将支撑他在与瓦哈比派和美国的三边关系中居于更主动的地位。在地区美俄加大投入、教派竞争下降的情况下，未来沙特将大概率从当前的地区冒险收缩，回归到传统的温和政策，这是由其国家利益所决定的。地区冒险只是王储在国内激进化背景下，为王室集权赢得社会支持的必要之举。尽管近来油价略有回升，但是“愿景2030”、智慧新城等宏大计划才是沙特调控社会预期、促进社会参与的主要工具。无论是石油经济还是多元发展，沙特都需要地区稳定和安全。
BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF THE CPIFA

The Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) was founded in December 1949 on the initiative of Premier Zhou Enlai, the first of its kind devoted to people-to-people diplomacy after the founding of New China. In its early years, both Premier Zhou and Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, served as its Honorary President. The current Honorary President is Li Zhaoxing, former Foreign Minister.

The objective of the CPIFA is to enhance mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese people and the peoples of other countries, to promote the establishment and development of friendly relations and cooperation between China and other countries and to strive for peace, harmony, development and cooperation.

To achieve its objective, the CPIFA conducts research on the international situation, major global issues and foreign policies; establishes and develops links and contacts with political activists; carries out exchanges and cooperation with academic research institutions and social organizations of other countries, holding dialogues on major international and regional issues; organizes and sponsors various types of forum, workshop, seminar, lectures and symposium; acts as go-between for business circles, financial circles and enterprises in efforts to promote bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation. The CPIFA publishes a quarterly *Foreign Affairs Journal* in English.

The CPIFA maintains frequent contacts with renowned statesmen and diplomats (including former heads of state or government, ex-foreign ministers, members of parliament, leaders of political parties and government leaders of countries that have yet to establish diplomatic relations with China), distinguished social activists, entrepreneurs, well-known experts and scholars of international studies in more than 120 countries around the world. It has also established bilateral or multilateral exchange mechanisms with related institutions of some countries.

The main body of the CPIFA for carrying out foreign contacts is its council which comprises senior advisers, advisers and council members. Present or former China’s state leaders, high-rank government officials and well-known persons of various social circles act as the senior advisers and advisers. Senior diplomats, as well as experts and scholars engaged in studies of international issues and policies serve as the council members. The CPIFA’s permanent administrative body is its executive council committee which is headed by a president, and it also has posts of vice-president, secretary-general and deputy secretary-general as required by its duty.