Editors’ Note

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**Profound Changes, Big Test and Great Cooperation**

By Zheng Bijian*

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**I**

Suddenly, a pandemic that caught all by surprise has brought disruptions to the development process and all the expectations of humanity on the threshold of the third decade of the 21st century.

An equally unexpected surge of protectionism, unilateralism and populism and the ensuing de-globalization undercurrents has added more uncertainties to the world.

The resulting loss of people’s life and property as well as the catastrophic destruction to economy, society, lifestyle and way of production of all countries have been the most severe since the 1980s when the world entered an era of peace and development.

It is no exaggeration to describe the current

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circumstances as “changes triggered and multified by changes”. The world has entered a period of turbulence and transformation, which is the “profound changes” we are facing today.

II

The “profound changes” in itself bring “big test”.

First, can people in different countries rise beyond unilateralism and protectionism and join hands to put an end to the pandemic?

Second, can countries, while mounting a collective response to the pandemic, restore the global industrial chains, revive a new round of economic globalization and therefore relaunch development?

Third, can countries, while fighting the pandemic and reinvigorating growth, remove interferences and open new vistas for world peace and development in the third decade of the 21st century and beyond?

A fundamental historic task lies ahead in these “profound changes” and “big test” is to achieve great cooperation on a higher level, starting from the third decade of the 21st century, as countries and regions with different social systems, development levels and interests pull through major tests between multilateralism and unilateralism, openness and isolation, and cooperation and confrontation.
It goes without saying that how to respond to the prospects of such “great cooperation” has been the most important test on the vision and capability of all statesmen.

Some have chosen to put people and their lives first and managed to bring the pandemic under control with utmost courage and resolve. Such statesmen bear in mind the larger, global picture when tackling the pandemic and reopening the economy at home. They have actively participated in and supported the global anti-pandemic effort and sought to protect and stabilize the global supply chains, so as to create favorable conditions for the economic recovery and development of all countries, especially that of developing countries.

A totally different approach is to purposefully undermine international cooperation against the pandemic, instead of making proactive efforts to curb its spread. They not only shifted the blame onto other countries and international organizations for the major losses of life caused by their own incompetence, but also sought to paralyze institutions of international governance. As major economies had already been hard hit, they went their own way to pursue de-globalization policies, which undercut the integrity and stability of international supply chains.

It must be pointed out that the duality of the two approaches that stand in stark contrast and interwined with each other will continue to feature in the global landscape in 2020 and the years ahead.
In the face of such duality, China remains calm to set its own course forward. One example is the *Proposals of the CPC Central Committee for Formulating the 14th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development and the Long-Range Objectives Through the Year 2035* adopted at the fifth plenary session of the 19th CPC Central Committee. This document marks a fundamental and strategic choice made by the 1.4 billion Chinese people to tackle the profound changes, meet the severe test and promote great cooperation under the current domestic and international circumstances.

At the convergence of the Two Centenary Goals and in the context of increasingly complicated international environment and growing instability and uncertainty, the 14th Five-Year Plan (FYP) addresses how the CPC plans to pursue the strategy of rejuvenating the Chinese nation amid changes unseen in a century.

The 14th FYP sets a new vision for China’s development and demonstrates China’s responsibility as a major country to align its development with that of the world. It therefore will become the most important blueprint to understand how the CPC governs China and promotes China’s economic and social development under current circumstances.

The 14th FYP also embodies a strategic consideration at a deeper level. With a sober analysis of the favorable and unfavorable conditions at home and abroad, the CPC is convinced that China is still in the middle of an important period of strategic opportunities. In the third decade of the 21st century and beyond,
the Chinese people will maintain their strategic focus and pool all resources to manage their own affairs well.

China is set to achieve basic modernization by 2035 and build a great modern socialist country, that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious and beautiful and realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation by 2050. The attainment of these two important goals in itself will greatly add to the forces for defending and promoting world peace and development.

China will continue to deepen reform and open up in all respects by ushering in a new development paradigm with domestic circulation as the mainstay and the domestic and international circulations reinforcing each other. Under such a new paradigm, China will foster high-quality productive forces and market power, turning China into not only the world’s factory, but also the world’s market. In his speech at the World Economic Forum Virtual Event of the Davos Agenda on January 25, 2021, President Xi Jinping pledged that China will foster a business environment that is based on market principles, governed by law and up to international standards, and unleash the potential of the huge Chinese market and enormous domestic demand, which will bring more cooperation opportunities to other countries and give further impetus to global economic recovery and growth.

China will continue to promote the new round of economic globalization. China will actively advance the Belt and Road Initiative with all partners and will also be actively involved in the globalization of cyberspace and the formulation of rules on global digital governance, so as to promote the great development
of developing economies and renewed growth of advanced economies.

China will play an active part in the reform of the global economic governance system and promote more robust, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth of the world economy. Ravaged by the pandemic, countries are experiencing the worst economic recession since the Second World War. It is clear to all that as the economy recovers, developed countries will also be constrained in many aspects if developing countries fail to grow. For this reason, China maintains that the reform of the global economic governance system must provide necessary support to developing countries and safeguard their development interests and space.

All these efforts evidently illustrate the “profound changes”, “big test” and “great cooperation”. Guided by the vision to build a community with a shared future for mankind, China remains unchanged in its commitment to upholding world peace, promoting common development, building partnerships, and supporting multilateralism. Amid changes unseen in a century, China is no longer the poor and weak country it used to be, but is well-placed to work with other countries to lead the new round of industrial revolution and economic globalization in the new era.

V

As General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee Xi Jinping emphasized that a proper understanding of the international landscape must be based on a correct outlook on history, on the bigger picture and on the role of our country. With regard to the
“role”, it is important to make cool-headed analyses of international developments and view the role of our country through the lens of its relations with the world, so as to correctly define its standing and role in an evolving international environment and formulate appropriate foreign policies.

The COVID-19 pandemic demonstrates that for all the imperfections in the international order, human beings are in a community with a shared future, with common interests in fighting the pandemic together and securing economic recovery, and common values of “peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom” as articulated by President Xi Jinping. In such a global landscape, we have before us two choices to make. Are we going to break the international order into pieces when the pandemic is still taking its toll and try to find a way out by closing one’s own door and excluding others? Or while fighting the pandemic, are we going to promote the common progress of humankind by reforming the international order and restructuring the economy in guidance of building a community with a shared future for mankind? This is a significant historic test. The former choice is worse than the pandemic as it will isolate one’s own country and people from the international community and lead nowhere. The latter is the right way forward.

China’s own development and contribution to the international order is an essential condition for the common development of the world. By the middle of the 21st century, China will realize its second Centenary Goal, the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, which is well connected with socialist modernization in all respects. This is by no means a new hegemon replacing an old one, a scenario that brought untold sufferings in modern history. Instead,
China is committed to upholding, reforming and improving the international order and systems. It holds high the banner of global governance, multilateralism and a community with a shared future for mankind to tackle the common crises confronting human society including hegemony, populism and protectionism.

In conclusion, the significant proposition of “profound changes, big test and great cooperation” implies major historic choices and historic opportunities. In the current situation, a momentous task for the international community is to reflect long and hard about economic globalization and global governance and substantially promote the building of a community with a shared future for mankind based on converging and shared interests.
Enhancing Solidarity, Building on the Past and Making New Progress in Forging a China-Africa Community with a Shared Future

By Deng Li*

Sharing a long-standing tradition of friendship, China and Africa have always been a community with a shared future. As President Xi Jinping pointed out, on the path of pursuing peace and development, China and Africa should be trustworthy friends and sincere partners forever. In the face of unprecedented global changes and a once-in-a-century pandemic, China is speeding up the formation of a new development paradigm, and Africa is also marching forward on the path of development and revitalization. This presents new historical opportunities for growing China-Africa relations and building an even stronger China-Africa community with a shared future.

I

2020 was an extraordinary year for China, Africa and their relations. The sudden onslaught of COVID-19 plunged the world economy into difficulties, and the “political virus” raging in certain countries has

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seriously jeopardized international solidarity and cooperation. In such trying times, China and Africa have stood side by side and supported each other in overcoming the difficulties, writing a new chapter in the history of China-Africa relations.

1. Deepening political mutual trust. In June last year, as the fight against the pandemic entered a critical moment, President Xi Jinping and African leaders jointly initiated the Extraordinary China-Africa Summit on Solidarity Against COVID-19, which sent a powerful message of enhancing solidarity and cooperation, supporting multilateralism and building a China-Africa community with a shared future, and boosted the determination and confidence of the international community in overcoming the pandemic. Since the start of COVID-19, President Xi Jinping has had phone calls with eight African leaders, and State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi has spoken on the phone with 17 African counterparts and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission (AUC). In January this year, despite the impact of the pandemic, State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi paid a successful visit to five African countries on his first overseas trip of the year, a tradition that has been kept by the Chinese foreign minister for more than three decades. In February, Yang Jiechi, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Director of the Office of the Central Commission for Foreign Affairs, visited Uganda and Zambia. The two visits were highly commended by African countries. Such close high-level exchanges provide strong underpinning for the robust growth of China-Africa relations. Facts have proven that despite major difficulties and challenges, China-Africa political mutual trust has not weakened but grown deeper and stronger; China-Africa brotherhood has stayed as strong as ever and taken deeper roots in people’s hearts.
2. Effective cooperation on COVID-19 response. At the height of China’s battle against the virus, the African Union (AU) and the governments and people of African countries offered us valuable support. The AU was the first major regional organization to publicly voice support for China after the epidemic emerged. When Africa was hit by COVID-19, China also took swift actions to help. China sent several batches of anti-epidemic supplies, dispatched expert teams and short-term medical teams to 16 African countries, signed agreements or reached consensus on debt suspension with 16 African countries, reduced or canceled the debt owed by 15 African countries in the form of interest-free government loans that were due to mature by the end of 2020, and started the construction of the headquarters of the Africa Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) ahead of schedule. China has also donated or exported vaccines to over 30 African countries in an ongoing effort. Such acts testify to China’s sincerity in helping Africa fight against the virus and speaks volumes about the profound friendship and solidarity between China and Africa.

3. Robust and resilient practical cooperation. Since last year, while overcoming the impact of the pandemic, China and Africa have made every effort to implement the outcomes of the 2018 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), particularly in the fields of public health, economic reopening, and people’s livelihood. Some 1,100 cooperation projects between China and Africa are still up and running. Nearly 100,000 Chinese technicians and engineers have stayed in their posts, and a large number of major cooperation projects such as railroads, highways and power stations have resumed or started construction. According to statistics, despite the impact of COVID-19 and other adverse factors, the overall implementation
rate of the eight major initiatives announced at the FOCAC Beijing Summit has exceeded 85 percent, and 70 percent of the US$60 billion in supporting funds have been either put into use or arranged. In 2020, trade between China and Africa reached US$187 billion, making China the largest trading partner of Africa for 12 consecutive years. This fully demonstrates the resilience and high quality of China-Africa practical cooperation, which has served as an example for international cooperation with Africa.

4. Closer coordination on international affairs. China and Africa firmly support the World Health Organization (WHO) in playing a leading role in international cooperation against COVID-19. United in rejecting the practices of putting labels on the virus and politicizing the pandemic, China and Africa have stood up for what is right and rallied the world behind the battle against COVID-19. On issues related to Hong Kong, Xinjiang and human rights, China and Africa stand firmly together to jointly defend the interests of developing countries and international equity and justice. China steadfastly supports African countries in seeking strength through unity and resolving African issues in their own way, steadfastly supports Africa’s just fight against racial discrimination and against interference in countries’ internal affairs, and steadfastly supports Africans to head the WHO and WTO. China is taking concrete actions to help Africa increase its representation and voice on the world stage.

II

COVID-19 has reshaped the international landscape in profound ways. In an increasingly fluid and changing world with rising global challenges, China-Africa relations, though confronted
with some uncertainties, also face unprecedented opportunities for development.

1. Pursuit of common development creates new opportunities for cooperation. China was the first country to contain the virus and resume economic activities, and was the only major economy to achieve positive growth last year. This year marks the launch of China’s 14th Five-Year Plan and the start of a new journey toward fully building a modern socialist country. China is stepping up efforts to foster a new development paradigm with domestic circulation as the mainstay and domestic and international circulations reinforcing each other. Driven by this major strategic deployment, the Chinese market, with a population of 1.4 billion, a middle-income group of 400 million and a total of 120 million market entities, will be fully invigorated. As China opens its door wider to the outside world, it will engage in even deeper exchanges and cooperation with countries around the world. In the coming decade, total import into China alone is estimated to top US$22 trillion. Meanwhile, Africa has made commendable progress in the battle against COVID-19 and is steadily moving forward with economic reopening. In particular, with the launch of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), the huge African market, with a population of 1.3 billion and a combined GDP of US$3.4 trillion, is capturing the eyes of the world. Going forward, Africa’s development potential will only be further unleashed. China and Africa are in successive development stages and highly complementary to each other. We are convinced that with concerted efforts of both sides, the road of common development of China and Africa will become wider and wider.

2. Connectivity of development strategies opens new ground
for cooperation. In recent years, through FOCAC, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and other mechanisms and platforms, China has enhanced synergy with the AU Agenda 2063 and the development strategies of African countries. The pillars supporting future China-Africa cooperation are now by and large in place. During the visit by State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi in January this year, DR Congo and Botswana signed MOUs on promoting BRI cooperation with China respectively, and became the 45th and 46th BRI partner countries in Africa. Currently, nearly one third of the countries that have signed Belt and Road cooperation agreements with China are in Africa, which makes the continent one of the most active BRI participants. Not long ago, the AU and China signed a plan on jointly promoting BRI cooperation, the first such document signed between China and a regional organization. With improved structure, richer contents and expanded scope, the strategic framework of China-Africa cooperation is bound to play a more important role in driving the growth of China-Africa relations.

3. Economic transformation generates new engines for cooperation. Last year marked the 20th anniversary of FOCAC. Over the past two decades, China and Africa have jointly drafted and implemented ten cooperation plans and eight major initiatives, taking practical cooperation to an unprecedented height. As both sides are picking up pace in their economic transformation and industrial restructuring, cooperation has moved from government-driven to market-driven, from trade in goods to industrial cooperation, and from engineering contracts to investment and operations. Examples of successful cooperation can be seen in infrastructure, industry, trade, investment, poverty reduction and other areas. In addition, COVID-19 has catalyzed the growth of
new business forms and models, creating new opportunities and space for China-Africa cooperation in such fields as health, digital economy, green economy and integration of industrial and supply chains.

4. Global changes call for a new vision of cooperation. China is the biggest developing country, and Africa is the continent with the largest number of developing countries. The two sides are natural partners for strategic cooperation. The unprecedented global changes and the once-in-a-century pandemic have revealed the urgency of reform in the global governance system. China and Africa, as major members of the developing world and an important force for international equity and justice, have both the need and responsibility to strengthen strategic communication and coordination, champion the principles of peace, development and win-win cooperation that are most needed in our times, uphold multilateralism and democracy in international relations, oppose unilateralism, protectionism and power politics, and promote a more equitable and reasonable global governance system.

III

A promising journey lies ahead of us, and now is the time to march forward. This year is the concluding year for the implementation of the follow-up actions of FOCAC Beijing Summit, and a new FOCAC meeting is scheduled to be held in Senegal. Moving forward, under the guidance of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy, we will continue to act in the principle of sincerity, real results, amity and good faith, follow the approach of pursuing the greater good and shared interests,
and work with African friends to break new grounds in promoting cooperation with higher quality, better structure, greater vitality and stronger sustainability.

1. Pushing for greater synergy of strategies. Guided by the vision of building a China-Africa community with a shared future, we will continue to pursue win-win cooperation and uphold the principle of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits. We will strengthen exchanges with Africa at all levels and in all fields, and ensure the success of a new FOCAC meeting. We will synergize development strategies with the AU and African countries, and introduce new initiatives for China-Africa cooperation through consultation. We will steadily advance high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, promote integrated development by strengthening the cooperation system, and ensure China and Africa develop in a mutually reinforcing way to inspire greater international cooperation with Africa.

2. Deepening cooperation in combating COVID-19. We will continue to provide support for our African friends, including sending medical expert teams to countries in need and speeding up the construction of the Africa CDC headquarters. We will work with Africa in rejecting vaccine nationalism and promoting fair and equitable distribution of vaccines. To deliver our commitment of making COVID vaccine a global public good, we will export vaccines and provide assistance to African countries in need and help them tide over the difficulties. Meanwhile, we will step up efforts to fully deliver the health care initiative under FOCAC and speed up the construction of China-Africa Friendship Hospitals and the cooperation between paired-up Chinese and African hospitals, in an effort to help African countries enhance public
health capacity in diseases prevention and treatment. Together, we will build a China-Africa community of health for all.

3. Boosting the effectiveness of cooperation. While coping with the pandemic, we will continue to push for an upgrade in China-Africa practical cooperation and support Africa’s sustainable development and industrialization. We will lay out new growth drivers for cooperation and grasp the opportunities created by the trend towards digital-driven, Internet-based and smart growth. We will explore new business forms and models for cooperation and work with Africa to upgrade cooperation in such areas as health, manufacturing, regional connectivity, agriculture, digital technology, environment, security and human resources. We will promote exchanges and mutual learning between our two great civilizations. This year is the AU Year of Arts, Culture and Heritage. We will seize the opportunity to deepen cooperation with Africa in education, culture, media and other fields, and advance cultural and people-to-people exchanges in all dimensions, at all levels and in all areas.

4. Strengthening coordination on international affairs. We will enhance strategic communication, continue to firmly support each other on issues concerning core interests and major concerns, and maintain communication and coordination in multilateral frameworks such as the UN, WHO and WTO and on regional hotspot issues. We will defend the UN-centered international system, the international order based on international law, and the multilateral trading system represented by the WTO. We will promote greater democracy in international relations and a new type of international relations, and jointly safeguard the legitimate development rights and overall interests of developing countries.
We will also step up cooperation in peace and security, climate change, poverty reduction, sustainable development and other areas, actively participate in the reform of the global governance system, and jointly uphold international equity and justice.

As a Chinese saying goes, one tree does not make a forest, and one flower does not make spring. Standing at a new historical starting point, we will continue to deepen traditional friendship with our African friends, staying forever as good brothers sharing weal and woe and good partners for common development. A stronger China-Africa relationship will serve as a model for building a community with a shared future for mankind, and make greater contribution to world peace and development.
The China-CEEC Summit Opens a New Chapter in China-CEEC Cooperation

By Huo Yuzhen*

The China-CEEC Summit was held in Beijing via video link on February 9, 2021. Chinese President Xi Jinping personally chaired the Summit and delivered a keynote speech. The Summit has drawn extensive attention as the leaders of China and Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC) discussed plans of development and drew a blueprint for cooperation. This article aims to provide a general picture of China-CEEC cooperation by introducing its past, present and future development.

I. The Historical Background of the Start of China-CEEC Cooperation

Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries were among the first to establish diplomatic relations with China since the founding of New China. The early 1990s witnessed the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the drastic changes in Eastern Europe. Despite

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the changes in the international situation, peace and development remain to be the theme of the times. Working towards a more fair and equitable international order represents the aspirations of people in all countries. China is committed to respecting the development paths chosen independently by CEE countries, and China-CEEC relations have achieved overall smooth transition and enjoyed new development.

China and CEE countries expressed their earnest desire for strengthening practical cooperation at the first China-CEEC Business Forum which was held in Budapest, the capital of Hungary on 25 June 2011. Success would follow naturally. On 26 April 2012, taking the second China-CEEC Business Forum as an opportunity, leaders of China and 16 CEE countries, namely Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia, gathered in Warsaw, the capital of Poland, announced the launch of cooperation mechanism between China and Central and Eastern European Countries and held the first Summit of Heads of Government of China and Central and Eastern European Countries. In September of the same year, the Secretariat for Cooperation between China and Central and Eastern European Countries was set up at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China. On 12 April 2019, at the eighth Summit of Heads of Government of China and Central and Eastern European Countries in Dubrovnik, Croatia, Greece joined the Cooperation as a full member.

It is fair to say that China-CEEC cooperation is a pioneering initiative for cross-regional cooperation jointly proposed and launched by China and CEE countries based on the principles of
extensive consultation and joint contribution, consensus building and voluntarism, and openness and inclusiveness.

II. Institution Building and Practical Cooperation Results of China-CEEC Cooperation

1. Establishment of a Multi-dimensional Cooperation Framework Led by the Leaders’ Summit

Since the start of China-CEEC cooperation nine years ago, continued success has been made in institution building. Led by the leaders’ summit, China-CEEC cooperation is supported by a multi-dimensional cooperation framework covering more than 20 fields, including economic cooperation and trade, culture, education, youth, agriculture, tourism, science and technology, health, think tanks, and sub-national exchanges. The leaders’ summit is held on an annual basis, issuing an outcome document each time. In 2015, during the fourth Summit in Suzhou, the European Union, Austria, Greece, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development became observers. In 2016, during the fifth Summit in Riga, Belarus and Switzerland became observers. The National Coordinators’ Meeting takes place twice a year, mainly to coordinate cooperation and implement the results of the Summit. Altogether 16 National Coordinators’ Meetings have been held before the Summit this year. In addition, dozens of cooperation platforms have been established. With each CEE country leading cooperation in specific areas, countries can leverage their strengths and complement each other. Such cooperation is growing and deepening rapidly. It has produced concrete results in various fields, providing a strong underpinning for the development of China-CEEC cooperation and yielding satisfying outcomes.
2. Important Measures and Key Projects Benefiting All Parties

As early as in 2012 when China-CEEC cooperation began, China announced at the Summit in Warsaw 12 measures to promote friendly cooperation with CEE countries, covering such fields as economic cooperation and trade, financing, infrastructure, culture, education, tourism, think tanks, and youth. These measures include: establishing a US $10 billion special credit line, including a certain percentage of preferential loans mainly used for cooperation projects on infrastructure, high-tech, and green economy; initiating the China-Central and Eastern Europe Investment Cooperation Fund, etc. Since then, various types of cooperation initiatives have been introduced, injecting continued impetus into cooperation between the two sides in all areas. Cooperation projects on connectivity, energy, steel, science and technology, medicine, agriculture, water resource, aircraft manufacturing, automobiles, and telecommunications have been rolled out one after another, and important early harvest has been achieved in all CEE countries. Among them, a number of key projects such as the Budapest-Belgrade Railway, the Port of Piraeus, the Pelješac Bridge and the Mozura Wind Farm have made contributions to the enhanced connectivity between CEE countries and created new jobs for the local people. Apart from benefiting the local people, these projects also earned a good image and reputation for “Made in China” and Chinese enterprises.

3. Practical Cooperation Between the Two Sides Taken to a Higher Level

In the past nine years, China-CEEC cooperation has increasingly played a bigger role in promoting the practical
cooperation between the two sides. Total trade between China and CEE countries exceeded US$100 billion for the first time in 2020, an increase of 85% over nine years ago. The growth rate of China’s imports exceeded that of exports by 22 percentage points, which means that more and more products from Central and Eastern Europe entered the Chinese market, providing more diverse choices for the Chinese people. In terms of investment, China’s investment in CEE countries was a mere US$3 billion in 2014. By the end of 2019, it exceeded $16.8 billion, an increase by several fold. Meanwhile, the 17 CEE countries have also invested more than US$1.6 billion in China. With many incentive measures and policies, personnel exchanges have increased rapidly. The number of Chinese tourists to CEE countries has increased more than five times, and there are more than one million mutual tourist visits each year, an increase of nearly four times. In 2018, the number of Chinese tourists to CEE countries accounted for nearly one-third of the total number of foreign tourists to Europe.

Having achieved fruitful results in institution building and cooperation in various fields, China and CEE countries felt the need to take stock of the existing cooperation and draw a blueprint for the next step of development. Following this consensus, they agreed to hold the China-CEEC Summit in Beijing in April 2020 and President Xi Jinping would personally chair the Summit. Due to the impact of COVID-19, the Summit had to be postponed. Thanks to the joint efforts of all parties, President Xi Jinping chaired the Summit in Beijing via video link on 9 February 2021. This Summit, the highest-level meeting since the start of China-CEEC cooperation, has achieved full success.
III. The Major Significance of China-CEEC Summit and the Wide Prospects for Cooperation

1. The Significance of the Summit

The China-CEEC Summit held on 9 February via video link is not only the highest-level meeting under the China-CEEC cooperation mechanism since its establishment, but also China’s first home-ground diplomatic event in 2021. The significance of this Summit to China’s diplomacy is obvious, but it is much more than that if it is reviewed in a broader context.

First, internationally, this Summit was held against the special backdrop of countries fighting COVID-19. It has demonstrated to the world China and CEE countries’ resolve to work together, overcome difficulties and seek common development. At present, as countries around the world are looking towards economic recovery and rebuilding confidence in the post-COVID-19 era, the Summit has played a fine leading and exemplary role in this regard.

Second, domestically, China achieved a decisive victory in the fight against extreme poverty in 2020, and the year 2021 is the launch of China’s 14th Five-Year Plan and the 100th anniversary of the Communist Party of China. China will actively foster a new development paradigm with domestic circulation as the mainstay and domestic and international circulations reinforcing each other and work towards a higher-standard open economy. The timing of the Summit sends a positive message to the world, one that says that China’s development is firm and strong and it offers new development opportunities for the global economy and multilateral
practical cooperation.

Third, in terms of the development of China-CEEC cooperation itself, better institution building, cooperation philosophy and outcomes delivery all require us to take stock of past experience, look ahead into the future and make strategic plans to guide future actions. This way, we can usher in a new stage of development and meet the rising expectations of people in our countries.

Fourth, China-CEEC cooperation is an important part of and beneficial complement to China-Europe relations. Its growth contributes to the implementation of major cooperation outcomes between China and European countries at the sub-regional level, and will thus give fresh impetus to the comprehensive and balanced growth of China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership.

All in all, the Summit demonstrates to the world that China truly practices multilateralism and is resolute in working with all countries to build a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind. The conclusion of the Summit is yet another success story of major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics guided by Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy.

2. Important Outcomes of the Summit

At the Summit, President Xi Jinping delivered a keynote speech entitled “Keeping up the Momentum and Working Together for a New Chapter in China-CEEC Cooperation”. In the speech, he emphasized that the cooperation between CEE countries was
“initiated with a commitment to win-win cooperation and common development”. With deep insight, President Xi Jinping summed up the principles of the China-CEEC cooperation as extensive consultation and joint contribution, real results and balance, openness and inclusiveness, and an innovative and pioneering spirit. The Summit identified four priority areas for cooperation, namely COVID-19 response, practical cooperation, connectivity and green innovation. It also released the 2021 Cooperation between China and CEEC Beijing List of Activities (the Beijing List of Activities) and the Outcome List of China-CEEC Summit (the Outcome List).

The Outcome List includes 88 outcome documents reached between China and CEE countries since the 2019 Dubrovnik Summit. The 35 documents on intergovernmental cooperation and 53 on business cooperation listed span a wide range of areas such as trade, finance and investment, customs, science and technology, research and education, sports, health, inspection and quarantine, tourism, culture, energy, green development, infrastructure, Belt and Road cooperation and others.

According to the Beijing List of Activities, the year 2021 is designated as the China-CEEC Year of Green Development and Environmental Protection, and areas of cooperation include planning and coordination, trade and investment, pandemic containment and health cooperation, connectivity, innovation, science, technology, energy, environmental protection, agriculture, food industry and forestry, people-to-people exchanges, education, sports, youth and local cooperation. Nearly 40 events are to be held in 2021, demonstrating the richness of China-CEEC cooperation.
3. China-CEEC Cooperation Outlook

(1) Solidarity in COVID-19 Response

The two sides stand ready to step up experience sharing on pandemic response and COVID-19 treatment, explore the possibility of traditional medicine cooperation and enhance the level of health and medical cooperation, so as to contribute to the global community of health for all. At the Summit, President Xi Jinping stated that China will actively consider vaccine cooperation with CEE countries. The two sides will also promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, coordinate COVID response and economic and social development, resume travels and economic activities in a prudent and orderly manner, and keep industrial and supply chains stable.

For that to happen, the Summit participants decide to hold China-CEEC Health Ministers’ Special Meeting, Health Experts’ Meeting and other activities in a flexible manner, depending on the development of the pandemic, and support Hungary in holding the second China-CEEC Expert Forum on Regulation of Medical Products and Medical Devices in Budapest.

(2) Practical Cooperation

Practical cooperation has all along been the aim and focus of China-CEEC cooperation. This Summit introduced further major initiatives to advance practical cooperation. President Xi Jinping announced at the Summit that China intends to import, in the coming five years, more than US$170 billion of goods from CEE countries. China stands ready to speed up the entry of agri-food
products from CEE countries in a bid to double such agricultural exports to China and raise two-way agricultural trade by 50 percent over the next five years. China proposes setting up a farm produce wholesale market in the CEE region. The two sides also plan to develop demonstration zones and industrial parks for China-CEEC business cooperation in Chinese cities like Ningbo and Cangzhou, step up people-to-people exchanges and strengthen sports cooperation using the opportunity of the Beijing 2022 Olympic Winter Games.

To implement the above-mentioned measures, the two sides plan to hold in China in 2021 the fifth China-CEEC Customs Inspection and Quarantine Cooperation Dialogue, the fourth China International Import Expo and the sixth Meeting of the China-CEEC Business Council. They also agreed to hold the fourth China-CEEC Ministerial Conference on Economic and Trade Promotion and the second China-CEEC Expo in Ningbo, the third China-CEEC SME Cooperation Forum in Cangzhou, and the China-CEEC Textile Expo in Romania.

(3) Connectivity

Connectivity is key to developing smooth avenues of cooperation for interconnected development. Since launching the China-CEEC cooperation, the two sides have engaged in a series of key projects with remarkable results. At this Summit, President Xi Jinping pointed out cooperation priorities such as constantly improving connectivity, jointly pursuing high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, speeding up major projects such as the Budapest-Belgrade Railway, continuing to support the development of the China-Europe Railway Express, deepening
customs cooperation to ensure trade security and faster clearance, and exploring cooperation on a pilot basis under the “Smart Customs, Smart Borders and Smart Connectivity” Initiative.

Guided by these principles, in 2021 the fourth China-CEEC Transport Ministers’ Meeting will be hosted by Poland, and the third China-CEEC Logistics Secretariat Focal Point Meeting and the fourth China-CEEC High-level Customs Cooperation Forum will be hosted by China or interested CEE countries.

(4) Green Innovation

Green innovation is a new spotlight of this Summit and future-oriented driver of cooperation. Participants of the Summit designated the year 2021 as the China-CEEC Year of Green Development and Environmental Protection and will actively carry out relevant exchanges and cooperation. President Xi Jinping stated at the Summit that China will steadfastly advance international cooperation on climate change and take the China-CEEC Year of Green Development and Environmental Protection as an opportunity to deepen exchange and cooperation in green economy, clean energy and other related areas. China also proposed setting up a China-CEEC STI Research Center, holding a China-CEEC Forum for Young S&T Talent, widening cooperation on the digital economy, e-commerce and the health sector and setting up a China-CEEC dialogue mechanism on e-commerce cooperation and a China-CEEC alliance in the public health industry.

In this connection, in 2021, China will host the second China-CEEC Ministers’ Conference on Environmental Cooperation and the fifth China-CEEC Conference on Innovation Cooperation. The
possibility of holding a China-CEEC Forum for Young S&T Talent in China will be considered. Furthermore, Serbia and Montenegro both expressed interest in setting up a China-CEEC Smart City Center.

Sub-national cooperation has been an important part of China-CEEC cooperation. Prior to this Summit, the fifth China-CEEC Local Leaders’ Meeting was held in Shenyang via video link. In 2021, Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, will host the fifth China-CEEC Capital Mayors Forum and China’s Ningbo will host the China-CEEC Mayors Forum. China-CEEC sub-national cooperation will produce more fruits this year.

Although there might be challenges with the deepening of China-CEEC cooperation, this model of cooperation, which is gaining more and more attention, resources and efficiency, has won the recognition of all sides. The fact that bilateral cooperation between China and CEE countries has benefited from the China-CEEC cooperation platform has also been recognized by all participants.

As an old Chinese poem puts it, “The river is wide at full tide; a strong wind sends the sail surging forward.” The world trend for peace, development and cooperation has provided ample space for China-CEEC cooperation, and the Beijing Summit has charted the course for the two sides to advance cooperation. With close cooperation and joint efforts of all, the ship of China-CEEC cooperation will break waves and sail far.
Following the sudden outbreak of COVID-19 which raged across the world, the global economy shrank tremendously in 2020. But with vaccine approvals in many countries at the end of 2020, there has been raised hope for a turnaround in the pandemic by the second half of 2021. The possibility of an easing pandemic, the relatively low level of growth in 2020 to begin with, and the roll-out of stimulus plans by major economies have all offered reasons for expectation of a global economic recovery in 2021.

I. Major international organizations forecast a global economic recovery in 2021.

According to the latest World Economic Outlook released by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on 25 January 2021, “the global economy is projected to grow 5.5 percent in 2021 and 4.2 percent in 2022”.

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“The 2021 forecast is revised up 0.3 percentage point relative to the previous forecast, reflecting expectations of a vaccine-powered strengthening of activity later in the year and additional policy support in a few large economies”. The IMF believes that “the strength of the recovery is projected to vary significantly across countries”, depending on pandemic control performance, access to medical interventions, effectiveness of policy support, and structural characteristics entering the crisis, etc. Among major economies, IMF 2021 growth projections are 5.1% for the United States, 3.1% for Japan, 5.5% for France, 4.5% for the United Kingdom, 3.5% for Germany, 3.6% for Brazil and 2.8% for South Africa. Being the only major economy that achieved economic growth in 2020, China is projected to grow 8.1% in 2021, keeping its lead among major economies.

According to the World Bank in its *Global Economic Prospects* in January 2021, although global economic output is emerging from the recession triggered by the pandemic, it will remain below its pre-pandemic trend for a long time. The *Global Economic Prospects* projects a 4% growth in world economy in 2021, specifically, 3.5% GDP growth in the United States, 3.6% in the Euro zone, and 2.5% in Japan. “Growth in emerging market and developing economies (EMDEs) is envisioned to firm to 5 percent in 2021”, among which, China is expected to grow 7.9%. The World Bank suggests that there are still downside risks in global economic recovery. Limiting the spread of the virus, providing relief for vulnerable populations, and overcoming challenges of vaccine distribution are key immediate priorities for advancing global recovery. And global cooperation is crucial to tackle many of these challenges.
Global trade is expected to grow in recovery. According to the IMF, “consistent with recovery in global activity, global trade volumes are forecast to grow about 8 percent in 2021, before moderating to 6 percent in 2022”. “Services trade is expected to recover more slowly than merchandise volumes, however, which is consistent with subdued cross-border tourism and business travel until transmission declines everywhere”. In contrast, trade in goods is less affected after adapting to the pandemic-related impacts.

Inflation will remain at high levels. COVID-19 caused global food and oil prices to soar in 2020. As indicated by the food price index of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), by the end of 2020, food and edible oil prices jumped up to the highest level since 2014. In addition, the separation measures to control COVID-19 led to rise in transportation costs, which in turn pushed up prices. In 2021, global inflation expectation will continue to be well-anchored and economic recovery will put up demands, while supply will be subdued by the disrupted transportation and less efficient global supply chain. Monetary policies of central banks will keep easing, which will bring capital abundance, thus pushing up inflation. From Policy perspective, central banks will not raise short-term interests until the momentum of economic recovery takes hold. What happened was that the high inflation expectations caused a big fall on the last trading day in February in the global stock market.

II. Global economic recovery still faces multiple challenges and has considerable uncertainties.

1. Uneven distribution of vaccines may lead to a resurgence
in the pandemic, and impedes global economic recovery.

Pandemic control is an important precondition for economic recovery. At present, vaccines play a significant role in controlling pandemic transmission and reducing hospitalization and death rates. In Israel and the United States which were hard hit by the pandemic, COVID-19 infection cases and deaths have fallen significantly following large-scale vaccination among the public. The world is counting much on the vaccines for overcoming COVID-19 impacts and restoring social and economic situations to normal. But first and foremost, the global vaccine production, distribution and inoculation must outpace the virus mutation. That will ensure mass immunity on a global scale before the vaccines become invalid as a result of the virus mutation.

But global vaccine production and distribution is hugely uneven. “Vaccine nationalism” is serious. Developed and rich countries have almost monopolized vaccine production and supply in the world except those produced in China and Russia. According to John Hopkins University, more than half of the production of 13 most promising candidate vaccines have been secured for the 1 billion people, the total population in developed countries. Specifically, Japan, Australia and Canada, with a population of 200 million combined, have secured 1 billion vaccines while the 5 billion people in poor nations have nothing. Delivery of vaccines to poor countries has just started under COVAX, with only Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire receiving 600,000 and 500,000 vaccines respectively. It remains a long way to reach the goal of delivering 2 billion vaccines by the end of 2021.

In this era of globalization, no country can be safe alone in
front of the pandemic. If poor and developing countries cannot have timely access to vaccines and achieve national immunization at an early date, even when rich and developed countries realize mass immunization through vaccines, the mutated COVID-19 viruses will still spread across borders to pass on to the vaccinated people in other countries, thus perpetuating the pandemic transmission. Now there are already mutated corona viruses which are much more infectious. With uneven distribution of vaccines, the mutated viruses may well give rise to a third round of pandemic, which will plunge the world once again into lockdown and isolation and thus kill economic recovery.

2. The US-China strategic competition is not good for global economic recovery.

The United States is the sole super economy in the world while China is the world’s second largest economy that is developing steadily and robustly. Both of them are economies of over 10 trillion US dollars, with their combined GDP taking up about one quarter of the world. In recent years, their economic growth contributed more than 40% to global growth, with China contributing over 30% to world economic growth for several years consecutively. That’s why the world economic prospects hinge upon the economic performance of China and the US to some extent, and the situation of China-US ties will affect the economic growth of the two countries and the whole world as well.

The Trump administration provoked trade frictions with China and worked for “decoupling” with China, sending bilateral ties to the lowest point since establishment of China-US diplomatic relations. After taking office, the Biden administration pledged to
rejoin the international community and expressed willingness to take a rational attitude and reshape China-US relations through negotiations. But by now, it is hard to say that there is any marked improvement in the bilateral relationship. The increased tariffs imposed on China by the Trump administration are still there, the US has not changed its policy of taking China as the biggest strategic rival and containing China as such and the US wants to forge an alliance of so-called democratic countries to isolate China. So it is still about containing China. What has changed is just how the containment is done.

Under the influence of being tough on China, the Biden administration may find it hard to completely reverse the Trump administration’s China policy. Even if Biden has the intention to improve relations with China to some degree, he may well encounter the opposition from the anti-China members in the US Congress. Just recently, Senate Democratic Leader Charles Schumer asked members of Congress to draft a legislative package to curb the rise of China and use the bipartisan tough China attitude to reinforce US science and technology industries and fight the assumed unfair practices in order to out-compete China. And the Republican China hawks have put more pressure on Biden, urging him to continue his predecessor Trump’s tough China policy.

Today’s China, the second largest economy in the world, has enough economic resilience and naturally will not yield to US pressure. The ongoing China-US strategic competition will inevitably have a negative impact on bilateral economic cooperation, and in turn, on their economic growth respectively. According to the US-China Business Council (USCBC), the US trade frictions with China provoked by Trump have resulted in the
loss of 245,000 jobs in the US. The Oxford Economics estimates that US-China decoupling will inflict 1.6 trillion US dollars in losses upon US GDP. Globally, the sustained strained China-US relationship is not good for the restoration of confidence in global trade and investment, as it will disrupt the normal operations of industrial chains and supply chains, leaving most countries in a difficult situation of taking sides, dividing the world into two economic camps and casting shadow on global economic recovery.

3. The world is confronted with heavy debts, with long-term growth prospects constrained.

The latest report of the Institute of International Finance shows that the year 2020 saw an increase of 24 trillion US dollars of global debts caused by COVID-19, with a record 281 trillion US dollars in total debts globally, of which 203.7 trillion US dollars were for developed countries and 77 trillion US dollars for developing countries. Global debts are 355% of global GDP, up 35 percentage points over that in 2019. Such a jump is even bigger than that in 2008 when the sub-mortgage crisis started. Back then, global debts to global GDP ratio only increased 10%. In 2021, the pace of global debts expansion will not slow, as government public debts alone will increase by another 10 trillion US dollars to reach 92 trillion US dollars by the end of 2021.

Although massive economic stimulus plans are effective countermeasures to tackle the COVID-19-related recession, and in times of extremely low interest rates, immediate debt costs are almost zero, thus generally well under control, in the long run, however, debt risks are accumulating at an accelerated pace, and with high interest rates coming ahead, debt burdens will continue
to worsen. The debt-strapped governments and enterprises will all fall into a dilemma.

On the government level, following the economic recovery, central banks will have no choice but to raise baseline rates to prevent rapid growth of inflation, which will considerably push up debt servicing costs. If the borrowing costs of the US are 2 percentage points higher than market expectation, the debt servicing burdens of the US will surge from 2% of its GDP in 2020 to 6% of GDP in 2030. The debt servicing burdens of Italy will even go higher than the level during the European debt crisis. Exit of massive economic stimulus will be even harder than during the financial crisis in 2008 and 2009. Political and social pressures will constrain the efforts of the governments to reduce deficits and debts, which in turn will undermine governments’ capabilities to cope with other crisis. On the enterprises level, although companies survived the crisis during the pandemic by increased debt, the pressure to repay capital and interests in due time will force the companies to shift from business expansion to debt payment, thus jeopardizing their business operations. As a result, when the global economy gets out of the impacts of the pandemic and moves towards recovery, the heavy debt burdens will curb the long-term growth prospects.

**III. Only by strengthening cooperation can the world truly realize economic recovery.**

In this era of globalization, global challenges must be managed through global responses. Whether it is COVID-19, other infectious diseases, climate change, or anything else, none of these challenges can be handled by one single country alone. In the
same vein, in the world of economic interdependence, no country can develop its economy well all alone. Only by seeking common ground while shelving differences and promoting cooperation, can countries truly achieve economic recovery globally.

It is important to increase cooperation for all countries in vaccine production and distribution, so that the vaccines against COVID-19 will become global public goods accessible to all. Only by doing that can we curb the pandemic sooner and provide preconditions for economic recovery. It is also important to be wary of “vaccine nationalism”, give full play to the World Health Organization and other international multilateral institutions. Providing vaccination for all countries through COVAX, the vulnerable people in the low and middle income countries in particular, is the most cost-effective and rapid way to curb the pandemic.

China and the United States shall take responsibilities as two major countries and work together in spearheading global economic recovery. The US must give up its unreasonable attempt to contain China and responsibly strengthen cooperation with China on fighting COVID-19, addressing climate change, advancing global economic recovery and other urgent tasks facing the international community. It should also respond to China’s call to activate or establish dialogue mechanisms in various sectors and at various levels in order to put bilateral ties back to the normal track at an early date.

It is imperative that all countries work together to intensify macroeconomic policy coordination. Fiscal, taxation and monetary policy collaboration and regulatory coordination must be increased
among countries through G20 and other platforms as a way to make economic stimulus and recovery policies better targeted and more effective. To address the worsening global debt issue, countries need to make use of IMF, G20 and other international organizations to allocate financial resources globally, in particular to increase loans and reduce debts for low-income countries and emerging markets, implement debt restructuring plans, avoid sovereign debts default, and prevent severe financial turbulences which may impact the global economy, so as to bolster confidence and stabilize expectations globally. As mass vaccination rolls out worldwide, based on scientifically evaluating the effectiveness of the vaccines, all countries should also work hard on the issuance and mutual recognition of vaccine passports, promote cross-border business travel and tourism, help restore the pre-COVID-19 conditions and facilitate global economic recovery. 🌍
China-ASEAN Relations at 30: Braving Ups and Downs and Creating the Future Together

By Yang Jian*

When Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, the then Malaysian Foreign Minister, invited the then Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen to attend the opening ceremony of the 24th ASEAN Foreign Ministers’ Meeting held on July 20, 1991, the international situation was undergoing drastic changes: the former Soviet Union was on the brink of collapse, the Cambodian issue was still to be fully resolved, ASEAN had only six members, and China had not yet established diplomatic relations with Brunei. At that time, China and ASEAN, as an organization established in 1967, were lack of communication and mutual trust. Nonetheless, leaders of China and ASEAN countries saw the importance to themselves of developing friendly relations and, in an act of strategic foresight, made the historic decision to start the dialogue process.

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Thirty years on, China-ASEAN relations have witnessed remarkable progress in various fields such as politics, trade, security, culture and health. The frequent interactions, close cooperation, and fruitful results between the two sides have exceeded the world’s imagination, to the great benefit of the peoples of China and ASEAN countries.

Thirty years later, the international landscape is undergoing drastic changes again. Both China and ASEAN are facing the serious task of maintaining regional peace and stability and boosting national development and prosperity amidst new challenges. To reexamine the process of China-ASEAN cooperation since the establishment of the dialogue relations may be helpful for the two sides to make a fresh start.

Cooperating through Rain or Shine for a Better Tomorrow

Over the past three decades, China and ASEAN both have made extraordinary achievements. The same is true for the regional cooperation mechanism with ASEAN at the center.

ASEAN had only five members when it was founded in 1967, and Brunei joined after its independence in 1984. In the 1990s, ASEAN gradually grew into a regional organization covering the whole of Southeast Asia after taking in Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia. Based on the “ASEAN Way”, an approach created by the Organization that respects the characteristics of the region, ASEAN helped bring peace to the previously war-torn region through dialogue and cooperation and promoted peace, stability and development.
In 1992, ASEAN adopted the Singapore Declaration and the Framework Agreement on Enhancing Economic Cooperation, envisioning to form, within 15 years or by 2008, the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), which was officially launched in 2002. In 2003, ASEAN decided to establish the ASEAN Community. In 2007, on the occasion of the Organization’s 40th anniversary, ASEAN leaders signed the Cebu Declaration on Accelerating the Establishment of the ASEAN Community by 2015 to accelerate the Community building process. In November of the same year, ASEAN leaders signed the ASEAN Charter, which came into force on December 15, 2008, defining the legal status and institutional framework of ASEAN and laying a solid foundation for the ASEAN Community. The year 2015 then saw the establishment of the ASEAN Community, which comprises the three pillars of political-security, economic and socio-cultural communities. The ASEAN Community Vision 2025 was also adopted in the same year.

While accelerating internal integration, ASEAN has played a leading role in building regional cooperation mechanisms as well, forging dialogue partnerships with a number of countries. As of today, ASEAN has 10 dialogue partners (Australia, Canada, China, EU, India, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Russia, and the United States), 4 sectoral dialogue partners (Norway, Pakistan, Switzerland and Turkey) and 4 development partners (Chile, France, Germany and Italy).

In 1994, ASEAN created the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) with the aim to build more stable relationships with major powers and to facilitate exchanges among major powers with close ties to Southeast Asia. The Forum, which now boasts 27 members and
multiple Track I and Track II meeting mechanisms, is the most important platform for political and security dialogue in the Asia-Pacific region.

In the wake of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, ASEAN held an informal ASEAN+3 leaders’ summit with China, Japan and South Korea in Malaysia, initiating the process of East Asia cooperation, which was institutionalized in 1999 when the Leaders issued a Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation. In 2007, the Second Joint Statement on East Asian Cooperation reaffirmed that the ASEAN+3 Process would remain as the main vehicle towards the long-term goal of building an East Asian community, with ASEAN as the driving force. In 2017, the Manila Declaration was released at the 20th ASEAN Plus Three (APT) Commemorative Summit. At present, the APT framework has 65 cooperation mechanisms covering various fields.

In 2005, with the effort of ASEAN, the First East Asia Summit was held in Kuala Lumpur, which was attended by state leaders of all ten ASEAN countries and China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand. The United States and Russia officially joined the East Asia Summit in 2011.

To strengthen security and defense cooperation with its dialogue partners, ASEAN launched the ASEAN Defense Ministers’ Meeting Plus (ADMM+) in 2010 with eight countries, namely Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea, Russia, and the United States. The ADMM+ has been held annually ever since 2017.

ASEAN has successively formed free trade areas with
China, South Korea, Japan, India, Australia and New Zealand. In 2012, ASEAN reached a consensus with the above six countries to kick-start negotiations on the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (RCEP). After several rounds of negotiations, the RCEP was signed in November 2020 by the ten ASEAN member countries, China, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand, with an open door reserved for India.

The ASEAN economy has been very active in recent years, with a number of member countries achieving sustained and rapid growth. ASEAN’s GDP reached 3 trillion US dollars in 2019, making it the world’s fifth largest economy.

China’s journey in the past 30 years, on the other hand, can be summarized by “continuous reform and opening up leading to continuous economic growth”. From opening up coastal areas to opening up inland central cities, and then to joining the World Trade Organization; from “bringing in” to “going global”; from the “Belt and Road Initiative” to the holding of the China International Import Expo (CIIE), and then to the construction of the Hainan Free Trade Port, China has opened its door wider and wider to the world. From the traditional planned economic system to the socialist market economic system, and then to enable the market to play the decisive role in resource allocation and make the government better play its role; from a single public ownership system to a basic economic system in which public ownership is the mainstay and economic entities of diverse ownership develop together, China has never stopped the reform of its economic system. In addition to economic reform, China has also carried out major reforms in the Party and state institutions, the administrative system, the system of rule of law, the judicial system, the foreign
affairs system, the social governance system, the system of ecological and environmental inspection, the national security system, and the national defense and military, to continuously strengthen its governance capacity.

China has been the world’s second largest economy since 2010. In 2020, China’s GDP topped 100 trillion yuan (14.7 trillion US dollars) for the first time, and is estimated to account for about 17% of global GDP. China has accomplished the targets for winning the battle against poverty, and made historic achievements in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

China-ASEAN relations have seen constant new progress in the past three decades. In 1996, China became a full dialogue partner of ASEAN. The two sides decided to establish a “21st Century-oriented Partnership of Good Neighborliness and Mutual Trust” in 1997 and signed the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) in 2002. In 2003, among all ASEAN’s dialogue partners, China took the lead in acceding to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, and the two sides decided to upgrade ASEAN-China relationship to strategic partnership for peace and prosperity. In 2008, China appointed its first ambassador to ASEAN. In 2011, the China-ASEAN Center was formally established. In 2012, China set up its Permanent Mission and began posting Ambassadors to ASEAN. In 2018, China and ASEAN jointly issued the China-ASEAN Strategic Partnership Vision 2030.

In 2002, China and ASEAN signed the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation, kicking off the negotiations on building the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area
(FTA), which was completed on schedule in 2010. In 2019, the China-ASEAN FTA Upgrading Protocol took full effect. Since 2004, China and ASEAN have held the China-ASEAN Expo and the China-ASEAN Business and Investment Summit in Nanning, China every year, and China has remained ASEAN’s top trading partner since 2009. In 2020, while global economy has been hit hard due to the COVID-19 pandemic, bilateral trade and two-way investment between China and ASEAN grew against the headwind, with ASEAN overtaking the EU and the US as China’s top trading partner. Bilateral trade volume in 2020 is 86 times that of 1991.

The road that China and ASEAN have travelled together has not been an easy one. The two sides have stood alongside with each other against the Asian financial crisis, the global financial crisis, the SARS epidemic, tsunami disasters and now the havoc of the COVID-19 pandemic. In every difficult moment, China and ASEAN have stood by each other and supported each other, demonstrating the closeness and resilience of their cooperation.

The development of China-ASEAN relations over the past three decades has by no means been smooth sailing. Like all neighbors in the world, China and ASEAN have had their bumps along the way. Cultural differences have once led to misunderstandings, frictions have arisen out of frequent interactions, historical grievances have been re-inflamed from time to time, and unresolved territorial and maritime delimitation disputes have repeatedly stirred up public sentiment. Fortunately, every time China-ASEAN relations encountered difficulties, the two sides have eventually returned to the path of resolving differences through dialogue and consultation. As Premier Li Keqiang said, after three decades of development, China-ASEAN
relations have seen “growing maturity and stability”.

It can be said that while the olive branch ASEAN extended to China has expanded the space and opportunities for its own development, China’s sincere engagement with ASEAN guided by the principle of “building friendship and partnership with neighboring countries” has promoted the stability of China’s neighboring environment and the development of its domestic economy. At the same time, the fact that China has prioritized relations and maintained close cooperation with ASEAN has served as an impetus for the development of ASEAN’s relations with other countries, enhancing ASEAN’s international status. Cooperation between China and ASEAN has not only achieved a win-win situation, but also facilitated regional cooperation and economic integration in East Asia, as well as the overall development of Asia at large.

Braving Ups and Downs and Creating the Future Together

On October 3, 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping delivered a speech at the Indonesian Parliament entitled “Join Hands to Build a China-ASEAN Community with a Shared Future”, in which he called for joint efforts with ASEAN in building an even closer China-ASEAN community with a shared future. This was the first time President Xi had proposed the concept of “building a community with a shared future”, which is testimony to the priority of ASEAN in China’s diplomacy.

The notion of Building a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind put forward by China has been repeatedly included
in United Nations resolutions. There are people who still have doubts about and even question this idea. However, the COVID-19 pandemic that is still ravaging the world and the consequent economic crisis have revealed in a very harsh way that in today’s world, no matter where we are, the fates of mankind are indeed closely intertwined. Faced with common challenges, no country can respond alone or stand aloof. Beggar-thy-neighbor practices only do harm to each other, while helping others is helping ourselves.

Faced with the sudden outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and amid all sorts of negative noises, China and ASEAN, a pair of partners who has repeatedly weathered through thick and thin together and thus maintained deep mutual understanding, joined hands in cooperation and achieved successes in the fight against the pandemic as well as work and production resumption. When China was hit off-guard by the outbreak, ASEAN leaders, governments, private individuals and institutions expressed sympathy and offered assistance. In the Chairman’s Statement on ASEAN Collective Response to the Outbreak of Coronavirus Disease 2019 issued on February 15, 2020, ASEAN countries specifically expressed their sincere support for China. On February 20, the Special ASEAN-China Foreign Ministers’ Meeting on Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) was held, at which the two sides decided to cope with the pandemic and its resulting consequences together. When the Disease was spreading across ASEAN, China’s central government, local governments, military, businesses and non-governmental organizations provided a large amount of medical material assistance to ASEAN countries. China held video conferences with ASEAN countries to share experience in fighting the pandemic and sent medical teams to several ASEAN countries.
China also carried out vaccine cooperation with Indonesia and other countries, and provided vaccine assistance to several ASEAN countries.

In order to reduce the pandemic-inflicted loss to bilateral economic and trade cooperation, China and ASEAN countries have created “fast tracks” and “green lanes” to facilitate the flow of people and goods, working hard to forge ahead with “Belt and Road” as well as other cooperation projects. During the pandemic prevention and control period, the construction of China-Laos railroad saw significant progress, the Tunnel 3 of the Jakarta-Bandung high speed railway (JBHSR) project was drilled through, the first international freight train between the Yangtze River Delta region and ASEAN traveling from Nantong, China to Hanoi, Vietnam was launched, financial cooperation within the framework of the China-Singapore connectivity initiative has radiated to seven provinces and regions in western China, and the 3rd Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC) leaders’ meeting decided to push for the synergizing of the LMC with the New International Land-Sea Trade Corridor.

It is due to the determination and actions of China and ASEAN to work together that the trade volume grew by 6.7% against all odds to a record 684.6 billion US dollars in 2020, while ASEAN became China’s top trading partner for the first time ever. In 2020, China’s industry-wide foreign direct investment in ASEAN topped 14.36 billion US dollars, jumping 52.1% year-on-year, while ASEAN investment in China also achieved growth.

In November 2020, Chinese and ASEAN leaders issued the Plan of Action to Implement the Joint Declaration on China-
ASEAN Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity (2021-2025) and the Initiative on Building China-ASEAN Partnership on Digital Economy, designating the year 2021 as the China-ASEAN Year of Sustainable Development Cooperation. The two sides also agreed to undertake consultation and coordination in exploring the establishment of a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership between ASEAN and China. Looking into the future, China will accelerate the creation of a new development paradigm with domestic circulation as the mainstay and domestic and foreign circulations reinforcing each other, while ASEAN, with its young population, rich resources and huge market, will further have its development potential tapped. China-ASEAN cooperation will certainly open up broader prospects.

It must be admitted that, in addition to the difficulties caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, the Asia-Pacific region, which is home to both China and ASEAN, and the world at large, are undergoing major changes, bringing much uncertainty to regional peace and development. Relations between China and the United States, which have global implications, are in the most difficult situation since the normalization of diplomatic relations. Despite the fact that China has repeatedly expressed willingness to work with the United States to promote sound and stable bilateral development of relations in the spirit of “non-conflict, non-confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation”, it is still unclear whether the new US administration will return to a rational policy toward China. Protectionism and anti-globalization voices are on the rise in some countries, and certain forces are undermining the international trade order out of a zero-sum mindset, causing more difficulties to the global economic recovery. Climate change has made natural disasters more frequent, and
mankind’s excessive demands on nature may lead to more unexpected disasters.

After years of engagement, cooperation between China and ASEAN has reached an unprecedentedly high level, but there is still room to build more mutual trust. Particularly, with the rapid rise of China’s comprehensive national strength, some ASEAN countries feel unease and pressured. The interference of certain external forces has further confounded the situation and made it even harder to address hotspot issues of the region.

None of the above challenges will be met without the joint efforts of China and ASEAN, who are inseparable neighbors with their interests closely intertwined.

Looking ahead, both sides should first enhance mutual understanding and trust. For China, the next step is to achieve targets set in the 14th Five-Year Plan for national economic and social development and the Vision 2035. These targets cannot be realized without the support and cooperation of the international community, of which ASEAN is an indispensable member. For ASEAN countries, regardless of their levels of development, fostering sustained economic growth and improving people’s living standards remain the top priority, and China has been and will continue to be their strongest and most reliable partner. Despite differences, both sides have the major common interest in maintaining and consolidating a peaceful and stable regional environment for their respective domestic development, for the national interests of China and ASEAN countries, and for the interests of their peoples.
In 2015, the year the ASEAN Community was established, President Xi Jinping delivered a speech at the Boao Forum for Asia entitled “Towards a Community of Common Destiny and a New Future for Asia”, proposing that Asian countries should through efforts towards a community with a shared future for Asia, promote a community of common interest for all mankind.

We cannot choose our neighbors, but we can choose our future. The future of Asia hinges on the choices made by China, ASEAN and all other Asian countries. It is in the common interest and responsibility of China and ASEAN to keep pace with the times, work together to build a closer China-ASEAN community with a shared future and create a better future for Asia.
On June 23, 2016, the United Kingdom (UK) held a widely-known referendum on exiting from the European Union (EU). As it turned out, 52% of the voters supported Brexit and 48% wanted the UK to remain in the EU. UK Prime Minister David Cameron, who masterminded the referendum, announced his resignation and was replaced by Theresa May. Based on the results of the referendum, Theresa May’s government submitted the Brexit bill to the House of Commons, which approved it on February 1, 2017, authorizing Prime Minister May to start the Brexit process. At the end of March 2017, the UK government made the formal exit application to the EU in accordance with Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, and kicked off the Brexit negotiations. After nearly three years of talks, the UK finally reached an agreement with the EU in January 2020 under the leadership of Boris Johnson, Theresa May’s successor, and officially left the EU on January 31, 2020, thus

On the Impact of Brexit

By Ye Jiang*

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ending its 47-year EU membership and entering an 11-month transition period. On December 24, 2020, after several rounds of tough negotiations, the EU and the UK reached an agreement on their relations including trade, which cleared the obstacles for the UK to end the transition in 2020 as planned. On January 1, 2021, the UK officially concluded the transition period and achieved comprehensive political and economic independence as declared by Prime Minister Johnson earlier. What impact will Brexit have on the UK, European integration, and the international landscape amid major changes unseen in a century? This article attempts to address this question.

First, the impact of Brexit on UK’s economy and politics.

Undoubtedly, Brexit has a major impact on UK’s economy and politics. Since the British voted to leave the EU in 2016, the UK economy has been negatively affected. The UK has been highly dependent on the EU for trade, which accounts for about one half of its total. Before 2015, the UK had been the EU’s largest trading partner. It was replaced by the US in 2015 and fallen to the third in 2018. The EU’s export to the UK also declined after the Brexit vote. In 2019, the EU’s export to the UK accounted for 15% of its total, lower than that to the US (19%) and slightly higher than that to China (9%). In the same year, the EU’s import from the UK took up 10% of its total, lower than that from China (19%) and that from the US (12%). What’s more, according to the data released by Her Majesty’s Revenue and Customs in January 2021, the UK’s total import and export of goods decreased by 12.7% year on year in the first 11 months of 2020, among which export dropped by 15% and import by 11%, which was attributable to the impact of
Brexit and the pandemic.

Since the Brexit referendum in 2016, the UK has attracted considerable foreign direct investment (FDI), mainly from the US and Germany, thanks to the devaluation of the British pound. The top three sectors favored by foreign investors are retail consumer goods, industry and financial services. However, according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) statistics, due to the negative impact of Brexit, FDI flows into the UK dropped in 2019 as compared with 2018, standing at US$ 59 billion and ranking No.8 among the top investment destinations. In November 2020, the UK government submitted the National Security and Investment Bill to the House of Commons, the main purpose of which was to tighten the scrutiny over foreign investment in British enterprises. The rules on acquisition contained in the bill obliged investors to report to the UK government on foreign direct investments involving nuclear energy, telecommunications, artificial intelligence, transportation, energy and national defense, and gave the UK government a five-year retrospective power. As far as domestic politics is concerned, the Conservative Party, which is currently in power in the UK, plays an important role in the Brexit negotiations and has won the support of most British voters. Therefore, it is highly likely to stay in power until 2025. As such, the UK will maintain overall political stability after Brexit.

However, from the perspective of international politics, the UK’s foreign policy will undergo significant changes after Brexit. At the Conservative Party conference held in Birmingham in October 2016 after the referendum, then UK Prime Minister Theresa May delivered a speech entitled “Britain after Brexit: A
Vision of a Global Britain”, in which she said that after Brexit, the UK should seriously think about not only the new relationship with the EU, but also the relationship with the wider world. Boris Johnson, who was then Foreign Secretary and later succeeded May as prime minister, also stressed the need to “reshape Britain’s profile and identity as a greater global player”. In December 2016, he made a speech at the Royal Institute of International Affairs entitled “Global Britain: UK Foreign Policy in the Era of Brexit”, in which he elaborated on the UK’s political role and policy direction in global affairs after Brexit.

It goes without saying that the vision of “a global Britain” has become the UK’s diplomatic strategy after Brexit, which is to encourage the UK to move beyond Europe, take on a global perspective, and become an “independent” force in the world system, with greater accomplishment and influence in international politics. To deliver the foreign policy of “a global Britain”, the UK places more emphasis on the traditional Anglo-American relationship, sees the US as its most important ally, and coordinates, to the greatest possible extent, with the US in carrying out its global strategy.

Second, the impact of Brexit on European integration.

Overall, Brexit will have a two-fold impact on European integration. On one hand, it promotes European integration to a certain extent. On the other, it has an adverse effect on the integration process.

On the positive side, after Brexit, the EU is moving fast to turn the concept of “European Strategic Autonomy” into action.
This concept was proposed almost at the same time as the Brexit vote. It was unveiled in the EU global strategy document “Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe—A Global Strategy for the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy” published in June 2016. While presenting this strategy, Federica Mogherini, then Vice President of the European Commission and High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, said that “After the referendum, we will indeed have to rethink the way our Union works. In challenging times, a strong Union is one that thinks strategically, shares a vision and acts together.” This shows that “European Strategic Autonomy” was officially endorsed by the EU almost at the same time with Brexit, and is closely related to the EU’s global strategy. It sets the direction for European integration after Brexit.

As the EU and the UK shaped their relations through arduous negotiations and Trump’s “America First” policy dealt a blow to the transatlantic relations, the EU started a heated debate on “European Strategic Autonomy”, which was expanded from the narrow sense of defense as articulated in the global strategy document to a broader sense that encompasses defense, science and technology, market, finance and institutions.

That said, Brexit does have an adverse impact on European integration. To some extent, negative effects outweigh positive ones. First, after the UK formally left the EU, the size and wealth of the bloc of countries was curtailed. At present, the UK’s nominal GDP ranks sixth in the world and second in Europe. Additionally, its population and land area are among the largest in the EU (ranking No.3 and No.8 respectively). Undoubtedly, the size, scale and wealth of the EU shrinks after the UK formally left the EU. (See
For this reason, the EU will significantly cut its budget after Brexit, especially after the transition period ends. Before Brexit, the UK contributed a big share to the EU’s budget. In 2016, for example, the UK’s contribution to the EU budget was 19.4 billion euros after a membership-based rebate. It is estimated that the EU will lose about 5% of its budget after the UK leaves the EU. In order to fill in the gap, the European Commission has considered cutting the spending on regional development by 30%. This will only reduce the available development financing that less developed EU members are badly in need of, which is detrimental to European integration.

Brexit has a considerable impact on the EU’s economy. EU members with close trade links with the UK, such as Belgium, Cyprus, Ireland, Germany and the Netherlands, will bear the brunt. The auto and components industry will be affected the most. The UK has a large manufacturing sector that depends on the EU supply chain of auto parts. The exit of the UK from the EU’s single market will push up the transaction costs for both sides. In addition, the electronics and food processing sectors as well as the export of raw materials in the Ruhr Valley will also suffer. The UK now hosts the European Medicines Agency, the European

<table>
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<th>Comparison (2018)</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Land area (square kilometers)</th>
<th>Population density (per square kilometer)</th>
<th>GDP (in euros)</th>
<th>Per capital GDP (in euros)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before Brexit</td>
<td>513 million</td>
<td>4,475,757</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>15.9 trillion</td>
<td>31,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After Brexit</td>
<td>447 million</td>
<td>4,232,147</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>13.5 trillion</td>
<td>30,000</td>
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Banking Authority, and the backup data center for the Galileo satellite navigation system. After the UK left the EU, the first two institutions will move to Amsterdam and Paris, and the latter will move from the UK to Spain. With the relocation out of the UK, these institutions will lose the professional support from their original host and pay for the high economic costs. All these will have a considerable negative impact on the economy, science and technology, and management of European integration.

Finally, Brexit will take a toll on the EU’s integration of diplomacy, security and defense (especially the latter). The UK and France were two major military powers in the EU. It was the St. Malo Declaration jointly issued by the two countries in 1998 that kicked off Europe’s defense integration. The declaration stated that the EU must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises when the Atlantic Alliance is not involved. Since then, driven by the Franco-British vision of building the EU’s capacity for independent military action, the EU has made some progress in joint defense. This shows that the UK actually plays an important role in European defense integration, which will be obviously affected by Brexit.

Moreover, the UK is one of the largest spenders on defense R&D in Europe. The UK, France and Germany account for 92% of the EU’s 2 billion-euro expenditure on defense R&D. The UK also has strong intelligence capabilities and an extensive diplomatic network. Therefore, it was an important asset of the EU in diplomacy, security and defense. Brexit will certainly undercut the EU’s influence in foreign policy, security and defense.
RAND Corporation estimated in one report that Brexit may weaken the EU’s collective defense capability by about a quarter. Therefore, the EU will still seek cooperation with the UK in defense integration. French President Emmanuel Macron made it clear that he wanted the UK to continue to participate in European defense integration after leaving the EU, while German Defense Minister Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer proposed to establish an E3 (Europe 3) Group including France, Germany and the UK, which is expected to serve as a link between NATO and the EU.

**Third, the impact of Brexit on the international landscape amid major changes unseen in a century.**

“Major changes unseen in a century” is an apt characterization by President Xi Jinping of the contemporary international system in a fluid world. It also captures the shift of economic growth drivers in the world market, the changing balance of power in international politics, and the reshaping of the global governance system. Generally speaking, the most prominent change is “the rise of the East and fall of the West”: Western countries are grappling with serious domestic problems and crises, while developing countries, especially emerging market countries, have performed exceptionally.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, thanks to the advances in globalization, great changes have taken place in the global architecture which has long been dominated by European and American powers in the past century. The strength of non-Western countries continues to grow in the new millennium. The focus of global economic growth shifts from Europe and America to Asia and other developing countries and regions. It
is worth noting that Brexit also has a considerable impact on the international landscape featuring “the rise of the East and fall of the West”, which has been prompted by the unprecedented changes in a century.

First, Brexit has taken a toll on the UK economy. Its GDP dropped from the fifth place to the sixth in the world, and was overtaken by that of India, an emerging economy. This clearly reflects the impact of Brexit on “the rise of the East and fall of the West”. According to the estimation of the IMF (International Monetary Fund), due to the impact of Brexit and COVID-19, the UK’s GDP will contract by 10% in 2020, which is lower than not only emerging economies such as China, India and Brazil, but also advanced economies such as the US, Germany, France, Italy and Japan.

Second, Brexit will have a negative effect on European integration. The overall strength of the EU will also be sapped significantly. This means that the influence of the EU as a “pole” in the contemporary international system will greatly diminish. Whether the EU can remain a “pole” has been thrown into doubt. According to the BBC, a diplomatic dispute broke out between the UK and the EU over the status of the EU ambassador to London. The UK refused to grant Joao Vale de Almeida the same, complete diplomatic status as other ambassadors to the country. The UK Foreign Office wanted to treat the EU delegation only in the same way as representatives of international organizations. This echoes what the Trump administration did by downgrading the EU from an “ally” to an “international organization” in January 2019. Although the US government later restored the diplomatic rank of David O’Sullivan, the EU ambassador to the US. The EU and the
UK also engaged on this issue. This speaks to an indisputable fact that the EU’s international standing has been on the decline in this changing world.

Finally, Brexit adds complexities to the transatlantic alliance, which also had an impact on the fall of the West. Since the Second World War, the UK has always maintained a special relationship with the US, both during and after the Cold War. When it was a member of the EU, the UK can be a coordinator between the US and its continental European allies in the transatlantic alliance. Moreover, the UK can coordinate the relations among EU members by virtue of its own advantages in defense and its special relationship with the US. With the UK’s complete departure from the EU, problems have arisen in the coordination among the US and Europe in the transatlantic alliance and between the US’ European allies. Without the UK, which plays an major role in defense and has a special relationship with the US, there will be a lack of coordination both in the transatlantic alliance and among EU members. It is precisely for this reason that the fall of the West will be more prominent in the shifting global landscape amid changes unseen in a century.
On January 15, China-Germany Dialogue Forum was held successfully in Beijing. Mr. Wan Gang, Chinese Chairman of the Forum, Vice Chairman of the 13th CPPCC National Committee, and Ms. Annette Schavan, German Chairman of the Forum, former Minister of German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, attended the conference and respectively delivered keynote speeches and concluding remarks. Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), and Mr. Oliver Lutz Radtke, Project Manager of Bosch
Foundation, moderated the meeting.

More than 20 prominent delegates from the political, economic, academic and health sectors of China and Germany participated in the dialogue and had in-depth discussions on the topic “Digital Cooperation between China and Germany”.

**President Wang Chao Meets with Belgian Ambassador to China**

On January 21, President Wang Chao met with H.E. Mr. Jan Hoogmartens, Belgian Ambassador to China. The two sides exchanged views on China-Belgium relations, China-EU relations and other issues of common concern.
CPIFA and US-Asia Institute
Co-host the First Virtual Visit of
the US Congressional Staff Delegation in 2021

On January 27, the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and the US-Asia Institute (USAI) co-hosted the first virtual visit of US Congressional Staff Delegation in 2021 by organizing a video discussion between officials of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs of China (MARA) and 16 US Congressional Staffers. Ambassador Zhao Weiping, Vice President of the CPIFA, chaired the meeting. Mr. Wei Zhenglin, Deputy Director-General of the MARA Department of International Affairs, introduced the Ministry’s work on rural development and agricultural modernization. The representatives from the United States shared their views on the current situation and future development trends of China’s agricultural development. The virtual meeting was well received by both sides, and the participants expressed their desire to strengthen cooperation in the future.
Cooperation together with relevant officials from the MARA briefed the US delegation on issues concerning the agricultural and rural development of China and US-China Agricultural Cooperation and answered their questions.

**President Wang Chao Delivers a Keynote Speech on China-US People-to-People Exchanges**

On January 28, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), attended the video dialogue of “US-China Relations: The Way Forward” co-organized by the China-US Exchange Foundation and the China Center for International Economic Exchanges, and delivered a keynote speech entitled “Advance People-to-People Exchanges, and Consolidate Public Opinion Foundation for China-US Relations” at the session of people-to-people exchanges.

Wang Chao noted, the people-to-people exchanges, being an important part of China-US relations, play a significant role
in promoting mutual understanding and friendship between Chinese and American people and forming a sound public opinion foundation supporting the bilateral relations. As President Xi Jinping said, “people-to-people relations underpin state-to-state relations,” and “state-to-state relations ultimately rely on the support of the people.” As China and the US are two major countries differing heavily in social systems, ideologies, cultural traditions, histories and national conditions, people-to-people exchanges are all the more important for the development of the bilateral relations. The strongest bond linking two countries is knitted through people-to-people interactions. It is through close interactions, the people of our two countries deepen their mutual understanding and enhance their friendship. And exactly amid the increasingly close interactions of the people grow the common interests in extensive areas and the need for exchanges and cooperation between China and the US.

Wang Chao said, as seen in the history of the China-US relations, the constantly expanding people-to-people exchanges between our two countries provide great impetus to the development of the bilateral relations, and a sound bilateral relationship in turn creates favorable conditions for further developing people-to-people exchanges, thus forming a benign circle of positive significance. The closer the people-to-people exchanges, the stronger the public opinion foundation of the bilateral relations, and the greater the ability to withstand various challenges and dangers when the bilateral relations encounter difficulties. We should not only vigorously promote people-to-people exchanges when the bilateral relations are in smooth sailing, but also give more importance to its critical role of promoting the improvement and development of the bilateral relations in time of difficulty.
Wang Chao pointed out, with the ever deepening of the China-US relations over the past 40 years, the people-to-people exchanges between our two countries have enjoyed tremendous development. However, it suffered serious setbacks and even regressions in some respects during the Trump administration. As to the causes of the problem, the US side has to be blamed for its demonizing and politicizing people-to-people exchanges and exploiting it as a policy tool against China. Since 2017, there has been a counter current in the US public opinion questioning and opposing China-US people-to-people exchanges, and the US Congress has introduced and even adopted a number of legislation designed for the so-called “regulation and restraint” on US-China people-to-people exchanges. Since 2018, the US government has taken a host of measures limiting people-to-people exchanges with China, so as to impose strict review, surveillance and restrictions on Chinese students, scholars, media, and the Confucius Institutes in the US as well as on the exchanges and cooperation between the universities of the two countries. Lots of people-to-people exchange projects have been canceled, many of which have been implemented for decades and were well-received by the participants of both sides. The US side even described at will relevant exchange programs as the so-called “united front programs” of China’s infiltration, which doesn’t in anyway conform to the facts and is simply irresponsible act of wanton labeling.

Wang Chao said, just last month, the US side terminated several exchange projects related with the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act (MECEA). These projects are totally open and transparent with the support and recognition by successive US administrations. The visiting programs of relevant US delegations in China were made through mutual consultation by both sides, and the relevant US authority is aware of that. The US participants,
mainly Congress members and congressional staffers, have in general given positive rating on those projects, which are all normal exchange programs, not the so-called “united front” at all. As for the so-called “united front” issue, the US side should show its self-confidence. The exchanges organized by relevant institutions of both sides are two-way arrangement, under which not only Americans visit China, but also Chinese visit America. It’s not rational to put political labels on all such normal exchanges. The massive and irrational suppression of people-to-people exchanges has seriously damaged the bilateral relationship, which doesn’t serve the interests of the US side itself, and has also met with the opposition of the people of vision from all circles of the US.

Wang Chao concluded by pointing out that there currently exists an important “window of opportunity” for improving and developing China-US relations. Both sides should seize the moment and adopt tangible measures to resume and push forward the people-to-people exchanges between our two countries. At the government level, the wrong acts of the Trump administration in obstructing China-US people-to-people exchanges should be rectified as soon as possible, so as to provide facilitation for Chinese students, scholars, businessmen and journalists to visit, live, work and do business in the US, and relevant people-to-people exchange projects should be restored timely. Under the Obama administration, both sides established the Mechanism of China-US High-level Consultation on People-to-People Exchange which played a crucial role in advancing bilateral people-to-people communication. Both sides also held the China-US Social and Cultural Dialogue, the China-US State and Provincial Education Leaders Dialogue and the China-US Tourism Leadership Summit. Both sides should conduct friendly consultation timely to reactivate
those mechanisms and activities as soon as possible, and jointly map out the long-term development of bilateral people-to-people exchanges. At the non-government level, there are many relevant institutions and NGOs in our two countries which are dedicated to promoting friendly bilateral cooperation. Both sides should encourage them to continue to play their roles.

**CPIFA and US-Asia Institute**

**Co-host the Second Virtual Visit of the US Congressional Staff Delegation in 2021**

On February 2, the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and the US-Asia Institute (USAI) co-hosted the second virtual visit of US Congressional Staff Delegation in 2021 by organizing a video discussion between Chinese agricultural experts and 12 US Congressional Staffers. Ambassador Zhao Weiping, Vice President of the CPIFA, chaired the meeting. Dr. He Zhonghu, Research Fellow of the Institute of Crop Sciences, Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences (CAAS), Dr. Yang Jun, Professor of School of International Trade and Economics, University of International Business and Economics,
Dr. Hu Bingchuan, Director of Research Division for Agricultural Trade and Policy, Institute of Rural Development, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Dr. Liu Jing, Research Fellow of the Institute of Agricultural Economics Development, CAAS and Dr. Ji Han, Assistant Research Fellow of the Institute of Agricultural Information, CAAS briefed the US delegation on issues concerning China-US agricultural cooperation and answered their questions.

CPIFA and CHPCF Co-host the 2021 Virtual Visit of Polish Parliament Members

On February 23, the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and the Chinese Polish Cooperation Forum (CHPCF) co-hosted the 2021 virtual visit of Polish parliament members. Ms. Shi Ling, Vice President of the CPIFA, chaired the meeting. Nearly 20 representatives from the two sides attended the meeting, including Mr. Yu Lei, Councilor from the Department of European Affairs of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gu Ting, Vice President of Shenzhen People’s Association for Friendship with Other Countries, Mr. Yan Jixiang, Division Chief from Shenzhen Municipal Health Commission, Director Xiao
Bing from Government Services and Data Management Bureau of Shenzhen Municipality and Director Yan Tao from the Organizing Committee of the China Hi-Tech Fair as well as Mr. Bartosz Michalak, Chairman of CHPCF, Mr. Przemysław Czarnecki, Vice-Chairperson of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Polish Parliament, Mr. Marcin Gwóźdź, member of the Law and Justice Party, Mr. Wojciech Król, member of the Civic Platform Party, Mr. Paweł Bejda, member of the Polish People’s Party and Mr. Krzysztof Gawkowski, Chairman of the parliamentary club of the Left. The two sides exchanged views over China-Poland relations, China-CEEC cooperation and regional cooperation.

**Vice President Shi Ling Addresses the Kick-Off Ceremony of the Chinese-German Open Online Courses**

On February 26, Vice President Shi Ling addressed the Kick-off Ceremony of the Chinese-German Open Online Courses through the line. The Chinese-German OOC, which is an open and international study platform for the learners from both China and Germany, is a practical cooperation project reached on the 2019 China-Germany Dialogue Forum in Qingdao.
On March 9, President Wang Chao met with H.E. Moin ul Haque, Ambassador of Pakistan to China. The two sides exchanged views on China-Pakistan relations and further cooperation between the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and the Embassy of Pakistan to China. CPIFA Vice President Ou Boqian and Minister Ahmed Farooq of the Pakistani Embassy were present.

President Wang Chao Meets with Japanese Ambassador to China

On March 16, President Wang Chao met with H.E. TARUMI Hideo, Japanese Ambassador to China. The two sides exchanged views on bilateral relations and people-to-people exchanges between China and Japan. Ambassador Ou Boqian,
Vice President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), and NOMURA Kosei, Minister of the Japanese Embassy were present.

**CPIFA and US-Asia Institute**
**Co-host the Third Virtual Visit of the US Congressional Staff Delegation in 2021**

On March 19, the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and the US-Asia Institute (USAI) co-hosted the third virtual visit of US Congressional Staff Delegation in 2021 by organizing a video discussion between Chinese science and technology experts and 9 US Congressional Staffers. Ambassador Zhao Weiping, Vice President of the CPIFA, chaired the meeting. Prof. Chen Qi, Director of the Center for US-China Relations at Tsinghua University, Dr. Chen Baoming, Deputy Director of Science and Technology Talent Center of Ministry of Science
and Technology, Prof. Hao Min, Vice Dean of Department of International Politics at University of International Relations, Dr. Zhuang Jun, Director of Industrial Innovation Research Office at Shanghai Institute for Science of Science and Prof. Wang Hewu, Deputy Director of US-China Clean Vehicle Consortium at Tsinghua University briefed the US delegation on issues concerning China-US science and technology cooperation and answered their questions.

**CPIFA and US-Asia Institute Co-host the Fourth Virtual Visit of the US Congressional Staff Delegation in 2021**

On March 26, the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and the US-Asia Institute (USAI) co-hosted the fourth virtual visit of US Congressional Staff Delegation in 2021 by organizing a video meeting between officials of the Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST) and 9 US Congressional Staffers. Mr. Xu Jing, Director-General of Department of Strategic Planning of the MOST and Mr. Xu Jie, Deputy Director-General of the Department of International Cooperation of the MOST briefed the
US delegation on issues concerning the development and planning of science and technology in China and US-China science and technology cooperation, and together with their colleagues from the MOST answered questions raised by the US side. Ambassador Zhao Weiping, Vice President of the CPIFA, chaired the meeting, which was also attended by Chairman Glenn Lau-Kee and several trustees of USAI.
大变局、大考验、大合作

郑必坚 国家创新与发展战略研究会会长
中央党校前常务副校长

（一）

出乎预料，一场突如其来的大疫灾打乱了全人类进入21世纪第三个10年之际的发展进程和一切预期。

又出乎预料，一股保护主义、单边主义、民粹主义思潮，及其掀起的逆全球化浪潮，给世界带来了更大的不确定性。

由此而来的广大人民生命、财产及各国经济社会、生产生活之大灾难大破坏，已成为上世纪80年代世界进入和平与发展为主题的时代以来，一次最剧烈的大灾难大破坏。

这就叫做“变中生变，变上加变”，世界进入“动荡变革期”。这就是我们今天面对的“大变局”。

（二）

“大变局”本身，意味着“大考验”。

一是能否克服单边主义、保护主义，各国人民携手战胜疫灾；

二是能否在携手战胜疫灾的同时，修复全球产业链，重振新一轮经济全球化，重启发展；

三是能否在战胜疫灾和重启发展的基础上，进一步排除各种干扰，从而打开面向21世纪第三个10年以至更长时期世界和平发展的新局面。

而贯串“大变局、大考验”的，是一项根本性的历史要求，这就是从进入21世纪第三个10年算起，在全球范围内，在不同社会制度、不同发展阶段和不同利益诉求的各个地区各个国家之间，
经历多边和单边、开放和封闭、合作和对抗的重大考验，实现更高水平的“大合作”。

（三）

应当如实地讲，对于这种“大合作”前景的应对，已经成为考验世界上每一位政治家智慧与才干的最重要的标准。

一种应对，就是坚持“人民至上、生命至上”，以极大的勇气和决心控制疫情。同时把自身的抗疫和经济发展同全球抗疫和经济恢复紧紧联系，积极参与和支持全球抗疫，保护全球供应链的安全和稳定，为世界各国尤其是发展中国家的经济恢复和发展创造有利条件。

另一种应对，是面对疫情，不仅不主动作为努力控制疫情的流行，而且蓄意破坏国际抗疫合作，把抗疫不力以致人民生命重大损失的责任推卸给其他国家和国际组织，瘫痪国际治理机构。在世界各大经济板块遭受重创的同时，顽固地继续推进逆全球化政策，破坏国际供应链的完整和稳定。

应该严肃指出，在2020年和之后未来若干年，世界的格局将会呈现这两种应对相互交织、高度对立的两重性。

（四）

面对国际格局的两重性，中国从容布局。一个最集中的表现，就是中国共产党第十九届中央委员会第五次全体会议通过的《中共中央关于制定国民经济和社会发展第十四个五年规划和二〇三五年远景目标的建议》。应当说，这个建议，是当前国内国际条件下14亿中国人应对大变局、大考验，推进大合作的根本性战略抉择。

这个规划所要回答的问题乃是在中国“两个一百年”奋斗目标的历史交汇点上，在国际环境日臻复杂、不稳定不确定性明显增加的大背景下，中国共产党打算怎样统筹中华民族伟大复兴战略全局和世界百年未有的大变局。

这个规划既擘画中国的新前景，又展现中国发展同世界发展相统一的大国担当，因而将成为解读当代历史条件下中国共产党治国理政与中国经济社会发展的最重要蓝图。

这个规划还包含着一个更深层次的战略估量，那就是在清醒分析当前国内国际有利和不利条件基础上，中国共产党坚定确信，中国仍然处于一个重要的战略
机遇期。面对21世纪第三个10年和此后更长时期，中国人将保持战略定力，集中力量办好自己的事。

中国将在2035年基本实现现代化，2050年建设成为富强民主文明和谐美丽的社会主义现代化强国，实现中华民族的伟大复兴。这两个重要目标实现的本身就极大增强了世界上维护和推动和平与发展的力量。

中国将坚持全面深化改革，全面扩大开放，努力构建以国内大循环为主体、国内国际双循环相互促进的新发展格局。在新的格局下，打造好高质量的“生产力”和“市场力”，不仅把中国建设成为“世界工厂”，而且会把中国打造成为“世界市场”。今年1月25日，习近平主席在世界经济论坛“达沃斯议程”对话会上已经强调，中国将持续打造市场化、法治化、国际化营商环境，发挥超大市场优势和内需潜力，为各国合作提供更多机遇，为世界经济复苏和增长注入更多动力。

中国将继续推进新一轮经济全球化。我们积极推动共建“一带一路”，从而形成世界历史上前所未有的新一轮海陆并举的全球化，再加上积极参与网络空间的全球化，探讨制定全球数字治理规则，促进发展中经济体大发展和发达经济体再发展。

中国将积极参与全球经济治理体系改革，推动世界经济向着更加强劲、可持续、平衡、包容的方向发展。当前，人类社会由于疫情严重而正在遭受二战以来最严重的经济衰退。应该清醒地看到，在经济恢复的过程中，如果广大发展中国家发展不起来，发达国家也会受到多方面的制约。因此，中国主张未来的全球经济治理体系改革应该为发展中国家提供必要支持，保障发展中国家的发展权益和空间。

而所有这一切，都强有力地体现了“大变局，大考验，大合作”，体现了在“人类命运共同体”这个总方针之下，中国维护世界和平的决心不会改变，中国促进共同发展的决心不会改变，中国打造伙伴关系的决心不会改变，中国支持多边主义的决心不会改变。这四个“不会改变”，生动反映了百年大变局走到今天，中国早已不是过去那个积贫积弱的中国，而是具备了与世界各国一道，迎接并引领新一轮产业革命和新一轮经济全球化的新时代中国。

(五)

习近平总书记曾深刻指出：“把握国际形势要树立正确的历史观、大局观、角色观。”所谓正确的“角色观”，就是“不仅要冷静分析各种国际现象，而且要
把自己摆进去，在我国同世界的关系中看问题。弄清世界格局演变中我国的地位和作用，科学制定我国对外方针和政策”。

新冠疫情已经表明，尽管国际秩序并不完美，但是人类社会已经成为休戚与共的命运共同体，既有团结抗疫和经济恢复发展的现实的共同利益，也有习近平主席强调的“和平、发展、公平、正义、民主、自由”的共同价值。面对这样的世界格局，究竟是借着疫情把当前国际秩序打碎打烂，通过封闭、排外的方式找出路，还是在“人类命运共同体”的方向之下，在克服疫情的同时，通过国际秩序改革和经济结构调整，推进人类社会的共同进步？这可是一个极为重大的历史性考验。前一条道路，比疫情本身还要恶劣，自绝于本国人民、自绝于国际社会，显然不是出路。后一条道路，才是正确的选择。

中国自身的发展和对国际秩序的贡献将是全世界共同发展不可缺少的必要条件。而中国到21世纪中叶就将实现的“第二个百年奋斗目标”，乃是和全面实现社会主义现代化相联系的中华民族伟大复兴，而绝非那种近代世界史上曾给人类带来巨大灾难的新霸主取代旧霸主。这也就是说，中国要以作为国际秩序和体系的维护者和改革者、完善者的站位，坚持高扬全球治理、多边主义和人类命运共同体的旗帜，来应对包括霸权主义、民粹主义和保护主义在内的人类社会的共同危机。

总之，“大变局、大考验、大合作”作为一项宏大命题，本身就意味着重大的历史抉择和历史机遇。而在当前形势下，对经济全球化和全球治理深入反思，扎实推进在利益汇聚点和利益共同体基础上的人类命运共同体，才真正应当是提到国际社会面前的历史性重大课题。
同舟共济、继往开来，
携手谱写中非命运共同体新篇章

邓励 外交部部长助理

中非友好源远流长，从来都是休戚与共的命运共同体。习近平主席明确指出，在追求和平与发展的道路上，中非要做永远的可靠朋友和真诚伙伴。当前，面对百年变局和世纪疫情叠加共振，中国正加快构建新发展格局，非洲也在发展振兴的道路上不断奋进，中非关系发展迎来历史性机遇，构建更加紧密的中非命运共同体面临新的契机。

一

过去一年，无论对中国、非洲还是中非关系，都是极不平凡的一年。新冠肺炎疫情突如其来，世界经济面临困境，少数国家“政治病毒”横行，严重破坏国际社会团结与合作。面对逆境，中非双方守望相助、共克时艰，谱写了中非关系新的历史篇章。

（一）政治互信持续提升。去年6月，在抗击疫情关键时刻，习近平主席同非方领导人倡议召开中非团结抗疫特别峰会，唱响团结合作、支持多边主义、共筑中非命运共同体的时代强音，有力提振了国际社会战胜疫情的决心和信心。疫情暴发以来，习近平主席先后同8位非洲领导人通电话，王毅国务委员兼外长分别同17位非洲国家外长和非盟委员会主席通电话。今年1月，国务委员兼外长王毅克服疫情影响坚持中国外长连续30多年每年首访非洲的传统，成功访问非洲五国，2月份，中共中央政治局委员、中央外事工作委员会办公室主任杨洁篪访问乌干达、赞比亚，两次访问赢得非洲国家高度评价。中非高层保持密切交往，为中非关系高位运行提供了坚实保障。事实证明，在重大困难和挑战面前，中非政治互信不仅没有减弱，反而更加深厚牢固；中非兄弟情谊不仅没有疏离，反而更加深
入人心。

（二）团结抗疫成果显著。在中国抗疫艰难时刻，非盟、非洲国家政府和人民纷纷给予中方宝贵支持。非盟是疫情暴发后全球首个公开给予中方声援的重要地区组织。疫情在非洲暴发后，中方第一时间向非方驰援多轮抗疫物资，向非洲16国派遣抗疫医疗专家组和短期抗疫医疗队，同16个非洲国家签署缓债协议或达成缓债共识，减免非洲15国2020年底到期无息贷款，提前开工建设非洲疾控中心总部，已经并正在向30多个国家捐赠或出口疫苗，真心实意帮助非方抗击新冠疫情，充分彰显了中非患难与共的深厚情谊。

（三）务实合作坚韧有力。去年以来，中非双方克服疫情影响，全力落实2018年中非合作论坛北京峰会成果，积极推动中非合作向健康卫生、复工复产、改善民生三大领域倾斜。疫情期间，1100多个中非合作项目坚持运行，近10万名中方技术和工程人员坚守岗位，一大批铁路、公路和电站等重要合作项目陆续复工复产。据统计，尽管面临疫情等不利因素影响，论坛北京峰会“八大行动”整体落实率已超过85%，600亿美元配套资金已有70%投入使用或作出安排，2020年中非贸易额达1870亿美元，中国连续12年成为非洲第一大贸易伙伴，充分展现了中非务实合作的韧性和成色，成为国际对非合作的标杆。

（四）国际协作更加密切。中非双方坚定支持世界卫生组织在国际抗疫合作中发挥引领作用，齐心协力反对将病毒标签化、疫情政治化，成为激浊扬清、引领国际社会团结抗疫的一抹亮色。在涉港、涉疆、人权等问题上，中非双方坚定站在一起，共同捍卫发展中国家利益和国际公平正义。中方坚定支持非洲国家联合自强和自主解决非洲问题，坚定支持非方反种族歧视、反干涉内政等正义诉求，坚定支持非洲人担任卫组织、世界贸易组织负责人，以实际行动帮助非方提升在国际舞台上的代表性和话语权。

二

新冠肺炎疫情深刻影响国际局势，各类全球性挑战明显增多，世界进入动荡变革期。新形式下，中非关系尽管遭遇一些不确定因素，也将迎来前所未有的发展机遇。

（一）共谋发展催生合作新契机。中国率先控制疫情，率先复工复产，是去年唯一实现正增长的主要经济体。今年是“十四五”开局之年，也是全面建设社会主义现代化国家新征程开启之年。当前，我国正加快构建以国内大循环为主体、国内国际双循环相互促进的新发展格局。在这一重大战略部署推动下，拥有
14亿人口、4亿中等收入群体、1.2亿户市场主体的中国市场将被充分激发，中国开放的大门将进一步敞开，同世界各国的交流合作也将进一步深化，未来10年仅商品进口额就有望超过22万亿美元。同时，非洲抗疫成效显著，复工复产稳步推进，特别是非洲自贸区正式实施，拥有13亿人口、GDP总量达3.4万亿美元的非洲大市场被各方看好，非洲发展潜力将进一步得到释放。中非发展阶段梯次衔接，优势互补明显。我们坚信，在双方共同努力下，中非共同发展的道路将越走越宽广。

（二）战略融通绘就合作新蓝图。近年来，中方依托中非合作论坛、“一带一路”等机制和平台，不断强化同非盟《2063年议程》和非洲各国发展战略深度对接，逐步构建起支撑新时期中非合作的“四梁八柱”。今年1月王毅国务委员兼外长访非期间，刚果（金）和博茨瓦纳分别同中方签署共建“一带一路”谅解备忘录，成为非洲第45和46个参与“一带一路”合作的伙伴国。非洲国家已占“一带一路”全球签约国总数约三分之一，是参与“一带一路”合作最积极的方向之一。不久前，非盟同中方签署了共建“一带一路”合作规划，这是中方同区域性国际组织签署的第一份共建“一带一路”规划类合作文件。中非合作战略框架更趋完善，内涵不断充实和拓展，势必为中非关系深入发展发挥重要引领和推动作用。

（三）经济转型孕育合作新引擎。去年是中非合作论坛成立20周年。20年来，中非共同制订实施“十大合作计划”“八大行动”，将务实合作推向历史新高度。随着中非各自经济转型升级和产业结构调整步伐加快，中非合作已经从政府主导型市场运作转型、从商品贸易向产能合作升级、从工程承包向投资运营迈进，双方在基建、产能、贸易、投资、减贫等领域不断涌现富有成效的合作范例。同时，新冠肺炎疫情催生中非合作新业态、新模式的加速成长，为中非在医疗卫生、数字经济、绿色经济、产业链供应链融合等领域合作提供了新的发展机遇和空间。

（四）全球变革呼唤合作新境界。中国是最大的发展中国家，非洲是发展中中国家最集中的大陆，中非是天然的战略合作伙伴。在百年变局和世纪疫情背景下，全球治理体系变革已刻不容缓。中国和非洲作为发展中国家的中坚和维护国际公平正义的重要力量，有必要也有责任进一步强化战略沟通协作，携手引领和平、发展、合作、共赢的时代潮流，维护多边主义和国际关系民主化，反对单边主义、保护主义和强权政治，共同推动全球治理体系向着更加公正合理的方向发展。
征程万里阔，奋进正当时。今年是中非合作论坛北京峰会成果落实的收官之年，预定在塞内加尔举行新一届论坛会议。下阶段，我们将以习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想和习近平外交思想为指引，继续秉持真实亲诚理念和正确义利观，同非洲朋友携手努力，开拓创新，全力打造质量更高、结构更优、动力更足、可持续性更强的中非合作新格局。

（一）强化战略对接。我们将继续坚持构建中非命运共同体的根本方向，高举合作共赢大旗，秉持共商共建共享原则，加强中非各层级、各领域交往，精心办好中非合作论坛新一届会议，积极推进同非盟和非洲各国发展战略对接，协商出台新的中非合作举措，稳步推动中非高质量共建“一带一路”，不断完善中非融合共生的合作体系，确保中非发展相互促进、相得益彰，为国际对非合作发挥示范作用。

（二）深化抗疫合作。中方将继续向非洲朋友提供抗疫支持，向有需要的非洲派遣医疗专家组，加建建设非洲疾控中心总部项目，携手抵制疫苗“民族主义”，促进疫苗公平合理分配，向有需要的非洲国家援助和出口疫苗，切实履行将新冠疫苗作为全球公共产品的庄重承诺，帮助非方渡过难关。同时，中方将进一步实施好中非合作论坛框架下“健康卫生行动”，加快中非友好医院建设和中非对口医院合作，帮助非洲国家增强公共卫生防治能力，同非方一起建设好中非卫生健康共同体。

（三）提升合作效能。我们将继续克服疫情影响，推动中非务实合作提质升级，促进非洲实现可持续发展和工业化进程。我们将积极谋划新一轮中非合作增长点，充分把握全球经济数字化、网络化、智能化发展机遇，探索中非合作新形态、新模式，同非方携手建设好“健康非洲”“制造非洲”“联通非洲”“丰收非洲”“数字非洲”“绿色非洲”“安全非洲”和“人才非洲”。我们还将进一步加强中非两大文明交流互鉴，抓住非遗将今年确定为“艺术、文化和遗产”主题年的契机，深化中非教育、文化、新闻等领域合作，构建全方位、多层次、宽领域的中非人文交流新格局。

（四）加强国际协作。我们将进一步深化中非战略沟通，继续在涉及彼此核心利益和重大关切问题上坚定支持对方，同时密切双方在联合国、世卫组织、世贸组织等多边框架和地区热点问题上的沟通协作，旗帜鲜明地维护以联合国为核心的国际体系、以国际法为基础的国际秩序、以世贸组织为代表的多边贸易体制，积极推进国际关系民主化，构建新型国际关系，共同维护发展中国家正当发
展权利和整体利益。我们还将继续加强促进和平安全、应对气候变化、减贫和可持续发展等领域合作，积极参与全球治理体系变革，共同维护国际公平正义。

常言道，“独木不成林，一花难成春”。站在新的历史起点，我们将同非洲朋友不断深化传统友谊，永远做肝胆相照的好兄弟和共同发展的好伙伴，将中非关系打造成构建人类命运共同体的典范，为世界和平与发展事业作出更大贡献。
中国—中东欧国家领导人峰会开启合作新篇章

霍玉珍 外交部中国—中东欧国家合作事务特别代表

2021年2月9日，中国—中东欧国家峰会以视频形式在北京召开。中国国家主席习近平亲自主持并发表了主旨讲话，同与会中东欧各国领导人共商发展大计，擘画中国—中东欧国家合作新蓝图，引起各方广泛关注。本文将从历史、现状和未来发展几个方面对中国—中东欧国家合作做一个简要的介绍。

一、中国—中东欧国家合作的创立及其历史背景

中东欧各国均较早同新中国建立外交关系，20世纪90年代初，苏联解体，东欧剧变，但无论国际风云如何变幻，和平与发展仍是时代主题，推动国际秩序向公正合理的方向发展仍是世界各国人民的普遍呼声。中国坚持尊重中东欧各国自主选择的发展道路，中国与中东欧国家间的关系总体实现平稳过渡，并有了新的发展。

2011年6月25日，首届中国—中东欧国家经贸论坛在匈牙利首都布达佩斯举办，中国和中东欧各国均对加强务实合作前景表达了热切期望。于是水到渠成，2012年4月26日，以第二届中国—中东欧国家经贸论坛为契机，中国与阿尔巴尼亚、波黑、保加利亚、克罗地亚、捷克、爱沙尼亚、匈牙利、拉脱维亚、立陶宛、黑山、北马其顿、波兰、罗马尼亚、塞尔维亚、斯洛伐克、斯洛文尼亚等中东欧16国领导人齐聚波兰首都华沙，宣布成立中国—中东欧国家合作机制，并举行首次中国—中东欧国家领导人会晤。同年9月，中国—中东欧国家合作秘书处在中国外交部成立。2019年4月12日，在克罗地亚杜布罗夫尼克举行的第八次中国—中东欧国家领导人会晤上，希腊成为合作正式成员。
可以说，中国—中东欧国家合作机制是中国同中东欧国家本着共商共建、协商自愿、开放包容的原则，共同倡议发起的跨区域合作的创举。

二、中国—中东欧国家合作机制建设及务实合作成果

（一）以领导人会晤机制为引领的立体合作架构全面建立
中国—中东欧国家合作创立9年来，机制建设不断成熟完善，已建立起以领导人会晤机制为引领，涵盖经贸、文化、教育、青年、农业、旅游、科技、卫生、智库、地方等20多个领域的立体合作架构。每年举办一次领导人会晤并发表成果文件。2015年在中国苏州举行的第四次领导人会晤期间，欧盟、奥地利、希腊、欧洲复兴开发银行成为观察员。2016年在拉脱维亚里加举行的第五次领导人会晤期间，白俄罗斯、瑞士成为观察员。国家协调员会议每年举行2次，主要功能是协调合作事务，对领导人会晤成果进行落实和推进，到今年峰会前夕已召开16次。此外，合作机制还在各领域建立起数十个合作平台，中东欧各国均有其牵头领域，彰显其能、优势互补，各类合作成果如雨后春笋般从无到有，由浅入深，聚焦实效，为机制发展提供有力支撑，形成多点开花的喜人局面。

（二）重大举措和大项目惠及各方
早在2012年中国—中东欧国家合作创立之时，中方就在华沙会晤上宣布了关于促进与中东欧国家友好合作的十二项举措，内容涵盖经贸、融资、基础设施建设、文化、教育、旅游、智库、青年等多个领域。包括设立总额100亿美元的专项贷款，其中配备一定比例的优惠性质贷款，重点用于双方在基础设施建设、高新技术、绿色经济等领域的合作项目；发起设立“中国—中东欧投资合作基金”等。此后各类合作举措不断出台，为双方各领域合作注入不竭动能。互联互通、能源、钢铁、科技、医药、农业、水利、飞机制造、汽车、电讯等领域合作项目陆续铺开，各国取得重要早期收获。其中匈塞铁路、比雷埃夫斯港、佩列沙茨大桥、莫茹拉风电站等一大批大型项目为改善中东欧地区互联互通水平、增加当地就业作出了积极贡献，为当地人民带来实惠，也树立了“中国制造”和中国企业的良好形象和信誉。

（三）促进双方务实合作水平提质升级
9年来，中国—中东欧国家合作机制对双方务实合作的推动日益彰显。2020年中国同中东欧国家贸易额首次突破千亿美元，比9年前增长了85%，其中中方进口增速超过出口增速22个百分点，越来越多的中东欧特色产品进入中国市场，极大地丰富了百姓的日常生活。投资方面，2014年中国对中东欧国家的投资仅为30
亿美元，到2019年底，已超过168亿美元，增长数倍。而中东欧17国在华累计投资也超过16亿美元。在各项措施和政策的鼓励和推动下，人员往来也迅速增加。中国赴中东欧国家旅游人数增长5倍多，双向旅游人数突破每年100万人次，增长近4倍。2018年中国赴中东欧国家旅游人数占赴欧游客数量的近三分之一。

正是在机制建设和各领域合作取得丰硕成果的基础上，中国和中东欧各国都感觉有必要对既有的合作进行总结，并为下一步发展勾勒出新的蓝图。本着这样的共识，各方一致商定将于2020年4月在北京举行中国—中东欧国家领导人峰会，习近平主席亲自主持。尽管受新冠肺炎疫情影响，峰会不得不推迟，但经过各方共同努力，2021年2月9日，习近平主席在北京以视频方式主持召开峰会。此系合作机制建立以来最高级别的领导人会晤，取得了圆满成功。

三、中国—中东欧国家峰会的重大意义及合作的广阔前景

（一）峰会的重大意义

2月9日召开的中国—中东欧国家领导人视频峰会，不仅是中国—中东欧国家合作自创立以来级别最高的一次领导人会晤，也是2021年中国首次主场外交，对中国外交的重要意义可想而知。但如果在更为宏大的背景下进行审视，就会发现其重大意义远不止于此。

首先，从国际大背景看，此次峰会是在各国抗击新冠肺炎疫情的特殊背景下召开的，它首先向国际社会表明了中国和中东欧各国通力合作、共克时艰、共谋发展的决心。在世界各国将目光投向疫情后经济复苏与信心重建的当下，发挥了良好的引领和示范作用。

其次，从中国国内看，2020年，中国脱贫攻坚战完胜收官，2021年又是中国“十四五规划”开局之年和中国共产党百年华诞。中国将积极构建以内循环为主体、国内国际双循环相互促进的新发展格局，建设更高水平的开放型经济体制。峰会在此时召开，也向世界释放了一个积极信号，那就是中国的发展步伐坚实有力，中国的发展本身就为世界经济和多边务实合作提供了新的发展机遇。

第三，从中国—中东欧国家合作自身的发展看，无论是合作机制建设、合作理念发展和合作成果落实，都有必要总结经验继往开来，对合作未来作出战略规划和行动引领，开启全新的发展阶段，以回应各国民众对合作的更高期待。

第四，作为中欧关系的重要组成部分和有益补充，中国—中东欧国家合作的深入发展也是对中欧一系列重大合作成果在次区域层面的落实，必将为中欧全面战略伙伴关系的全面、均衡发展注入新的活力。
总之，这次峰会再次向世界显示了中国作为多边主义的真正践行者，与世界各国携手构建新型国际关系、构建人类命运共同体的决心。峰会的成功召开是中国特色大国外交在习近平外交思想指引下的又一次成功实践。

（二）峰会的重要成果

习近平主席在峰会上发表了题为《凝心聚力，继往开来，携手共谱合作新篇章》的主旨讲话。习近平主席强调，合作共赢、共谋发展是中国―中东欧国家合作建立的初心，精辟总结了共商共建、务实均衡、开放包容、创新进取的中国―中东欧国家合作原则。峰会确定了团结抗疫、务实合作、互联互通、绿色创新的四大未来合作重点，并发表了《2021年中国―中东欧国家合作北京活动计划》（《北京活动计划》），会后发表了《中国―中东欧国家领导人峰会成果清单》（《成果清单》）。

《成果清单》记录了自2019年杜布罗夫尼克会晤以来中国同中东欧国家达成的88项成果文件，其中政府间合作文件35项，商业合作文件53项，涉及经贸、金融投资、海关、科技、科教、体育、卫生、检验检疫、旅游、文化、能源、绿色、基础设施、“一带一路”建设等多个领域。

《北京活动计划》确立了本年度为“中国―中东欧国家合作绿色发展和环境保护年”，合作领域涵盖了规划与协调，贸易与投资，抗疫和卫生合作，互联互通，创新科技和能源环境保护，农业、食品产业与林业，人文交流，教育、体育、青年与地方合作等，列出了2021年将在巴基斯坦国家合作框架内举办的近40项活动，体现了合作的丰富多彩。

（三）下一步的合作展望

1、团结抗疫

双方将加强联防联控和新冠肺炎疫情防治经验交流，探讨开发传统医药合作，提升卫生医疗合作水平，推动构建人类卫生健康共同体。习近平主席在峰会上明确表示，中方愿积极考虑中东欧国家疫苗合作需求。促进贸易和投资自由化便利化，统筹好疫情防控和经济社会发展，稳妥有序恢复人员往来、推动复工复产，维护产业链供应链稳定。

为此，与会各方将视疫情发展形势，继续以灵活方式举办中国―中东欧国家卫生部长特别会议、卫生专家会议等活动，并支持在匈牙利布达佩斯举办第二届中国―中东欧国家药品和医疗器械峰会。

2、务实合作

务实合作始终是中国―中东欧国家合作的出发点和落脚点。此次峰会在推动务实合作进一步发展方面又出台了重大举措。习近平主席在峰会上宣布，中方计
划今后5年从中东欧国家进口累计价值1700亿美元以上的商品。加快中东欧国家农食产品输华准入进程，争取未来5年中国从中东欧国家的农产品进口额翻番，双方农业贸易额增长50%，中方倡议在中东欧国家合作建设农产品批发市场。继续推进宁波、沧州等地中国—中东欧国家经贸合作示范区、产业园建设。加强人文交流，以北京冬奥会为契机，深化体育合作。

为将上述举措付诸实施，2021年双方计划在华举办第五届中国—中东欧国家海关检验检疫合作对话会、第四届中国国际进口博览会和中国—中东欧国家联合商会第六次会议，在中国宁波举办第四届中国—中东欧国家经贸促进部长级会议和第二届中国—中东欧国家博览会，在中国沧州举行第三届中国—中东欧国家(沧州)中小企业合作论坛，并将在罗马尼亚举办中国—中东欧国家纺织品博览会。

3、互联互通

互联互通作为畅通联动发展的合作动脉，自中国—中东欧国家合作成立以来，大型项目不断，成果令世人瞩目。此次峰会上，习近平主席提出不断完善融通格局，携手高质量共建“一带一路”，加快推进匈塞铁路等大项目建设，继续支持中欧班列发展；深化海关贸易安全和通关便利化合作，开展“智慧海关、智能边境、智享联通”合作试点等重要合作方向。

在上述原则指导下，2021年将在波兰举办第四届中国—中东欧国家交通部长会议，在华或在中东欧一国举行第三届中国—中东欧国家物流合作秘书处联络员会议，第四次中国—中东欧国家海关高层合作论坛。

4、绿色创新

绿色创新是此次峰会的新亮点，也是面向未来的合作动能。与会各方确定2021年为“中国—中东欧国家合作绿色发展和环境保护年”，并将积极开展相关交流与合作。习近平主席在峰会上明确表示中方将坚定不移推进应对气候变化国际合作，以“绿色发展和环境保护年”为契机，深化绿色经济、清洁能源等领域交流合作。中方倡议成立中国—中东欧国家创新合作研究中心、举办中国—中东欧国家青年科技人才论坛，拓展在数字经济、电子商务、健康产业等领域合作。推动建立中国—中东欧国家电子商务合作对话机制和中国—中东欧国家公众健康产业联盟。

为此，2021年将在华举办第二届中国—中东欧国家环保合作部长级会议和第五届中国—中东欧国家创新合作大会。各方还将积极探索在华举办中国—中东欧国家青年科技人才论坛。塞尔维亚和黑山更是提出有意愿建立中国—中东欧国家智慧城市中心。

此外，地方合作一直是中国—中东欧国家合作的重要组成部分。此次峰会前
夕，第五次中国—中东欧国家地方领导人会议在沈阳以视频方式成功举行。2021年，第五届中国—中东欧国家首都市长论坛将在波斯尼亚和黑塞哥维那首都萨拉热窝举行，2021中国—中东欧国家市长论坛将在中国宁波举办。中国—中东欧国家地方合作必将在新的一年里收获新的精彩。

随着中国—中东欧国家合作的不断深入发展，也难免出现某些问题和挑战，但中国—中东欧国家合作吸引更多关注，汇聚更多资源，更加高效推进合作的模式获得了各方一致肯定，中国同中东欧各国双边合作通过合作平台普遍受益也为各方所承认。

“潮平两岸阔，风正一帆悬”。求和平、谋发展、促合作的国际大势为中国—中东欧国家合作展开了更加广阔的合作空间，北京峰会为双方今后的合作指明了方向。相信在各方精诚合作、共同努力下，中国—中东欧国家合作的航船一定会乘风破浪，一路向前。
2021年世界经济复苏面临多重挑战

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在经历2020年突如其来的新冠肺炎疫情冲击、造成全球经济大幅萎缩之后，随着2020年底各国多支新冠疫苗陆续获准上市，人们对2021年下半年疫情出现控制充满希望。疫情有望缓解，2020年基准较低加上主要经济体继续推出经济刺激计划，世界经济在2021年实现复苏成为普遍预期。

一、主要国际组织预测2021年全球经济将实现复苏

国际货币基金组织（IMF）在2021年1月25日发布的最新一期《世界经济展望》中预计，全球经济在2021年和2022年将分别增长5.5%和4.2%。与上一次预测相比，将2021年全球经济增速的预测值上调了0.3个百分点，这反映了人们对疫苗有望推动经济走强的预期以及几个主要经济体追加政策支持的影响。IMF认为，由于各国疫情控制状况、医疗干预的普及程度、政策支持措施的有效性、危机前的结构性特征等因素不尽相同，各国的复苏势头预计出现明显差异。从主要经济体来看，IMF预测2021年美国经济将增长5.1%，日本为3.1%，法国为5.5%，英国为4.5%，德国为3.5%，巴西3.6%，南非为2.8%。中国继2020年成为唯一实现经济增长的主要经济体之后，2021年将增长8.1%，在主要经济体中继续领先。

世界银行在2021年1月期《全球经济展望》（以下简称《展望》）中称，虽然全球经济产出正在从新冠肺炎疫情引发的崩溃中恢复，但仍将长期低于疫情前的趋势。《展望》预测2021年全球经济将增长4%。具体而言，预计2021年美国GDP增长3.5%，欧元区增长3.6%；日本增长2.5%；新兴市场和发展中经济体（EMDE）的增长
通货膨胀水平将持续走高。2020年新冠肺炎疫情已导致全球粮油价格大幅上涨，联合国粮农组织的食品价格指数显示，到2020年底，粮食和食用油的价格已上升至2014年以来的最高水平，此外，各种隔离措施导致的运输成本攀升也推动物价水平上涨。2021年，全球通胀预期持续强化，经济复苏引发需求上升，运输受阻、全球供应链效率下降导致供给下降，各国央行的货币政策持续宽松造成资金供给充裕均将推高通胀水平。从政策层面看，各国央行在经济复苏态势充分巩固前，均不会调升短期利率。高通胀预期已导致全球股市在2月最后一个交易日出现大跌。

二、全球经济复苏仍面临多重挑战，存在较大不确定性

（一）疫苗分配不均或导致疫情反复，令全球经济复苏受阻

控制疫情是经济复苏的重要前提。目前，疫苗在控制新冠肺炎传播、降低人群入院治疗率和死亡率上作用显著，此前疫情严重的以色列、美国在人群中开始大规模接种疫苗之后，新冠肺炎感染人数和死亡人数均出现显著下降。世界对疫苗战胜新冠肺炎疫情影响、使社会经济恢复常态寄予了很大希望，但必须满足的前提是，疫苗在全球生产、分发和接种的速度必须超过病毒变异的速度，这样，才有可能在病毒变异导致现有疫苗失效之前实现世界范围内的群体免疫。

但是，全球疫苗生产和分配存在巨大的不平等现象，“疫苗民族主义”十分严重，发达国家和富国几乎垄断了当前除中俄之外的疫苗生产和供应。根据约翰·霍普金斯大学统计，发达国家全部人口10亿人已确保得到13款最有希望的候选疫苗的半数以上产量，其中，日本、澳大利亚和加拿大占不到2亿的人口获得10亿剂疫苗，而贫穷国家的50亿人却一无所获。通过“新冠肺炎疫苗实施计划”向穷国运送疫苗才刚刚开始，目前仅加纳和科特迪瓦分别收到60万和50万剂疫苗，距离2021年年底前提供20亿剂疫苗的目标相去甚远。

在全球化时代，疫情面前没有国家能独善其身。如果贫穷国家和发展中国家
不能及时获得疫苗并尽早实现全民免疫，即使富国和发达国家通过疫苗实现了群体免疫，在一个全球化的世界，变异后的新冠病毒仍然会在世界传播，并感染接种新冠疫苗的其他国家民众，造成疫情的持久传播。目前，世界上已经出现了多种传染力更强的新冠变异病毒，在疫苗不能公平分配的情况下，新冠变异病毒可能会催生第三波疫情，世界将再次被迫进入封锁和隔离状态，经济复苏将陷入夭折。

（二）中美战略竞争态势不利世界经济复苏

美国是世界唯一的超级经济体，中国是发展稳定又强劲的世界第二大经济体，两者均为10万亿美金规模以上的经济体，两大经济体GDP合计占全球的四成左右，最近几年，两者经济增长对世界经济增长的贡献超过四成。其中中国连续数年对世界经济增长的贡献率在30%以上。因此，中美经济的表现一定程度上决定了世界经济增长的前景，而中美关系的好坏则不仅对两国经济增长有影响，而且对世界经济也有较大影响。

美国在特朗普任职时期发起对华贸易摩擦，推动对华“脱钩”，双边关系陷入自中美建交以来的最低点。拜登新一届政府上台之后提出回归国际社会，表示愿意采取理性态度，用谈判的方式重新塑造中美关系，但迄今为止，中美关系难言有明显改善。美方自特朗普时期对华加征的关税并未取消，美国将中国视为最大战略竞争对手加以遏制的政策取向未变，要组建所谓民主国家联盟以孤立中国。对中国的打压“换汤不换药”，变的只是手段和方式。

在对华强硬的社会氛围影响下，拜登政府将很可能难以彻底扭转特朗普时期对华政策，即便拜登有意在某种程度上改善对华关系，也会遭到美国国会反华议员的掣肘。日前，美国参议院民主党领袖舒默指示议员，制定一系列措施对抗中国崛起，并利用国会两党对华强硬的关税并未取消，美国将中国视为最大战略竞争对手加以遏制的政策取向未变，要组建所谓民主国家联盟以孤立中国。对中国的打压“换汤不换药”，变的只是手段和方式。

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今天的中国作为全球第二大经济体，经济发展有足够的韧性，自然不会屈服于美国的施压。中美战略竞争态势持续将不可避免地对双边经济合作产生负面影响，进而影响各自经济增长。根据美中贸易全国委员会（USCBC）统计，特朗普发起的对华贸易摩擦已导致美国损失了24.5万个就业岗位。牛津经济研究院的估算显示，中美“脱钩”将在未来五年内导致美国GDP减少1.6万亿美元。从全球层面来看，中美关系持续紧张不利于全球贸易和投资信心的恢复，扰乱产业链供应链正常运转，多数国家将陷阵边站队窘境，世界将陷入两个经济阵营，给世界经济复苏蒙上阴影。
（三）全球面临严重债务负担，长期增长前景受制

国际金融研究所（Institute of International Finance）的最新报告显示，2020年，新冠肺炎疫情导致全球债务增加24万亿美元，全球债务总额达到了创纪录的281万亿美元，其中，发达国家债务203.7万亿美元，发展中国家债务77万亿美元。全球债务总额为全球GDP的355%，与2019年相比增长了35个百分点。这一增速甚至超过了次贷危机爆发时的2008年，当时全球债务占世界生产总值比例的增幅只有10%。2021年全球债务扩张的步伐并未减缓，仅政府公共债务就将再增加10万亿美元，到2021年底超过92万亿美元。

尽管大规模经济刺激计划是应对新冠疫情衰退的有效应对措施，且在极低利率情况下，即时债务成本接近于零，总体可控，但从长期来看，债务负担风险正在快速积累，未来利率水平的走高将意味着债务负担的持续加重。深陷债务的政府和企业都将面临着进退两难的困境。

从政府层面来看，在经济复苏之后，为防止通胀过快上涨，央行将不得不提高基准利率水平，这将导致偿债成本大幅增加。如果美国借贷成本比当前市场预测水平高出两个百分点，则美国偿债负担将从2020年占GDP的2%上升至2030年的6%，意大利的偿债负担甚至超过欧债危机时的水平。大规模经济刺激措施的退出将比2008/2009年金融危机时更为困难。政治和社会压力将限制政府减少赤字和债务的努力，从而损害政府处理未来其他危机的能力。从企业层面看，尽管企业通过新增负债渡过了疫情时期的生存危机，但债务到期后的还本付息压力将迫使企业从扩张业务转向偿债，从而危及企业的生产经营。因此，当世界经济摆脱疫情影响走向复苏时，沉重的债务负担将抑制长期增长前景。

三、世界只有加强合作，才能真正实现经济复苏

在全球化时代，全球化挑战需要全球化应对。面对新冠肺炎疫情及其他传染病、气候变化等问题，世界上没有任何一个国家能独自解决。在彼此经济互相高度依赖的今天，也没有任何一个国家能独自发展好经济。世界各国只有求同存异，加强合作，才能真正实现世界经济的复苏。

各国要加强在疫苗生产和分配上的合作，让新冠疫苗成为人人可得的全球公共产品，才能尽早控制疫情，为经济复苏提供良好前提。要警惕“疫苗民族主义”，充分发挥世卫组织等国际多边机构作用，通过“新冠肺炎疫苗实施计划”向各国尤其是中低收入国家的脆弱人群提供疫苗接种，是遏制疫情最经济、最迅速的方法。
中美两国要担负其大国责任，共同引领世界经济复苏进程。美方必须放弃对中方的无理打压，以负责任的态度加强与中方在抗击新冠疫情、应对气候变化、推动世界经济复苏等国际社会最紧迫任务上的合作，响应中方呼吁，激活或建立各领域、各层级的对话机制，使双边关系早日回到正常轨道。

世界各国要加强宏观经济政策协调。通过G20等平台加强各国财税、货币政策协同和监管协调，以提高经济刺激和恢复政策的精准性和有效性。对日益严重的全球债务问题，要利用IMF、G20等国际组织在全球范围内调配金融资源，特别是向低收入和新兴市场国家增加贷款或减免债务，实施债务重组计划，防止出现主权债务违约，防范发生大的金融动荡对全球经济造成冲击，在全球范围内提振信心、稳定预期。在全球大规模疫苗接种工作铺开以后，各国还应在科学评估疫苗有效性的基础上，积极探索疫苗护照的发放和互认问题，推动跨国商务旅行与旅游，助力世界恢复疫情前常态，促进世界经济复苏。
当马来西亚外长巴达维1991年邀请中国外长钱其琛出席那年7月20日第24届东盟外长会开幕式时，彼时的国际形势正在发生重大变化。在那个时刻，苏联接近解体，柬埔寨问题仍有待全面解决，东盟只有六个成员，中国尚未同文莱建交。而且，中国与东盟这个成立于1967年的组织交往不多，互信不足。然而，当时中国与东盟国家的领导人都看到了发展双方友好关系对自身的重要性，做出了开启对话的历史性决定。这是一种战略远见的体现。

三十年来，中国东盟关系在政治、经贸、安全、文化、卫生等各个领域都取得了长足发展，双方互动之频繁、合作之密切、成果之丰硕超出了世人想象，给中国和东盟各国人民带来了巨大福利。

三十年后的今天，国际形势又在发生重大变化。中国与东盟都面临在新的挑战下如何继续维护地区和平稳定、促进国家发展繁荣的严峻课题。此时回顾中国—东盟建立对话关系以来的合作进程，也许有利于双方在新的起点上重新出发。

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同历风雨 共见彩虹

过去三十年，无论是东盟还是中国，无论是中国—东盟合作还以东盟为中心的区域合作机制，都取得了不平凡的成就。

东盟1967年成立之时有五个成员，文莱1984年独立后加入。上世纪90年代，东盟先后接纳了越南、老挝、缅甸、柬埔寨，使东盟成为覆盖整个东南亚的区域组织。东盟创建了符合地区特点的“东盟方式”，通过对话与合作改变了东南亚地区战乱不止的状况，促进了该地区的和平、稳定与发展。

在促进内部一体化的同时，东盟还在构建区域合作机制方面发挥了主导作用。东盟同多国建立了对话伙伴关系。截至目前，东盟有澳大利亚、加拿大、中国、欧盟、印度、日本、韩国、新西兰、俄罗斯、美国10个对话伙伴，有挪威、巴基斯坦、瑞士、土耳其4个部门对话伙伴，还有智利、法国、德国、意大利4个发展伙伴。

1994年，为了在大国和东盟之间建立更加稳定的关系，并促进与东南亚关系密切的大国之间的交流，东盟创立了东盟地区论坛。该论坛目前已有27个成员，有涵盖一轨和二轨的多个会议机制，是亚太地区最重要的政治安全对话平台。

1997年亚洲金融危机爆发后，东盟与中国、日本、韩国在马来西亚举行10+3非正式领导人会晤，开启了东亚合作进程。1999年，东盟与中日韩领导人发表《东亚合作联合声明》，标志着10+3合作的机制化。2007年，《第二份东亚合作联合声明》重申10+3合作仍将是以东盟为主导的建设东亚共同体长期目标的主要渠道。2017年，10+3合作20周年纪念峰会在马尼拉举行。目前，10+3合作机制有65个，合作领域覆盖各个方面。

2005年，在东盟推动下，首届东亚峰会在吉隆坡举行，东盟10国和中国、日本、韩国、印度、澳大利亚、新西兰5国领导人与会。美国和俄罗斯于2011年正式加入东亚峰会。

为促进东盟同对话伙伴之间的安全与防务合作，东盟于2010年同澳大利亚、中国、日本、印度、新西兰和韩国、俄罗斯、美国八国启动东盟防长扩大会。东盟防长扩大会自2017年开始每年举行。

东盟先后同中国、韩国、日本、印度、澳大利亚和新西兰分别构建自由贸易区。2012年，东盟同上述六国达成共识，开启区域全面经济伙伴关系协定（RCEP）谈判。经过多轮谈判，RCEP于2020年11月由东盟10国与中国、日本、韩国、澳大利亚、新西兰5国签署，并为印度保留了开放的大门。

东盟经济近年来非常活跃，多个国家实现持续快速增长。2019年，东盟GDP
达到3万亿美元，成为全球第五大经济体。

中国过去三十年的历程可以用持续改革开放、经济不断增长来简单概括。从开放沿海地区到开放内陆中心城市，再到加入世界贸易组织；从“引进来”到“走出去”；从共建“一带一路”到举行中国国际进口博览会，再到建设海南自由贸易港，中国对外开放的大门越开越大。从传统的计划经济体制到社会主义市场经济体制，再到使市场在资源配置中起决定性作用和更好发挥政府作用；从单一公有制到公有制为主体、多种所有制经济共同发展，中国经济体制改革的步伐从未停歇。除了经济改革，中国还进行了党和国家机构改革、行政管理体制改革、依法治国体制改革、司法体制改革、外事体制改革、社会治理体制改革、生态环境督察体制改革、国家安全体制改革、国防和军队改革等一系列重大改革，不断提升治理能力。

从2010年起，中国成为世界第二大经济体。2020年中国经济总量首破100万亿元大关，按年平均汇率折算达14.7万亿美元，估计占世界经济的比重17%左右。中国已经实现脱贫攻坚目标，全面建成小康社会取得历史性成就。


中国同东盟共同走过的道路并不平坦。双方曾共同经历亚洲金融危机、全球金融危机，共同面对“非典”、海啸以及如今新冠肺炎疫情的冲击。在每一个艰难时刻，中国与东盟都守望相助、同舟共济，彰显了双方合作的紧密与韧性。

中国同东盟三十年伙伴关系发展并非一帆风顺。正如世界上所有的邻国，中国和东盟作为邻居一路走来也不免时有磕碰。文化差异造成误解，走动多了产生摩擦，历史恩怨时时发酵，尚未解决的领土和海域划界争议一再牵动民众情绪。幸
运的是，每次中国和东盟关系遇到困难，双方最终都能回到通过对话协商解决分歧的道路上来。正如李克强总理所说，中国东盟关系经过三十年风雨，“已臻成熟稳定”。

可以说，东盟向中国伸出友谊之手拓展了自身发展的空间和机遇，中国对东盟“与邻为善、以邻为伴”的真诚交往促进了中国周边环境的稳定和国内经济的发展。与此同时，中国对东盟的高度重视和紧密合作也带动了其他国家同东盟关系的发展，提升了东盟的国际地位。中国东盟合作不仅实现了双赢，还促进了东亚区域合作和区域经济一体化，带动了亚洲的整体发展。

荣损与共 同创未来

2013年10月3日，习近平主席在印尼国会发表题为“携手建设中国—东盟命运共同体”的演讲，表示中国愿同印尼和其他东盟国家共同努力，携手建设更为紧密的中国—东盟命运共同体。这是习主席第一次提出构建“命运共同体”的理念，显示了东盟在中国外交中的优先地位。

中方提出的构建人类命运共同体的理念已被多次写入联合国决议。也有人对这一理念有疑问，甚至提出质疑。然而，仍在肆虐全球的新冠肺炎疫情以及由此造成的经济危机以一种极为严酷的方式揭示，当今世界，无论身处何方，人类的命运确确实实紧密相联，没有国家能够独善其身。以邻为壑有害无利，帮助别人就是帮助自己。

面对突如其来的新冠疫情，以及各种消极噪音，曾经多次共历风雨、彼此深度理解的中国和东盟用实际行动在2020年谱写了携手抗击疫情、合作复工复产的篇章。当中国突遭疫情袭击时，东盟国家的领导人、政府、民间人士和机构纷纷向中国表示同情和支持并提供援助。2月15日东盟发表的抗疫声明专门对中国应对疫情的努力表示同情支持。2月20日东盟还同中国举行新冠肺炎问题外长分对，决定共同应对新冠肺炎疫情及其负面影响。当疫情在东盟国家蔓延时，中国中央政府、地方政府、军队、企业、政府机构同东盟国家提供了大量医疗物资援助。中方同东盟国家召开多场专业视频会议分享抗疫经验，并向多个东盟国家派出医疗组。中国还同印尼等国开展疫苗合作，向多个东盟国家提供疫苗援助。

为了减少新冠疫情给双方经贸合作带来的损失，中国同东盟国家建立人员“快捷通道”和货物“绿色通道”，努力推进“一带一路”及其他合作项目。中老铁路建设在疫情防控期间取得重大进展，雅万高铁3号隧道顺利贯通，中国南通至越南河内的长三角至东盟国际货运班列首次开行，中国新加坡互联互通项目金
融合合作辐射至中国西部七省区，澜沧江—湄公河合作第三次领导人会议决定推动澜湄合作与“国际陆海贸易新通道”对接。

正是由于中国和东盟不畏艰难、共同奋斗的决心和行动，双方贸易额在2020年极其困难的条件下逆势增长6.7%，达到创纪录的6846亿美元，而东盟也有史以来第一次成为中国第一大贸易伙伴。2020年，中国对东盟全行业直接投资143.6亿美元，同比增长52.1%，而东盟对华投资也实现了增长。

2020年11月中国和东盟领导人发表《落实中国—东盟面向和平与繁荣的战略伙伴关系联合宣言的行动计划（2021—2025）》和《中国—东盟关于建立数字经济合作伙伴关系的倡议》，宣布2021年为中国—东盟可持续发展合作年。双方并决定商讨建立“全面战略伙伴”关系。展望未来，中国将加快构建以国内大循环为主体、国内国际双循环相互促进的新发展格局，而拥有年轻人口、丰富资源及巨大市场的东盟，其发展潜力将进一步得到开发。中国东盟合作必将开辟更加广阔的前景。

不可回避的是，除了新冠疫情带来的困难，中国与东盟同处的亚太地区乃至整个世界的格局正在发生重大调整，给地区和平和发展带来很多不确定性。具有全球影响的中美关系陷入建交以来最为困难的局面。中方已多次表示愿本着不冲突不对抗、相互尊重、合作共赢的精神同美国共同推动两国关系健康稳定发展，然而美国新政府对华政策能否回归理性仍不明朗。保护主义、逆全球化的声音在一些国家有所上升，某些势力出于零和思维破坏国际贸易秩序，给全球经济复苏带来更多困难。气候变化使得自然灾害更加频繁，人类对大自然的过度索取可能会带来更多意想不到的灾难。

经过多年交往，中国同东盟之间的合作达到了前所未有的水平，但双方仍缺乏充分的信任。尤其是随着中国综合国力的迅速提升，东盟一些国家感到压力和不适，加之域外势力的介入使得地区热点问题的解决更加复杂。

应对上述挑战，没有一项不需要中国和东盟的共同努力。中国和东盟是分不开的邻居，双方利益紧密相联。

展望未来，双方应首先增进相互了解和信任。对中国来说，下一步是要实现国民经济和社会发展“十四五”规划和二〇三五年远景目标，这些目标的实现离不开包括东盟在内的国际社会的支持与合作。对东盟国家来说，无论其发达程度如何，促进经济持续增长、不断提高人民生活水平都是首要课题，而中国是他们最可靠、最有力的合作伙伴。尽管双方存在分歧，然而为了各自的国内发展，为了中国和东盟各国国家和人民的利益，维护和巩固一个和平稳定的地区环境是双方重大共同利益所在。
在东盟共同体成立的2015年，习近平主席在博鳌亚洲论坛发表题为“迈向命运共同体 开创亚洲新未来”的演讲，提出亚洲国家要通过迈向亚洲命运共同体，推动建设人类命运共同体。

邻居不可选择，但未来可以选择。亚洲的未来取决于中国、东盟以及亚洲其他国家的选择。中国同东盟开展与时俱进的合作，携手建设更为紧密的中国—东盟命运共同体，为亚洲创造一个更好的未来，是中国和东盟的共同利益、共同责任所在。
浅议英国脱欧后的影响

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2016年6月23日英国举行举世瞩目的“脱欧”公投，公投的结果是52%的选民支持英国脱离欧盟，48%的选民支持英国留在欧盟。组织实施本次公投的英国首相戴维·卡梅伦因此而宣布辞职，特丽莎·梅接替卡梅伦出任英国首相。根据这一公投结果，梅政府向英国议会下院提交了“脱欧”法案，2017年2月1日议会下院批准该法案，授权首相特雷莎·梅启动“脱欧”程序。2017年3月底英国政府根据《里斯本条约》第50条向欧盟正式申请脱离欧盟，开启了“脱欧”谈判。经过近3年与欧盟的“脱欧”谈判，英国终于在继特丽莎·梅之后担任首相的鲍里斯·约翰逊领导下，于2020年1月与欧盟达成“脱欧”协议，并于2020年1月31日正式脱离欧盟，结束其47年的欧盟成员国身份，之后进入为期11个月的“脱欧”过渡期。2020年12月24日，再度经过多轮激烈谈判，欧盟与英国就包括贸易在内的一系列合作关系达成协议，为英国按照原计划在2020年结束“脱欧”过渡期扫清障碍。2021年1月1日，英国“脱欧”过渡期正式结束，就如之前不久约翰逊首相宣布的那样，实现了全面的政治和经济独立。英国完全脱离欧盟之后将对英国自身、对欧洲一体化、对当前世界百年未有之大变局中国际格局等产生何等的影响？本文将对之做粗浅的分析与讨论。

一、英国“脱欧”后对英国本国经济及政治的影响

毫无疑问，“脱欧”对英国本国的经济和政治都具有重大的影响。自2016年英国全民公投决定“脱欧”之后，英国的经济受到相当大的负面影响。英国原本对欧盟的贸易依存度就很高，总体而言英国对欧盟的进出口额占其总进出口额的一半左右。2015年前英
国一直是欧盟的第一大贸易伙伴，2015年被美国超过居第二位，至2018年降为欧盟的第三大贸易伙伴。欧盟对英国的出口也在英国决定“脱欧”之后有所下降，2019年欧盟对英国的出口占其总出口的15%，低于对美国的出口（19%），而略高于对中国的出口（9%）。2019年欧盟对英国的进口占其总进口的10%，低于中国的19%和美国的12%。更有甚者，由于“脱欧”与新冠疫情的双重影响，根据2021年1月英国海关总署发布的数据，2020年前11个月，英国累计货物进出口总额同比下降12.7%，其中出口额下降15%，进口额下降11%。

自2016年英国脱欧公投后，由于英镑的贬值，英国一度吸引了不少外国直接投资，这些投资主要来自美国和德国，前三大领域分别是消费品零售、工业及金融服务。但是根据联合国贸发会议数据，到2019年由于“脱欧”的负面影响，英国吸收外国直接投资总量比2018年有所下降，总量为590亿美元，居全球最具吸引力投资目的地的第八位。2020年11月，英国政府向国会下院提交了《国家安全与投资法案》，其主旨是收紧对外资投资英国企业的审查。按照新法案提出的收购规则，凡涉及核能、通讯、人工智能、交通、能源和国防等领域的外国直接投资，投资者都必须向英国政府作出通报，同时还赋予英国政府5年的追溯期。对英国的国内政治而言，英国目前执政的保守党在“脱欧”谈判中扮演着重要的角色，得到了多数英国选民的支持，因此在看得见的未来，保守党执政持续到2025年将会是大概率事件。英国“脱欧”之后其国内政治的发展将相对稳定。

然而，从国际政治层面看，英国“脱欧”之后，英国的外交政策则会有相当大的变化。早在2016年英国全民公投决定“脱欧”后的10月在伯明翰召开的执政党保守党大会上，当时的英国首相特丽莎·梅就以《脱欧后的英国：全球英国展望》为题发表演讲，提出英国“脱欧”之后既需要认真考虑和欧盟的新关系，而且需要独立地思考和展望英国与更广阔世界之间的关系。当时的外交大臣，后来接替梅任首相的鲍里斯·约翰逊也公开表示需要“重塑英国作为全球性强国的全球形象与身份”并在同年12月以《全球英国：脱欧后时代的英国外交政策》为名，在英国皇家国际问题研究所发表演讲，强调英国脱欧后在全球事务中的政治地位和政策取向。

十分明显，“全球英国”设想已经成为“脱欧”之后英国的外交战略，其特点就是要促使英国在“脱欧”之后超越欧洲、放眼全球、成为现代世界体系中“独立”的力量，在国际政治中更有作为、更有影响力。当然，在具体实施“全球英国”的对外政策中，“脱欧”之后的英国更加重视传统的英美关系，将美国视为英国最为重要的盟友，并最大限度地配合美国的全球战略。
二、英国“脱欧”后对欧洲一体化的影响

在很大程度上，英国“脱欧”后对欧洲一体化的影响将是双重性的，即在一定程度上促进了欧洲一体化的发展，但同时又对欧洲一体化的发展形成相当的负面影响。

从促进欧洲一体化的层面看，英国“脱欧”之后，欧盟所提出的“欧洲战略自主”（European Strategic Autonomy）加速从概念变为行动。“欧洲战略自主”的概念几乎是与2016年的英国“脱欧”公投同时产生。即该理念是在2016年6月欧盟公布的欧盟全球战略文件《共享观点和共同行动：一个更为强大的欧洲——欧盟外交和安全政策全球战略》中提出的。当时的欧盟委员会副主席、欧盟外交与安全政策高级代表莫盖里尼强调：“随着英国脱欧，欧盟更需要重新思考欧盟的运行方式，面对充满挑战的时代，欧盟需要加强战略思考、分享共同观念和执行共同行动”。这说明“欧洲战略自主”是与英国脱欧几乎同步出现的欧盟官方确定的一个定义和概念，与欧盟全球战略密切相关，确定了英国脱欧后欧洲一体化未来发展的方向。

随着欧盟与英国通过艰难的“脱欧”谈判而确立起英国正式脱离欧盟的英欧关系，以及因特朗普“美国优先”政策对美欧关系所产生的负面影响，欧盟内部就“欧洲战略自主”议题进一步展开了热烈讨论，并从原来的欧盟全球战略文件中以防务为主的狭义“战略自主”概念向包含防务、科技、市场、金融、制度等广义的“战略自主”概念和行动转变。

然而，英国“脱欧”之后对欧洲一体化发展的负面影响也同样存在，甚至在某种程度上其负面影响显得更大。首先，英国正式退出欧盟之后，欧盟的规模和财富会遭受到明显的影响。目前，英国的名义国内生产总值（nominal GDP）在世界上排名第六，在欧洲排名第二。另一方面，英国的人口和国土面积等也都在欧盟中名列前茅（分列第3和第8位）。毋庸置疑，英国正式退出欧盟之后，欧盟的规模、体量和财富都会受到很大的影响。（参见下表）

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>比较（2018）</th>
<th>人口</th>
<th>地域（平方公里）</th>
<th>人口密度（每平方公里）</th>
<th>国内生产总值（欧元）</th>
<th>人均国内生产总值（欧元）</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>英国正式脱欧前的欧盟</td>
<td>5.13亿</td>
<td>4,475,757</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>15.9万亿</td>
<td>31,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>英国正式脱欧后的欧盟</td>
<td>4.47亿</td>
<td>4,232,147</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>13.5万亿</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
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</table>
正因为如此，欧盟在英国正式退出欧盟之后，尤其是在过渡期结束之后，其总体的财政预算将要明显缩水。“脱欧”之前，英国对欧盟的财政预算贡献良多，以2016年为例，在考虑了欧盟对英国所提供的会费做返款之后，英国对欧盟预算的贡献为194亿欧元。据估计，英国正式退出欧盟之后，欧盟预算的损失约占总额的5%。为了填补这一缺口，欧盟委员会已考虑将地区发展支出减少30%，这使一些较贫穷的欧盟成员国所需要的发展资金更加捉襟见肘，显然对欧洲一体化的发展十分不利。

英国正式退出欧盟之后对欧盟的经济发展也颇具影响。英国“脱欧”后与英国贸易关系十分紧密的欧盟成员国如比利时、塞浦路斯、爱尔兰、德国和荷兰等的经济会有更大的冲击。在经济上受英国正式退出欧盟负面影响最大的欧盟产业领域是汽车及其零部件生产，由于英国是大型制造商，依赖于欧盟的零部件供应链，一旦英国脱离欧盟单一市场，英欧双方的交易成本将大幅度上升。此外电子设备和加工食品部门，以及鲁尔河谷的原材料出口也将受到英国脱欧的负面影响。英国原先是欧洲药品管理局和欧洲银行管理局的所在地，伽利略卫星导航系统背后的安全备用数据中心原来也在英国，在英国脱离欧盟后两个机构将迁往阿姆斯特丹和巴黎，而后者也将从英国迁至西班牙。这些机构从英国迁出既缺少了英国的专业支持同时也付出相当大的搬迁经济代价，这些都对欧洲一体化的经济、科技和管理有相当的负面影响。

最后，英国“脱欧”之后欧盟的外交和安全防务一体化（其中尤其是后者）也会受到一系列负面影响。英国与法国原是欧盟的两个主要军事大国，正是1998年法国和英国共同发布的《圣马洛宣言》实质性地开启了欧洲的防务一体化。该宣言提出：为了应对国际危机，欧盟必须拥有自主行动的能力，有军事力量支持，有决定使用他们的方法以及一以贯之的做法，从而能独立于北约对国际危机作出响应。此后在英法共同提出的建立欧盟自主军事行动力的设想推动下，欧盟共同防务取得一定进展。由此可见，英国在欧洲防务一体化中实际扮演着重要的角色。英国正式“脱欧”之后在这方面的影响显而易见。

另一方面，英国是欧洲最大的防务研发支出国之一，英、法、德三国占欧盟20亿欧元防务研发基金的92%。英国还拥有强大的情报能力和广泛的外交网络，因此，英国作为欧盟成员国曾经是欧盟在外交事务和安全防务领域的重要资产。英国正式“脱欧”当然会减弱欧盟在外交政策和安全防务方面的影响力，兰德公司在一份研究报告中指出，英国脱欧可能导致欧盟集体防卫能力减弱约四分之一。也正因为如此，未来欧盟在防务一体化方面实际上依然离不开与英国的合作，法国总统马克龙曾明确表示希望英国“脱欧”后继续参与欧洲防务一体化，而德国
国防部长卡伦鲍尔则提出建立包括法、德、英三国在内的E3（Europe 3）集团，发挥北约和欧盟之间的链接作用。

三、英国“脱欧”后对大变局中国际格局的影响

习近平主席作出的“百年未有之大变局”论断，是对世界历史进程中现代世界体系在当今所发生巨大变化的精辟总结，也是对现代世界体系内的世界市场体系中的经济动能转换、国际政治体系中的国际格局和力量对比变化以及全球治理体系重塑的高度概括。总体而言，大变局的最为突出的特征就是当代国际格局的“东升西降”：西方国家出现了严重的国内矛盾和危机，而发展中国家特别是新兴市场国家表现突出。

进入21世纪以来，在全球化深入发展的影响下，过去百余年来由西方欧美大国把控国际格局权力的时代开始发生重大的变化。非西方国家的权力在新千年之后持续增强，全球经济增长的重心将从欧美转移到亚洲，并外溢到其他发展中国家和地区。更值得注意的是，英国“脱欧”对百年未有之大变局中国际格局的“东升西降”也颇具影响。

首先，英国“脱欧”之后其经济受到很大的负面影响，国内生产总值从原先世界排名第五位下降至第六位而被新兴经济体国家印度超越。这明显地体现出英国脱欧对国际格局“东升西降”的影响。根据IMF的估计，因“脱欧”再加上新冠疫情的影响，英国2020年的国内生产总值为10%的负增长，不仅低于中、印、巴西等新兴经济体，而且比美、德、法、意、日等发达经济体国家都低。

其次，英国“脱欧”之后，欧洲一体化将受到较大的负面影响，而欧盟的总体力量也将明显下降。这就意味着欧盟作为当代国际格局中“一极”的影响力将大大下降，乃至欧盟是否能成为“一极”都成为一个问题。据英国广播公司消息，英国和欧盟就欧盟驻伦敦大使的身份问题爆发外交争端，英国拒绝像对待其他国家驻英国大使一样授予若昂·瓦莱·德阿尔梅达（Joao Vale de Almeida）完整外交身份。英国外交部希望只按照对待国际组织代表的方式对待欧盟代表团。这似乎与2019年1月美国特朗普政府将欧盟的外交级别从“盟国”降级为“国际组织”很有点相似。虽然，美国政府后来恢复了欧盟驻美国大使戴维·奥沙利文（David O’Sullivan）的外交级别，而欧盟与英国也在此问题上做进一步的交涉，但是，这一切反映出欧盟在当今世界大变局中国际地位的下降也是一目了然的事实。

最后，英国“脱欧”之后致使美欧跨大西洋联盟内部出现十分复杂的局面，
这也对大变局中国际格局的“东升西降”有影响。自第二次世界大战之后，不论
在冷战时期还是在后冷战时期，英国始终维持着美英之间的特殊关系。当英国还
是欧盟成员国时，英国因此能在美欧跨大西洋联盟中扮演协调美国与欧洲大陆各
盟国之间协调者的角色。不仅如此，英国凭借着自身防务力量的优势及与美国的
特殊关系也能在欧盟内部协调各成员国之间的关系。随着英国完全脱离欧盟，美
欧跨大西洋联盟的美欧双方及美国的欧洲盟国内部的协调产生了很大的问题。欧
盟缺少了在防务方面有举足轻重影响且与美国具有特殊关系的英国，其内部在处
理跨大西洋联盟关系及成员国的相互间协调方面都会形成明显的不协调。恰恰也
正因为如此，百年未有之大变局中国际格局力量对比也就更加明显地展示出“西
降”的特征。
The Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) was established on December 15, 1949, the same year of the founding of the People’s Republic of China. As the first institute devoted to people-to-people diplomacy of the PRC, CPIFA was founded at the initiative of the late Premier Zhou Enlai. Premier Zhou Enlai and the late Vice Premier Chen Yi both once served as the Honorary President of the Institute.

The purposes of CPIFA are to enhance people-to-people friendship, to facilitate state-to-state relations, and to pursue world peace, development and cooperation. To this end, CPIFA takes the initiative to establish and maintain relations with prestigious political and social activists, parliaments, think tanks, media, etc., to carry out dialogues and communications on bilateral relations, major international and regional issues based on the exchange mechanism of Track II diplomacy, to conduct public diplomacy activities by hosting and organizing some major forums and conferences, to study international situation and foreign policies, and to publish the English quarterly journal, Foreign Affairs Journal.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), guided by Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy, CPIFA is committed to “making friends for the country” by taking concerted actions with China’s overall diplomacy, expanding foreign exchanges, telling Chinese stories, promoting interaction between China and the rest of the world, and facilitating the building of a community with a shared future for mankind.

To date, CPIFA has hosted the visits of over 30,000 guests of 4,000 plus delegations including foreign prestigious statesmen, parliament members, think tanks, media, etc. The Institute maintains contacts with famous statesmen, diplomats, social activists, entrepreneurs, experts and scholars on international studies from over 120 countries and has established more than 20 bilateral dialogue and exchange mechanisms.